



***Hidden Messages in News: A Comparison
of English-language and Chinese-language
Newspapers that report Sunflower
Student Movement in Taiwan***

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Abstract

This study compared the ideologies of U.S. newspapers and Taiwanese newspapers by examining how they reported the Sunflower Student Movement (SSM) in Taiwan. Twenty-seven news reports were selected from New York Times, United Daily News (Taiwanese newspaper written in Chinese), and Focus Taiwan (Taiwanese newspaper written in English). The results showed that the three newspapers framed the event differently. The New York Times reported the SSM from a distanced viewpoint, whereas the United Daily News was explicitly partial to the government by dramatizing the damage and condemning the violence in the occupation. In contrast with the other two newspapers, Focus Taiwan seemed implicitly biased toward the government by highlighting the conflicts in the movement while trying to report the event relatively plainly. Through critical discourse analysis, this study highlights how newspapers reconstructed the event differently with underlying ideologies.

Key words: discourse analysis; ideology; news discourse; journalism; Taiwan

1. Introduction

Media texts, such as news reports, are often constructed with underlying ideologies (van Dijk 1998). Ideology is reflected in language, and the use of language can influence readers' interpretation of the content. An extensive literature using critical discourse analysis has investigated how ideologies are implicated in media texts, such as gender stereotypes (e.g., Tranchese and Zollo 2013), racism (e.g., Teo 2000), and political stances (e.g., Fang 2001). By examining various language choices, studies have compared ideologies in news written in the same language (e.g., Flowerdew, Li, and Tran 2002), and news written in different languages (e.g., Feng, Brewer, and Ley 2012). For instance, Fang (2001) compared Taiwanese and mainland Chinese newspapers and concluded that the same news event may be differently interpreted with different linguistic features.

Most research that compared Chinese-language and English-language newspapers usually examined newspapers in the U.S. and in mainland China and found that they reported the same event differently due to different political ideologies (e.g., Feng et al. 2012); however, studies comparing newspapers in the U.S. and in Taiwan remain scarce. It would be interesting to see whether the U.S. newspapers exploit different rhetorical strategies when reporting political events in Taiwan, a context that shares similar political views. Thus, this study compared the ideologies of one U.S. newspaper and two Taiwanese newspapers by examining their rhetorical strategies in reporting the Sunflower Student Movement (SSM), one of the biggest and longest student protests in Taiwan. The SSM was triggered by a protest against the government's (the Kuomintang administration) quick passing of the cross-Strait trade in services agreement with China. On March 18, 2014, protesters, mostly students, broke into the legislature and had occupied it for three weeks. The SSM is significant in Taiwanese history because, first, although it was led by students, the movement was supported by the public and intensively reported by the mainstream media (Lai 2016). It was also the first time that students occupied the legislature for a long time. Therefore, the SSM was chosen as the target event in this study.

To compare how the U.S. and Taiwanese newspapers reported this event, this study followed van Dijk's (1998) approach, as 'it examines the textual and contextual components of the discourse event' (Fang 2001: 587). By examining the relationship between linguistic units and the context, it is believed that the ideologies characterized by these linguistic features would be unveiled. For this purpose, the following research question asked: What are similarities and differences in the rhetorical strategies of the U.S. newspaper, the Taiwanese newspaper written in English, and the Taiwanese newspaper written in Chinese?

2. Ideology and News Discourse

Ideological concerns are pervasive in the production of news (van Dijk 1998). The process of news making is biased and this is reflected in preferred quoting, opinions and topics as in all dimensions of media discourse (Kuo and Nakamura 2005). For example, Teo (2000) investigated how two Australian newspapers reported a Vietnamese gang. The results showed that both newspapers employed 'the positive us-presentation' of Australian police versus 'negative them-presentation' of Asian gang. Teo (2000: 42) indicated that dichotomy 'segregated the white majority and ethnic minority from each other.'

Some studies have compared ideologies in news written in Chinese and English, mostly collected from mainland Chinese and U.S. newspapers. Feng et al. (2012) investigated how the Xinhua News Agency (a mainland Chinese newspaper) and the Associated Press (a U.S. newspaper) reported tainted baby formula found in mainland China. The results showed significant differences in framing the mainland Chinese government. The Xinhua News Agency emphasized the mainland Chinese government's decisive reactions to the contamination whereas the Associated Press highlighted the mainland Chinese government's slow responses to the contamination. The divergence in

the reports was apparent within their divaricating political contexts. Yang (2003) also conducted a comparative analysis between two mainland Chinese newspapers and two U.S. newspapers that reported the North Atlantic Treaty Organization air strikes. After analyzing 200 news articles, Yang revealed great differences in the way mainland Chinese news and U.S. news covered the air strikes in the Kosovo crisis. The U.S. newspapers framed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization air strikes as an aid to Albanian refugees, whereas the mainland Chinese newspapers questioned justification of the U.S. for the air strikes.

Several studies have compared ideologies in Taiwanese newspapers. Hsiao (2006) reviewed previous survey studies and found that readers of the United Daily News (the UDN) were more aligned with the Kuomintang (KMT), the major party that advocates a closer relationship with the mainland China. By contrast, readers of the Liberty Times (the LT) were more aligned with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which supports the independence of Taiwan, and its readership was consistent with the ideological stance of the newspapers. Similarly, Kuo and Nakamura (2005) compared how the UDN and the LT reported the visit of the former DPP first lady of to the U.S. They found several differences although both Chinese-language newspapers were translated from the same English-language news. In the headlines, the UDN employed a neutral word 談 (to talk) whereas the LT utilized the term 宣揚 (to advocate). Kuo and Nakamura believed that the lexical choices and word formation reflected the newspapers' hidden ideology. Similarly, Kuo (2007: 298) compared quotations in the UDN and the LT that reported the former DPP President's statement about 'one country on each side' and found that 'the same speaker can be quoted by the two newspapers as saying completely different things on the same day and these seeming contradictions reflect their respective ideological positions in their news coverage.' Similarly, Chen (2009) examined quotations in news trans-editing in the UDN and the LT, and found that the UDN and the LT edited the quotation contents differently due to their different ideological perspectives.

Examining the SSM in two Taiwanese English-language newspapers, Brindle (2015) found that the Taipei Times, which is pro-independence of Taiwan, and the China Post, which is more friendly to the KMT, framed the SSM differently with specific vocabulary and collocations. For example, the second most frequent word in the China Post was 'Yuan', which refers to the Legislative Yuan or the Executive Yuan. 'Yuan' was often the object of 'occupy' and 'storm', conveying the students' unacceptable behavior. However, the second most frequent word in the Taipei Times was 'movement', which is often accompanied with 'Sunflower', a term that was used to legitimize the students' action. In addition, while the China Post used a discourse prosody to frame the protesters as 'activists' and constructed an image of violence, the Taipei Times used 'students' and 'protesters' to term the participants in the protests, terms that did not contain saliently negative meanings.

Although studies have investigated Taiwanese newspapers written in the same language and compared newspapers in the U.S. and in mainland China, little research has compared newspapers in the U.S. and in Taiwan, both of which are democratic countries that follow capitalism. In addition, it would be interesting to understand the extent to which the representation of news

actors is similar in U.S. newspapers, and how the same event is reported by Taiwanese newspapers with similar political stances but written in different languages. For this purpose, this study examined the ideologies as realized by the rhetorical strategies in three newspapers: The New York Times from the U.S., the United Daily News, a Taiwanese newspaper written in Chinese, and the Focus Taiwan, a Taiwanese newspaper written in English. The methodology is described below.

3. Methodology

3.1. The Event: Sunflower Student Movement

The Sunflower Student Movement lasted 24 days, beginning on March 18, 2014 at the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan. The purpose of the movement was to protest that the ruling KMT tried to pass the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement as a package without a clause-by-clause review procedure. The CSSTA was signed as a component of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), which was signed in 2010; it would allow up to 64 industries in Taiwan and 80 industries in China to set up branches in each other's land (Yuen 2014).

The KMT administration argued that the opposing party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), 'was impeding deliberations and was insisting on what would likely be devastating modifications' (Romberg 2014). In addition, the KMT administration was worried that modifications required by the Legislative Yuan would lead to renegotiation with the mainland China, which is almost unlikely. However, the DPP and the students held that the KMT administration's negotiation results had compromised Taiwan's benefits in the pact; they were also concerned about national security with the increasingly important role of the mainland China in Taiwan's economy (Romberg 2014).

To call for a full review of the pact by the Legislative Yuan, the protesters and students stormed and occupied Legislative Yuan since March 18. On March 24, some student protesters tried to occupy the Executive Yuan and they were evicted by the police; the eviction caused injuries on the both sides. The protesters continued to occupy the parliament until April 10, after the ruling party agreed to legislate relevant regulations of cross-strait agreements.

For the purpose of this study, the SSM was selected as the event under investigation not only because it is significant in Taiwan's history but also because it satisfies two criteria: the amount of coverage and international attention. First, the SSM lasted a 24-day period, and therefore accumulated sufficient news articles. SSM also meets the second criterion of international attention, because it was the first time the protesters occupied the Legislative Yuan for a long time. Not only local Taiwanese press but also foreign newspapers reported the SSM. Consequently, the abundant data sources allowed this study to examine the ideology of the three newspapers.

3.2 Data Collection

The data were collected in the following procedure. The first step was to select the three target newspapers. The U.S. newspaper, the New York Times (NYT), was selected from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, the top two paid-for dailies in the U.S. according to the Top 50 paid-for dailies in the world in the 2014 World Press Trends Report (Milosevic, Chishlom, Kilman, and Henriksson 2014), because the NYT covers more general topics. There are three Taiwanese newspapers written in English: The China Post, the Taipei Times, and the Focus Taiwan. The Focus Taiwan (FT) was selected because it is the national newspaper that is responsible for disseminating Taiwanese news for international communities (Central News Agency n.d.) and thus contains the least syndicated news regarding the SSM. As for the Taiwanese newspaper written in Chinese, there were four top paid-for dailies in Taiwan: The Apple Daily, the United Daily News, the Liberty Times, and the China Times. The China Times and the United Daily News were regarded as favoring the KMT, whereas Liberty Times was considered favoring the DPP, and the Apple Daily has been considered relatively neutral (Hsiao 2006). In addition, compared with China Times, the UDN has a higher circulation and is considered to be more favorable to the KMT (Hsiao 2006). Therefore, we chose the UDN as we would like to know whether the English-language newspaper published by the national news agency would share similar views with the Chinese-language newspaper that supports the KMT administration.

After newspapers were selected, news articles on three important dates of the SSM were targeted: (1) the first day of the SSM, (2) the day when some students occupied the Executive Yuan, and (3) the last day of the SSM (hereafter Date 1, Date 2, and Date 3). All of the news articles were screened first to exclude syndicated articles. Then, this study searched for news articles with several keywords in both Chinese and English, including 'Sunflower and Taiwan', 'Movement and Taiwan', 'Occupy Parliament', 'Legislative Yuan', and 'Sunflower Student Movement.' After the news articles were targeted, three articles were randomly selected from each of the three important dates. If there were only three articles on that date, all of the three articles were included. In total, 27 articles (nine news articles from each newspaper) were analyzed.

The resulting corpus contained 13,312 words in total and the three sub-corpora: the NYT consisted of 4,343 words, the FT included 2,801 words, and the UDN comprised 6,168 words. The average length of news was 483 words in the NYT, 312 words in the FT, and 685 words in the UDN.

3.3 Data Analysis

Each article was divided into two parts, headlines and main texts for in-depth investigation. Within the usual inverted pyramid structure of news articles, headlines contain the most important and relevant information, and thus 'headlines usually encapsulate the newspapers' ideological values and attitudes' (Teo 2000: 14). As a result, we decided to specifically focus on headlines in addition to main texts.

Specific attention was given to how the news reports represented the actors of

the SSM (i.e., the government, the students, and the police); other parts that were irrelevant to the SSM were omitted for analysis. For example, the last paragraph in NYT-2 describes the background of the cross-strait relations 'Since China and Taiwan split amid civil war in 1949, bringing Taiwan under its sway has been the overreaching goal of Beijing's policy toward the island of 23 million people.' This paragraph was not directly relevant to the SSM and it did not mention any of actors involved in the SSM. As a result, this paragraph was not analyzed.

The units of analysis, following previous literature (Kuo and Nakamura 2005; Feng et al. 2012), included three rhetorical strategies: lexical choices, syntactic choice (voice), and quotations. First, lexical choices were examined because 'the linguistic choices that are made in texts can carry ideological meaning' (Kuo and Nakamura 2005: 393). That is to say, vocabulary can frame news articles positively or negatively (Feng et al. 2012). Following Kuo and Nakamura (2005), this study examined content words, including verbs, nouns, and adjectives, by investigating the frequency of these words and their framing of the actors of the SSM. Adverbs were excluded because very few adverbs were found in the corpus. To confirm the meaning of the words, The Merriam-Webster online dictionary (Merriam-Webster online dictionary n.d.) and the Chinese dictionary edited by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan (Ministry of Education 2015) were referred to for the definition of words. After checking the definition of the words, we also examined how the words were used in the context for further analysis, such as accompanying words and the grammatical voice, because voice may attract readers' attention to the stress laid by newspapers (Fang 1994; Fang 2001; Feng et al. 2012; Kuo and Nakamura 2005; Scollon and Scollon 1997; Teo 2000). Regarding how the actors are constructed and what they do to whom, analyzing grammatical voice may help reveal the stance of newspapers. For example, the contexts where 'occupied' occurred could have different meanings: 'students occupied the Legislature' depicted students' behavior, whereas 'Legislature was first occupied by students and citizens' implied that the occupation was the first time in history and that the focus was on the Legislature, which was framed as a victim. Finally, this study considered the quotation sources because unbalanced proportion of given voice may result from distinct strategies of newspapers (Fang 2001; Feng et al. 2012; Kuo 2007; Kuo and Nakamura 2005; Scollon and Scollon 1997; Teo 2000).

An example of data analysis is illustrated in the appendix. The first step was to separate headlines and texts for analysis. In order to analyze the headlines, this study examined lexical choices, voice, and quotations of them. In terms of analysis of the main text, the first step was to examine the content of every paragraph. The following step was to identify nouns, verbs and adjectives describing students, the police and the government, and to check their definitions in the Merriam-Webster online dictionary and the Chinese MOE dictionary as well as the context of these words. Then, the grammatical voice and quotation sources were identified and counted. A summary of the grammatical voice and quotation sources is listed in Table 1.

Newspapers	NYT	FT	UDN
Active voice			
Date 1	88%	91%	73%
Date 2	93%	73%	82%
Date 3	97%	97%	100%
Total	93%	87%	86%
Quotation			
Date 1	Protesters (2)	Protesters (2)	Protesters (1)
	Government (2)	Government (2)	Government (3)
	Third parties (1)	Third parties (1)	
Date 2	Protesters (2)	Protesters (1)	Protesters (2)
	Government (2)	Government (3)	Government (4)
	Third parties (2)		
Date 3	Protesters (2)	Protesters (1)	Protesters (1)
	Government (2)	Government (1)	Government (3)
	Third parties (1)	Third parties (1)	
Total	Protesters (6)	Protesters (4)	Protesters (4)
	Government (6)	Government (6)	Government (10)
	Third parties (4)	Third parties (2)	

Table 1 Percentage of sentences using active voice and frequencies of quotations

4. Results

In the following sections, results of our analysis will be reported with examples. The news reports were coded as NYT 1-9, FT 1-9, and UDN 1-9.

4.1 Headlines

The analysis of headlines showed differences in the rhetorical strategies that the three newspapers used to represent the actors of the SSM. The NYT tended to report the event from a relatively neutral standpoint, whereas the UDN explicitly framed the government as the victim. On the other hand, the FT implicitly highlighted the confrontation between the student protesters and the government. In what follows, we will first describe how each newspaper wrote their headlines and then compare their stances.

The NYT's headlines merely summarized what happened in the SSM by pointing out 'who', 'what', 'where', and 'why.' Here are the NYT's headlines on Date 1:

[1] Opponents of China trade deal occupy Taiwan's legislature (NYT-1)

[2] China trade pact foes occupy Taiwan legislature (NYT-2)

[3] Taiwan students occupy legislature over China trade deal (NYT-3)

As shown above, the NYT used ‘Taiwan students’, ‘foes’, and ‘opponents’ to describe the actors, ‘occupy legislature’ to describe the action, and ‘China trade deal’ to state the reason. According to the Merriam-Webster’s online dictionary (n.d.), these words did not contain negative meanings. The context of the headlines did not show negative images either. The grammatical subject is the opponents and the object is the Legislature (the place); no words/descriptions other than the occupation were added. The NYT simply described what the opponents had done without mentioning actors in the government.

On date 2, the NYT still attempted to summarize the event:

[4] Anger grows in Taiwan against deal with China (NYT-4)

[5] Taiwan stands behind use of force against protesters (NYT-5)

[6] Taiwanese riot police crack down on protest against trade pact with China (NYT-6)

NYT-4 stated the reasons of the occupation of the Executive Yuan without specifically mentioning the actors and the action. NYT-6 used ‘crack down’, which referred to ‘to take positive regulatory or disciplinary action’, to describe the police’s behavior, and adopted ‘the protest’ instead of ‘protesters’ as the grammatical object to avoid emphasizing the confrontation between the two groups.

Similarly, on Date 3, the NYT merely described the actors and the action:

[7] Students End 24-Day Siege of Taiwan's Parliament (NYT-7)

[8] Students End Occupation of Taiwan's Legislature (NYT-8)

[9] Anti-China protesters leave Taiwan parliament, vow to fight on against pact (NYT-9)

As shown above, both of NYT-7 and NYT-8 used ‘students’, and ‘end siege/occupation’ to describe the actors and the action. Compared with previous headlines, NYT used ‘students’ more often than opponents/protesters, probably because this day was the end of occupation and the reason for the protests no longer existed. Both headlines used active voice where the action ‘occupation’, rather than people, was the grammatical object. Similarly, NYT-9 simply described the protesters’ actions without explicit evaluation. To conclude, it seems that the NYT took a relatively neutral stance; even when depicting the confrontation between the students and the government, the NYT usually avoided mentioning both actors in the headlines and the grammatical objects were usually non-human nouns (e.g., ‘legislature’, ‘protest’, and ‘occupation’). By contrast, the use of language in the UDN showed the newspaper’s apparent favor of the KMT administration, as discussed below.

The UDN’s headlines explicitly favored the KMT administration, the government at the time of the study, by framing the Legislative Yuan as a victim. The following headlines on Date 1 illustrate this:

[10] 學生衝撞 占領立院 The students crashed and occupied the legislature (UDN-1)

[11] 立院全面淪陷 The Legislature was fully fallen (UDN-2)

[12] 立院議場首遭學生、民眾占據 王金平：國會尊嚴須捍衛 The legislature was first occupied by students and citizens. The President of the Legislative Yuan: 'The dignity of the congress should be defended.' (UDN-3)

Unlike the NYT that summarized the event with actors, action and the reason, the UDN did not mention the actors and the reason but simply emphasized the results of occupation. When seeing UDN-2, for example, readers who are unfamiliar with the background of the event may thus blame the protesters who made the legislature 'fully fallen.' While UDN-3 included the actors and the action but it did not state the reason for such action, again creating an impression that protesters should take the blame. In addition, UDN-2 and UDN-3 used the passive sentences where the grammatical subject was the legislature, placing an emphasis on the receiver of the action. Finally, other than summarizing the event, UDN-3 quoted the president of the Legislative Yuan to imply its stance on the role of government to condemn the violence committed by the protesters.

The UDN's stance seemed consistent on Date 2:

[13] 脫序暴力 不應該縱容 The chaotic violence should not be tolerated (UDN-4)

[14] 61人被逮 江揆：盡量從輕究責 Premier: will call lenient liability for 61 people who were arrested as far as possible (UDN-5)

[15] 創憲政難堪紀錄! This set a new record for the embarrassment of constitution! (UDN-6)

Again, the UDN's headlines did not summarize the event; instead, the UDN condemned the protesters, such as UDN-4. UDN-4 used '脫序暴力chaotic violence' to depict the occupation of the Executive Yuan without mentioning the eviction, indicating its attitude toward the SSM. UDN-5 did not mention the eviction either, but quoted the Premier, not only giving voice to the government but also conveying a positive image of the government for its lenity.

The UDN's stance seems consistent on Date 3:

[16] 學生剛離議場 警方火速接管 the police took over the legislature immediately as soon as students left the legislature (UDN-7)

[17] 太陽花24天啟示 Sunflower Student Movement 24-day revelation (UDN-8)

[18] 林飛帆：占國會只是前言 下一章在社會展開 Lin Fei-Fan: Occupation of the legislature is the preface; the next chapter will unfold in society. (UDN-9)

Except for UDN-9, the headlines showed support of the government. The focus of UDN-7 was not that the students ended the occupation but that the police took over the legislature immediately, constructing a positive image of the government's efficiency. UDN-8 used 'revelation', defined as an enlightening disclosure by the Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.). The purpose of the headline seemed to veil the attempt to warn the government that the issues should be handled with care. The headlines of the UDN on the three important dates of the SSM seemed to imply the UDN's being partial to the KMT administration.

The stance of the FT was in between that of the NYT and the UDN along the continuum of the attitude for/against the government; while the FT plainly described the event like the NYT, the FT seemed to favor the government by highlighting the confrontation between protesters and the government:

- [19] Student protesters repel police, hold Legislative chamber (FT-1)
- [20] Students dig in for prolonged occupation of Legislature (FT-2)
- [21] Protesters break police line, storm Legislature (FT-3)

Unlike the NYT, neither FT-1 nor FT-3 mentioned the reason for such action, and the grammatical object was not the legislature, but the police, who represent the government. Therefore, the FT seemed to spotlight the conflicts between the two groups by the presence of the students and the police, implicitly favoring the government.

The FT showed a consistent attitude toward the event on Date 2:

- [22] Premier orders police to evict protesters from Executive Yuan (FT-4)
- [23] 61 arrested during attempted occupation of Executive Yuan (FT-5)
- [24] Protesters to seek charges against premier for police crackdown (FT-6)

As can be seen, the FT's headlines continued to spotlight the strife between the student protesters and the government. For example, FT-4 put the 'premier' in the grammatical subject, the 'police' as the grammatical object, and the 'protesters' as the object complement in this active sentence, to amplify the confrontation among individuals, including students, police, and premier, thus stressing the intensity between government and civilians. While FT-5 omitted the object, readers who saw the headline would intuitively add 'by the police', again obtaining an impression of the protester-government confrontation and a negative image of the occupation. The FT's implicit support of the government can also be seen in the headlines on Date 3:

- [25] Festive rally closes Legislature occupation as protesters head home (FT-7)
- [26] Student-led protesters end occupation of Legislature (FT-8)
- [27] Students to stage one last rally before ending occupation (FT-9)

While the headlines simply described the event like the way the NYT did, FT-7 used the term 'festive rally', implying that this student-led movement was not serious, implicitly creating a negative image of the rally.

To conclude, the NYT was relatively neutral in their headlines, the UDN explicitly showed their favor to the government, and the FT implicitly supported the government by highlighting the conflicts during occupation. The analysis of main texts indicated similar findings, which are reported below.

4.2 Main Texts

In the main text, the three newspapers continued to express their attitudes toward the SSM with various strategies. Below, each newspaper's ideology will be illustrated with examples.

Consistent with the headlines, the NYT seemed to keep a neutral tone by describing the event as plainly as possible. The texts on Date 1 illustrate this

point:

[28] The protesters, including many students from local universities, stormed into the legislature around 9 p.m. Tuesday, holding up banners that accused President Ma Ying-jeou and his allies in the governing Kuomintang party of forcing through the measure without allowing a review of its details. (NYT-1)

[29] Several hundred opponents of a far-reaching trade pact with China occupied Taiwan's legislature late Tuesday, further delaying action on a measure that Beijing strongly favors. (NYT-2)

[30] Hundreds of protesters in Taiwan opposed to a trade pact with China which they fear gives the mainland too much economic influence and access to opportunities have occupied Taiwan's legislature. (NYT-3)

As can be seen, the NYT simply described what happened and the reasons without explicit evaluations. This was consistent on Date 2:

[31] Demonstrators who have occupied Taiwan's legislature since last week expanded their protest of a trade deal with China on Sunday evening by invading the government building nearby that houses the offices of the prime minister. (NYT-4)

[32] At least 174 people, including 119 police officers, were wounded as the police wielded wooden clubs and later used water trucks to block the growing protest. (NYT-5)

[33] The crackdown came five days after mainly student demonstrators occupied the nearby legislature to protest the ruling party's decision to renege on a promised line-by-line review of the trade agreement. (NYT-6)

As shown above, the NYT again avoided explicit evaluations during the eviction, and tried to report what happened during the event. The only exception was the news on Date 3, where the NYT used 'unprecedented' and 'dramatic' to depict the end:

[34] Students ended their unprecedented, 24-day occupation of Taiwan's Parliament late Thursday after receiving assurances that a Chinese trade pact they see as imperiling the island's autonomy would undergo legislative review. (NYT-7)

[35] Their departure concludes the most dramatic confrontation over ratification of the agreement on trade in services. (NYT-8)

The two adjectives, however, were mainly used to describe the nature of the event, rather than to comment on the protesters' behavior. In other words, the NYT seemed to keep itself away from being partisan as it avoided commenting on SSM.

The other two rhetorical strategies also helped the NYT construct a neutral tone. In terms of grammatical voice, 93% of the sentences were in active voice in all of the selected the NYT news (Table 1). The NYT used active voice to describe the occupation by placing the students as the grammatical subject and the legislature as the grammatical object instead of the police. It seems that the NYT avoided emphasizing the confrontation between the protesters and the police. Furthermore, the NYT adopted quotations of three parties in the news on all of the three dates, including the protesters, the government, and a third party (Table 1). The NYT appeared to keep its balance on stance while reporting the occupation.

Unlike the NYT, the stance of the UDN seemed to explicitly favor the government. Compared with zero sentences in the NYT, The UDN used 11 sentences to detail the damage made by protesters and the police's injuries on Date 1, as shown in the following extracts:

[36]

上千人齊聚立法院議場內、外，議場玻璃門被打破、鐵門被卸下、國旗遭倒掛，連立法院牌匾也被拆下，形同全面淪陷。Thousands of people gathered inside and outside the Legislature. The glass doors were broken, the iron gate was torn down, the national flag was hung upside down, and the plaque of the Legislature was removed, as if the Legislature was fully fallen. (UDN-2)

[37]

晚間九點，民間團體突破立法院濟南路「康園」側門的警力，衝入立法院，過程中與立院駐衛警發生激烈衝突；抗議民眾並打破玻璃門，闖入議場。At 9 pm, the protesters broke the police line of the side entrance of the Legislature on Jinan Road, stormed into the Legislature, and had fierce confrontation with the police during the occupation; the protesters broke the glass doors and burst into the Legislature. (UDN-3)

As shown above, the UDN seemed to provide its readers with a negative impression by detailing the damage made by the protesters. Similarly, on Date 2, the UDN not only pictured the turbulent chaos and the damaged property in the Executive Yuan but also justified the eviction, as illustrated below:

[38]

行政院是最高公務機關，不容一日停擺，即使抗爭有理，亦不宜在此霸占，警方寬容至最後，零晨展開驅離，以維公務正常運作，這是正確的公權力展示。The Executive Yuan is the highest administrative institution; it cannot stop running. Even if the protest is justifiable, occupation of the Executive Yuan is not. The police had borne with the students until midnight; they evicted the students in order to ensure that the Executive Yuan can function as usual. The eviction is the legitimate demonstration of public authority. (UDN-4)

[39]

另一部分學生在行政院內「四處流竄」，占領其餘大樓，進入後逐層敲門破壞門鎖，打破窗戶，翻箱倒櫃，不時與警方發生推擠，占領行政院。Another group of students 'hither fled around' the Executive Yuan, occupied the buildings, destroyed door locks, broke windows, ransacked boxes and chests, and pushed past the police from time to time, occupying the Executive Yuan. (UDN-6)

Different from the NYT, the UDN focused on the damage made by the protesters in UDN-6, and even condemned the protesters and justified the eviction in UDN-4. Such descriptions and comments were absent in the NYT news. However, on Date 3, the UDN's supports for the government went implicit and the UDN gave more voice to the protesters. For example, UDN-9 mainly quoted two student leaders' speech on the night before the day they left the legislature. UDN-8 analyzed the event by commenting on the government:

[40]

不過，學生攻占立院是偶然，馬政府強推服貿招致反彈卻是必然。However, while students' occupation of the Legislature was accidental, that the

government's passing the pact with force led to resistance was inevitable. (UDN-8)

As can be seen, UDN-8 commented on the event by warning that the government's measure could be problematic. The change of the UDN's attitude could possibly be attributed to the end of the event. As the movement had come to an end, the UDN no longer needed to condemn the students; it was time to analyze why the government's policy caused the SSM. Overall, the UDN explicitly favored the government, except for UDN-8 and UDN-9 on the last day.

The grammatical voice and quotations used by the UDN suggested similar findings (Table 1). Regarding grammatical voice, more passive voice appeared in the UDN compared to the few occurrences in the NYT. The UDN seemed to frame Taiwan's Legislature as a victim by placing it as the grammatical subject in the passive structure, such as '立法院遭占領The Legislative Yuan was occupied.' However, no passive voice was used in the news on Date 3, as picturing the government as a victim was no longer needed. In addition, the UDN adopted more comments from the government than from the protesters except for the last day. Overall, the unbalanced quotation sources and the voice used both suggested the UDN's alignment with the government.

The FT's stance was interesting as it was somewhat wavering between the stance of the NYT and that of the UDN. While the FT's writing style was similar to that of the NYT, the FT seemed to implicitly favor the government by focusing on the confrontation between the police and the students:

[41] Hundreds of students opposing a trade pact with China repelled police who tried in two half-hearted attempts early Wednesday to dislodge them from the Legislative chamber the youths have occupied since late Tuesday. (FT-1)

[42] Police tried to evict the occupants from the building but were outnumbered by the protesting students, who threw sleeping bags to those on the first floor. (FT-2)

As can be seen, while FT-1, like the NYT, plainly described the occupation and the reasons, FT-1 added more descriptions about the confrontation (i.e. 'repelled police who tried in two half-hearted attempts....'). Similarly, FT-2 described the police's failed attempt by describing how students fought back (i.e. 'who threw sleeping bags to those....'). By using these descriptions, the FT seemed to create a negative image of the student protesters, as the UDN did. The attitude was consistent on Date 2:

[43] Unlike in the previous case, riot police were dispatched to evict the intruders this time, and by 5 a.m. Monday, the Executive Yuan was cleared of protesters. (FT-5)

[44] Offices were vandalized and littered with bottles, cigarette butts and other rubbish. Computers were smashed, and walls were painted with graffiti. (FT-6)

Again, FT-5 seemed to plainly describe the police' eviction, but used 'intruders' to describe protesters, implying that this occupation was illegal. Similarly, the FT 1-6 contained one to three sentences that described the damage, implicitly favoring the government, as shown in FT-6. Moreover, the FT used 'activists', a discourse prosody that has also been found in Brindle

(2015), to describe students who occupied the Executive Yuan:

[45] The latest action by the protesters was said to be initiated by several activists who were part of the 'Occupy Taiwan Legislature' movement. [FT-5]

It seems that the FT also condemned students' action, though not as explicitly as the UDN. Similar findings were found on Date 3:

[46] Tens of thousands of high-spirited protesters began dispersing as a festive rally outside the Legislature complex Thursday night marked an end to the student-led protest over the trade-in-services pact with China. (FT-7)

[47] Student protesters began exiting the Legislature Thursday after 6 p.m., bringing to an end their 24-day-long occupation of the lawmaking body that they took up to show opposition to how the trade-in-services pact with China was handled. (FT-8)

As can be seen, the FT attempted to keep a neutral tone like the NYT. However, the phrase 'festive rally' in FT-7 implied the perceived flippancy of the rally.

The grammatical voice and the quotations used in the FT also revealed similar results (Table 1). Except for the reports on Date 2, most of the FT reports were in active voice, just as the NYT reports. However, the FT seemed to implicitly favor the government by highlighting the conflict between the students and the police, by placing the students as the subject and the police as the object, such as 'Members ... broke a glass door while scuffling with police' in FT-3; such usage was not found in the NYT news. Finally, on Date 1 and Date 3, the FT adopted quotations from the protesters, the government, and a third party. However, on Date 2, the FT quoted the government three times more than the protesters, implicitly giving more voice to the government. It appears that the FT was not as neutral as the NYT, but it was neither as partisan as the UDN. Its stance was somewhat in between.

5. Discussion

This study has examined how the three newspapers portrayed the SSM by scrutinizing lexical devices, grammatical voice, and quotations. The results showed that the three newspapers had different ideologies: the NYT attempted to be neutral, the UDN showed explicit favor for the government, and the FT was somewhat in between by implicitly favoring the government. The finding supports Teo (2000) that the use of words in newspapers has ideological implications and that newspapers tend to use various rhetorical strategies to express their stances.

The results of this study were in line with Brindle (2015), who compared two Taiwanese English-language newspapers with different stances and found contrastive language use. Like the China Post, the pro-government newspaper examined in Brindle (2015), the FT, being the English-language newspaper of the national news agency, implicitly supported the government by using sentences to describe the students' violent acts and 'activists' to term the protesters. Similarly, the UDN, being a pro-KMT newspaper, used more explicit language and quotations from the government to show its support.

However, this study was inconsistent with previous ones comparing the U.S. and mainland Chinese newspapers. For instance, while Feng et al. (2012) revealed that the mainland Chinese newspaper used positive phrases to frame the mainland Chinese government whereas the U.S. newspaper portrayed the government as untrustworthy in reports of a baby formula scandal, this study did not find that the NYT framed the Taiwanese government negatively.

How the three newspapers framed the event might be influenced by their stances toward the Taiwanese government. As mentioned before, Taiwan and the U.S. both endorse democracy and support capitalism. Therefore, the NYT appeared to report the news from a relatively detached standpoint. By contrast, the UDN has been found to support the KMT and its main readership was also more sympathetic towards mainland China than that of other newspapers (Hsiao 2006). It was thus not surprising that the UDN negatively framed the student protesters and depicted the legislature as the victim of the event. On the other hand, while the FT was similar to the NYT in quoting a balanced view and plainly described the event, several phrases and sentences in the FT appeared to shape the student protesters negatively by pointing out the violence in their conflicts. The FT, as the newspaper of the national news agency, shoulders the responsibility for disseminating Taiwanese news to international communities (CNA n.d.). As a result, the FT probably had to represent itself as an impartial news agency by reporting news objectively, but it also had concerns with the image of the Taiwanese government. By using a few sentences that highlighted the conflict between the students and the police, the FT implicitly showed its stance favoring the Taiwanese government.

The findings of this study, however, have to be interpreted with care. First, as only one U.S. newspaper was selected, the findings cannot be generalized to the U.S. press more widely; in addition, the number of articles analyzed was small and thus this study could not provide generalizable conclusions. Second, this study only conducted discourse analysis without investigating journalists' rationale for their language use. In-depth analyses are thus needed to include interviews with journalists to understand their motives for linguistic choices in writing news reports.

To conclude, research on comparison of news across languages/nationalities is still sparse. This study endeavored to draw more research attention to the journalistic field by comparing three newspapers written in two languages/nationalities; more research is needed for cross-language analysis. Future research can include comparisons of English-language news articles between native English speakers and non-native English speaking speakers, such as Korean, Spanish or German writers, in order to examine the extent to which different ways of reporting is attributed to ideologies, writing style, or English writing proficiency. There may be interesting findings and implications in such analysis.

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Appendix

NYT-2

Headline

China Trade Pact Foes Occupy Taiwan Legislature	noun	foes
	verb	occupy
	adjective	X
	voice	active voice
	quotation	X

Main text

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Several hundred opponents of a far-reaching trade pact with China occupied Taiwan's legislature late Tuesday, further delaying action on a measure that Beijing strongly favors.	noun	opponents
	verb	occupied
	adjective	X
	voice	active voice
	quotation	X
The protesters burst into the legislative chamber around 9 p.m. and shortly after midnight repulsed a police effort to evict them. There were no reported injuries or arrests in the confrontation.	noun	protesters
	verb	burst into; repulsed; evict
	adjective	X
	voice	active voice
	quotation	X
The trade agreement would allow Taiwanese and Chinese service sector companies — in businesses ranging from insurance to beauty parlors — to set up branches or shops in the other's territory. Opponents say the deal would cost tens of thousands of Taiwanese jobs and help China move forward with its longstanding goal of bringing democratic Taiwan under its control.	noun	opponents
	verb	say
	adjective	X
	voice	active voice
	quotation	opponents say
The protesters' action followed a decision by lawmakers from the ruling Nationalist Party to renege on a promise to undertake a clause-by-clause review of the pact.	noun	protesters
	verb	followed
	adjective	X
	voice	active voice
	quotation	X
The trade agreement was signed by the sides last June but delaying tactics by the	noun	This paragraph was not specifically analyzed because it did not report either students

<p>opposition Democratic Progressive Party and President Ma Ying-jeou's continuing spat with the legislative speaker, who is a member of his own party, have so far delayed its ratification. The Nationalists control 65 seats in the 113-seat legislature so the bill's final ratification seems a foregone conclusion.</p>	verb	or police.
	adjective	
	voice	
	quotation	
<p>China has repeatedly pressed Taiwan to enact the measure, seeing it as an important milestone in the process of economic integration between the sides that began in earnest in 2008 when the China-friendly Ma took over from his DPP predecessor.</p>	noun	This paragraph was not specifically analyzed because it did not report either students or police.
	verb	
	adjective	
	voice	
	quotation	
<p>Since China and Taiwan split amid civil war in 1949, bringing Taiwan under its sway has been the overreaching goal of Beijing's policy toward the island of 23 million people.</p>	noun	This paragraph was not specifically analyzed because it did not report either students or police.
	verb	
	adjective	
	voice	
	quotation	