

國立台灣師範大學英語學系

碩 士 論 文

Master Thesis

Graduate Institute of English

National Taiwan Normal University

語言與政治立場：臺灣電視新聞之分析

Language and Political Stances: An Analysis of the
Taiwanese Television News

指 導 教 授：蘇 席 瑤

Advisor: Dr. Hsi-yao Su

研 究 生：蔡 貴 如

Student: Kuei-ju Tsai

中華民國九十七年八月

August, 2008

摘要

本研究探討媒體報導中語言與政治立場之關係。以臺灣電視新聞為例，我們分析了東森新聞、民視新聞、三立新聞及中天新聞所報導的政治新聞。採用方法包括量化的內容分析(content analysis)及以語言為重的批判言談分析(critical discourse analysis)，並將此兩分析方法所得之成果用於驗證范·迪克(van Dijk)於1998年所提出之意識型態方陣(ideological square)。我們以內容分析量化研究2007年4月15日到5月9日間，四家新聞台總共100集的新聞節目。並從中選出三則重大政治新聞，以批判言談分析作為個案研究。分析結果一致顯示不管在報導數量或報導語言方面，東森及中天皆傾向國民黨，而民視與三立則傾向民進黨。

在內容分析中，我們發現新聞台對於政治新聞的處理深受其意識型態及政治立場所影響，而這些影響反映在新聞則數、新聞長度及新聞排序上。也就是說，新聞台對於所喜愛的政黨會給予其較多且較長的報導，並且這些報導會安排在節目一開始做為重點新聞，來凸顯其重要性。相反地，對於敵對的政黨，新聞台則給予較少且偏短的報導，並將其排序在節目後段。

在批判言談分析中，我們分析了新聞報導語言中的宏觀以及微觀結構。在新聞的宏觀分析中，我們驗證了新聞台在呈現報導一個新聞事件時所提出的各項資訊，並非隨機出現，而是依據意識型態方陣經過縝密的安排。因此，對我們有利或對他們不利之資訊會獲得傳播，相反地，對我們不利而對他們有利之資訊則會受到相對的封鎖。不只宏觀架構如此，微觀的運用亦如是。根據我們對於新聞報導中語言銜接之分析，我們也發現了不論是連接詞(conjunction)或是字彙銜接(lexical cohesion)，皆被媒體人操弄用來建構一個符合他們意識型態及政治立場的報導。

因此，本研究證實了不論是在報導數量上或是報導語言上，一個新聞台的政

治立場皆顯著地影響了其政治新聞，亦即驗證了范·迪克之意識型態方陣：對自己有利而對他人不利之訊息會被呈現，相對應的是對自己不利而對他人有利之訊息會被壓抑。

ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate the relations between language and political stances in the press. Four TV news stations in Taiwan were selected: ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News. Both quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis were conducted to testify the ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998). A total of 100 programs, from April 15 to May 9, 2007, were videotaped and quantitatively measured using content analysis. Three political events were further under critical discourse analysis as case studies. Results of the analyses revealed that ETTV News and CTi News were prone to the KMT, while FTV News and SET News were prone to the DPP.

In the content analysis, it is found that a station's political inclination biases its arrangement of political news in terms of news item, news duration, and news appearing order. Therefore, events congruent with the stations' stances receive more reports of longer duration and appear earlier in a program. Contrarily, events that go against the stations' ideologies receive fewer and more sketchy reports which come later in a program.

In the critical discourse analysis, both macro- and micro-structures of the reports were examined. The analysis of news schema has manifested that the presentation of information by news stations is not random, but tactically organized according to the ideological square. Hence, information positive about us or negative about them would be expressed, while information positive about them or negative about us is suppressed. In the micro-analysis, it is shown that cohesive devices, including conjunction and lexical cohesion, are also manipulated by journalists to construct a world that best serves their ideologies and political stances.

In sum, the study has demonstrated that preferred stances and ideologies are

advocated by news stations in terms of quantity of news coverage as well as language of news reporting, whereas unwelcome stances and ideologies are suppressed both quantitatively and linguistically.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It takes more than one man's effort to complete this thesis. With gratitude and pleasure, I would like to acknowledge many generous people's assistance and support.

First and foremost, I want to thank my advisor, Dr. Hsi-yao Su, for her expertise, inspiration, and patience. Her understanding and encouragement led me through all the troubled time in the last year. This paper would not have been possible without her generous guidance. My gratitude also goes to the committee members, Dr. Tammy Miao-Shia Chang and Dr. Sai-hua Kuo, for their insightful comments and valuable suggestions undoubtedly aided me in improving my thesis. I also want to express my gratitude to all the professors who have instructed me throughout my student years at the Department of English, National Taiwan Normal University. It is due to their tireless instructions and enthusiasm that I come to appreciate the beauty and profundities of linguistics.

Also I would like to thank all my classmates—Angeline, Cindy, Claire, Harvey, Kyle, Laney, Mike and Natasha—not only for the cheerful and precious moments that we have shared, but also for their readiness to help. These brilliant young linguists have truly lighted up my graduate life. In addition, special thanks go to my supportive roommate, Jill, who has lived a joyful dorm life with me in the past two years.

I am definitely indebted to my beloved family. Their unconditional encouragement and warmth, as well as their trust, offer me the strength to move on. Last, I am heartily grateful to my boyfriend, Matt Ho, who not only stood beside me throughout the whole writing process, but, more importantly, gently tolerated my temper in my time of distress.

Thank you all. It is you that make this thesis possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHINESE ABSTRACT.....	I
ENGLISH ABSTRACT.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VII
LIST OF TABLES.....	IX
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XI
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Motivation.....	1
1.2 Ideology.....	2
1.3 Political Environment in Taiwan.....	3
1.4 Scope and Goal.....	4
1.5 Organization of the Present Study.....	6
CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Content Analysis.....	7
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	11
2.2.1 Theoretical Background.....	11
2.2.1.1 Flower and His Colleagues.....	11
2.2.1.2 Fairclough.....	15
2.2.1.3 van Dijk.....	18
2.2.1.4 A Summary of Critical Discourse Analysis.....	23
2.2.2 Empirical Studies.....	24
CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY.....	31
3.1 Data Collection.....	31
3.2 TV News.....	33
3.3 Data Analysis.....	34
3.3.1 Content Analysis.....	34
3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	36
3.3.3 A Sample Construction of Macrostructure.....	36
CHAPTER FOUR CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	41
4.1 Political News in a TV News Program.....	41
4.2 Content Analysis of Political News.....	43

4.2.1 Analysis of News Item.....	43
4.2.2 Analysis of News Duration.....	45
4.2.3 Analysis of News Appearing Order.....	48
4.3 Results and Discussion.....	51
CHAPTER FIVE CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: CASE STUDIES.....	53
5.1 Background.....	53
5.1.1 Ma Ying-jeou's Special Expenses Indictment.....	53
5.1.2 The DPP Joint Conference.....	54
5.1.3 Taiwan's Rejection of the Beijing Olympic Torch Relay.....	54
5.2 Ideological Square.....	55
5.3 Content Analysis.....	56
5.4 Critical Discourse Analysis: Macrostructure.....	60
5.4.1 Analysis of Ma Ying-jeou's Special Expenses Indictment.....	60
5.4.2 Analysis of the DPP Joint Conference.....	67
5.4.3 Analysis of Taiwan's Rejection of the Beijing Olympic Torch Relay...	75
5.4.4 Discussion on Macrostructure.....	83
5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis: Microstructure.....	87
5.6 Results and Discussion.....	102
CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION.....	105
6.1 Summary and Implications.....	105
6.2 Limitations of the Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research.....	108
REFERENCES.....	109
APPENDIX A Full content of the FTV News report on Ma's special expenses indictment.....	117
APPENDIX B Political Headline Stories in ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	121

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3-1. Ranking of the 10 most viewed TV stations in Taiwan (adapted from Table 3-4-5 in Chi and Tsai 2005).....	31
Table 3-2. Ranking of the 4 most viewed TV news stations in the four areas of Taiwan (adapted from Table 3-4-10 in Chi and Tsai 2005).....	32
Table 4-1. News items and news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	41
Table 4-2. Political news items and political news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	42
Table 4-3. Political news items per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	43
Table 4-4. Percentage of political news items of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	44
Table 4-5. Political news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	46
Table 4-6. Percentage of political news duration of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	46
Table 4-7. D/K ratio of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	47
Table 4-8. Frequency of political headline stories in ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	49
Table 4-9. Categorization of top five stories of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.....	50
Table 5-1 Reports about Ma's special expenses indictment by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 17, 2007.....	57
Table 5-2. Reports about the DPP joint conference by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on May 7, 2007.....	57
Table 5-3. Reports about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 26, 2007.....	58
Table 5-4. Reports about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 27, 2007.....	59

Table 5-5. Headlines of the reports about Ma Ying-jeou's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007.....	61
Table 5-6. Headlines of the reports about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007.....	68
Table 5-7. Headlines of the reports about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007.....	76

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2-1. A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event (Fairclough 1995:59).....	16
Figure 2-2. Hypothetical structure of a news schema (van Dijk 1988:55).....	20
Figure 3-1. Categorization of political news in the present study.....	35
Figure 5-1. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007.....	62
Figure 5-2. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007.....	63
Figure 5-3. The schematic structure of the SET News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007.....	64
Figure 5-4. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007.....	65
Figure 5-5. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about The DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007.....	70
Figure 5-6. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007.....	71
Figure 5-7. The schematic structure of the SET News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007.....	72
Figure 5-8. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007.....	73
Figure 5-9. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007.....	78
Figure 5-10. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007.....	79
Figure 5-11. The schematic structure of the SET News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007.....	80
Figure 5-12. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007.....	81

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation

A news report is perceived by laymen and assumed by journalists to be objective and unbiased. It is to reproduce the one and the only truth, functioning as a source of information for the public. Yet, as a social institution and an economic entity, the press is by no means independent and impartial. Rather, it is influenced and impeded by various forces, for example, the search for advertising revenue, the favor of a party or an ism over another, or the prevailing socio-cultural atmosphere (Bell 1991, Fairclough 1995, Fowler 1991, Herman and Chomsky 1988, van Dijk 1988).

In the process of making news, news organizations construct ‘reality’ in a manner congruent with their underlying ideologies and interests. The press has taken over the ideology formation role of the family, the Church, and the school in contemporary information societies. It ‘not only influences what we think about, and not only what we form opinions about, but also among which opinions we must choose’ (van Dijk 1991:241). It is through language that their ideologies are realized and presented to the public. Therefore, news language is never value-free, but ideologically-laden (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979, van Dijk 1988, 1991).

Yet, without direct access to news events and alternative sources of information, few ever question or even challenge what has been presented in news. Hence, approaches like content analysis and critical discourse analysis are designated to expose the possible media bias to the public through a quantitative measurement of news coverage and a critical examination of news language. The present study investigates the relations between language and ideology in Taiwan TV news stations

adopting both quantitative content analysis and linguistics-oriented critical discourse analysis.

1.2 Ideology

Various definitions and positions of ideology have been identified in the literature. In the present study, ideology is not taken as dominant ideology and false consciousness, which involves distortion in the service of power, as discussed in the Marxist tradition; nor is it taken as hegemony through which the working class comes to identify with the bourgeois' values and thus develop a consensus culture.

Rather here ideology is perceived to be 'a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view' (Kress and Hodge 1979:6), which leads people to make sense of the world in a goal-directed and interest-related way. Thus, ideology is not limited as an instrument of domination, for 'there are also ideologies of opposition or resistance, or ideologies of competition between equally powerful groups, or ideologies that only promote the internal cohesion of a group, or ideologies about the survival of humankind (van Dijk 1998:11).'

As cognitive phenomena, ideologies are nevertheless social systems shared by social members. They are dynamic instead of static, that is, they can be acquired, used, and, most of all, changed in social situations. Ideologies operate alongside and inside the material, political, and institutional environments (Blommaert 2005). It is through language, as well as other practices, that ideologies become observable.

The present study observes the underlying ideologies of TV news stations in Taiwan through their language. To be more specific, it aims to determine how their political stances influence related political reports in terms of the amount of news stories and linguistic structures of news reporting.

1.3 Political Environment in Taiwan

The long-term tension between Taiwan and China since 1949 has given rise to two conflicting ideologies and powers in Taiwan. One is pro-unification, led by the Kuomintang (KMT, the Chinese Nationalist Party), which forms the pan-blue coalition with the People First Party and the New Party. The other is pro-independence, represented by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and together with the Taiwan Solidarity Union, they comprise the pan-green coalition.

The KMT established its regime over Taiwan from the end of World War II in 1949. In the first ever direct elections for the 9th-term President and Vice President in 1996, incumbent President Lee Teng-hui and Vice President Lien Chan of the ruling KMT won a majority of 54% of the votes.¹

However, in the following 2000 election, DPP Chen Shui-bian beat KMT nominee Lien Chan, and the popular independent candidate, James Soong, which put an end to half a century of KMT rule on Taiwan. It is commonly believed that the split of the KMT between Lien and Soong, as well as the secret support from former President Lee, contributed to Chen's unexpected victory. In the aftermath, Soong announced the formation of the People First Party (PFP), which belonged to the pan-blue coalition, while Lee formed the pro-independence Taiwan Solidarity Union and cooperated with the DPP.

In the subsequent 2004 election, incumbent President Chen Shui-bian and Vice President Annette Lu of the DPP were re-elected by a margin of 0.22% of valid votes over a combined opposition ticket of KMT Chair Lien Chan and PFP Chair James Soong. Lien and Soong refused to concede, but the challenges turned out to be unsuccessful.

¹ The election information mentioned in the section is based on the database of Central Election Commission.

During the time of data collection, i.e. 2007, the DPP was the ruling party, whereas the KMT remained the biggest opposition party. For the 2008 presidential election to come, the two parties had numerous disputes and reconciliations both within and between them, making this period an opportune moment to study news organizations' political stances hidden in supposedly neutral reports. The KMT ticket of Ma Ying-jeou and Vincent Siew was officially formed in June, 2007. Later in August, 2007, Frank Hsieh of the DPP chose Su Tseng-chang as his running mate. On March 22, 2008, the Ma-Siew ticket, with 58.45% of the popular vote, won landslide victory over the Hsieh-Su ticket, bringing the KMT back to power in Taiwan.

1.4 Scope and Goal

The goal of the present study is to reveal the relations between news language and political stances in the Taiwanese press. Four most popular TV news stations were selected, i.e. Eastern Television (ETTV, 東森電視), Formosa Television (FTV, 民視), Sanlih Entertainment Television (SET, 三立電視), and Chung T'ien Television (CTi TV, 中天電視). The midnight programs were videotaped for a span of 25 days, from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007.

ETTV was established in 1990, and later developed into the Eastern Multimedia Group, which runs a total of eight TV stations and also sets foot in internet, newspaper, and radio broadcast. From 2002, ETTV began its overseas broadcasting, and its service areas cover America, South East Asia, Australia and New Zealand, Hong Kong and Macao.

FTV, established in 1996 in Kaohsiung, is the fourth wireless TV station in Taiwan, and the only privately-owned one among the five. It was founded by Trong-rong Chai, a party member of the DPP, and thus was wholly operated by the DPP. To live up to the DPP's perspective, FTV is also the first station to use

Taiwanese in a majority of its programs.

SET rose as a local station in Kaohsiung in 1990, but was later relocated to Taipei. After the 2000 presidential election, it produced a soap opera based on the romance between then President Chen Shui-bian and then First Lady Wu Shu-chen, which attracted high audience ratings.

CTi TV was founded in 1994 by a Hong Kong businessman. Due to financial difficulty, it later merged into the China Times group, which also owns China Television. The China Times group is widely considered to be pan-blue. Some even suggest that CTi TV is especially prone to Communist Party of China, instead of the KMT in Taiwan.

To determine how the stations' underlying political inclinations, either pan-blue or pan-green, influence the relevant news reports, two approaches are adopted in the study. To begin with, a quantitative content analysis is employed. Stories dedicated to the DPP and those to the KMT are measured and compared in terms of the number of news items, the accumulated news duration, and the news appearing orders.

The other approach is critical discourse analysis. Reports on three political events are selected as case studies. Both macrostructures and more local linguistic strategies are analyzed to verify the influence of the ideological square (van Dijk 1998) on news reports.

To sum up, the present study aims to answer the following three research questions:

First, according to content analysis, how do the four news stations differ in their coverage of political events? Do their reports dedicated to the DPP and the KMT differ in terms of the number of news items, the accumulated news duration, and the news appearing orders in the rundown? What does the quantitative data tell us about the news stations' political stances?

Second, according to critical discourse analysis, how do the four news stations differ in their news language? Do their reports on the three political events differ in terms of macro- and micro-structure? Does their language conform to the ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998)?

Third, how do the results of content analysis and those of critical discourse analysis correspond to each other? What do the two analyses tell us about the relations between political stances and coverage language in the press?

1.5 Organization of the Present Study

The organization of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 begins with an introduction of content analysis, and then elaborates the theoretical background and empirical studies of critical discourse analysis. Chapter 3 states the procedures of data collection and two analyses conducted in the present study: content analysis of news coverage, and critical discourse analysis of news language. In Chapter 4, content analysis is employed to measure the news stations' political news in terms of news item, news duration, and news appearing order. The prominence of the DPP and the KMT in the news reveals the stations' political preferences. Chapter 5 presents a critical discourse analysis of the news language in three political events. Both macro- and micro-structures of the news stories are under critical examination to disclose the stations' political stances. The reciprocal influences between language and political stances further verify the ideological square by van Dijk. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the major findings of the present study by addressing the relations between language and ideology in the press, discussing limitations of the thesis, and putting forth suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter reviews relevant literature. Section 2.1 introduces the content analysis approach and relevant media studies in Taiwan. Section 2.2 focuses on critical discourse analysis and its precursor, critical linguistic. The theoretical background is first presented in Section 2.2.1, followed by empirical studies in Section 2.2.2.

2.1 Content Analysis

News is often viewed as a source of information, and a reproduction of reality. However, as a social product, it is not a faithful copy of the world, but an interpreted reconstruction of discourses. News is not pre-existing but manufactured. What event is qualified as a news story is determined by a set of ideologically-driven news value criteria, and the formation process includes selection, representation, and, most importantly, transformation (Fairclough 1995, Fowler 1991, Herman and Chomsky 1988, van Dijk 1988). Therefore, a news report is anything but neutral, with ideologies imprinted in its language (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979, van Dijk 1988, 1991).

To disclose the media bias, content analysis is extensively used in media studies (D'Alessio and Allen 2000). It is 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications' (Berelson 1952:74). It codes texts and breaks them down into a number of discrete and manageable categories. The frequencies are counted and interpreted as meaningful information.

With the help of content analysis, Chen and Chen (1992) found that after the

liberation of journalism in Taiwan in 1988, reports about the 1989 legislative election were much more balanced than before. Reports about the KMT candidates accounted for 35.3%, and those about the DPP candidates rose to 21.7%. Nevertheless, reports in the *United Daily News*, the *Central Daily*, and the *Taiwan News* were highly positive about the KMT, but negative about the DPP. On the contrary, the *Capital Daily* and the *Independent Morning* spoke well of the DPP, but ill of the KMT. The *China Times* and the *Taiwan Times* gave positive and more neutral reports to both parties without obvious partisanship.

On the 2000 presidential election, Lo and Huang (2001) compared campaign reporting in state-owned newspapers and that in privately-owned newspapers. After the content analysis of news sources, amounts of news stories, and overall party images, the research showed that state-owned newspapers unanimously supported then ruling KMT, while privately-owned newspapers showed diversities. The *Liberty Times* supported the KMT Lien-Siew and the DPP Chen-Lu tickets, but disliked the Soong-Chang ticket. In contrast, the *United Daily News* sided with the Soong-Chang ticket, but disapproved of the Chen-Lu ticket. The *China Times* seemed to be more balanced than the other three. A similar pattern was drawn in Yeh (2001) as well.

Also on the 2000 election, Chen (2001) found that the amount of attack news on hopefuls significantly increased with the approach of the election. And the negative coverage of candidates, especially by newspapers that held opposite stances, had negative effects on their approval ratings. Thus, the attack news on Lien and Soong from the *Liberty Times* was threatening to their polls, while Chen suffered popularity loss from negative reports in the *United Daily News*.

Following Lo and Huang (2001), Lo et al. (2007) identified structural bias in newspapers coverage of the 2004 presidential election. That is, incumbent President Chen received far more reports than candidates of the opposition party. In addition,

partisan bias was found in the *Liberty Times*, which was in favor of the DPP Chen-Lu ticket, but in opposition to the KMT Lien-Soong ticket. A similar political inclination was drawn up in the *Apple Daily*, whereas the *China Times* showed its support for the Lien-Soong ticket. The *United Daily News* was considered to be more neutral among the four.

With regard to the most recent 2008 presidential election, Li (2008) examined both newspapers and news stations in Taiwan. The content analysis showed that the *United Daily News* and the *Apple Daily* assigned more positive reports to the KMT Ma-Siew ticket, but more negative reports to the DPP Hsieh-Su ticket. Yet the *Liberty Times* preferred the Hsieh-Su ticket to the Ma-Siew ticket. As for the news stations, reports in the *Formosa Television* and the *Sanlih Television* advantaged the Hsieh-Su ticket but disadvantaged the Ma-Siew. On the other hand, the *China Television Company*, the *Public Television Service*, and TVBS-N favored the Ma-Siew ticket, though no significant bias was detected in reports on the Hsieh-Su ticket.

The study concluded that the *United Daily News*, the *Liberty Times*, the *Apple Daily*, the *Formosa Television* and the *Sanlih Television* showed stronger political biases than the *China Television Company*, the *Public Television Service*, and TVBS-N. Among them, the *Liberty Times*, the *Formosa Television* and the *Sanlih Television* were pro-DPP, whereas the *United Daily News*, the *Apple Daily*, the *China Television Company*, the *Public Television Service*, and TVBS-N were pro-KMT.

In addition to campaign reporting, content analysis is often applied with frame analysis to studies on political controversies. For example, concerning the 319 shooting in 2004, in which incumbent President Chen Shui-bian and Vice-President Annette Lu of the DPP were both shot while campaigning in Tainan, Chang (2006) found that the *China Times*, the *United Daily News*, and the *Apple Daily* quoted mainly from the pan-blue coalition, while the *Liberty Times* preferred statements by

the law enforcement agency.

Kochurova (2008) analyzed how newspapers in Mainland China and in Taiwan report former President Lee Teng-hui's visit to Japan in 2007. During the trip, Lee paid a tribute at the Yasukuni Shrine, where Japan honors her soldiers killed during World War Two, to commemorate his brother who was killed while serving in the Japanese army. The tribute angered the China's press, and Lee was described as a betrayer and a problem-maker in the news. Content analysis showed the visit received more attention in Taiwan than in China. In addition to the betrayer and problem-maker frames, the Taiwanese press brought out nostalgia and humanitarian as motives for Lee's visit. Yet, the *China Times* was comparatively harsh and critical toward Lee, while the *Liberty Times* reports were more positive and tolerant.

Also on Lee Teng-hui, Chien (2002) researched how his images were presented and changed in the *United Daily News* and the *Liberty Times* from January, 1988 to December, 2001. It was found that both focused mainly on political subjects and political images. For the *United Daily News*, most straight news remained positive toward Lee, but editorials were more critical. Evaluations of his personality character and political preference worsened year by year. As for the *Liberty Times*, both straight news and editorials were positive, and so were evaluations of personality character. Yet evaluations of political preference went downhill. Overall, the *Liberty Times* presented a more positive image of Lee than the *United Daily News*.

This section has demonstrated how the quantitative data of content analysis can provides an objective and reliable basis to research on media bias. Yet content analysis is at its best when supplemented by such a qualitative insight as critical discourse analysis employed in this study.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The previous section has reviewed the comprehensive employment of quantitative content analysis in exploring media bias in Taiwan. This section turns to critical discourse analysis and its precursor, critical linguistics, and is aimed at the relations between language and ideology in the press.

2.2.1 Theoretical Background

To investigate the dialectic relation between language and ideology, Fowler and his associates from the late 1970s began to critically examine news texts, using the critical linguistics approach (Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979), which was later expanded into critical discourse analysis by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) and van Dijk (1988, 1991). Despite with different names and to some extent different perspectives, both approaches aim to display to the public the underlying ideologies the press embraces by critically studying structures and features of news language.

2.2.1.1 Fowler and His Colleagues

Inspired by Halliday's (1978) systemic-functional grammar, which asserts that language is as it is because of its functions in the social structure, Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Anglia tried to read off social structures by critically analyzing linguistic structures (Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979). Language use is not arbitrary for options are available and 'each particular form of linguistic expression in a text—wording, syntactic option, etc.—has its reason' (Fowler 1991:4). For example, any social disturbance can be termed as either a 'demonstration' or a 'riot'; the former suggests people's exercising their right, while the latter condemns their behavior. Ideologies exist in every discourse, and

news is no exception.

To unveil the hidden ideologies of news, Fowler and his colleagues adopted analytic tools in Halliday's discussion of the language functions¹, and developed critical linguistics, in which lexical choices used in news media, such as referring expressions and their collocated predicates, and syntactic patterns, including transitivity and transformation processes, are under critical examination.

Vocabulary of a language, to critical linguists, is in the form of a taxonomic map instead of a list, which sorts boundless concepts into strictly defined categorial relationships and helps language users stabilize and converse about their life experiences. The categorization of vocabulary is, hence, of significant ideological importance. The words chosen in the press reflect not only how an event is perceived by journalists, but how the audience is directed and expected to construct the event in the same way.

Referring expressions in news categorize people and events into groups, and place discriminatory values on them. For example, any social unrest can be either a 'demonstration' or a 'riot', as has been mentioned above, and a suicide bomber is likely to be portrayed as a 'terrorist' by western media, but a 'freedom fighter' by Jihad supporters. All the expressions used in news, in other discourses as well, are not a random selection but embody categorial and ideological function (Caldas-Coulthard 1993, Fang 1994, 2001, Flowerdew et al. 2002, Kuo 2001, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Teo 2000, Wang 1993).

The significance of referring expressions cannot be ignored, and so is that of their accompanying predicates (Flowerdew et al. 2002, Kuo 2001). In Flowerdew et al.

¹ Halliday (1978) proposed three meta-functions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational function allows people to represent their experiences of the world and their beliefs in language. The interpersonal function helps construct social identities and social relationships between people. Last, the textual function relates to how a text is constructed out of sentences.

(2002), it was found that Hong Kong's leading English newspaper, the *South China Morning Post*, habitually ascribed negative attributes to Mainland immigrants—poor, unemployable, uneducated, unhygienic, to name a few. These predicates clearly unfolded the newspaper's hostility toward Mainland immigrants.

At the sentence level, critical linguists focus on transitivity and relevant transformations. The concepts of transitivity and transformation employed in critical linguistics differ from the sense of the terms in Chomsky's generative grammar, but conform to Hallidayan grammar.

The transitivity system of language, according to Halliday (1985), is the foundation of representation, for it construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types. Each experience can be represented by clauses with processes, participants, and circumstances, mainly who does what to whom in when and where. The processes involved and the roles participants take allow journalists to encode the institutional ideologies into news texts (Fang 1994, 2001, Teo 2000).

Trew (1979a) studied transitivity used by two British newspapers, *The Times* and the *Guardian*, in a series of 1975-Salisbury-riot reports, with the first day headlines as followed.

(1) a. Rioting blacks shot dead by police as ANC leaders meets

(*The Times*, June 2, 1975)

b. Police shoot 11 dead in Salisbury riot

(*Guardian*, June 2, 1975)

The content is similar in these two cases, but the processes and the participants presented are distinct. The *Guardian* headline is in the active form, and *The Times* one is in the passive. The *Guardian* stance was less detectable, but with 'rioting blacks' in the focal position instead of 'police', *The Times* suggested that 'blacks' be responsible for the shooting, and thus legitimize police's killing. *The Times* position was

reinforced by its characterization of the dead as ‘blacks’, whose information was unspecified in the *Guardian*. Also while ‘riot’ is the circumstance in which the tragedy occurred in the *Guardian*, ‘rioting’ is the quality of the dead in *The Times*. This examination of transitivity was shown to help unravel ideological positions the newspapers held.

Transformation processes related to transitivity—mainly passivization and nominalization—are also under examination (Fang 1994, Kuo and Nakamura 2005). Passivization is a process of demoting the agent, and simultaneously promoting the patient. The patient is put in the focal position, but the agent is marginalized or omitted. This transformed presentation may be an accommodation of textual coherence or an indication of a specific interpretation, just like *The Time* headline above, in which the journalist’s interpretation that the responsibility was on the shot instead of the shooter was signaled by the employment of the passive construction.

The other transformation process is nominalization, which is a radical transformation of a clause into a nominal. For example, a complete proposition ‘X has alleged against Y that Y did A and that Y did B [etc.]’ may be trimmed into a nominal ‘allegation’, with participants and indication of time and modality deleted. Thus, the nominalization process is potentially mystification, which permits concealment.

The critical linguistics approach, which explores lexical choices and syntactic patterns of text, as well as modality and speech acts, to disclose the connection between linguistic and ideological processes in news, has proven to be fruitful and, what’s more, it has laid a sound foundation for future theory building. In the following sections, we will see respectively how Fairclough and van Dijk expanded the critical linguistics approach into critical discourse analysis.

2.2.1.2 Fairclough

The previous section has demonstrated how Fowler and his colleagues demystify readings of ideology-laden texts with critical linguistics. However, for Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), it is impossible to read off social structures simply from linguistic structures. Instead only in the domain of interpretation, that is, in the way how the audience interprets a text, can social meanings and ideologies be fully explored and discussed. Fowler (1996) himself also acknowledged that ‘the original (critical linguistic) theory ... privileges the source of texts, ascribing little power to the reader because the reader simply is not theorized’ (p. 6&7).

There is no one-to-one correspondence between a text and its interpretation, for texts are open to interpretations dependent on contexts and interpreters. Each interpreter, as a social member, processes each text based on his position and resources he acquires in the society, and thus arrives at his own specific interpretation. The analysis of text alone is inadequate for an ideological study. The concepts of discourse, i.e. text with context, and society are needed if a more consolidated theory on language and ideology is to be advanced.

With respect to the interface between language and society, critical linguists center on how language, as a social practice, reproduces existing ideologies and social values in a unidirectional way, whereas Fairclough takes the position that language is both socially shaped and socially shaping. That is, language can not only reproduce and thus help maintain social norms and conventions, but challenge and further transform social values and beliefs when used creatively.

In Fairclough’s conception, critical studies should not be delimited at the textual level, but extended to the discourse level; it should not be pursued purely in the linguistic domain, but rather within a social perspective. He is the key figure to transit studies on language and ideology from text analysis to discourse analysis and a

precursor in the critical discourse analysis framework, in which he proposed a three-dimensional framework to analyze a discourse as text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

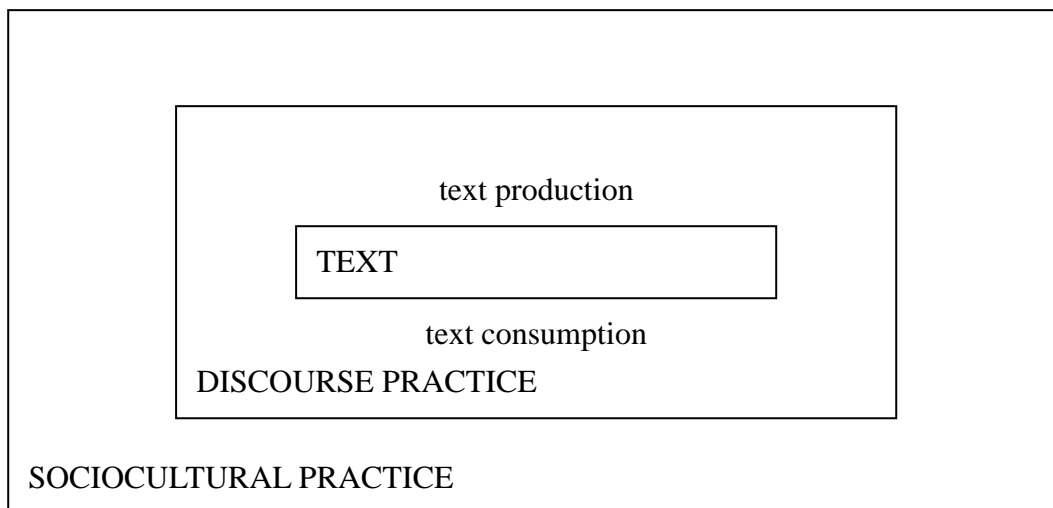


Figure 2-1. A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event (Fairclough 1995:59)

Text, the product of discourse practice, may be written (newspaper), spoken (broadcast), or spoken with visual (TV news). It is analyzed under four headings: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Vocabulary and grammar deal with individual words and how they are combined into clauses and sentences. Cohesion manages the linkage between clauses and sentences (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Halliday 1985) and text structure organizes the global structure of the whole text.

Discourse practice is on how a text is produced and consumed. As we have pointed out earlier that news organizations are not self-contained bodies but social institutions, news production is always conditioned by other factors of society, and involves complex institutional routines of a collective nature. In consumption, social member is at the premium in the sense that a text will not mean anything or carry any

ideological significance until it is interpreted by a social member.

Both processes of production and consumption are constrained by sociocultural practice. They are constrained by members' available resources, which are internalized in social structures, and by the nature of specific communicative events involved.

In the discourse practice dimension, three aspects of analysis are brought up: the force of utterances, the coherence of texts, and the intertextuality of texts. The forces of utterances, i.e. speech acts, are actual components of any communicative event (Searle 1969). A coherent text requires that constituents of a text be meaningfully connected so that the text as a whole conveys an intelligible idea. Intertextuality, coping with the interdependence among discourses (Foucault 1972), looks at traces of discourse practice in the target discourse, and strives to interpret social and cultural meanings hidden beneath. News reports, which represent and transform utterances and happenings of other discourses, are thus always intertextual (Waugh 1995).

In illustration of intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) studied how a committee report on drug trafficking was transformed into a news report in a British tabloid, the *Sun*. In the news report, it was found that the informal, colloquial language of private life was used to win readership, and meanwhile part of official discourse remained to preserve the legitimacy and authority of the report. The heterogeneity of the language revealed the newspaper's contradictory positions and identities.

Sociocultural practice is the last dimension, in which ideologies and power negotiation has a material existence in practices. Ideologies built into conventions are more or less naturalized, and most of the people through their whole lives are never aware of the fact that their automatic practices contain ideological functions. However, what Fairclough wants to emphasize is that people's practices, on the other hand, are socially constitutive, that is, they possess the potential to either reproduce or

restructure social norms. Social struggles can be undertaken and social changes can be achieved through creation and negotiation of discourse practices.

To sum up, for Fairclough, text is what is there to be described, but society is what is there to be explained. As for discourse, it functions as a mediator between text and society in the sense that ‘properties of sociocultural practice shape texts, but by way of shaping the nature of the discourse practice, i.e. the ways in which texts are produced and consumed, which is realized in features of texts’ (Fairclough 1995:60). The three dimensions, though focusing on separate facets of a discourse, are indispensable for a more holistic critical discourse analysis framework.

2.2.1.3 van Dijk

Same as Fairclough, van Dijk (1988, 1991) is an advocate of critical discourse analysis, believing that the study of ideologies in language will not be satisfactory if the scope of analysis is limited to text only with discourse and society left unexplored. Yet, to van Dijk, no direct relation can be constructed between social practice and discourse practice, but the influence of society over discourse is exerted by the way social values and beliefs shape models and scripts in people’s cognition, which are realized through people’s language. Therefore, cognition is the missing link to bridge the gap between discourse and society. The three components—cognition, discourse, and society—form van Dijk’s triangle theory of ideology.

In his thorough and influential study on the structure of news discourse, van Dijk has differentiated the macrostructures, which concern the overall textual structures, from the microstructures, which focus on actual linguistic expressions used. The global, abstract macrostructures, including the thematic and schematic structures, lead the discourse, but need to be realized at the more local, concrete microstructures of words and sentences. In what follows, both macro- and micro-structures are

discussed.

News discourse exhibits a structure that is basically top-down and relevance-controlled. What is considered newsworthy is presented first, regardless of its relation with other elements of the same event. Thus the outcome and impact of an event may be presented first if laden with news values when its cause and circumstances are still left unspecified. The particular writing style constructs an 'inverted pyramid', a standardized format for news writing (Franklin et al. 2005, Yopp and McAdams 1999). Not only does the top-down processing control the way journalists organize news stories, but it also influences the way audience interpret news, for given the topic alone, as experienced news consumers, we may predict what might follow afterward with some confidence. In news, topics at the higher level dominate those at the lower level, forming a hierarchical structure.

The thematic structure of a discourse organizes its topics and content, and the schematic structure deals with the form it takes. Each discourse type has its more or less fixed schema in a specific culture, and the schematic structure of news proposed by van Dijk as in Figure 2-2, like the thematic one, is composed of a series of hierarchically ordered categories, determining how the topics of a text could or should be ordered and how sequences and sentences should appear in the text. The categories, except Summary, are usually delivered cyclically in installments. Also, it should be noted that, as an underlying abstract structure, under the influence of specific constraints, such as relevance and ideologies, transformations are possible, that is, the news schema maybe be realized in the text in different ways.

Within all the categories, Headline and Lead deserve most attention, for they together form the Summary and accommodate most relevant and valuable information in a news report (Fang 2001, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Lee and Craig 1992, Teo 2000, Wang 1993). Main Events are the core of a News Report with Circumstances

depicting its settings, Previous Events tracing its causes, and Consequences bringing about its effects. Verbal Reactions feature opinions cited from other sources while Evaluations are made by reporters, who may also put forth Expectations of future development concerning Main Events.

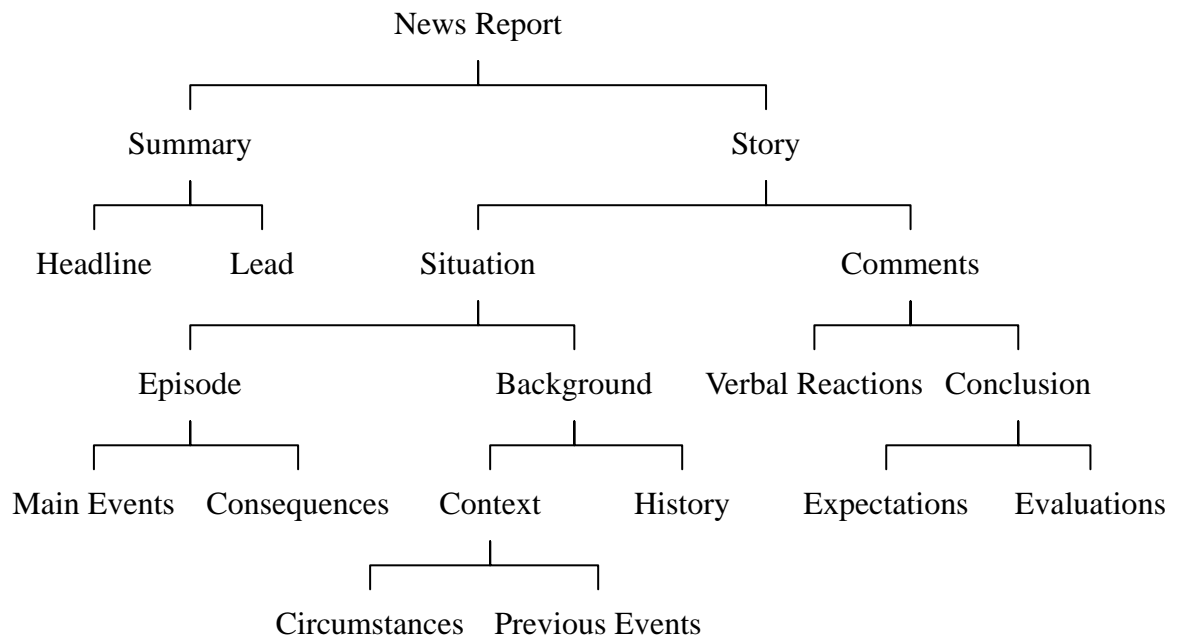


Figure 2-2. Hypothetical structure of a news schema (van Dijk 1988:55)

The value of the macrostructures of news discourse is evident in Wang’s (1993) study on the *New York Time*’s and *Renmin Ribao*’s ‘the People’s Daily’ coverage of the 1991 Soviet coup. Comparing the thematic and schematic structures of the *Ribao* report with those of the *Time* report, Wang made it clear that as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party, the *Ribao* report on the Soviet coup was conservative and incomplete, lacking all the background and contextual information.

The microstructures of news discourse include a variety of linguistic devices, such as implicatures² (Grundy 2000, Levinson 1983), presuppositions³ (Abbot 2000,

² Conversational implicature was first brought out in Grice’s theory of the cooperative principle and the four maxims (1967), which Sperber and Wilson later revised as Relevance Theory (1995). As an

Levinson 1983, Saeed 2003), local coherence⁴ (Halliday and Hasan 1976), style and rhetoric. Like most discourses, news reports leave many things unsaid, which are either presupposed or must be inferred for full comprehension. Presuppositions are information that is taken-for-granted or contextually presumed, constituting the background in a discourse upon which an assertion stands up. Owing to their resistance to detectability and defeasibility, presuppositions, as well as implicatures, come to be effective tools to conceal one's ideological intention (see also Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995).

The same is true for local coherence, which depend on subjective knowledge and beliefs about the world. Thus propositions may cohere for the speaker but not for the hearer. Learning how propositions are linked together in a discourse enables us to make explicit the latent assumptions and beliefs (see also Fairclough 1995).

Style of a discourse bears traces of context in a text, which specifies the kind of occasion, the degree of formality, the relations among participants, and so forth. 'It is the total set of characteristic, variable structural features of discourse that are an indication of the personal and social context of the speaker' (van Dijk 1988:73). Lexical and grammatical styles involve selections of features from all the possibilities in a language, which are controlled by the speaker's opinions and attitudes. Thus the analysis of stylistic choices helps decode the speaker's underlying ideologies.

The last microstructure is rhetoric. Unlike rhetoric featured in literature, here van Dijk discusses linguistic strategies employed to make a text persuasive, including

inferred meaning arising from the hearer's calculation of the speaker's intention, conversational implicature is non-detachable and defeasible. In contrast, conventional implicature is closely associated with a particular lexical item or expression by convention, and thus detachable and non-defeasible.

³ While semantic presupposition is discussed in a truth-relation approach and thus is non-defeasible, presupposition in pragmatic theories deals with defeasibility and the projection problem. That is, presuppositions are dependent on the discourse context and the hearer's encyclopedic knowledge, and thus are defeasible for they may fail to survive in different levels of context.

⁴ Local coherence at the micro-level of a text is a counterpart of the global macro-coherence of the text.

numbers, news sources, and quotations. Provision of numbers or news sources makes a report authentic and authoritative. Quotations may present information newsworthy in its own right, or it may be a channel to insert opinions of preferred personages who voice the position of the news organization. Hence, the selection of quotation may be propagandist (Fairclough 1995, Fang 2001, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Kuo 2007, Lee and Craig 1992, Teo 2000).

Other than the discourse analysis of macro- and micro-structures, for van Dijk, 'a complete empirical account of discourse also requires a description of cognitive processes of discourse production and understanding and of social interactions in sociocultural situations' (1988:30). The framework of van Dijk is similar to that of Fairclough, yet more effort is devoted to the cognition domain to explicate the connection between language use and social cognition, namely knowledge and beliefs shared by group members.

The macro-micro distinction also exists in van Dijk's conceptions of cognition and society. Personal beliefs, knowledge, and practices—such as the use of language—are at the micro-level; social cognition and system principles belong to the macro-level. The macro-micro relations are both top-down and bottom-up. Social cognition and principles govern social members' beliefs, knowledge, and practices. Yet individuals have free will to deviate from social norms, and if certain deviation becomes systemized and generalized, then a social change is taking place.

The interaction between discourse and cognition is manifest through cognitive processes of discourse production and understanding, involving the operations of models and scripts. Models are the fundamental cognitive knowledge structures people build up when comprehending an event (references). Scripts are general knowledge people acquire toward the world of experience through socialization (Schank and Abelson 1977, Schank and Kass 1988). In comprehending a news report,

people construct a specific model for this particular event, with scripts filling in the relevant missing information (Fang 2001, Lee and Craig 1992). Take the Salisbury case in Section 2.2.1.1 for example. In the mental model of this disturbance, we may have detailed information like '11 were dead', 'Salisbury', '1975', and 'the meeting of ANC leaders'. Yet our knowledge about 'riot', 'blacks', and 'police' comes from scripts, accumulated from our previous experiences. Therefore, people always get more than what is linguistically presented in the news.

van Dijk contributed to critical discourse analysis the structures of news discourse in terms of content and form. He also enriched the approach by including the concept of cognition, different from Fairclough's focus on society. The triangle theory of discourse, cognition, and society has provided a comprehensive framework for later studies on the ideological import of language.

2.2.1.4 A summary of Critical Discourse Analysis

As pioneers in the study on language and ideology, Fowler and his associates focused on linguistic characteristics, including lexical choices and syntactic patterns, and formed critical linguistics.

Their analysis of the lexical and clausal levels was expanded to the discourse level in critical discourse analysis by Fairclough and van Dijk, who are interested in the context in which a text is produced and consumed. Fairclough has presented a three-dimensional framework with text, discourse, and society, whose concern is on how language may reproduce and restructure ideologies and social structures. The structure facet of news discourse was not fully explored until van Dijk, who builds up macro- and micro-structures of news, and works with a more cognition-oriented triangle theory of discourse, cognition, and society.

It should be noted that the terms 'text' and 'discourse' denote disparate

conceptions in divergent discussions. 'Text' in critical linguistics falls upon lexical choices and syntactic patterns; similar concepts are 'vocabulary' and 'grammar' in Fairclough and 'style' in van Dijk. To Fairclough, 'text', meaning more than lexicon and sentences, includes cohesion between sentences and the overall textual structure. 'Text' in Fairclough, however, is under the 'discourse' heading in van Dijk with macrostructures being the overall textual structure and microstructures dealing with vocabulary, grammar and cohesion.

'Discourse' in Fairclough focuses on how a 'text' is produced or interpreted by social members, which quite resembles the way van Dijk discusses in 'cognition' how people's models and scripts influence their production and interpretation of a 'discourse'.

In spite of those terminological differences, Fairclough' and van Dijk's frameworks are much alike in that they both emphasize the overall structure of news, people's production and interpretation processes involved, and the social factors lying behind. These emphases are what distinguish their frameworks of critical discourse analysis from critical linguistics.

2.2 Empirical Studies

The major goal of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis is to make explicit the underlying ideologies of seemingly neutral and objective language. The analysis of language and ideology has significantly contributed to various social studies, including sexual discrimination (Fairclough 1992, Fowler 1991, Caldas-Coulthard 1993), racism (Achugar 2004, Erjavec 2001, Fairclough 1995, Flowerdew et al. 2002, Fowler et al. 1979, Richardson 2004, Teo 2000, Thetela 2001, van Dijk 1991), and political science (Fairclough 1989, Fang 1994, 2001, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kuo 2001, 2007, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Lee and Craig

1992, Wang 1993). This thesis aims to examine how language signals the underlying political stances of four TV news stations in Taiwan. In what follows, critical studies on political inclinations are introduced, with westerns studies first, followed by China- and Taiwan-related studies.

Apart from the analysis of the Salisbury riot discussed in Section 2.2.1.1, Trew (1979b) examined how two British newspapers, the *Sun* and the *Morning Star*, reported the 1977 Notting Hill Carnival, in which black youths confronted the police. Through the analysis of transitivity and characterizing expressions used in the news, it was found that as a tabloid which benefited from capitalism, the *Sun* was hostile to the 'black'. On the contrary, being an official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the *Star* sympathized with the 'youths', who were deprived by the society and in need of help instead of punishment.

Also on British newspapers, Fowler (1991) studied how they responded to the bombing of Libya by the US with the help of the UK on April 15, 1986. The *Guardian* condemned the action, and remained neutrality by using names or formal titles to refer to principals involved. In contrast, the *Sun* was ecstatic over the bombing and extensively employed evaluative terms, such as 'Rambo' for then US President Reagan, 'Maggie' for then UK Premier Thatcher, and 'mad dog' to then Libya Colonel Gaddafi. These all served as substantial clues to the *Sun's* position in the tension between the US/UK and Libya.

On the other side of the Atlantic, language and its ideological properties also attracted considerable attention in the US. Herman and Chomsky (1988) proposed the propaganda model to explain the performance of the US press. As so-called gatekeepers, the press uses a set of filters⁵ to sift out events that comport with its

⁵ Herman and Chomsky (1988) brought out five filters. First, size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media; second, the advertising license to do business; third, sourcing mass-media news; fourth, flak and the enforcers; fifth, anticommunism as a control mechanism.

ideologies as news reports. To defend capitalism, the very root of western values and media, the anti-communism fervor makes victims in a communist country 'worthy', while those in friend countries 'unworthy'. The consequence is that disturbances in an enemy country stand a greater chance of becoming headline stories than those in an ally, which are likely to be marginalized or even concealed. The discriminatory treatments constitute the 'us versus them' dichotomy. The press acts in propaganda to pursue and defend its own interests and its language can be best understood if it is analyzed in this propaganda model.

In illustrating the propaganda model, Lee and Craig (1992) analyzed the US reports on labor strikes in South Korea and Poland during 1980s. The content analysis showed that more reports, longer length and more prominence were dedicated to strikes in Poland than those in South Korean. In the critical discourse analysis, it was found that the strike in South Korea was considered a wage dispute, in which the government performed as a successful mediator. Nevertheless, the strike in Poland was portrayed as a political dissidence, a challenge to the communism and a demand for freedom, and the communist government was discredited to be weak and indecisive.

In addition to research on the western media, studies targeting at the China's and Taiwanese press are also fruitful. Wang (1993) compared the Chinese Communist Party newspaper, *Renmin Ribao* 'the People's Daily', with the *New York Times* in their coverage of the 1991 Soviet coup. In the content analysis, it was found that the *Times* devoted a lot more news items than *Ribao* to the coup, yet with similar percentages of front-page stories.

In the critical discourse analysis, according to the macrostructures, the *Times* report was exhaustive in content and multi-angled in structure, while the *Ribao* report was comparatively incomplete. In the micro-level, the *Times* gave more prominence

to reformers Yeltsin and Gorbachev, contrary to *Ribao*'s attention to hardline Yanayev. What's more interesting is that *Ribao* never referred to the event as a 'coup', but as a 'power transfer'. The implicit but systematic linguistic differences between the *Times* and *Ribao* suggested their opposing positions to the 1991 Soviet 'coup'.

Another study on *Renmin Ribao* is Fang (1994), in which critical linguistics was adopted to examine how the 'us versus them' dichotomy influenced its coverage of civil unrest in foreign countries. Results showed that different labels and accounts were given to different countries according to the dichotomy. Thus, unrest in 'us' countries was *baoluan/saoluan* 'a riot', and the rioters should bear the bitter consequences of their irrational behaviors. Nevertheless, unrest in 'them' countries was *shiwei* 'a demonstration' and *shiwei youxing* 'a march', in which the people had the rights to voice themselves, and the authority was to blame.

Years later, Fang (2001) adopted critical discourse analysis in studying *Renmin Ribao* (RR) and the Taiwanese newspaper *Central Daily News* (the CDN). The two newspapers reports on civil unrest in South Africa and Argentina were analyzed. Argentina established amicable relations with both Taiwan and China, but South Africa maintained friendly relations with Taiwan, but not with China.

In the South African reports, two opposing scripts were employed by RR and the CDN to account for the outbreak of the conflict. For RR, it was a 'racial struggle' in which the black were victims; to the CDN, however, it was a 'law and order' crisis in need of riot control actions. Moreover, it was found that events against the newspaper's perspectives were marginalized or omitted in the reports. Therefore, RR did not cover the incident that black officers were also under attack, whereas the CDN used it as evidence to support its 'law and order' frame. Nevertheless, the CDN downplayed the event that the police opened fire on unarmed mourners.

On the other hand, the two newspapers reports on the Argentina 'riots' were

much alike. Fang made it evident that the contrastive treatments of civil unrest in South Africa and Argentina by RR and the CDN were not coincidences, but reflections of the foreign policies of the governments.

The tension between China and Taiwan can be further detected in Kuo (2001), in which a Chinese newspaper article was examined. The study demonstrated how various linguistic devices, such as evaluative expressions and ‘China is the mother (of Taiwan)’ metaphor, were employed to defend the ‘One China’ policy of the China government.

Kuo later worked with Nakamura and focused on the political environment in Taiwan (Kuo and Nakamura 2005). Two politically opposing newspapers were studied, the *United Daily News* and the *Liberty Times*. The former was said to lean towards the KMT, whereas the latter sided with the DPP. The news report was on the visit of then first lady, Wu Shu-chen, who was a symbolic feature of the DPP, to the US in September 2002.

Both newspapers’ reports were translated from an English news story appearing in the *China Post*. Nevertheless, the comparison of the two translated versions with the original story showed that transformations, syntactic variations, and lexical changes had been made to serve the specific political orientations of the two newspapers. The quantitative analysis also demonstrated that the *Liberty Times*, as expected, devoted more space, more prominence, and more positive comments to Wu’s visit than the *United Daily News*.

This chapter has reviewed how content analysis and critical discourse analysis have been adopted by scholars in the west and the east to expose news organizations’ hidden ideologies underneath their supposedly neutral coverage and language. However, most of the studies are dedicated to newspapers. In addition, the news schema proposed by van Dijk has long been neglected except in Wang’s 1993 study.

Thus the present study aims to fill the gap by investigating four TV news stations in Taiwan with both content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Not only linguistic features, but also macrostructures of reports are under critical examination.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology of the present study. Section 3.1 addresses data collection about how the TV news stations were selected. Section 3.2 familiarizes presentation formats of TV news. Section 3.3 deals with data analysis. Political news first identified and then will undergo both content analysis (in Chapter 4) and critical discourse analysis (in Chapter 5) to reveal the relations between underlying political stances of news stations and their political reports.

3.1 Data Collection

This study aims to determine the influence of the political stances of TV news stations on their political reports. Four 24-hour TV news stations with highest viewer ratings in Taiwan were selected (Chi and Tsai, 2005). They are ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News.

Table 3-1. Ranking of the 10 most viewed TV stations in Taiwan (adapted from Table 3-4-5 in Chi and Tsai 2005)

Ranking	TV Station	Viewer Rating ¹ (%)
1	ETTV News	20.44
2	HBO ²	16.74
3	FTV	15.92

¹ In Chi and Tsai's survey, 10,000 cable TV viewers were phone interviewed, and each of them could choose as many as 10 TV stations of which they have a viewing habit. The 20.44 % rating of ETTV News thus means that within the 10,000 interviewees, 2044 chose ETTV News as one of their most viewed TV stations. Since more than one station could be chosen for each interviewee, the sum of the rating figures in the table exceeds 100%.

² HBO and FTV News are not 24-hour news stations, and thus are not subjects of the present study.

4	FTV News	15.80
5	SET News	15.57
6	CTi News	15.20
7	TVBS-N	12.42
8	SET Taiwan	12.03
9	TVBS	7.88
10	CTV	7.83

Table 3-1 presents a general picture of the viewing habits of Taiwanese people, and Table 3-2 below shows that the four news stations had different degrees of popularity in the four areas of Taiwan. Among the four news stations, ETTV News ranked highest in the northern, central, and eastern parts of Taiwan, though it fell a little behind FTV News in southern Taiwan. As for SET News and CTi News, they ranked higher than FTV News in northern Taiwan, but lower in the rest. FTV News performed a bit poorly in the northern area, but better in the central and the east areas, and best in southern Taiwan.

Table 3-2. Ranking of the 4 most viewed TV news stations in the four areas of Taiwan (adapted from Table 3-4-10 in Chi and Tsai 2005)

	Northern ³	Central	Southern	Eastern	Overall ⁴
ETTV News	1	1	3	1	1

³ In Chi and Tsai's study, Northern Taiwan includes: Taipei, Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Keelung City, Hsinchu City, Lienchiang, and Taipei City.

Central Taiwan includes: Miaoli, Taichung, Changhua, Nantou, Yunlin, Chiayi, Taichung City, and Chiayi City.

Southern Taiwan includes: Tainan, Kaoshiung, Pingtung, Penghu, Tainan City, Kinmen, and Kaosiung City.

Eastern Taiwan includes: Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung.

⁴ The overall ranking echoes back to the ranking presented in Table 3-1.

FTV News	6	3	2	3	4
SET News	5	4	4	7	5
CTi News	4	7	6	4	6

The four news stations' midnight programs were videotaped for 25 days, from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007. The corpus of the study consists of 100 clips of TV news programs, and the original length of the videotaped programs amounts to 100 hours. Yet after the deduction of commercial breaks, the actual length falls to 78 hours, 7 minutes and 19 seconds with each news program being 46 minutes and 52 seconds long on average.

3.2 TV News

The data examined in the present study is TV news, a kind of broadcast media, which combines language with visuals. TV news is meant for ear and eye; thus its language must be concise, simple, and keep detail to a minimum so that the audience, who cannot go back and reread the story, can get the message immediately (Boyd 2001, Yopp and McAdams 1999, Yorke 2000, Niu and Lin 2006).

A piece of TV news begins with a lead by the anchor in vision, which sets up the context of a story and marks its climax. After the lead usually is a pre-recorded news package, in which we may see shots of the scene, pictures, and/or graphics and hear natural sound and/or voice-over of a reporter, giving background information and/or explaining the situation. We may also be impressed by on-camera interview extracts with people involved in the story. The news package constitutes the body of a news report and ends up with a close of an on-the-spot reporter (Hwang 1994, Chen 2001, Thompson 2005).

Or without pre-recorded sounds, the anchor, after the lead, continues reading the script out-of-vision as videotapes are shown, which is called a BS (before sound) story in contrast to a SOT (sound on tape) news package. A BS story is used when an event is still in development, so that it can be readily updated, or when an event is of minor importance, often as a supplement to highlighted news. Thus a BS story is mostly about thirty-second long, much shorter than a substantial two-minute-long package (Chen 2001).

In some emergency situations, breaking news is broadcast live so that viewers can get firsthand, instantaneous information. Or TV news can be dry, that is, the anchor broadcasts without relevant pictures available, such as an earthquake seconds ago (Chen 2001, Thompson 2005).

3.3 Data Analysis

To decode the relations between language and ideology in the news stations, two analyses are conducted in the present study: content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The former presents the stations' arrangements of political news in a quantitative manner, and the later provides an in-depth linguistic investigation of their supposedly neutral language.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

To study the stations' patterns of political news presentation, the rundowns of all the programs—including the news items, their durations, and their appearing orders—were first recorded and political news was identified⁵. Of all the 100 clips, political news constitutes 14 hours, 4 minutes and 46 seconds, meaning there is an average of 8-minute-and-27-second-long political news in each program, resulting in

⁵ The identification of political news was confirmed through newspaper's classification.

a ratio of 17.99 %.

The political news was then classified into discrete categories, as shown in Figure 3-1 below. First we have international news and Taiwan news. International news covers stories about foreign political circles without Taiwan at issue, for example, the death of Yeltsin on April 23, 2007. As for Taiwan news, it comprises government news and party news. Government news copes with the Office of the President, the five Yuans, and local governments and councils, such as a report about the 12-year-cumpulsory-education program on April 16, and news on the possibility of the Special Pardon by the President on April 24. Reports concerning the interactions among parties and party members, either integration or opposition, are under the party news heading, which was further divided into news about the DPP and that about the KMT. During the sample period, the press was flooded with news on the competition between and within the two parties for the 2008 presidential election.

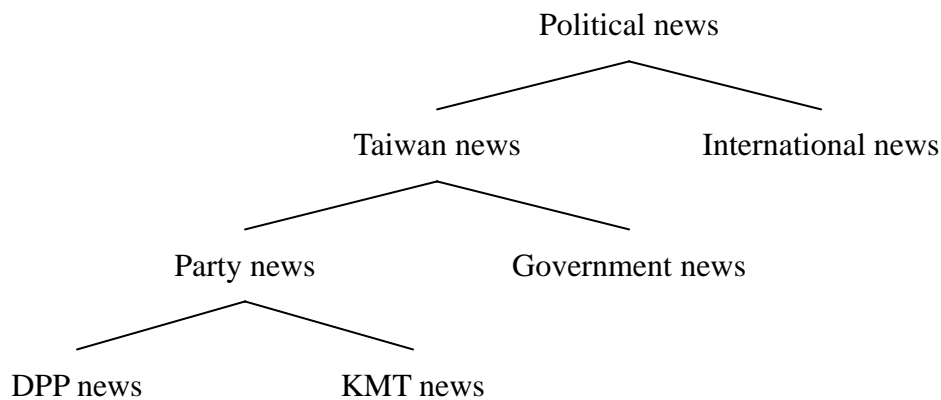


Figure 3-1. Categorization of political news in the present study

In the content analysis, the categories are compared and contrasted with the use of three criteria—the number of news items, the accumulated news duration, and news appearing orders. Special attention is paid to the diversities among the stations’

arrangements of the DPP news and the KMT news. The quantitative data help expose the prominence the parties during the sample period and the stations' hidden political preferences.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Apart from content analysis, critical discourse analysis is employed to inspect coverage language of political reports as well. Three political events involving the DPP and the KMT were chosen as case studies. First is Ma Ying-jeou's attendance to the second court hearing of special expenses case on April 17, 2007; second is the DPP joint conference after its primary on May 7, 2007; and third is Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing 2008 Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007. The three events belong respectively to the KMT news, the DPP news and the government news categorized in Figure 3-1.

Adapting van Dijk's framework (1989, 1991), both macro- and micro-structures of the reports are analyzed. Macrostructures of news are constructed, based on the news schema presented in Section 2.2.1.3, and then compared category by category.⁶ As for micro-structure, cohesive devices in text, including conjunction and lexical cohesion, are examined. Results of the critical discourse analysis will be used to testify the ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998).

3.3.3 A Sample Construction of Macrostructure

To illustrate how the macrostructure of a news report is constructed, this section takes the FTV News report on Ma's special expenses indictment as an example⁷. The caption on the screen during the lead is taken as Headline, and those appearing in the

⁶ It must be noted that not all the categories, except Summary and Main Events, are elaborated in news stories, which tend to be simple and easy-to-consume in order to win the audience.

⁷ For the full content of the report, please refer to Appendix A.

following package as subheads. Headline, as well as the anchor's Lead, comprises the Summary part, and the news package corresponds to the Story part. Story is sub-divided into Situation and Comments. Situation presents 'the fact', or at least the fact journalists want the audience to believe in, and Comments feature opinions toward 'the fact'.

In addition to the Summary, the other central and obligatory category in the schema is Main Event of the Story. It makes explicit why an event is qualified as a news report, and what the audience should know from the report. Content of the Main Event echoes back what is presented in Headline and Lead.

Take the FTV News report about Ma's second court hearing of special expenses on April 17, 2007 for example. The headline read that 'Ma Ying-jeou's Second Court Attendance: Ambush, Inducement, Offense and Defense' and in the lead, the anchor gave a brief summary of what happened in court that day. Later in the report, the audience gradually learned that there was 'offense and defense' in court, in which Ma argued that the prosecution's previous probe was 'an ambush' full of 'inducement'.

An immediate effect caused by Main Events is categorized as Consequences. In the Ma news, after Ma's attacks toward the prosecution in the Main Events, the Consequence is the prosecution's justification that the investigation procedure was legitimate.

Just like a narrative needs an orientation, a news Episode also needs background information. In the schema, Background embraces a more comprehensive, social, and historical nature and Context denotes a more actual situation. Under Context, we have Circumstances, which deal with the immediate situation of Main Events, and also Previous Events, which provide us its causes. In the Ma news, right in the headline it was made clear that the Circumstances were Ma's second court attendance. Later the report traced back to Hou's first investigation, the Previous Event, which led to the

disputation in Main Events.

The connection between Previous Events, Main Events, and Consequences is a two-stage cause-effect relation. That is, Previous Events results in Main Events, which in turn results in Consequences. Thus in a sequence of reports, it can be found that yesterday's Main Events becomes today's Previous Events, and today's Consequences becomes tomorrow's Main Events.

The left category in Background is History. Like Previous Events, it tells stories that happened before. Yet the difference lies in that Previous Events have a direct causal relation with Main Events, while History does not.

Last, let's turn to Comments, under which we find Verbal Reactions by news actors and Conclusion by reporters. Verbal Reactions, according to van Dijk, denotes 'the opinions of major news actors about the main events' (1991:120). However, in the observed TV news, opinions of major news actors are not Comments, but rather materials of Main Events and Consequences. That is, discursive events of major news actors are the news events by themselves. For example, the whole Ma report was constructed by Ma's and the prosecutions' argumentation against each other. Thus to differentiate Situation from Comments, Verbal Reactions are defined in the present as opinions made by bystanders about the Main Events. Thus in the Ma news, Ma's and the prosecution's statements are Main Events and Consequences separately, and the statements of outside-the-court legislators belong to Verbal Reactions.

Verbal Reactions allow journalists the freedom to present an 'impersonal' and 'objective' perspective without taking the responsibility, and in the end of a news report, Conclusions are drawn. Expectations suggest possible consequences of Main Events, and Evaluations, as the names suggest, are their evaluations of Main Events.

In sum, it is with the help of content analysis and critical discourse analysis that the underlying political stances of the four TV news stations in Taiwan can be

disclosed, and that the relations between language and ideology in the press can be explicated.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter features a content analysis of the political news in four Taiwanese news stations, ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News. Section 4.1 presents the weight of political news in their programs. Section 4.2 studies their arrangements of political news in terms of news item (Section 4.2.1), news duration (Section 4.2.2) and news appearing order (Section 4.2.3). Special attention is paid to the discrepancy between the DPP news and the KMT news. Section 4.3 summarizes the prominence of the DPP and the KMT assigned by the stations, and confirms the quantitative strategies employed by the stations in coverage bias manipulation.

4.1 Political News in a TV News Program

The present study examines the midnight news programs of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007. After the reduction of commercials, each program is 46-minute-and-52-second-long and has 30.25 news stories on average. Table 4-1 below shows the stations' number of news items and durations per program. It can be readily seen that SET News has a slightly longer program (47 minutes and 30 seconds) with more stories (33 stories), compared with the other three.

Table 4-1. News items and news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	News items	News duration
ETTV News	27.92	46'32''

FTV News	30.00	46'29''
SET News	33.00	47'30''
CTi News	30.08	46'59''
Mean	30.25	46'52''

Of the average 30.25 reports, 5.53 are political news. The duration amounts to 8 minutes and 57 seconds, constituting 19.09% of a program. Table 4-2 below shows the political news items and the cumulative duration dedicated by the four stations per program. Corresponding percentages are given in parenthesis, displaying the weight of political news in the stations. FTV News devotes one-fifth of its program to political news, with an amount of 5.76 stories (19.20%) and a duration of 10 minutes and 17 seconds (22.14%), followed by SET News, ETTV News, and last, CTi News. The political news items and durations in ETTV News and CTi News are both below the average. However, this does not necessarily mean that ETTV News and CTi News are more apolitical than FTV News and SET News, which is one possible explanation. Another possibility is that during the sample period, ETTV News and CTi News happened to lack of favored political events.

Table 4-2. Political news items and political news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Political news items	Political news duration
ETTV News	5.00 (17.91%)	08'22'' (17.98%)
FTV News	5.76 (19.20%)	10'17'' (22.14%)
SET News	6.32 (19.15%)	09'23'' (19.74%)
CTi News	5.08 (16.89%)	07'45'' (16.48%)

Mean	5.54 (18.29%)	08'57'' (19.09%)
------	---------------	------------------

4.2 Content Analysis of Political News

In the present study, political news is categorized into the DPP news, the KMT news, government news, and international news (see Section 3.3.1). In the following, the four categories of political news are compared in terms of their news items (Section 4.2.1), their news durations (Section 4.2.2) and their appearing orders (Section 4.2.3). Focus will be on the differences between the DPP news and the KMT news, which help shed light on the relations between the stations' news coverage and their political preferences.

4.2.1 Analysis of News Item

Table 4-3 shows the distribution of political news items, and corresponding percentages can be found in Table 4-4. Of the average 5.53 political stories per program, about a half (49.34%), i.e. 2.77 stories, belongs to the DPP news. Government news, making a second, has 1.61 stories and is close to 30% (29.62%). The KMT receives less than a report per program (0.83 story), and forms a small percentage of 15.13%. The lowest is international news (5.91%), which appears once on an average of every three days (0.32 story).

Table 4-3. Political news items per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

Taiwan		International	Total
Party		Government	
DPP	KMT		
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>

ETTV News	2.24	0.68	1.72	0.36	5.00
FTV News	3.32	0.52	1.60	0.32	5.76
SET News	3.56	1.20	1.32	0.24	6.32
CTi News	1.96	0.96	1.80	0.36	5.04
Mean	2.77	0.83	1.61	0.32	5.53

Table 4-4. Percentage of political news items of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Taiwan		International		Total
	Party		Government		
	DPP	KMT			
ETTV News	44.80%	13.60%	34.40%	7.20%	100.00%
FTV News	57.64%	9.03%	27.78%	5.56%	100.00%
SET News	56.33%	18.99%	20.89%	3.80%	100.00%
CTi News	38.58%	18.90%	35.43%	7.09%	100.00%
Mean	49.34%	15.13%	29.62%	5.91%	100.00%

The DPP draws most attention (49.34%) and has an average of 2.77 stories, three times the number of the KMT news (0.83 story). However, this does not conclude that all the four stations favor the DPP and loath the KMT. Rather this is possibly a reflection that during the period, the DPP fierce primary was more newsworthy than the frosty situation between the KMT hopeful Ma Ying-jeou and Legislative Yuan Speaker Wang Jin-pyng.

Though the four stations have similar patterns in their arrangements of political news items, the proportions are not identical. Take the most frequent DPP news for

example. FTV News and SET News have a high average of 3.32 stories and 3.56 stories, while CTi News is one story shorter and falls to 1.96 stories per program. Yet in the KMT news, the 0.96 story of CTi News slightly outnumbers the 0.56 story of FTV News. That is to say, CTi News reports on the KMT nearly every day, but in FTV News, a KMT story appears every other day.

In Table 4-4, it is found that SET News is above the average in both the DPP news (56.33%) and the KMT news (18.99%), showing its emphasis on the overall party news. FTV News leads in the DPP news (57.64%), but falls behind with the KMT news (9.03%). CTi News, however, is opposite to FTV News. Its mean is a bit higher in the KMT news (18.90%), but comparatively low in the DPP news (38.58%). As for ETTV News, it performs about like the average, showing preference for neither the DPP nor the KMT.

The analysis of news item so far has provided a preliminary result for the investigation of the news stations' coverage biases. Yet, it must not be neglected that the duration and the appearing order of a political story strongly influence its prominence. A two-minute-long news package definitely is more substantial than a thirty-second BS¹ story. And a headline story weighs a lot more than a report which airs later in the program. In what follows, the other two criteria—news duration and news appearing order of political reports—will be discussed respectively.

4.2.2 Analysis of News Duration

Table 4-5 below shows the duration of each political news category dedicated by the four stations and Table 4-6 presents the percentages. A similar pattern to that of news item discussed above is detected. Namely, the DPP news comprises the largest percentage (52.07%), followed by government news (28.97%), the KMT news

¹ For a discussion on BS story, please refer to Section 3.2.

(14.68%), and finally international news (4.28%). The government news has an average duration of 2 minutes and 34 seconds, a sum two times that of the KMT news, which only takes up 1 minute and 17 seconds. And the longest DPP news, being 4-minute-and-43-second-long, is close to its quadruple.

Table 4-5. Political news duration per program of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Taiwan		Government	International	Total
	Party				
	DPP	KMT			
ETTV News	4'10"	1'11"	2'33"	28"	8'22"
FTV News	5'45"	53"	3'12"	27"	10'17"
SET News	5'50"	1'29"	1'48"	17"	9'23"
CTi News	3'08"	1'34"	2'43"	20"	7'45"
Mean	4'43"	1'17"	2'34"	23"	8'57"

Table 4-6. Percentage of political news duration of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Taiwan		Government	International	Total
	Party				
	DPP	KMT			
ETTV News	49.82%	14.08%	30.57%	5.53%	100.00%
FTV News	55.92%	8.65%	31.12%	4.31%	100.00%
SET News	62.14%	15.76%	19.13%	2.97%	100.00%
CTi News	40.38%	20.23%	35.06%	4.32%	100.00%

Mean	52.07%	14.68%	28.97%	4.28%	100.00%
------	--------	--------	--------	-------	----------------

The average DPP news duration works out at 4 minutes and 43 seconds. FTV News and SET News again are matched in the DPP news duration, having an average of 5 minutes and 45 seconds and 5 minutes and 50 seconds respectively. Without surprise, CTi News has the shortest DPP news, i.e. 3 minutes and 8 seconds, which is 1 minute and 35 seconds shorter than the average. ETTV News, having 4 minutes and 10 seconds, is about up to the average.

While CTi News lags behind in the political news duration and also the DPP news duration, its KMT duration, being 1 minute and 34 seconds, is longer than the other three. It is undoubtedly that the DPP draws more media's attention than the KMT, yet the four stations' arrangements are not in equal proportions, as shown in the D/K ratio below.

Table 4-7. D/K ratio of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	D/K Ratio*
ETTV News	3.54
FTV News	6.46
SET News	3.94
CTi News	2.00
Mean	3.99

$$*D/K \text{ ratio} = \frac{\text{The DPP news duration}}{\text{The KMT news duration}}$$

A D/K ratio of 1 does not suggest political neutrality, for it is impossible to regulate all party affairs to be of equivalent significance and thus receive equivalent reports. Instead, the ratio functions as a basis upon which each station's behavior is examined.

According to Table 4-7, the average D/K ratio is 3.99, which means during the sample period, the DPP news duration is nearly four times that of the KMT news on average. Such is the case with ETTV News and SET News. The former has a ratio of 3.54 and the latter 3.94. As for FTV News, the high ratio of 6.46 suggests that it pays excessive attention to the DPP. On the other hand, CTi News's ratio of 2.00 is an index that it takes the DPP news comparatively lightly.

Based on the analyses on news item and news duration, it can be briefly summarized that SET News voices its deep concern over the party news, which makes its government news relatively minor. FTV News and SET News highlight the DPP news, and FTV News alone overlooks the KMT news. CTi News forms a sharp contrast to FTV News and SET News due to its few stories and little time given to the DPP. ETTV News remains most moderate among the four in terms of the assignment of news item and news duration.

4.2.3 Analysis of News Appearing Order

The last criterion examined in the content analysis is appearing orders of political reports. Stories airing earlier in a program are more prominent and draw more attention than later reports (Wang 2006). Of the sample 100 programs, 36 choose political news to be their headlines². The categorization of the headline stories is as followed.

² For the list of headline stories, please refer to Appendix B.

Table 4-8. Frequency of political headline stories in ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Taiwan		International		Total
	Party		Government		
	DPP	KMT			
ETTV News	7	0	4	1	12
FTV News	5	2	1	1	9
SET News	7	0	2	1	10
CTi News	3	3	2	0	8
Mean	5.5	1.25	2.25	0.75	9.75

It is found that overall the DPP news stands the greatest chance to become headline stories, followed by government news, the KMT news, and last, international news. If the DPP category is compared against the KMT one, it is not hard to find that CTi News stands out in that it has the least DPP headlines and the most KMT ones, which is no surprise judging from its performances on news item and news duration. FTV News follows CTi News in having 2 headlines on the KMT and 5 on the DPP. As for ETTV News and SET News, 7 programs out of 25 have the DPP news as headlines, but none headline the KMT.

Table 4-9 below expands the headline analysis above and analyzed all the top five stories in each program within the 25 days. The total mean of 2.19 stories indicates that, of the top five stories in each program, 2.19 stories are politics-related (i.e. the rest 2.81 stories are not related to politics). Take FTV News for example. Having the highest average, it devotes 2.84 out of its top five stories to political events every day. The DPP news accounts for 1.84 stories, that is to say, the audiences

of FTV News find that, within the first five stories, 1.84 are associated with the DPP. On the other hand, they find only 0.32 KMT story coming as top five stories in each program.

Within the sample period, of the top five stories, the average appearance of the DPP news (1.35 stories) outnumbers that of government news (0.5 story), that of the KMT news (0.28 story), and that of international news (0.06 story). It becomes evident that the DPP is given more prominence than the KMT, for news about the DPP appears earlier in the program. As for the differences among the stations, FTV News and SET News devote 1.84 and 1.56 out of their first five reports to the DPP per program. In contrast, CTi News only has an average of 0.84 DPP story, suggesting its intention to downplay the DPP news.

Table 4-9. Categorization of top five stories of ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

	Taiwan		International		Total
	Party		Government		
	DPP	KMT			
ETTV News	1.16	0.28	0.56	0.04	2.04
FTV News	1.84	0.32	0.64	0.04	2.84
SET News	1.56	0.16	0.36	0.04	2.12
CTi News	0.84	0.36	0.44	0.12	1.76
Mean	1.35	0.28	0.5	0.06	2.19

The analysis of news appearing order again confirms the findings drawn above. That is, while ETTV News, FTV News, and SET News attach importance to the DPP

news, CTi News consistently downplays it in terms of news item, news duration, and finally, news appearing order.

4.3 Results and Discussion

Bearing the same news values and facing the same situation, the TV news stations in Taiwan are expected to make comparable news reports, unless some underlying constrains intervene. The content analysis in the present study has manifested that during the sample period, the DPP was a more appealing news source than the KMT. What's more, under the same political atmosphere, ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News exhibited considerable diversities in their political news reporting.

First, in terms of the number of news items, the DPP accounts for the majority of the party news. FTV News and SET News devote 3.32 stories and 3.56 stories respectively to the DPP per program. ETTV News holds an average of 2.24 stories, while the average of CTi News falls to 1.96 stories. The dedications of FTV News and SET News to the DPP evidently exceed that of CTi News.

Second, concerning the cumulative news duration, the DPP news surpasses the KMT news as well. FTV News and SET News generally assign 5 minutes and 45 seconds and 5 minutes and 50 seconds to the DPP news. ETTV News has a moderate average of 4 minutes and 10 seconds. Nevertheless, CTi News coverage is 3 minutes and 08 seconds on average, 2 minutes and a half shorter than those of FTV News and SET News. Again it can be easily seen that FTV News and SET News form a sharp contrast to CTi News in the durations of the DPP news.

Last, news appearing orders in the rundowns were analyzed. ETTV News and SET News are found to have as many as seven DPP headlines within the 25 days. FTV News has five DPP headlines, whereas CTi News has the fewest three. As for top

five stories, FTV News and SET News award nearly two stories to the DPP per program, while the average in CTi News drops to 0.84 story per program.

In sum, it can be concluded that FTV News and SET News attribute more news items and longer news durations to the DPP, and the reports air early in the programs. In contrast, CTi News assigns comparatively fewer news items and shorter news durations to the DPP, and the reports do not enjoy the same frequency of becoming top five stories as those do in FTV News and SET News. As for ETTV News, its arrangements in news item, news duration, and news appearing order concerning the DPP news seem to be rather neutral. No obvious partisanship for or against the DPP is detected.

Previous studies (Chang 2006, Chen 2001, Chen and Chen 1992, Chien 2002, Kochurova 2008, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Lee and Craig 1992, Li 2008, Lo et al. 2004, Lo et al. 2007, Lo and Huang 2001, Wang 1993, Yeh 2001) have demonstrated how news organizations quantitatively bias news coverage based on their underlying ideologies and political stances. The more and longer reports a party receives, the more attention it is given. In addition, news presented earlier is valued higher than that presented later. Thus, whether the DPP news or the KMT news is presented more, longer, and earlier than the other tells us how the two parties are valued by the station.

Based on the results of the content analysis in the present study, it thus can be plausibly claimed that FTV News and SET News prefer the DPP, whereas CTi News favors the KMT. ETTV News's stance is the least detectable among the four so far, for its general arrangement of political news achieves the average.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: CASE STUDIES

Following the quantitative content analysis in the last chapter, this chapter employs critical discourse analysis to provide a qualitative and linguistic insight in examining how the four stations differ in their reports of the same events so as to transform any political event into news reports that conform to their political stances.

Background information of chosen political events is first provided in Section 5.1. Section 5.2 brings out van Dijk's ideological square, which determines the stations' political stances. Section 5.3 is a small-scale content analysis. Sections 5.4 and 5.5 are devoted to critical discourse analysis: the former on macrostructure and the latter on microstructure. Last, Sections 5.6 presents results and discussion.

5.1 Background

Three political events were chosen and analyzed critically in the present study. The first report is on KMT Ma Ying-jeou, who attended the second hearing of special expenses trial on April 17, 2007; the second one is about the DPP conference on May 7, 2007, in which Frank Hsieh emerged as the winner of the primary and the 2008 presidential election nomination; and the last one is on the Taiwan government's rejection of the Beijing 2008 Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007. The three reports represent the KMT news, the DPP news and the government news respectively. In what follows, the background information of the three events is first provided.

5.1.1 Ma Ying-jeou's Special Expenses Indictment

Elected KMT Chair by party members on July 16, 2005, Ma Ying-jeou is one of the most popular politicians in Taiwan and known for his integrity. However, on

February 13, 2007 Ma was indicted by the Taiwan High Prosecutors Office on charges of alleged misuse of 'special expenses' during his tenure as the mayor of Taipei. After the indictment, Ma resigned as KMT chair, but immediately declared that he was innocent and would seek the 2008 presidency¹. Though Ma was not the only governor who was indicted², the indictment was, nevertheless, a blast at Ma's clean image³. The news on April 17, 2007 is a report about the second hearing of Ma's trial.

5.1.2 The DPP Joint Conference

In order to win the DPP nomination for the 2008 presidency, the four heavyweights, namely Annette Lu, Yu Shyi-kun, Su Tseng-chang and Frank Hsieh, undergone a fierce unity-threatening infighting, which heated up when Lu, Yu and Hsieh together issued a joint statement on April 27, 2007, accusing then Premier Su of trying to bribe voters with his policies, and warned him against abusing government resources for personal gain. Su and Hsieh, the most promising contenders, continued attacking each other in the following days. The news examined in the present study is about a press conference held on May 7, 2007, in which Hsieh emerged as the winner of the primary and the 2008 nomination, when the other three conceded defeat and vowed to support Hsieh afterwards.

5.1.3 Taiwan's Rejection of the Beijing Olympic Torch Relay

On April 26, 2007 the International Olympic Committee announced the Beijing 2008 Olympic torch relay route. The torch would come to Taipei from Ho Chi Minh City of Vietnam and depart for Hong Kong, Macau and more than 100 cities across

¹ Ma was officially named the KMT's nominee on May 2, 2007, and won the 2008 Presidential Election on March 22, 2008.

² In addition to Ma, KMT honorary chairman Lien Chan and the four heavyweights of the DPP, Annette Lu, Yu Shyi-kun, Su Tseng-chang, and Frank Hsieh, were also indicted.

³ On August 14 and December 28, 2007, the Taipei District Court found Ma not guilty of corruption, and cleared his name of all charges.

China, which made Taipei the 23rd stop in the worldwide route. After the IOC announcement, the KMT Taipei Mayor, Hau Lung-bin, welcomed the torch and viewed it as an opportunity to promote Taipei. Yet hours later, the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee, representing the DPP-ruled central government, turned down the torch in suspicion of Beijing's intention to disguise Taipei as one of its cities.

5.2 Ideological Square

In the seemingly neutral press exists the 'us versus them' dichotomy, that is, unrest in 'them' group will be highlighted while those in 'us' group will be marginalized or even concealed (Lee and Craig 1992, Fang 1994, 2001, Herman and Chomsky 1988). The discriminatory concept was expanded in van Dijk's discussion of the ideological square. In addition to negative other-presentation, positive self-presentation strategies and principles are included (1998:267).

- (1) 1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.
2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them.
3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.
4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

The three pieces of news chosen in the present study involve the two main competing parties in Taiwan, namely the DPP and the KMT, and have conflicting political interests at issue. Concerning Ma's trial, while pan-blue supporters hoped that the court would eventually clear Ma's name, the pan-green coalition believed that the case was an aid to break public illusions about Ma's perfection. As for the DPP conference, though the four heavyweights vowed to unite and work together afterwards, KMT supporters doubted their sincerity for the previous cutthroat infighting. With regard to the Olympic torch relay, there was a conflict between the KMT-ruled Taipei government and the DPP-ruled central government over the relay

route. The KMT, as well as Beijing, planned to welcome the torch in Taipei, whereas the DPP refused it.

Thus under the dichotomous situation in Taiwan, it can be hypothesized that the pan-blue media would suppress both the Ma and Hsieh news, which are negative about Ma and positive about the DPP. On the contrary, the pan-green media would express the two events, which are both beneficial to the DPP. As for the torch news, it is expected that the media would highlight its preferred camp and downplay the other. That is, the pan-blue media will dwell on statements of the KMT and Beijing, while the pan-green media focus on reasons why Taiwan should not accept the route.

In addition, in the supposedly objective report language, the pan-blue media would support Ma, question the DPP assembly, and welcome the torch. On the other hand, the pan-green media would suggest that Ma is corruptive, that the DPP reunion is a symbol of democracy, and that the torch route is Beijing's conspiracy to belittle Taiwan.

5.3 Content Analysis

Before we turn to the CDA approach, let's take a look at how the four stations express or suppress the news events through the number of news items, the cumulative length, and the appearing orders dedicated to them.

From Chapter 4, we have learned that, as far as the KMT news is concerned, CTi News is more devoted. Yet as we can see in Table 5-1 below, the dedication of CTi News to the Ma event does not excel. Rather the reports came late as the 19th and the 20th ones in the program, which can be taken as a sign that CTi News was trying to suppress the Ma news. In contrast, FTV News seemed to express it by making it the fourth report in the program.

In addition, it is noticed that SET News filed five reports in total. The first two

describe the dispute between pan-blue and pan-green supporters outside the courthouse. The third and the fifth ones are supplementary BS stories⁴: the former on the prosecution's new evidence against Ma and the latter on Ma's over-wariness of the trial. Only the fourth one is an engrossed report on the debate in court. However, the considerable reports still suggest its intention to express the event.

Table 5-1. Reports about Ma's special expenses indictment by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 17, 2007

Station	News item	News duration	Appearing order
ETTV News	1	2'10''	11
FTV News	1	2'09''	4
SET News	5	5'50''	7,8,9,10,11
CTi News	2	2'09''	19,20

As for the DPP conference, the result corresponds to the finding in Chapter 4. That is, the news received longer reports in FTV News and SET News, but it was downplayed by CTi News in terms of duration and appearing order. SET News especially provided a report featuring the reconciliation of Hsieh and Su.

Table 5-2. Reports about the DPP joint conference by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on May 7, 2007

Station	News item	News duration	Appearing order
ETTV News	1	2'11''	2
FTV News	1	2'43''	5

⁴ For a discussion on BS story, please refer to Section 3.2.

SET News	2	3'09"	3,4
CTi News	1	1'58"	9

Last, the prominence of the torch news is unquestionable: a headline story with long duration and subsequent reports. Nevertheless, it is still evident that ETTV News and CTi News contributed much more time to the event than FTV News and SET News. The discrepancy lies in that while ETTV News filed two⁵ comprehensive reports, and CTi News one, on Beijing's response to Taiwan's rejection, FTV News completely lacked it, and the SET News report was a rather sketchy BS story.

Table 5-3. Reports about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay by ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 26, 2007

Station	News item	News duration	Appearing order
ETTV News	7	11'39"	1,2,3,4,5,6,22
FTV News	4	6'42"	1,2,3,19
SET News	6	7'49"	1,2,3,4,5,6
CTi News	6	11'27"	1,2,3,4,5,20

Even on the following day, April 27, 2007 (see Table 5-4), ETTV News and CTi News continued reporting on later negotiation with Beijing, whereas FTV News and SET News were wanting in this aspect. In short, ETTV News and CTi News covered the event in a larger scale than FTV News and SET News.

Table 5-4. Reports about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay by

⁵ The contents of the two reports are identical. The first one is a live report, and the second one is an edited package story made out of the first one.

ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News on April 27, 2007

Station	News item	News duration	Appearing order
ETTV News	3	6'07''	5,6,7
FTV News	0	0	0
SET News	0	0	0
CTi News	3	4'39''	1,2,3

In sum, FTV News and SET News emphasized Ma's trial, but de-emphasized Beijing's response in the torch relay. CTi News alone suppressed the report about Ma, but it sided with ETTV News in the torch news elaboration. As for the DPP news, no significant difference is found. Yet FTV News and especially SET News had given a longer coverage.

Based on the principles of the ideological square above, it thus can be suggested that FTV News and SET News support the DPP, for they expressed Ma's indictment and the DPP reunion. Both events benefited the DPP. On the contrary, CTi News is believed to uphold the KMT by downplaying Ma's news, which was harmful to Ma's image. The findings that FTV News and SET News are pan-green and that CTi News is pan-blue coincide with the results concluded in the last chapter. As far as ETTV News is concerned, its performances in the KMT news and the DPP news were quite fair. Yet, in the torch news, ETTV News sided with CTi News in that they dwelled on Beijing's statements, whereas on the other hand, FTV News and SET News overlooked them. Thus it can be preliminarily proposed that ETTV News is for the KMT. Nevertheless, further support from a detailed critical discourse analysis is needed.

In what follows, critical discourse analysis examine and manifest how the four stations manipulate their news languages so as to transform political events into

reports that best conform to their ideologies and political stances. Both macro- and micro-structures of the reports are discussed.

5.4 Critical Discourse Analysis: Macrostructure

In van Dijk's framework, in addition to linguistic features, macrostructures of news reports, i.e. the news schema, deserve a critical examination. The news schema, which is composed of a number of characteristic categories, functions as an organizer for complex information presented in news (van Dijk 1988, 1991). By manipulating the presence or absence of categorical information, journalists are able to construct a reality that best serves news organizations' ideologies and interests. The following analysis thus aims to reverse the manipulation process and expose the news stations' political stances by investigating the macrostructures of the political events.

5.4.1 Analysis of Ma Ying-jeou's Special Expenses Indictment

In the second court hearing of Ma's special expenses case on April 17, 2007 (Circumstances), there was a dispute between Ma and the prosecutor, Hou Kuan-jen, over the probe (Summary). Ma said that he was summoned as a witness but induced to answer questions as a defendant in the previous investigation (Previous Events), which was a surprise attack against the Code of Criminal Procedure (Main Events). But Ho insisted that the questioning procedure was legitimate (Consequences).

First in the Headlines (see Table 5-5), it can be seen that ETTV News and CTi News took Ma's perspective, for they cited his astonishment about being treated as a defendant in the first probe. In SET News, however, the prosecution was the news actor, who tried to frame Ma. Yet the use of interrogatives, instead of declaratives, suggests its suspicion toward Ma's challenges. As for FTV News, its headline set up the circumstances and pointed out the debate in court, but no definite position was

taken. Figures 5-1 to 5-4 below present the macrostructures of the reports.

Table 5-5. Headlines of the reports about Ma Ying-jeou's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007

Station	Headline
ETTV News	<p>去年首偵關係人變被告 馬英九錯愕</p> <p><i>Qunian shouzhen guanxiren bian beigao Ma Ying-jeou cuoe</i></p> <p>'First investigation last year a witness turned into a defendant Ma felt staggered'</p>
FTV News	<p>馬英九二度出庭 突襲・誘導・攻防</p> <p><i>Ma Ying-jeou erdu chuting Tuxi, youdao, gongfang</i></p> <p>'Ma Ying-jeou's second court attendance Ambush, inducement, offence and defense'</p>
SET News	<p>突襲偵查騙馬？ 傳票沒律師陷罪？</p> <p><i>Tuxi zhencha pian Ma? Chuanpiao mei lushi xianzui?</i></p> <p>'Ambush-like investigation lied Ma? Summons without a lawyer framed him?'</p>
CTi News	<p>攻侯寬仁</p> <p>首度傳喚即是被告 馬英九：很錯愕</p> <p><i>Gong Hou Kuan-jen</i></p> <p><i>Shoudu chuanhuan jishi beigao Ma Ying-jeou: Hen cuoe</i></p> <p>'Attack Hou Kuan-jen First summons as a defendant Ma Ying-jeou: Very staggered'</p>

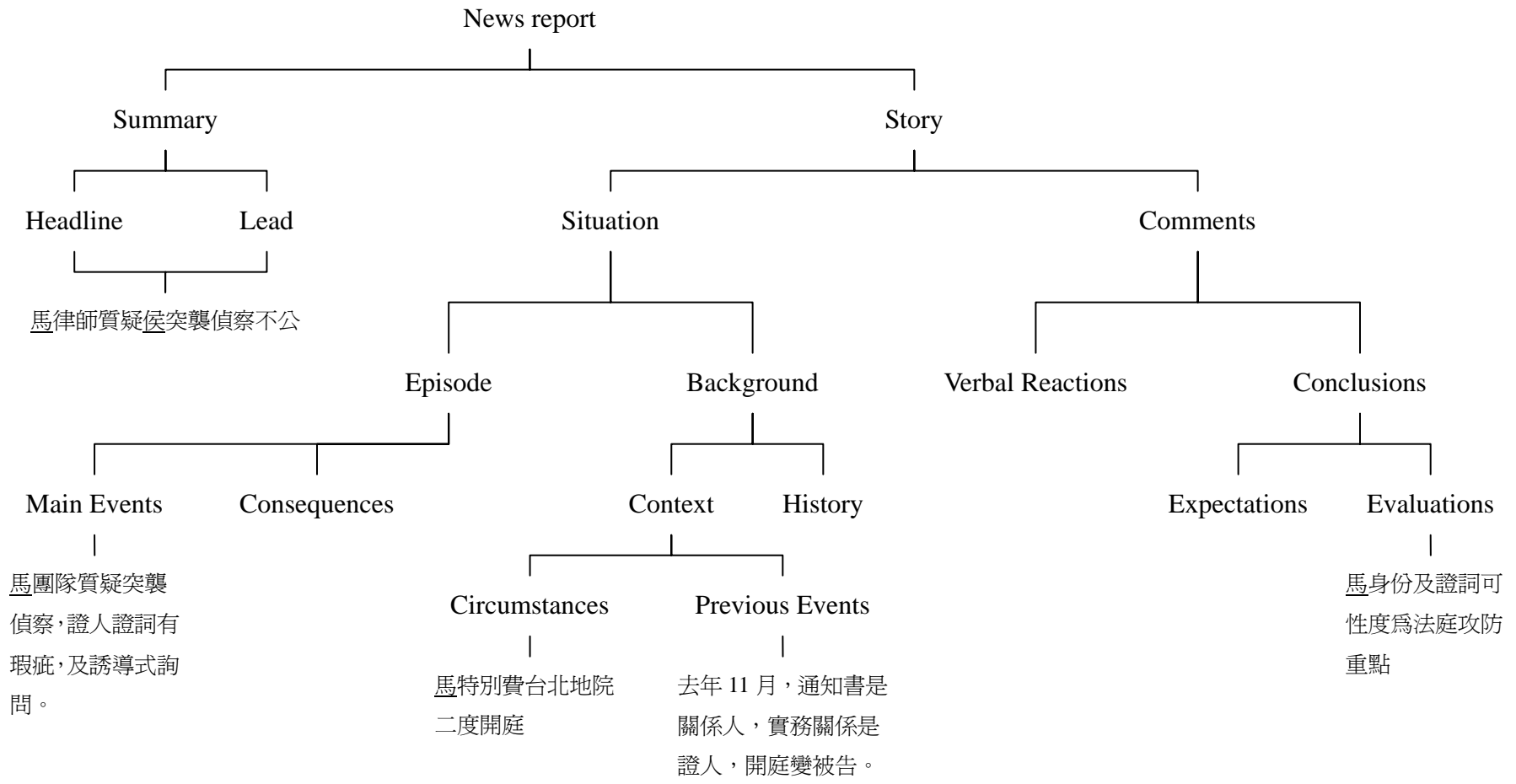


Figure 5-1. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007

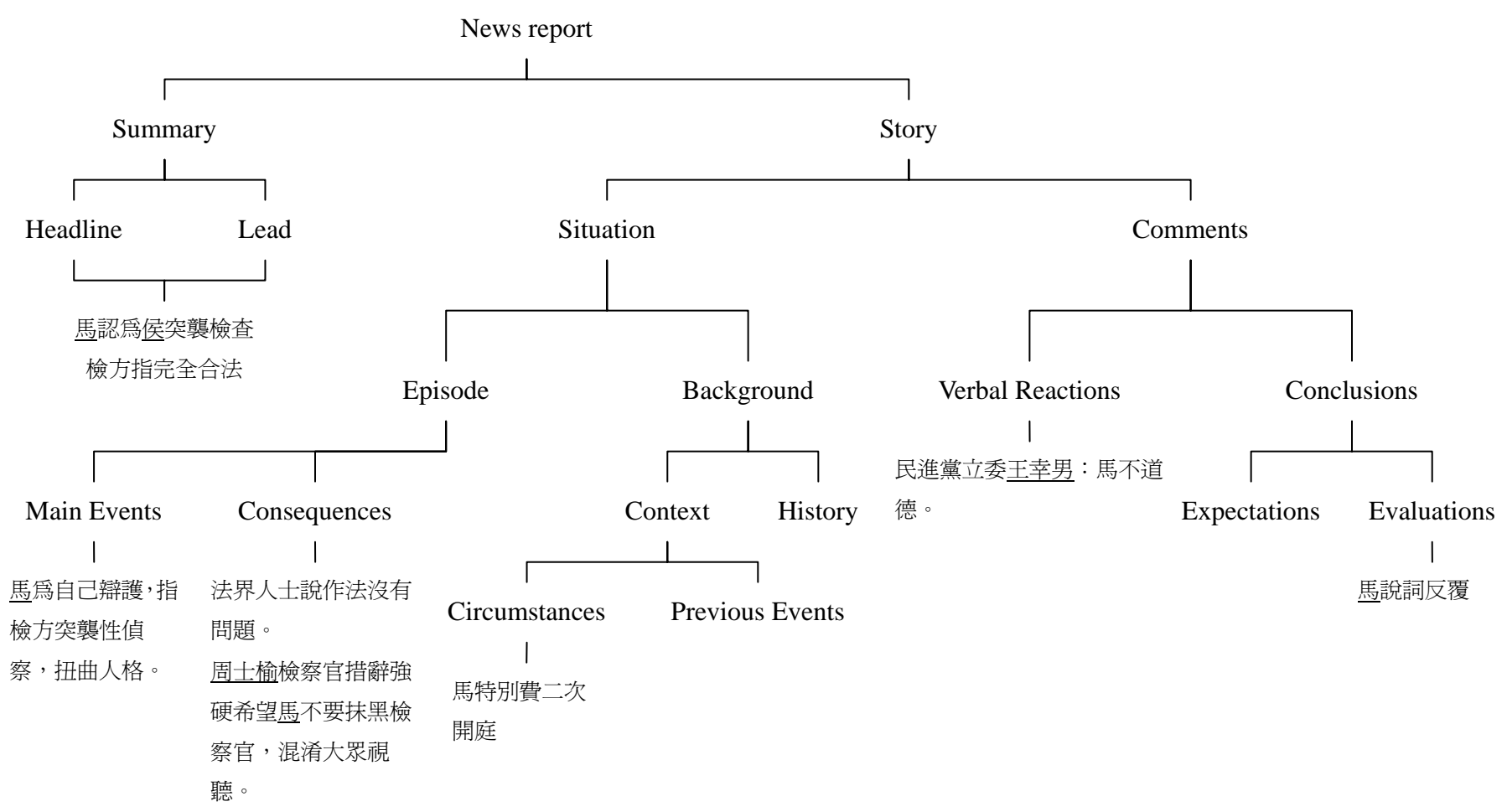


Figure 5-2. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007

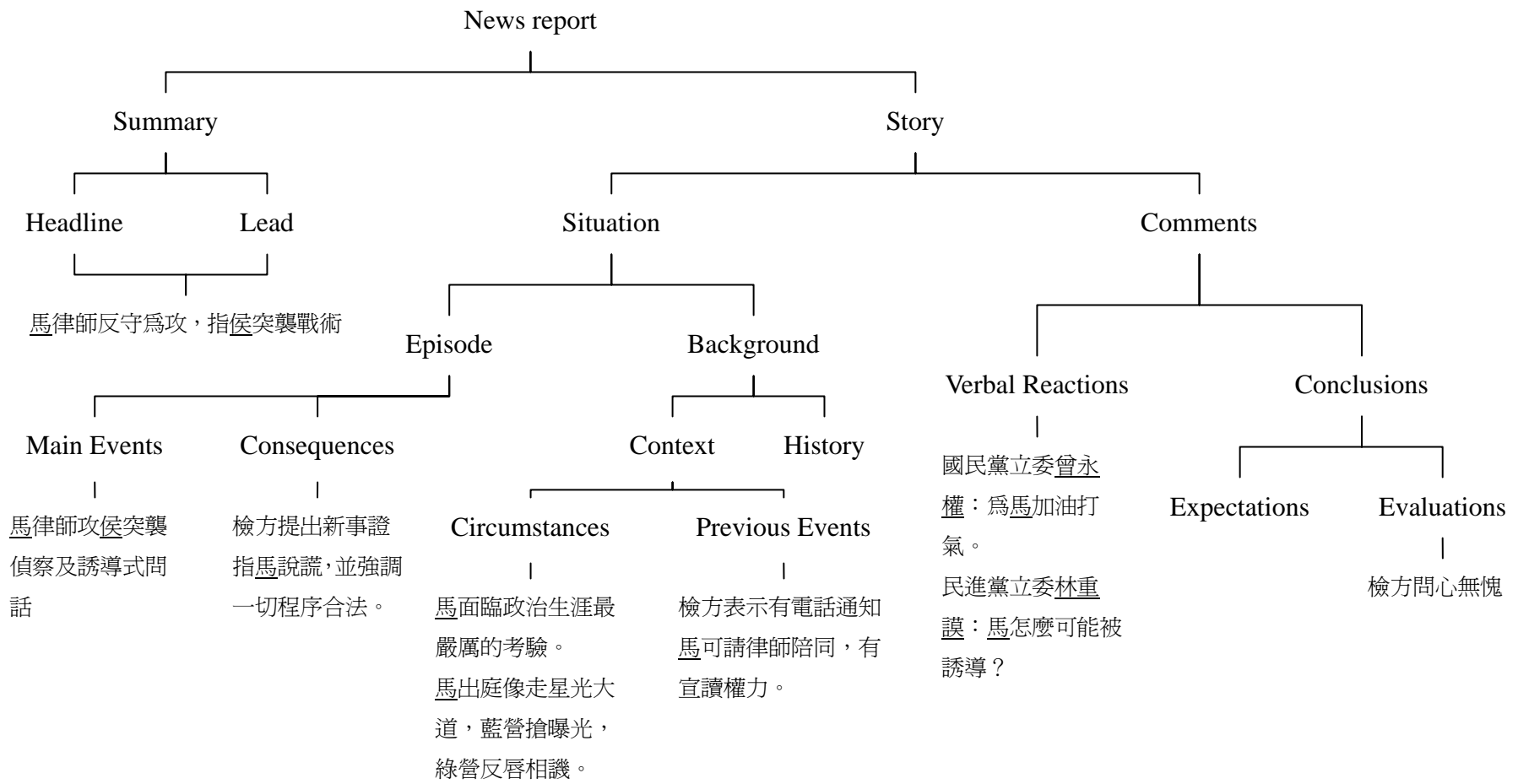


Figure 5-3. The schematic structure of the SET News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007

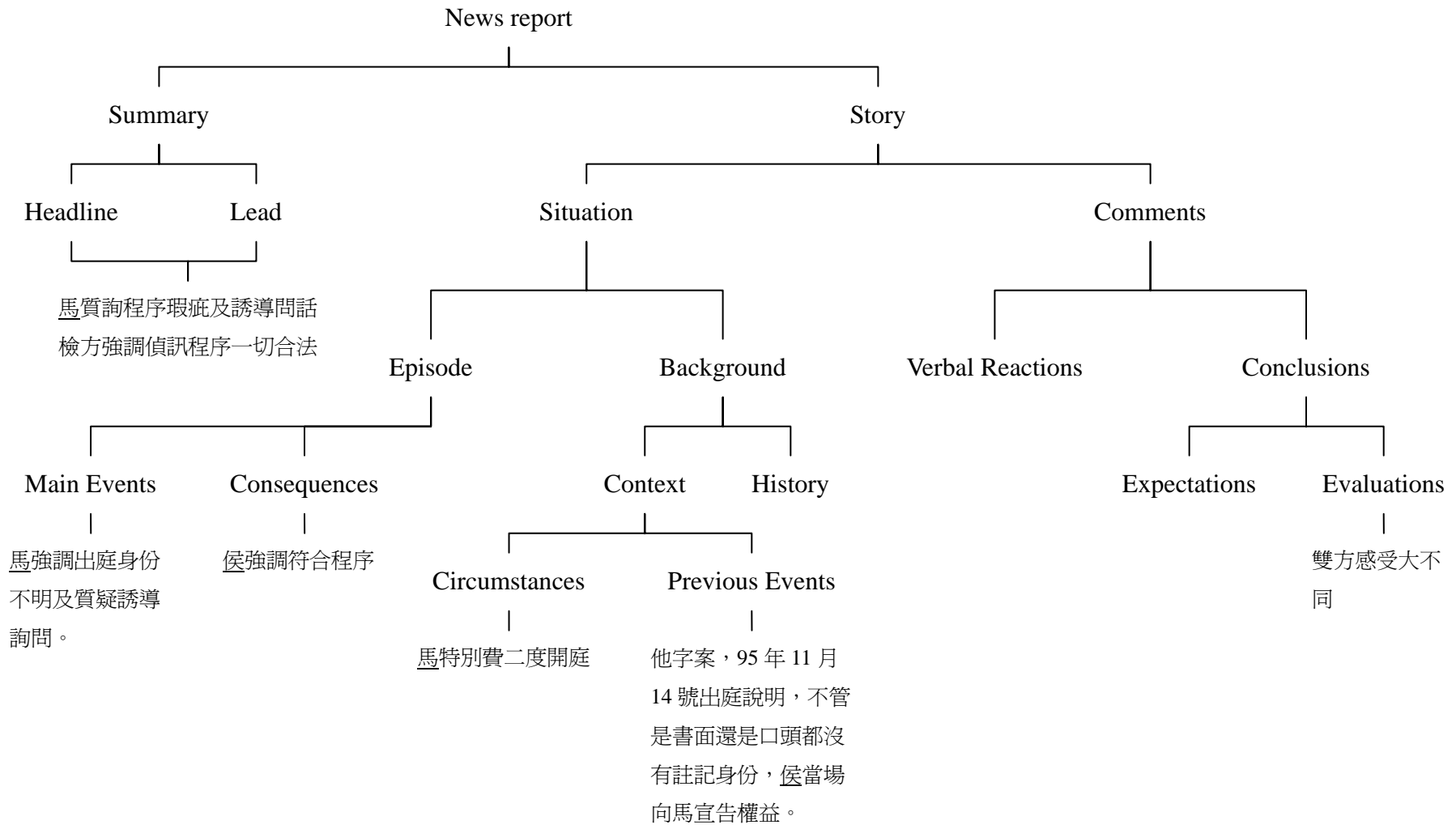


Figure 5-4. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about Ma's special expenses indictment on April 17, 2007

ETTV News (see Figure 5-1) contrasts sharply with the rest because it alone thoroughly dismissed the prosecution's voice (Consequences). Only one side of the story, i.e. Ma's, was told.

As for FTV News (see Figure 5-2), it has a report against Ma. In the Consequences, Prosecutor Chou Shih-yu reportedly stopped Ma in court from discrediting the prosecution and fooling the public again. Besides, in the Verbal Reactions, FTV News quoted Wang Sing-nan, a DPP legislator, who challenged Ma's ethics.

Likewise, SET News (see Figure 5-3) in the Consequences reported that the prosecution had adduced new evidence against Ma. It also quoted DPP Legislator Lin Chung-Mo in the Verbal Reactions, who doubted how a grown-up like Ma could be induced into making statements he did not mean. Nevertheless, a KMT legislator, Tseng Yung-chuan, was also quoted, who believed in Ma's innocence.

Further in the Circumstances, SET News termed the indictment as the greatest obstacle lying ahead for Ma. It portrayed Ma's attendance of the court hearing to be a star hitting a red carpet. In the meantime, KMT politicians were trying to *qiang puguang* 'gain visibility' through Ma's presence, and DPP supporters mocked at their clamors. Suffice it to say that the ridiculing of Ma's situation in SET News is a sign of its unfriendliness against Ma.

To clarify whether the prosecutor did, as Ma's claimed, ambush him, the information about Previous Events is the key. However, FTV News alone is wanting in this category, and what's interesting is that the other three stations tell three different stories. CTi News (see Figure 5-4) said that the prosecution never notified Ma whether he was a witness or a defendant, neither in written form nor in speech. Yet in the ETTV News version, the notice sent to Ma did mark that he was summoned as a witness, but then he was treated as a defendant in the probe without an

accompanying defense lawyer. According to SET News, the court informed Ma on the phone that he could have a lawyer present during the questioning. Three news stations came up with three past events, serving to demonstrate that news reports are by no means faithful reproductions of facts, but interpreted stories with ideologies at work. Based on the information presented, we can tell that ETTV News and CTi News took Ma's perspective while SET News joined the prosecution, echoing their choices in the Headline.

Last, concerning the Evaluations, ETTV News concluded that the court debate was on Ma's identity and his testimony's credibility. CTi News reported that the two sides had distinct interpretations toward the same event. Both stations neither took sides nor drew any judgmental conclusion. Yet FTV News and SET News did not disguise their attitudes for the former commented that Ma's statements were contradictory and the latter boosted the prosecution's credibility.

As a whole, ETTV News suppressed the prosecution's voice and preferred Ma, though its Evaluations were rather neutral. The FTV News report is a bit particular in that it alone left out Past Events, and dwelled on the Consequences, in which Ma's honesty was questioned. Based on this particular arrangement and the Evaluations, it can be inferred that FTV News disfavored Ma. SET News was on the prosecution's side, evident from its Headline, Past Events and Evaluations. As for CTi News, both sides were presented and the Evaluations were rather impartial, but it empathized with Ma in the Headline and in the Past Events description.

5.4.2 Analysis of the DPP Joint Conference

On May 7, 2007 Hsieh won the DPP 2008 nomination, after Lu, Yu and Su conceded defeat (Summary). In the conference (Circumstances), the four heavyweights sought forgiveness and vowed to take steps to unite afterwards (Main

Events), forming a sharp contrast to the earlier furious infighting (Previous Events).

The four stations came up with similar Headlines (see Table 5-6), pointing out that Lu, Yu and Su vowed to spare no effort in supporting Hsieh. Only ETTV News and FTV News mentioned their previous conflicts. Nevertheless, whereas FTV News asserted that they had dismissed their enmities, ETTV News put a question mark, suggesting its doubt about their unity. The complete macrostructures are presented in Figures 5-5 to 5-8 below.

Table 5-6. Headlines of the reports about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007

Station	Headline
ETTV News	<p>民調停辦 謝蘇成形</p> <p>四天王化心結？ 全力挺謝前進 2008</p> <p><i>Mindiao tingban Hsieh Su chengxing</i></p> <p><i>Si tianwang hua xinjie? Quanli ting Hsieh qianjin 2008</i></p> <p>‘Poll cancelled Hsieh-Su ticket formed</p> <p>The four heavyweights have dissolved grudges?</p> <p>Spare no effort to back Hsieh pursuing 2008 presidency’</p>
FTV News	<p>選前刀見骨/選後泯恩仇 團結齊挺謝</p> <p><i>Xuanqian daojiangu/xuanhou min enchou</i></p> <p><i>Tuanjie qi ting Hsieh</i></p> <p>‘Before election fighting deadly/After it enmities dismissed</p> <p>Unite together to back Hsieh’</p>
SET News	<p>呂蘇游全力挺 “未來的謝總統”</p> <p><i>Lu, Su, Yu quanli ting “weilaid Hsieh zongtong”</i></p> <p>Lu, Su and Yu spare no effort to support “future President Hsieh”</p>

CTi News

團結大和解！ 呂游蘇同台挺謝選總統

Tuanjie da hejie!

Lu, Yu, Su tongtai ting Hsieh xuan zongtong

‘A united reconciliation!’

Lu, Yu and Su back Hsieh for presidency on the same stage’

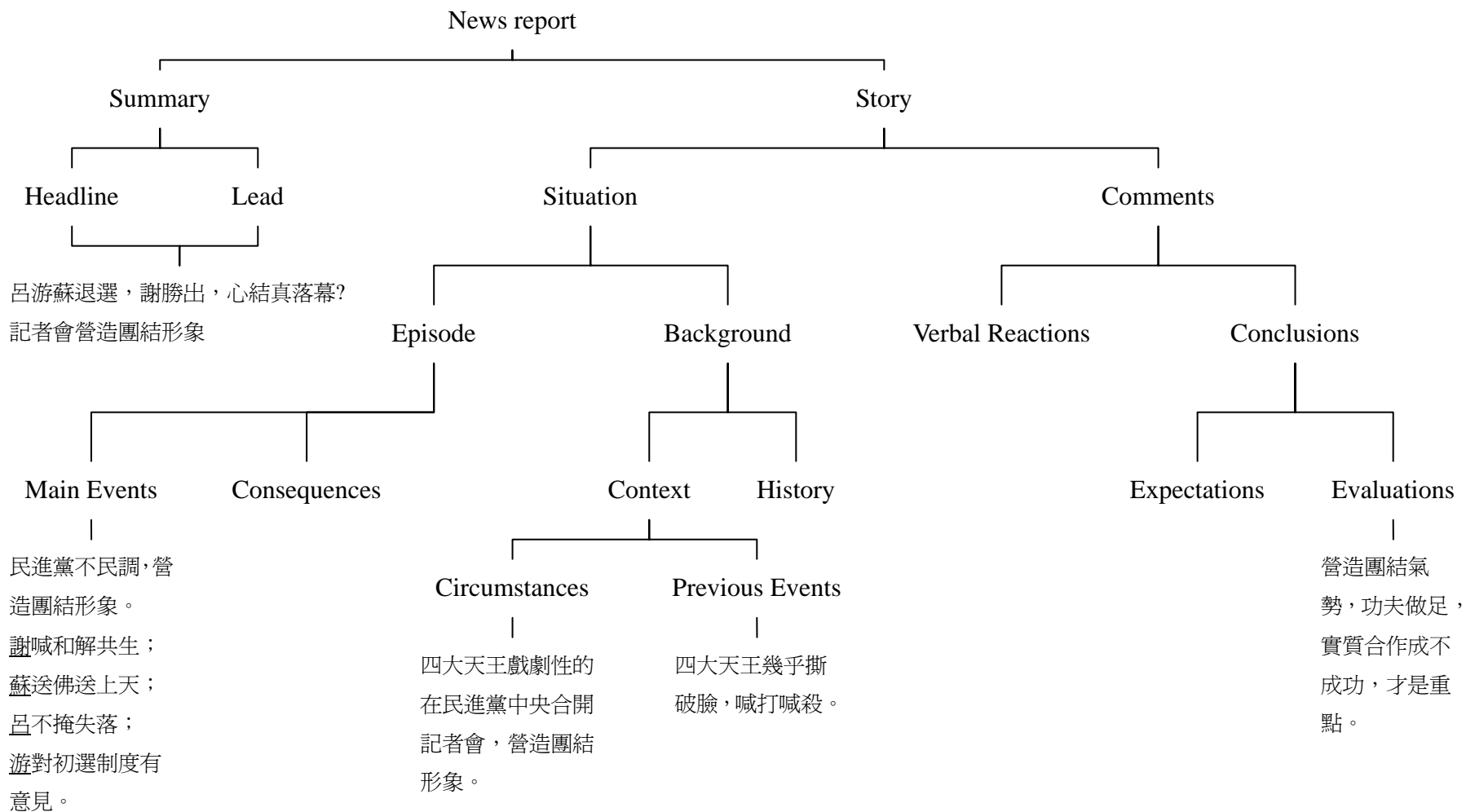


Figure 5-5. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007

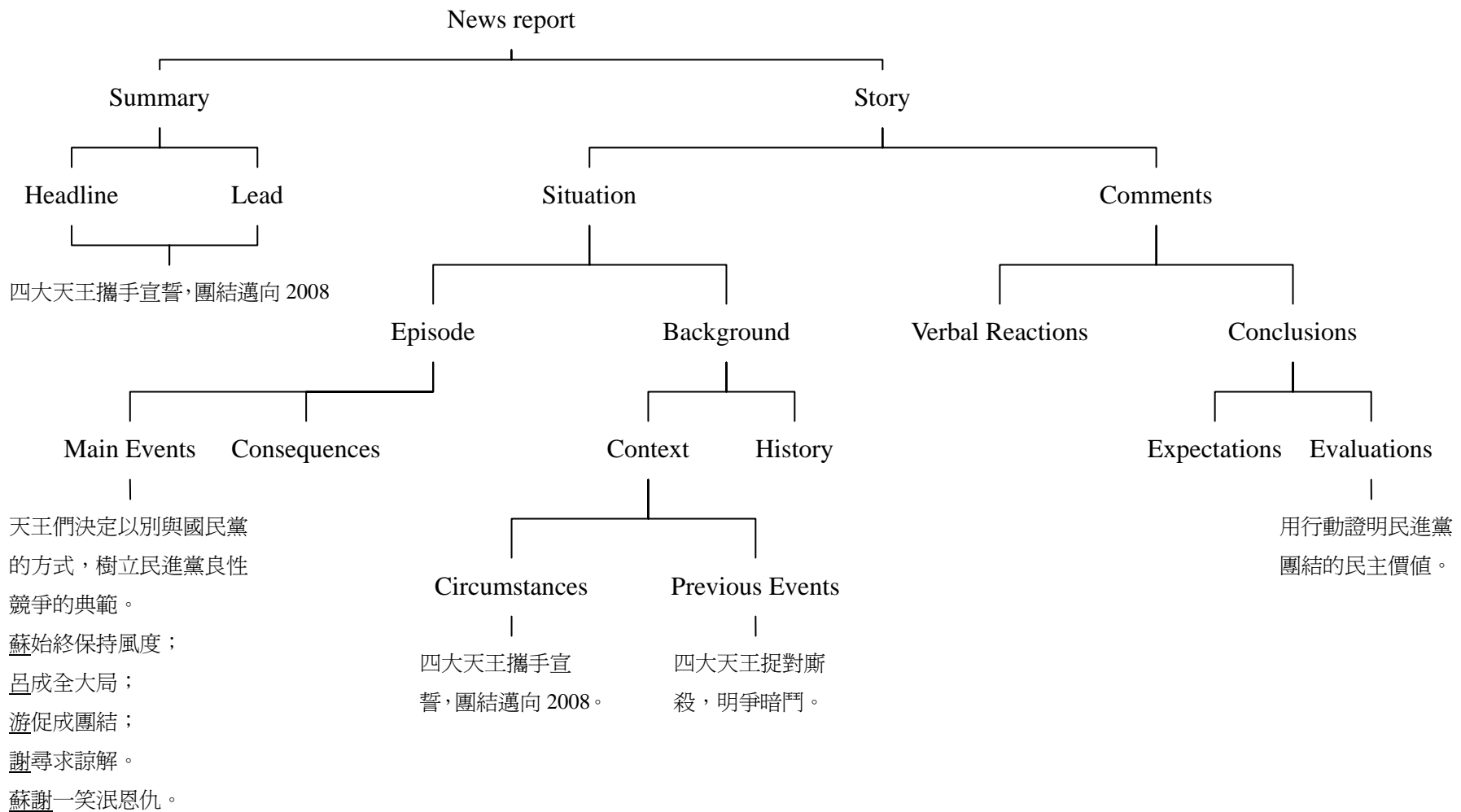


Figure 5-6. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007

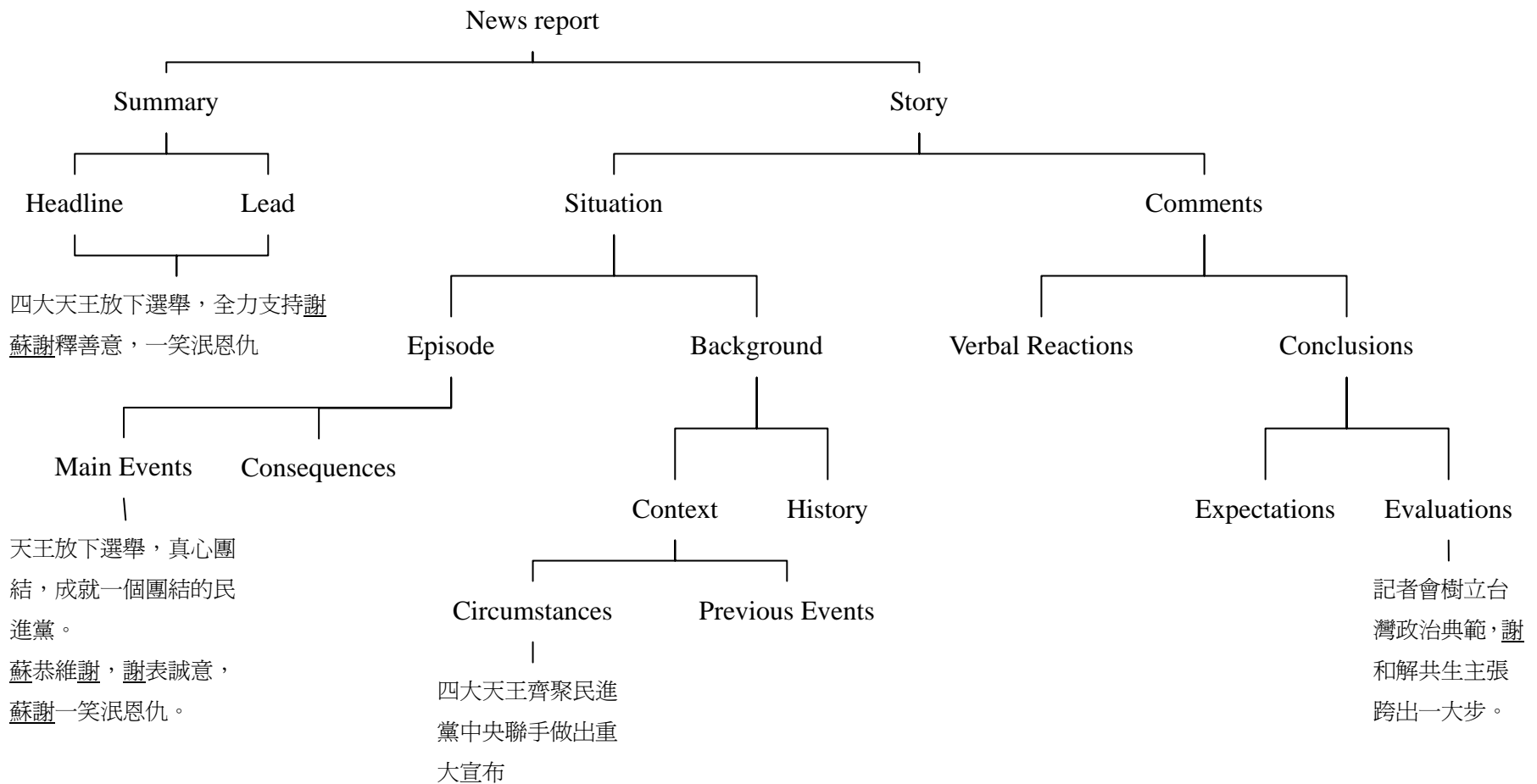


Figure 5-7. The schematic structure of the SET News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007

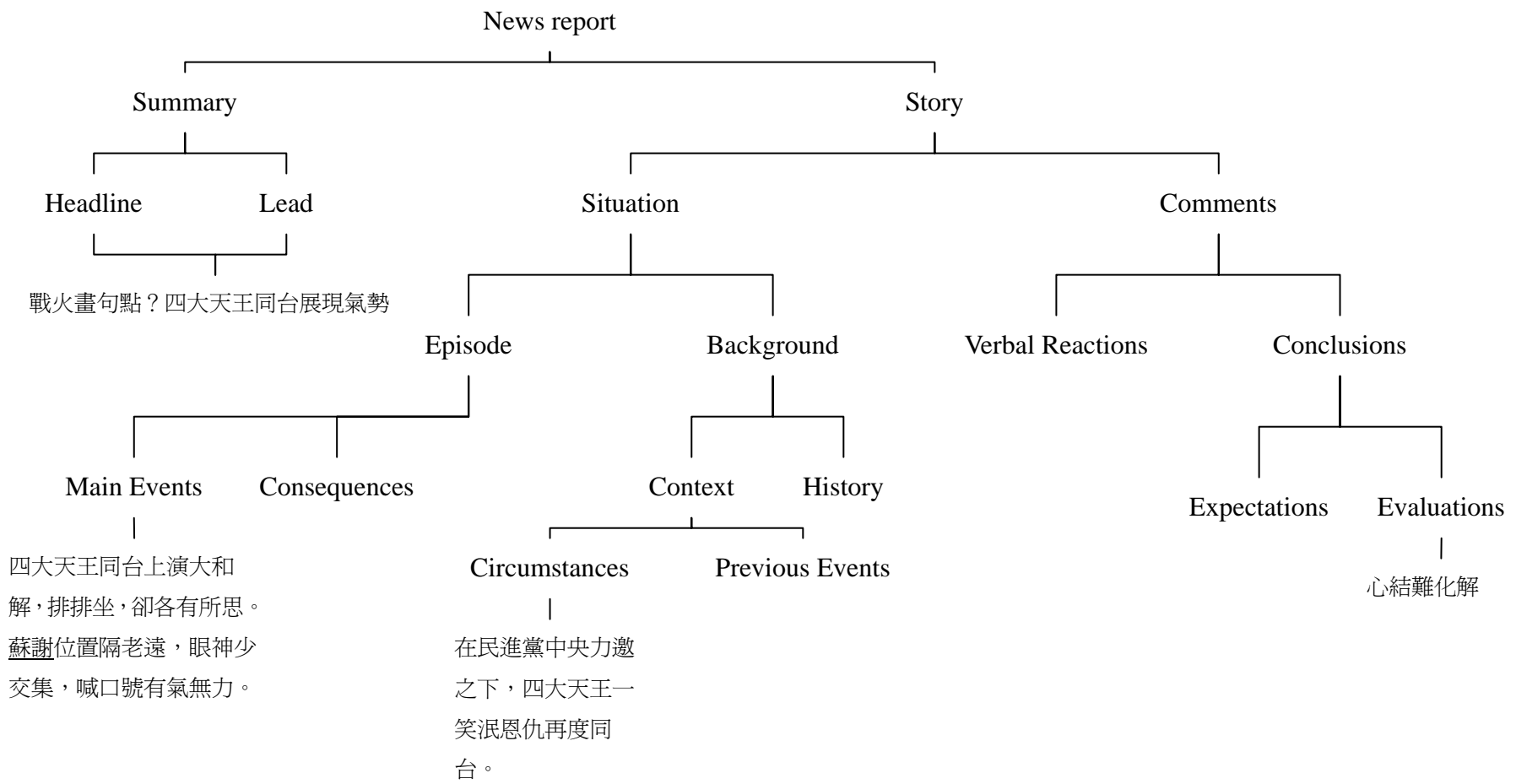


Figure 5-8. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about the DPP joint conference on May 7, 2007

ETTV News (see Figure 5-5) and CTi News (see Figure 5-8) began the report with a rhetorical question in the Lead. ETTV News asked if the grudges between the four heavyweights really dropped curtain, and CTi News questioned whether this kind of primary result actually put a period to their war. The use of rhetorical question encouraged the audience to suspect that whether the heavyweights would, as they claimed, forgo their grudges and unite afterwards.

(2) a. 四大天王，他們的心結是不是也真正落幕了？

Sidatianwang, tamen de xinjie shibushi ye zhenzheng luomu le?

‘Do the grudges between the four heavyweights really drop curtain?’

(ETTV News, May 7, 2007)

b. 那麼這樣子的初選結果真的目前那麼這樣子的戰火畫下句點嗎？

Name zheyangzi de chuxuan jieguo zhende muqian zheyangzi de zhanhuo huaxia judian ma?

‘Then does this kind of primary result really, for the time being, put a period to the war?’

(CTi News, May 7, 2007)

The skepticism can also be found in the following Main Events when ETTV News described that Lu did not disguise her disappointment and Yu had some opinions about the primary. CTi News described that, though sitting together, the heavyweights embraced different thoughts. To ETTV News and CTi News, the solidarity was nothing but an atmosphere they tried to create. On the contrary, SET News (see Figure 5-7) praised that the heavyweights *zhenxin tuanjie* ‘united wholeheartedly’, which set a prime example of virtuous competition according to FTV News (see Figure 5-6).

In addition, while FTV News and SET News applauded that Hsieh and Su *yixiao min enchou* ‘dismissed their enmities with a laugh’, according to CTi News, the two

leading heavyweights had few eye contacts.

The diverse descriptions in the Main Events foreshadow their later Evaluations, in which FTV News and SET News made positive comments on the conference that it displayed democratic values and afforded a good example. In contrast, CTi News commented that *xiejie nan huajie* ‘the grudge was hard to settle’. ETTV News avoided any definite evaluation but exhibited a skeptical attitude in concluding that despite the joint conference, it was future essential cooperation that counted.

In short, FTV News and SET News believed in the DPP reunion, while ETTV News was cautious about its credibility and CTi News bluntly discredited it in the Main Events and the Evaluations.

5.4.3 Analysis of Taiwan’s Rejection of the Beijing Olympic Torch Relay

The situation in the torch news is more complicated for three parties are involved, including the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG), the KMT-ruled Taipei government, and the DPP-ruled Taiwan central government. When the Taipei government and the BOCOG approved of the torch route, the Taiwan government, represented by the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee (CTOC) and the Sports Affairs Council (SAC), was unsatisfied and rejected it (Summary).

On April 26, 2007, the 2008 torch relay route was announced in Beijing (Circumstances). Taipei Mayor Hau expressed his excitement about the torch’s coming to Taipei (Previous Events). Yet, hours later, the CTOC and the SAC turned down the torch relay. They believed that the route, which linked Taipei to China-ruled Hong Kong and Macao, was an attempt to create an impression that Taipei was the first stop of the domestic route and that Taiwan was part of China, which dwarfed Taiwan’s status as an independent, sovereign state (Main Events). The unexpected decision discontented Hau and the KMT, and also surprised the BOCOG. According

to Beijing, the relay had been discussed with and agreed by Taiwan sports officials in writing (Consequences).

The contents of the Headlines looked similar, but transitivity used was contrasting (see Table 5-7). The four stations all pointed out Taiwan’s rejection of the torch. Concerning the *aihua* ‘belittlement’ factor, to FTV News and SET News, the torch route and the BOCOG were the agent and thus were responsible. Yet to ETTV News, it was the Taiwan government who claimed the route to be belittling. The use of exclamation mark added a dramatic touch to the rejection decision. In addition, ETTV News brought out Beijing’s response right in the Headline. As for CTi News, it failed to mention *aihua* ‘belittlement’ in the Headline, instead the vague expression *bu manyi* ‘discontent’ was used. Also it designated that Taiwan’s rejection was unprecedented in history. The macrostructures are presented below from Figure 5-9 to Figure 5-12.

Table 5-7. Headlines of the reports about Taiwan’s rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007

Station	Headline
ETTV News	<p>聖火路線公布 台：矮化！不接受！</p> <p>台灣拒聖火 北京：台、港是境外路線</p> <p><i>Shenghuo luxian gongbu Tai: Aihua! Bu jieshou!</i></p> <p><i>Taiwan ju shenghuo Beijing: Tai, Gang shi jingwai luxian</i></p> <p>‘Torch route announced</p> <p>Taiwan: Belittling! Unacceptable!</p> <p>Taiwan refused the torch</p> <p>Beijing: Taiwan and HK belong to extraterritorial route</p>

FTV News

聖火路線矮化主權 我方拒接受

Shenghuo luxian aihua zhuquan Wofang ju jieshou

'Torch route belittle our sovereignty

We refuse it'

SET News

奧矮化我國國籍 中華奧會：無法接受

Ao aihua woguo guoji Zhonghua Aohui: Wufa jieshou

'IOC belittles our nationality

CTOC: Unacceptable!'

CTi News

不滿意路線 我創首例拒聖火來台

Bu manyi luxian Wo chuang shouli ju shenghuo lai Tai

'Discontent with the route

We make the first example by refusing the torch to Taiwan'

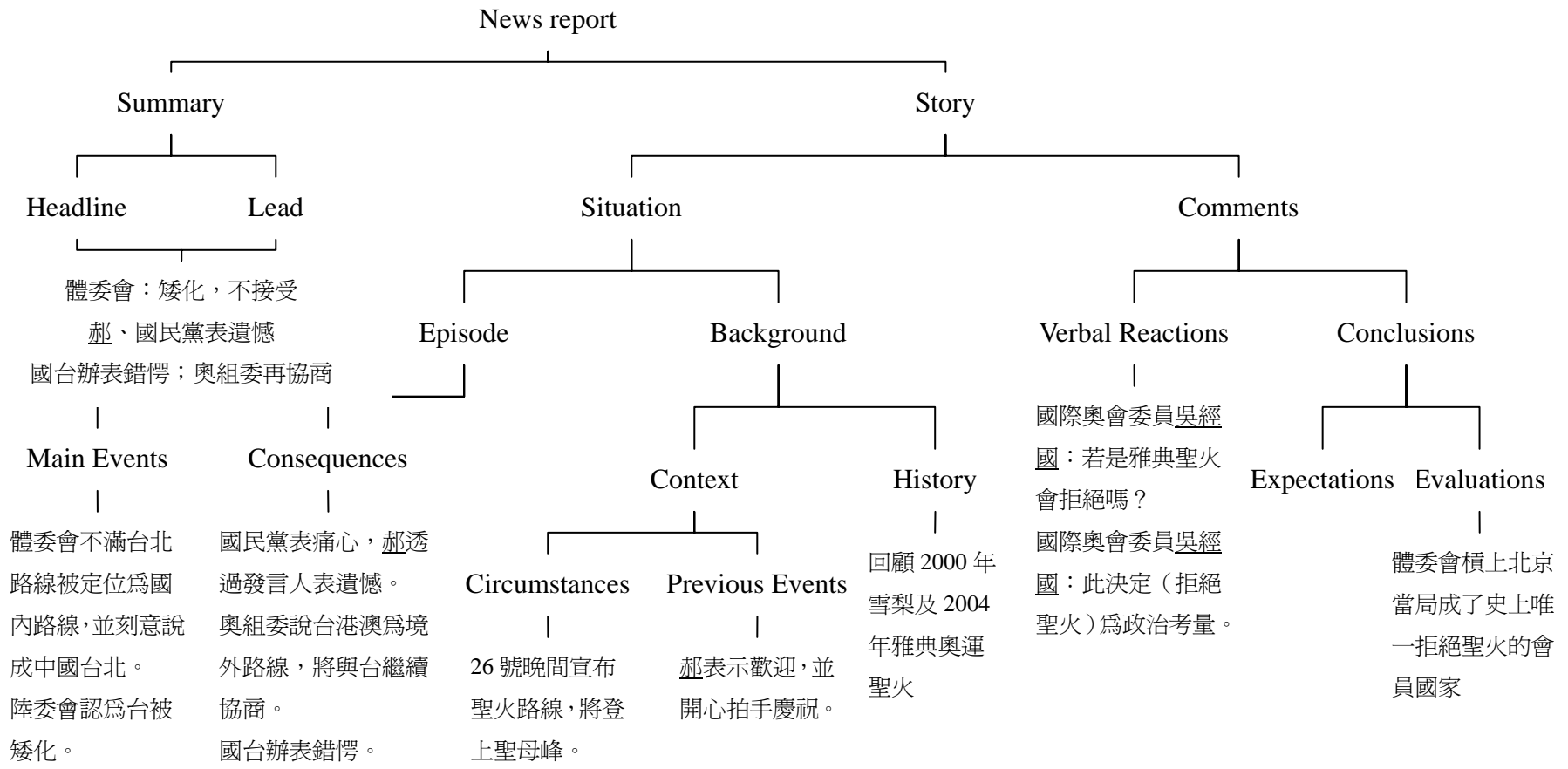


Figure 5-9. The schematic structure of the ETTV News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007

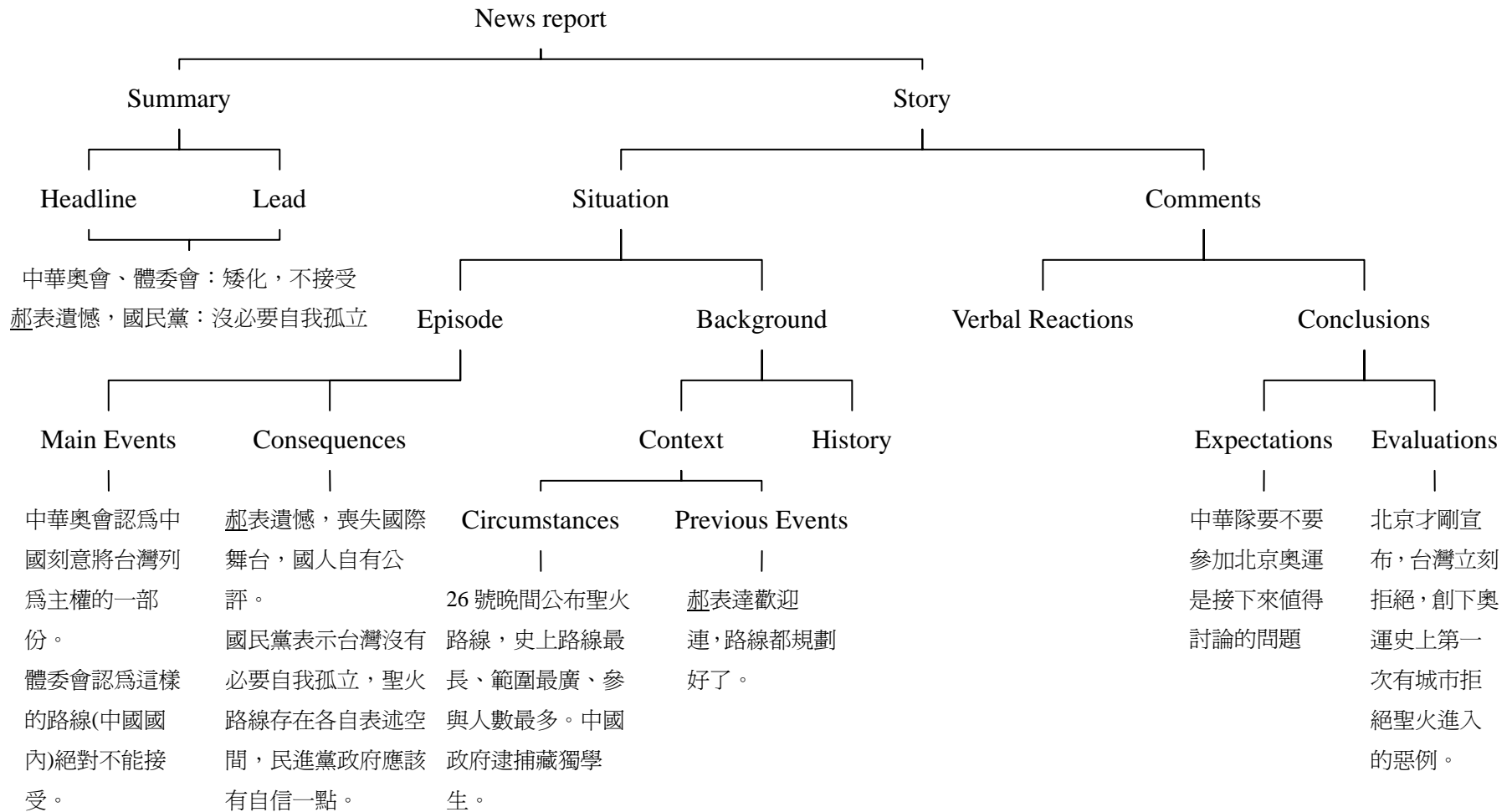


Figure 5-10. The schematic structure of the FTV News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007

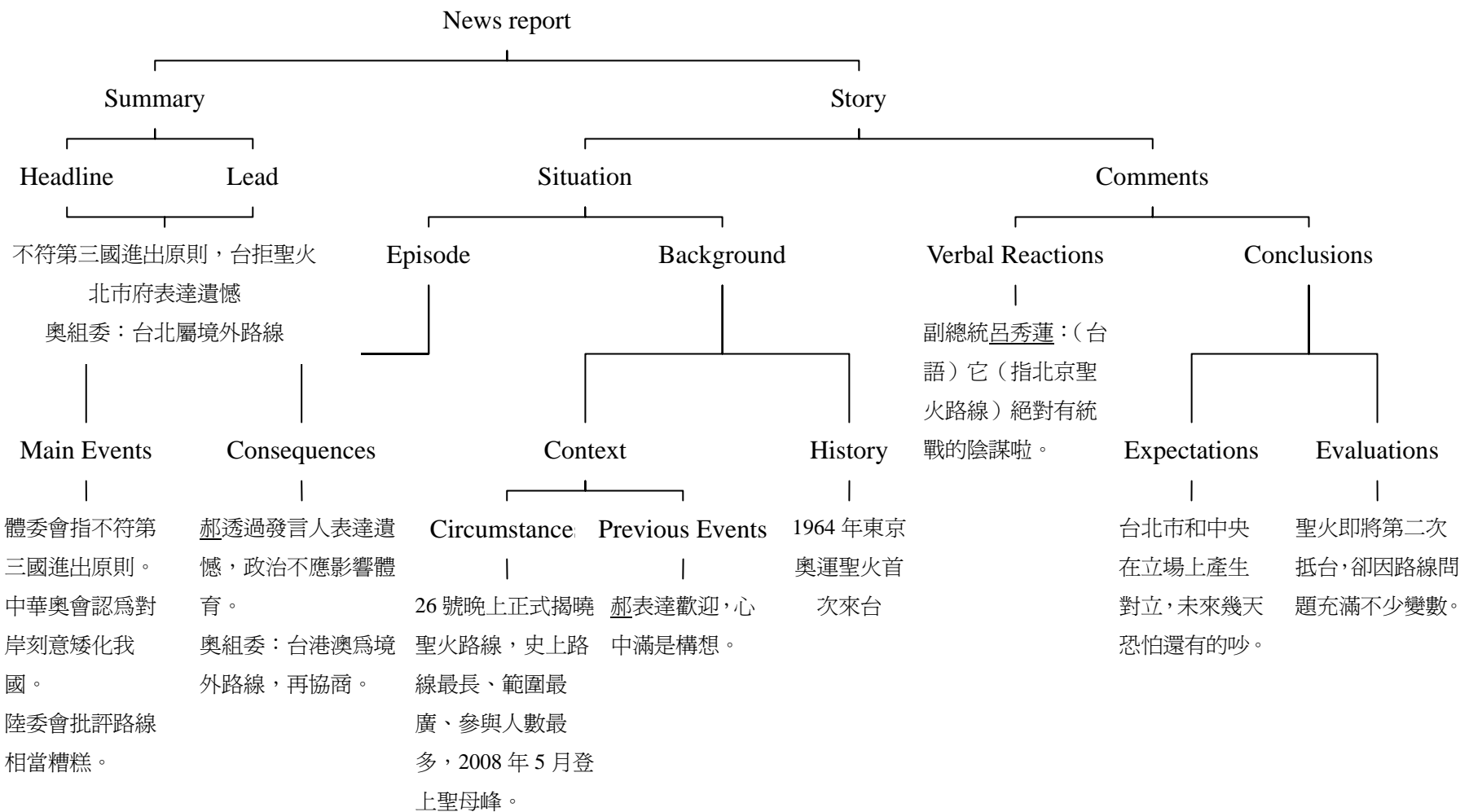


Figure 5-11. The schematic structure of the SET News report about Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007

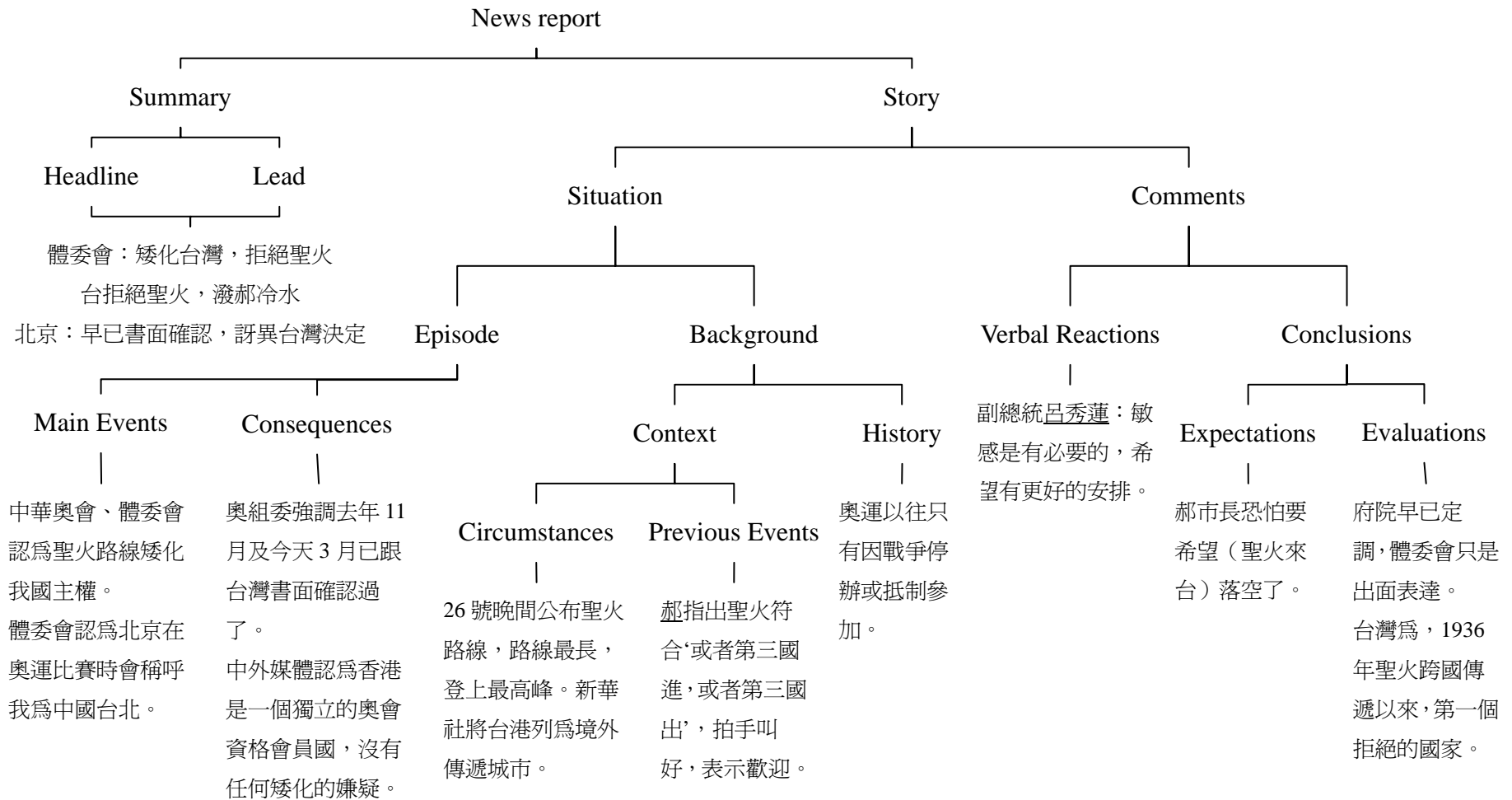


Figure 5-12. The schematic structure of the CTi News report about Taiwan’s rejection of the Beijing Olympic torch relay on April 26, 2007

In Section 5.3 above, we have noticed that in contrast to ETTV News and CTi News, which elaborated on later negotiation with Beijing (Consequences), SET News contributed a brief BS story only and FTV News completely lacked for it. The neglect of Beijing in FTV News (see Figure 5-10), resembling the way ETTV News treats the prosecution in the Ma news, implies its suppression of disfavored voice. In the Circumstances, FTV News further reported that the relay also aroused disturbance in Tibet, in which four American activists waving a banner reading, ‘One World, One Dream, Free Tibet 2008,’ were detained by Chinese authorities.

Similar to FTV News, SET News (see Figure 5-11) downplayed the Consequences as well with the use of a thirty-second-long BS story. In addition, its Main Events contrasts sharply with the Previous Events of CTi News (see Figure 5-12). The two stations are found to ally with two opposing sides, which embraced distinct principles. According to SET News, the route violated the SAC’s insistence that the torch go into and pass out of Taipei through a third party. Yet, CTi News quoted Hau’s words, saying that the route had satisfied the previous agreement that the torch either came from or left for a third country. The and/or inconsistency between the SAC and the Taipei government explicated why the latter accepted the route but the former declined it. The reports meanwhile disclose the two stations’ opposing stances, that is, SET News was pro the SAC, and CTi News was on Hau’s side.

To consolidate its position, in the Consequences, CTi News specified that, according to Executive Vice-president of the BOCOG, the route had been discussed with and agreed by Taiwan officials in writing. It also indicated that Chinese and foreign media had suggested Hong Kong be recognized as an independent Olympic member, and the Taipei-Hong Kong route had no intention to belittle Taiwan. Even in the History, CTi News repeatedly emphasized that the Olympic Games had been

suspended or boycotted, but the torch was never refused to enter, which made Taiwan the first Olympic member country to deny the torch.

Unlike CTi News, ETTV News (see Figure 5-9) raised its doubts in the Verbal Reactions, in which, Wu Ching Kuo, Chinese Taipei member of the IOC, was quoted. Wu questioned, if it had been the Athens torch, whether the DPP government would have refused it. He also criticized that the government decision was politics-oriented.

Then Vice-president Lu was also quoted in SET News and CTi News. However, SET News broadcasted Lu's certainty about Beijing's *yinmou* 'conspiracy', whereas CTi News selected a more moderate statement that a better arrangement was hoped for.

Last in the Evaluations, ETTV News, FTV News, and CTi News all marked that Taiwan's declination of the torch was unprecedented in history. Unlike the other three, SET News concluded that with respect to the torch's coming to Taiwan, there were still uncertainties, leaving some room for future developments and changes.

As a whole, CTi News found the torch rejection unjustified, judging from its report on the 'third-country-entrance-or-exit' agreement (Previous Events), Beijing's reaction (Consequences) and the historical impact (History). SET News was more for the DPP government, based on its report on the 'third-country-entrance-and-exit' agreement (Main Events). ETTV News, with the exceptional quotations of Wu (Verbal Reactions), also felt the refusal questionable. As for FTV News, it ignored Beijing's response (Consequences) and featured the torch controversy in Tibet (Circumstances), serving as a sign of its dislike for Beijing.

5.4.4 Discussion on Macrostructure

In Wang (1993), it was found that in reporting the Soviet coup, the *Renmin Ribao* report, compared with the New York Times, was short of contextual information and

historical background, as can be seen from its macrostructure. Wang thus suggested that ideology and political interests are two potential factors causing the structural difference.

The present study has broadened the discussion of macrostructure by including four news stations and three news events. According to the analysis of macrostructure above, it is found that FTV News and SET News mocked at Ma's plight, praised the DPP conference, and suppressed Beijing's response in the torch route report. On the contrary, ETTV News and CTi News supported Ma, questioned the DPP reunion, and emphasized possible disastrous effects caused by Taiwan's rejection of the Olympic torch.

That is to say, FTV News and SET News expressed information that is negative about the KMT and positive about the DPP, while suppressing information that is negative about the DPP. ETTV News and CTi News yielded an opposite pattern. They touched on information that is negative about the KMT and positive about the DPP lightly, whereas criticizing the DPP government's decision to turn down the torch. Thus based on the ideological square, it can be inferred that FTV News and SET News are pan-green, while ETTV News and CTi News are pan-blue. The macrostructure analysis not only confirms findings from the previous content analysis, but also exemplifies the four principles of the ideological square, as discussed below.

The first principle of the ideological square is to express and emphasize information that is positive about us. The most obvious example is that FTV News and SET News boosted the DPP joint conference by using highly positive evaluative terms, such as *zhenxin tuanjie* 'unite wholeheartedly' and *yixiao min enchou* 'dismiss their enmities with a laugh'.

Likewise, when various sources are available, the favorable one is presented. For example, in the reports about Ma's trial, when Ma and the prosecution were arguing

whether the previous investigation was an ambush or not, ETTV News and CTi News presented Ma's statements, whereas SET News associated with the prosecution. Also in the torch relay, SET News and CTi News presented conflicting viewpoints held by the SAC and the Taipei government, making the reports advantageous to their specific positions.

What's more, statements of preferred personage and perspective stand a better chance to appear in the reports than those of opposing stance. Therefore, FTV News and SET News quoted DPP Legislators' comments on Ma's trial, which were unfavorable to Ma's position. ETTV News quoted Wu's criticism of the DPP government in the torch report.

In addition to positive self-presentation, the second principle of the ideological square is to express and emphasize information that is negative about them. The FTV News report that Ma was scolded by Prosecutor Chou Shih-yu and the SET News report that the prosecution brought out evidence against Ma exemplify the principle. Furthermore, the extensive description in CTi News concerning how inappropriate the rejection of the torch was is an illustrative example of negative other-presentation.

The first two principles talk about information promotion. Yet there are times when information is strategically left out in the reports, as a means to circumvent information that is positive about them and negative about us. Hence, suppression of relevant information in the news coverage serves as an indication of the stations' biased attitudes as well.

The third principle of the ideological square states that the media suppresses and de-emphasizes information that is positive about them. Therefore, in the news about the DPP conference, ETTV News and CTi News began their reports with rhetorical questions, which suggest their doubts toward the reunion. The descriptions of the heavyweights' interactions and the concluding remarks, like *xiejie nan huajie* 'the

grudge is hard to settle' in CTi News, were also skeptical. Namely, they downplayed any information that might be beneficial for the DPP.

The last principle is to suppress and de-emphasize information that is negative about us. For example, in the Ma news, the omission of the prosecution' voice in ETTV News might be seen as a strategy to protect Ma. Another example is that FTV News failed to report Beijing's censure toward Taiwan's rejection in the torch news. Both stations concealed information that was unfavorable to their political stances.

The discussion so far has demonstrated how the news stations employ the ideological square to express the side of an event that it identifies with and to suppress the unfavorable side, so that they can come up with reports conforming to their ideologies and political stances.

Aside from the ideological square, the analysis also demonstrates that previous studies laid exclusive emphasis on Headline (Fang 2001, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979, Kuo and Nakamura 2005, Teo 2000, van Dijk 1988, 1991, Wang 1993), but the other previously neglected categories are illuminating as well in exploring ideologies.

To begin with, in the Main Events of the DPP conference, it is found that FTV News and SET News praised the four heavyweights' solidarity, but to ETTV News and CTi News, the unity was make-believe.

Then Consequences may be suppressed if it comes against the news organization's ideologies. Therefore, ETTV News ignored the prosecution in the Ma news, just as FTV News dismissed Beijing in the torch report.

Circumstances can be manipulated to set the desirable background. For example, in SET News, the dramatic presentation of Ma's court hearing set a sarcastic atmosphere over his situation. And the FTV News report about the protest in Tibet over the torch route left the audience an impression that the route was itself

controversial and that the government's suspicion of Beijing's intention to dwarf Taiwan was neither oversensitive nor groundless.

The depiction of Previous Events also shapes the audience's perception of Main Events. Thus in the Ma news, the audience of ETTV News and CTi News might find Ma's position more sympathetic, for he was not prepared in advance, than those of SET News, according to which Ma was informed ahead on the phone.

Even History helps tell an ideological story, as can be seen in the CTi News report about the torch relay. During the introduction of the past Olympic Games, CTi News repeatedly reminded the audience that Taiwan's rejection of the torch was unheard-of in history, which sent out a message that the decision was unwise and inappropriate.

The formation of Situation is full of manipulation, let alone the opinion-laden Comments. The selection of Verbal Reactions and the making of Evaluations in the reports are found to conform to the stations' stances as well. Thus FTV News and SET News presented DPP legislators' voices in the Ma news, and ETTV News resorted to Wu Ching Kuo's criticism against the Taiwan government in the torch event.

After the discussion on macrostructure, it can be concluded that: first, the four principles of the ideological square are employed by the news stations to compose reports that comply with their perspectives; second, not only Headline, but all the other categories of the news schema are worthy of analysis, for all the categories are potential advocates of the media's ideologies and political stances.

5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis: Microstructure

The content analysis and the macrostructure analysis so far have demonstrated the ways how the news stations make up reports that best serve their political interests. In what follows, the more local and concrete use of textual cohesion is analyzed to

reveal how its usage conforms to the ideological square as well.

Cohesion encodes relations—such as additive, adversative, causal and temporal—among propositions through an inventory of non-structural resources, including reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction and lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Halliday 1985). How sentences are woven into a news report is ideologically-motivated and revealing (Fairclough 1995, van Dijk 1988, 1991).

The present analysis focuses on how the news stations manipulate conjunction and lexical cohesion to present reports congruent with their political stances. Concerning conjunction, the connective *danshi* and the adverb⁶ *que* are examined, both of which denote adversative relations. As for lexical cohesion, features like repetition, synonym, and collocation (Halliday 1985) are at issue.

First, the connective *danshi* ‘but/yet’ is examined. As a contrastive marker, *danshi* encodes adversative relations among propositions and creates textual cohesion. Different from *keshi* ‘but’, the most common and general contrastive marker in casual dialogues, *danshi* is found more frequently in formal discourses, especially in formal monologues, as is the case with news reports. It denotes explicit and direct denial of prior propositions and puts emphasis on following utterances (Lin 2004, Liu 2000, Wang 2005, Wang and Tsai 2007). Hence it is referred to as a ‘point-making device’ in Wang and Tsai (2007).

Concerning the special expenses trial, both ETTV News and CTi News used the contrastive marker *danshi* in their reports to underline the inequality Ma was facing. According to ETTV News, Ma was summoned as a witness, but treated as a defendant during the investigation. The use of *dan*⁷ highlighted the contrast between being a witness and being a defendant. In CTi News, Ma was summoned, but not informed of

⁶ Unlike *danshi*, *que* is not a grammatical conjunction, but a conjunctive adjunct.

⁷ *Dan* is a variant of *danshi*.

his identity. The use of *danshi* emphasized the uncertainty of Ma's being a witness or a defendant.

(3) a. 通知書上寫的是關係人，實務關係則是證人，但一開庭卻變成被告。

Tongzhishu shang xie de shi guanxiren, shiwu guanxi ze shi zhengren, dan yi kaiting que biancheng beigao.

'The notice marked that Ma was a related party, and that the practical relation is a witness. Yet when the court was called to order, Ma became a defendant.'

(ETTV News, April 17, 2007)

b. 然而只載明案件有請馬英九來說明之必要，但是究竟是被告還是關係人身份來出庭，根本就沒有註記。

Raner zhi zaiming anqian you qing Ma Ying-jeou lai shuoming zhi biyao, danshi jioujing shi beigao haishi guanxiren shenfen lai chuting, genben jiou meiyou zhuji.

'However, it only notified that it was necessary for Ma Ying-jeou to come and explain. But whether he was summoned as a defendant or a related party, it did not mark out.'

(CTi News, April 17, 2007)

The unjustified investigation against Ma suggested that Ma was the victim of an unfair trial. The use of the contrastive marker *dan* in ETTV News and *danshi* in CTi News highlighted information that was beneficial to Ma's situation. That is to say, in terms of the ideological square, the emphatic feature of the contrastive marker *danshi* can be used to express information that is positive about us.

In contrast to ETTV News and CTi News, SET News used *danshi* to refute Ma's statement. It was reported that in court Ma especially criticized that he *bei youdao* 'was induced' by the prosecutor concerning the details of the case. Passivization in

Chinese, often in the form of the *bei* construction, denotes an adverse situation, i.e. something unfortunate has happened (Chao 1968). However, the immediate use of *danshi* followed by the quote of Lin Chung-mo changed the tone of the report. Lin, a DPP Legislator, made fun of Ma that how a grown-up like him could be induced into making statements he did not mean.

- (4) 庭內呢，馬英九特別批評說是被誘導整個案情喔。但是現在呢，林重謨他說話囉，他就說呢，馬英九那麼大的一個人了，怎麼可能這麼容易被誘導呢？

Tingnei ne, Ma Ying-jeou tebie piping shuo shi bei youdao zhengge anqing o.
Danshi xianzai ne, Lin Chung-mo ta shuohua lu, ta jiu shuo ne, Ma
Ying-jeou namo da de yigeren le, zemo keneng zhemo rongyi bei youdao ne?

‘In court, Ma Ying-jeou especially criticized that he was induced in terms of the details of the case. But now, Lin Chung-mo spoke up, he said, how could a grown-up like Ma Ying-jeou be so easily induced?’

(SET News, April 17, 2007)

The contrastive feature of *danshi* rejected the prior statement that Ma was induced by the prosecutor, and its emphatic feature thickened Lin’s sarcasm towards Ma. Instead of identifying with Ma’s claims, SET News ridiculed his situation. The use of the contrastive marker *danshi* allowed SET News to suppress information that was favorable to Ma, and, at the same time, express information that was unfriendly to him. Namely, with the help of the contrastive marker, SET News suppressed information positive about them and meanwhile expressed information negative about them, which fulfilled its own ideological intention.

A similar ideological move is found in CTi News, as shown in (5). As a pan-blue medium opposite to SET News, CTi News used the contrastive marker *danshi* to de-emphasize information positive about the prosecution and to emphasize

information positive about Ma. According to CTi News, Ma denied that Ho had laid pressure on him, but he questioned that the procedure was flawed. The contrastive marker *danshi* downplayed the previous statement that Ho did not force Ma, but stressed the later interrogation that the prosecution's procedure was unrighteous.

- (5) 雖然馬英九是說否認說侯寬仁有施壓的動作，但是卻質詢第一次的應訊呢，原本是以關係人，卻轉以被告身份偵訊，認為檢方的程序上有瑕疵。
Suiran Ma Ying-jeou shi shuo founen shuo Hou Kuan-jen you shiya de dongzuo, danshi que zhixun di yi ci de yingxun ne, yuanben shi yi guanxiren, que zhuan yi beigao shenfen zhenxun, renwei jianfang de chengxu shang you xiaci.

‘Ma denied that Hou Kuan-jen put pressure on him, but he questioned that in the first investigation, instead of the original identity as a related party, he was investigated as a defendant. He thought that the prosecution's procedure was flawed.’

(CTi News, April 17, 2007)

To resist Ma's confrontation, SET News employed the contrastive marker *dan* as well. It can be seen that, through the use of the contrastive marker *dan*, the censure from Ma's camp against the prosecution was suppressed, while the new evidence against Ma was accentuated.

- (6) 辯方律師團特別指責說檢方呢突襲被告做法有爭議。但檢方也特別見招拆招，提出了厚達 38 頁的新證據喔。

Bianfang lushituan tebie zhize shuo jianfang ne tuxi beigao zuofa you zhengyi. Dan jianfang ye tebie jianzhaochaizhao, tichu le hou da 38 ye de xin zhengju o.

‘The defendant's attorneys especially criticized that the prosecution's practice to ambush the defendant was controversial. But the prosecution

repelled the attack by bringing out 38-page-long new evidence.’

(SET News, April 17, 2007)

From the above analysis, it can be readily seen the contrastive marker *danshi* is manipulated in a way to serve the news stations’ political stances. It is employed to express information that is positive about us or negative about them, and to suppress information that is positive about them. The contrastive marker can also be used to suppress information that is negative about us, as shown below.

- (7) a. 雖然謝蘇兩人座位一左一右隔了大老遠，沒有太多的機會交談，但這一握兩人用眼神傳遞訊息，很有默契的點點頭，在鏡頭前謝蘇一笑泯恩仇。

Suiran Hsieh Su liang ren zuowei yizuoyiyou ge le dalaoyuan, meiyou taiduo de jihui jiaotan, dan zhe yi wo liang ren yong yanshen chuandi xunxi, hen youmoqi de diandiantou, zai jingtou qian Hsieh Su yixiaominenchou.

‘Hsieh and Su sat far apart and had few conversations. Yet through the handshake, the two exchanged telling glances and nodded with a tacit understanding. In front of the camera, Hsieh and Su dismissed their enmities with a laugh.’

(SET News, April 17, 2007)

- b. 四大天王是一笑泯恩仇再度同台，要來展現團結的氣勢。但是這蘇謝兩人位置隔得很遠，甚至眼神很少交集，連喊口號也是有氣無力的。

Sidatianwang shi yixiaominenchou zaidu tongtai, yao lai zhanxian tuanjie qishi. Danshi zhe Su Hsieh liangren weishi ge de hen yuan, shenzhi yanshen hen shao jiaoji, lian han kouhao ye shi youqiwuli de.

‘The four heavyweights dismissed their enmities with a laugh and appeared on the same stage again to display the power of union. But the seats of Su and Hsieh were far apart, their eye contacts were few, and the slogan was

shouted in a feeble voice.’

(CTi News, April 17, 2007)

In reports about the DPP conference, both SET News and CTi News mentioned that the heavyweights dismissed their enmities with a laugh and that Hsieh and Su sat far apart. The former piece of information was beneficial to the DPP solidarity image while the latter implied a split between Hsieh and Su. Yet with the tactical use of contrastive marker, SET News and CTi news put forth two opposite interpretations.

As a supporter of the DPP, SET News used *dan* to downplay the prior description that Hsieh and Su sat far apart, and to emphasize the later interaction that the two heavyweights dismissed their enmities with a laugh. The concession marker *suiran* ‘although’ was also used. Together with *danshi*, they signaled a concessive-contrastive relationship. In this regard, information negative about the DPP was suppressed, while information positive about it was upheld. On the contrary, CTi News first presented the scene that the heavyweights had a joint conference, but, with the use of *danshi*, disputed their sincerity by underscoring the fact that Hsieh and Su sat far apart.

CTi News continued to report that the heavyweights looked friendly and pleasant on the stage. Yet it questioned how they could dissolve their grudges within such a short time, as in (8a), and described that they embraced different thoughts, as in (8b). The use of the contrastive marker *dan* not only disturbed the onstage harmony among the heavyweights, but also amplified the skeptical voice of CTi News. That is, it speculated that the heavyweights were unable to forgo their grudges and that they were not of one mind. The uses of *dan* served the political stance of CTi News by challenging the DPP solidarity.

- (8) a. 呂蘇游謝同台上演大和解，但初選種下的心結怎麼會是一天兩天就能化解？

Lu, Su, Yu, Hsieh tongtai shangyan da hejie, dan chuxuan zhongxia de xinjie

zeme hui shi yi tian liang tian jiou neng huajie.

‘Lu, Su, Yu and Hsieh together acted a scene of reconciliation on the same stage, but how could they dissolve their grudges within one day or two?’

b. 台面上發言權你讓我我讓你，一團和氣，但呂蘇游謝排排坐，卻是各有所思。

Taimian shang fayanquan ni rang wo wo rang ni, yituanheqi, dan Lu, Su, Yu, Hsieh paipaizuo, que shi geyousuosi.

‘On the stage they politely declined the right to speak, looking friendly and pleasant. Yet Lu, Su, Yu and Hsieh sat side by side, but they embraced different thoughts in minds.’

(CTi News, May 7, 2007)

Similar to CTi News, ETTV News withheld information positive about the DPP and conveyed information negative about it. It was reported that Yu kept expressing his gratitude to his supporters, but he still had some opinions about the primary system. The use of the contrastive marker *danshi* discounted Yu’s appreciation while putting emphasis on his dissatisfaction.

(9) 游錫堃則是感謝再感謝，但是他對初選制度還是有意見。

Yu Shyi-kun ze shi ganxie zai ganxie, danshi ta dui chuxuan zhidu haishi youyijian.

‘Yu Shyi-kun kept expressing his gratitude, but he still had some opinions about the primary system.’

(ETTV News, May 7, 2007)

Last, in the reports about the torch relay, ETTV News, SET News, and CTi News all used the contrastive marker *danshi* to pinpoint the route that the torch would come from Taiwan to China-ruled Hong Kong. The emphatic feature of contrastive marker made prominent the DPP government’s concern of being belittled.

- (10)a. 經過越南的胡志明市，再到台灣這一部份，台灣沒有問題。但是呢，如果台灣直接到港澳再進大陸，那麼剛才我們知道這是台灣方面是拒絕的。

Jingguo Vietnam de Ho Chi Minh City, zaidao Taiwan zhe yi bufen, Taiwan shi meiyou wenti. Danshi ne, ruguo Taiwan zhijie dao Hong Kong, Macao zai jin dalu, name gangcai women zhidao zhe shi Taiwan fangmian shi jujue de.

‘Through Ho Chi Minh City of Vietnam into Taiwan, this part is alright with Taiwan. But, if the following route is from Taiwan to Hong Kong, Macao and then to Mainland China, then we just knew that Taiwan rejected it.’

(ETTV News, April 26, 2007)

- b. 台北是聖火傳遞的第 21 個城市，但是接著聖火轉進香港、澳門，一路進海南，回到大陸各城市。

Taipei shi shenghuo chuandi de di 21 ge chengshi, danshi jiezhe shenghuo zhuan jin Hong Kong, Macao, yi lu jin Hainan, huidao dalu ge chengshi.

‘Taipei is the 21st city on the torch route. But then the torch was transited to Hong Kong, to Macao, and all the way to Hainan, coming back to the cities in Mainland China.

(SET News, April 26, 2007)

- c. 聖火從越南的胡志明市傳遞到台北再到香港。雖然是第三國進，但是下一站卻是到了香港。

Shenghuo cong Vietnam de Ho Chi Minh City chuandi dao Taipei zai dao Hong Kong. Suiran shi di san guo jin, danshi xia yi zhan que shi dao le Hong Kong.

‘The torch is passed from Ho Chi Minh City of Vietnam, to Taipei and then to Hong Kong. The torch enters from the third country, but its next stop is

Hong Kong.’

(CTi News, April 26, 2007)

On the other hand, when it came to the possible influences of Taiwan’s rejection of the torch, ETTV News, FTV News, and CTi News all mentioned one point that the rejection was unprecedented in history. Yet, CTi News stood out in that it specifically used the contrastive marker *danshi* to strengthen the historical evaluation, as shown in (11). The contrast was highlighted between causes like wars in the past and the dissatisfying torch route at issue; between outcomes like suspensions and boycotts of the Olympics in the past and the turndown of the torch at issue. The emphasis seemed to suggest that the Taiwan government was narrow-minded. Therefore, for CTi News, the use of the contrastive marker *danshi* is to convey information negative about the DPP.

(11)在歷史上我們來看看是只有因為戰爭，或者是冷戰等因素造成奧運停辦，或者是抵制參加，但是到現在真的還從來沒有一個國家針對聖火的傳遞路線加以拒絕。

Zai lishi shang women laikankan shi zhiyou yinwei zhanzheng, huozhe shi lengzhan deng yinsu zaocheng aoyun tingban, huozhe shi dizhi canjia, danshi dao xianzai zhende hai conglai meiyou yige guojia zhendui shenghuo de chuandi luxian jiayi jujue.

‘In history, we see that only factors like war or cold war have led to the suspensions or boycotts of the Olympics, but until now there has never been a country which specifically refuses the torch relay route.’

(CTi News, April 26, 2007)

So far in this section, it has been noticed that the contrastive marker *danshi* denotes a denial of preceding utterance and an affirmation of following statement. Hence, it makes possible for news stations to suppress information positive about

them or negative about us while at the same time expressing information that is positive about us or negative about them.

In addition to the contrastive marker *danshi*, the adverb *que* ‘but/yet’ also denotes adversative relations between propositions. Yet, unlike *danshi*, *que* does not refute its preceding utterance (Li 2001, Liu 2000, Wang 2007). It simply signals and highlights the contrast. In the news about Ma’s trial, FTV News used the adverb *que* twice to highlight Ma’s inconsistency. The first *que* contrasted Ma’s performances outside and inside the courthouse. Outside the courthouse, Ma *menggong* ‘severely attacked’ the prosecutor, but when asked by the judge, he *zhishuo* ‘merely said’ that he was induced by the prosecutor. The second *que* highlighted Ma’s contradictory replies. At first he said that he was induced by the prosecutor, but on second thought, he *gaikou* ‘corrected himself’ that the statements were made based on his will. The self-contradictory behaviors of Ma presented in FTV News can be viewed as a means to tarnish Ma’s image and to sabotage the KMT.

- (12) 馬英九在庭外猛批檢察官，可是在庭內法官問到馬英九到底在偵訊時有沒有被恐嚇或被施加壓力，馬英九卻只說，遭檢察官誘導偵訊，法官要求馬英九想清楚，他卻改口是自己心甘情願作的筆錄，說詞反覆。

Ma Ying-jeou zai ting wai meng pi jianchaguan, keshi zai ting nei faguan wendao Ma Ying-jeou daodi zai zhenxun shi youmeiyou bei konghe huo bei shijia yali, Ma Ying-jeou que zhi shuo zao jianchaguan youdao zhenxun. Faguan yaoqiu Ma Ying-jeou xiangqingchu, ta que kaikou shi ziji xinganqingyuan zuo de bilu, shuoci fanfu.

‘Outside the courthouse, Ma severely attacked the prosecutor. Inside the courthouse, when the judge asked Ma if he was threatened or pressured during the investigation, Ma Ying-jeou yet merely said that he was induced by the prosecutor. The judge required Ma Ying-jeou to clarify it, but then he

corrected himself that the deposition was made based on his will, which contradicted his previous statements.’

(FTV News, April 17, 2007)

In addition to conjunction like *danshi* and *que* discussed above, lexical items can be used to create cohesion in discourse. According to Halliday (1985), lexical cohesion can be achieved through three linguistic features: repetition, synonym (antonym), and collocation.

Along the same vein in (12), ETTV News used ‘the image of self-contradiction’ to express information negative about Hsieh. This time, the inconsistency was built up through lexical cohesion. According to ETTV News, Hsieh cried for battles during the primary, and hurried up to cry for reconciliation and symbiosis when the primary was over. The repetition of the word *han* ‘cry for’ created lexical cohesion. The contrast between *dasha* ‘battle’ and *hejie gongsheng* ‘reconciliation and symbiosis’ sent out the message that Hsieh was changeable. Both (12) and (13) provide examples of negative other-presentation: the former through the use of the adverb *que*, and the latter through the use of lexical cohesion.

(13) 在初選時喊打喊殺，結束後謝長廷趕緊喊和解共生。

Zai chuxian shi handahansha, jieshu hou Frank Hsieh ganjin han hejie gongsheng.

‘During the primary he cried for battle, but after it Frank Hsieh hurried up to cry for reconciliation and symbiosis.’

(ETTV News, May 7, 2007)

When ETTV News used lexical cohesion to criticize Hsieh, FTV News used it to praise him. It is reported that instead of showing victorious *jiaobao* ‘pride’, Hsieh *qianbei* ‘modestly’ sought understanding. The antonymous pair of *jiaobao* ‘pride’ and *qianbei* ‘modesty’ creates lexical cohesion and stresses Hsieh’s humbleness and low

profile after the victory.

(14) 對於其他三位天王，謝長廷沒有勝利的驕傲，只有謙卑的尋求諒解。

Duiyu qita san wei tianwang, Frank Hsieh meiyou shenglide jiaobao, zhiyou qianbeide xunqiu liangjie.

‘To the other three heavyweights, Frank Hsieh did not show victorious pride, but sought understanding modestly.’

(FTV News, May 7, 2007)

Antonym can be used to achieve ideological goal, and so does synonym. In reports about Ma’s special expenses case, SET News described that Ma weighted and found fault with every word used in the deposition. The expressions *zizhenjuzhuo* ‘weigh every word’ and *zhaocha* ‘find fault with’ were similar in meaning and thus created lexical cohesion. In addition, how an event is lexicalized reveals the speaker’s perspective and ideology (Fan 1994, 2001, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979, Wang 1993). Hence, the negative connotation that Ma was nitpicking reflected SET News’s intention to diffuse information disadvantageous to Ma.

(15) 馬英九字斟句酌 首次筆錄找碴

Ma Ying-jeou zizhenjuzhuo Shouci bilu zhaocha

‘Ma Ying-jeou weighted and found fault with every word used in the first deposition.’

(SET News, April 17, 2007)

Apart from antonym and synonym, lexical cohesion can also be created through collocation. That is, certain words have a tendency to co-occur more frequently than others and thus achieve cohesion in discourse (Halliday 1985).

According to ETTV News in (16a), the DPP heavyweights *xijuxing* ‘dramatically’ held a joint conference, which made people wonder if the grudges

between them really *luomu* ‘dropped curtain’. There was a collocation bond between *xijuxing* ‘dramatically’ and *luomu* ‘dropped curtain’. Similar cohesive effect was found in the CTi News report as well. In (16b), it is said that the heavyweights *shangyan* ‘acted’ the scene of reconciliation *tongtai* ‘on the same stage’. The expressions *tongtai* ‘on the same stage’ and *shangyan* ‘act’ collocated. It is these lexical items that make the text cohesive.

What deserve a closer look is that collocates in (16) all come from the domain of ‘performance’. A performance is acted out, but a union requires sincerity. By mapping the ‘conference’ domain to the ‘performance’ domain, ETTV News and CTi News projected a metaphor that ‘the conference is a performance’. Through the use of lexical cohesion and the metaphor, the two stations made evident their suspicion of the heavyweights’ sincerity.

(16)a. 他們的心結是不是也真正落幕了？今天下午他們四個人戲劇性的在一起在民進黨的中央開了一場記者會。

Tamende xinjie shibushi ye zhenzheng luomu le? Jintian xiawu tamen si ge ren xijuxingdi zaiyiqi zai Minjindang de zhongyang kai le yi chang jizhehui.

‘Do the grudges between them really drop curtain? Today afternoon, the foursome dramatically held a conference together in the DPP’s Center.’

(ETTV News, May 7, 2007)

b. 呂蘇游謝同台上演大和解。

Lu, Su, Yu, Hsieh tongtai shangyan da hejie

‘Lu, Su, Yu and Hsieh together acted a scene of reconciliation on the same stage.’

(CTi News, May 7, 2007)

Not only ETTV News and CTi News, but also SET News employed collocation to express information negative about them. In describing the circumstances of Ma’s

trial, SET News chose words like *paipaizhan* ‘stand in line’, *liedui* ‘line up’, *huanying* ‘welcome’ and *xingguangdadao* ‘red carpet’, which not only collocated but also denoted a scene of a celebrity attending a ceremony. However, the reality was that Ma was facing an indictment. The discrepancy between attending a trial and attending an entertainment-related ceremony makes the report poignantly ironic, as van Dijk pointed out, ‘If arguments fail, ridicule is a potent strategic move to discredit one’s opponent’ (1991:192).

(17) 一早不到九點鐘呢，至少有三十多位的立委加市議員整批人來到台北地院，就沿著警方拉出的紅線排排站喔，而且列隊歡迎馬英九，馬英九走在上面這挺像走在星光大道上的。

Yizao budao jiou dianzhong ne, zhishao you san shi duo wei de liwei jia shiyiyuan zhengpiren laidao Taipei Diyuan, jiu yanzhe jingfang la chu de hongxian paipaizhan o, erjie liedui huanying Ma Ying-jeou. Ma Ying-jeou zou zai shangmian zhe ting xiang zou zai xingguangdadao shang de.

‘Early before nine o’clock in the morning, at least dozens of legislators and city councilors had come to the Taipei District Court and stood in line along the security line set up by the police, and lined up to welcome Ma Ying-jeou. Walking on this, Ma Ying-jeou was like walking on a red carpet.’

(SET News, April 17, 2007)

In this section, textual cohesion of the news stations’ reports is analyzed. Results of the analysis demonstrate that the use of cohesive devices, including conjunction (*danshi* and *que*) and lexical cohesion (repetition, synonym/antonym, and collocation), is not random, but ideologically driven. The contrastive marker *danshi* is unique in that, owing to its contrastive and emphatic features, it suppresses prior statements whereas giving emphasis to consecutive utterances. As a result, in the reports, unwelcome information is presented prior to the contrastive marker *danshi* and then

negated, while information congruent with the ideologies is brought up later and praised. As for features of lexical cohesion, they are also used strategically to express information that is either advantageous to us or disadvantageous to them. The analysis of textual cohesion again lends support to the ideological square by van Dijk.

5.7 Results and Discussion

After the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis in this chapter, it is unquestionable that though journalism is expected to be objective and to report the event only, ideology-laden interpretations and evaluations, either covert or overt, nevertheless, seem to be prevalent in news reporting.

Through the analyses, it is now evident that in terms of the quantity of news coverage, FTV News and SET News expressed Ma's trial, praised the DPP conference, but somewhat withheld the torch route news, especially reports on Beijing's response. From the linguistic perspective, it can be seen that FTV News and SET News suggested that Ma was guilty, that the heavyweights united wholeheartedly, and that Beijing was the one to blame.

On the contrary, in the content analysis, CTi News was shown to suppress the Ma and the DPP reports. Yet, together with ETTV News, they emphasized the possible disastrous effect caused by Taiwan's rejection of the Olympic torch. According to the critical discourse analysis, ETTV News and CTi News were for Ma, were doubtful of the DPP assembly, and were against the DPP government's rejection decision in terms of the torch relay.

Therefore, it can be summarized that ETTV News and CTi News highlighted information negative about the DPP, while withholding information that was positive about the DPP or negative about the KMT. In contrast, FTV News and SET News expressed information harmful to the KMT or beneficial to the DPP, but suppressed

information unfavorable to the DPP.

According to the ideological square, it can thus be reasonably concluded that FTV News and SET News belong to the pan-green media, whereas ETTV News and CTi News are the pan-blue media. The content analysis and the critical discourse analysis not only disclose the four stations' political stances, but are empirical evidence of van Dijk's ideological square.

Nevertheless, though ETTV News and CTi News are both pan-blue, and FTV News and SET News are both pan-green, the in-group performances are not homogeneous. Subtle but observable differences are found in both camps. First, as a pan-blue supporter, ETTV News performed rather neutrally in terms of the quantity of news coverage. It showed no sign of political inclination as far as the number of news items, their cumulative duration, and their appearing orders were concerned. Its political preference did not emerge until the critical discourse analysis was conducted.

Compared to ETTV News, CTi News voiced its political stance more explicitly. The content analysis reveals that it constantly overlooked the DPP news while assigning weight to the KMT news, except for the report about Ma's indictment, which was negative about the KMT. What's more, in the DPP conference news, CTi News indicated that the grudges among the heavyweights were hard to settle, and that their reunion was pretended. In the Olympic torch news, CTi News repeatedly highlighted that the rejection of the torch would lead to negative evaluations in history and uncooperative impressions on foreign media. The reporting style of CTi News is more outspoken than that of ETTV News.

As for the pan-green media, FTV News was never friendly towards Ma, but the hostility of SET News was even more apparent. It trumpeted Ma's trial on a large scale, questioned his integrity, refuted his claims with the use of contrastive marker *danshi*, and ridiculed his situation, as can be seen from the quotation of Lin

Chung-mo and the comparison of his court hearing as a ceremony.

To sum up, the news coverage of the stations is inevitably influenced by their underlying ideologies and political stances, but there exist degrees of difference in their reporting styles. Some are moderate in ideology and covert in language, while others are more radical in ideology and thus overt in language. The news stations perform not as two extremities but as a continuum, echoing political spectrums. The division between us and them is thus not binary, but may be 'variable, and flexibly adapted to news situations, or even change' (van Dijk 1991:143). The closer the ideological distance is, the more agreeable the reports are. The farther the ideological distance is, the more negative the evaluations may be.

In this chapter, the political stances of the four news stations in Taiwan have been disclosed through the conduction of both content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The practicality of the ideological square by van Dijk has also been verified and substantiated. In addition, the diverse treatments of political news among the stations have given rise to the conception that ideologies come in the form of a continuum. Hence, it can be inferred that news reports may not always agree, for the distinctions between us and them may be blurred and variable.



CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary and Implications

Both content analysis and critical discourse analysis have been long and widely conducted to investigate media bias. However, when adequate attention has concentrated on newspaper research, TV studies is at a premium. Thus the present study has examined the relations between language and ideology in four Taiwanese TV news stations, using both content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

The four chosen stations were ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News. A total of 100 programs, from April 15 to May 9, 2007, were collected and analyzed. In the content analysis, political reports of the stations were compared in terms of news item, news duration, and news appearing order. In the critical discourse analysis, three political events were critically examined. First is Ma Ying-jeou's attendance to the second court hearing of special expenses case; second is the DPP joint conference after its primary; and third is Taiwan's rejection of the Beijing 2008 Olympic torch relay. Following van Dijk's framework, both macro- and micro-analysis were conducted and the ideological square was brought into effect. In the following, the research questions will be addressed respectively.

First, according to content analysis, how do the four news stations differ in their coverage of political events? Do their reports dedicated to the DPP and the KMT differ in terms of the number of news items, the accumulated news duration, and the news appearing orders in the rundown? What does the quantitative data tell us about the news stations' political stances?

According to the content analysis, during the sample period, the four stations dedicated more coverage to the DPP than to the KMT, simply as a reflection of the

specific political environment then. However, a closer examination of the DPP coverage reveals individual differences among the four stations. A station's political inclination biases its arrangement of political news in terms of news item, news duration, and news appearing order. It was found that in FTV News and SET News, the DPP events received more reports with longer duration and appeared earlier in a program. In contrast, the same DPP events were comparatively suppressed in CTi News. They were given fewer reporters with shorter duration and aired later in a program. As for ETTV News, it did not express the DPP events as much as FTV News and SET News did, nor did it suppress the reports as CTi News did. That is to say, its arrangement of the DPP news reached the average. From the quantitative data, it can be deduced that FTV News and SET News support the DPP while CTi News is against it. The stance of ETTV News does not emerge until later critical discourse analysis.

Second, according to critical discourse analysis, how do the four news stations differ in their news language? Do their reports on the three political events differ in terms of macro- and micro-structure? Does their language conform to the ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998)?

Results of the critical discourse analysis have shown that ETTV News and CTi News supported Ma, doubted the DPP solidarity, and opposed the DPP government's decision to turn down the torch. On the contrary, FTV News and SET News was against Ma, delighted with the DPP reunion, and indifferent to Beijing's reaction to Taiwan's rejection. According to the positive self-representation and negative other-representation strategies brought out in the ideological square, it is thus apparent that ETTV News and CTi News are pan-blue, whereas FTV News and SET News are pan-green.

Both macro- and micro-structures were examined in the analysis. In terms of the

news schema, though seldom implemented (e.g. Wang 1993), it actually offers opportunities to construct and inspect the macrostructures of reports. The analysis has manifested that the presentation of the macrostructures by the news stations is by no means random, but tactically organized according to the ideological square. Hence, information positive to us or negative to them would be expressed, while information positive to them or negative to us is suppressed. In addition, besides Headline and Lead, all the categories of the news schema are ideologically meaningful and revealing, for each piece of information presented in each category is the ideologically monitored product of a series of selection, representation, and transformation.

In the micro-analysis, textual cohesion of the reports is examined. It is shown that conjunction like the contrastive marker *danshi* and the adverb *que*, and lexical cohesion like repetition, synonym (antonym), and collocation can all be employed by journalists to construct a world which best serves their ideologies and political stances. For example, as a contrastive marker, *danshi* emphasizes its following statement while negating the preceding one. Therefore, in the news reporting, information that is positive about them or negative about us is presented prior to the contrastive marker, which then is followed by information that is positive about us and negative about them. In this way, disagreeable information is withheld while agreeable one is upheld.

Third, how do the results of content analysis and those of critical discourse analysis correspond to each other? What do the two analyses tell us about the relations between political stances and coverage language in the press?

In light of the relation between language and ideology, news reports examined in the present study are shown to comply with the ideological square proposed by van Dijk. What's more, the comparison of the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis illuminates the consistency of a station's arrangement in political news. That

is, preferred stance and ideology are advocated both in terms of quantity and language. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that stations with similar political stances do not always come up with homogenous reports. Instead there exist degrees of difference. The division between us and them is not necessarily clear-cut, for ideologies are dynamic instead of static. They may be variable or changed when contradictions occur. Opposing groups with competing ideologies form a continuum instead of a binary. In the ideological continuum, the farther they stand apart, the more diverse their languages become.

6.2 Limitations of the Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study has strived to explore the relations between language and ideology in TV news, and it has observed some heterogeneous phenomenon in a news report about the Olympic torch. Yet, since no follow-up report was acquired during the sample period, it is beyond this study's limit to investigate how the ideological contradiction is resolved and how it is reflected in the language. What's more, it is then impossible to study any possible ideological adjustment and change. To pursue a better understanding of ideological reformations and corresponding language variations, a thorough longitudinal analysis is required.

In addition, the analyses in the study mainly focus on the production of news reports by journalists. Yet in Fairclough's and van Dijk's views, how reports are perceived by the readers and viewers is also of vital importance. Hence, it is suggested that in future research, a perception test and analysis are also implemented to shed light on the interaction between news production and consumption, and to further illustrate the influences of news reports on the readers' or viewers' ideological formations.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, Barbara. 2000. Presuppositions as nonassertions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32, 1419-37.
- Achugar, Mariana. 2004. The events and actors of 11 September 2001 as seen from Uruguay: Analysis of daily newspaper editorials. *Discourse & Society* 15(2-3), 291-320.
- Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Berelson, Bernard. 1952. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Free Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2005. *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyd, Andrew. 2001. *Broadcast Journalism: Techniques of Radio and Television News*, 5th ed. Oxford: Focal Press.
- Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen Rosa. 1993. From discourse analysis to critical discourse analysis: The differential re-presentation of women and men speaking in written news. In John M. Sinclair, Michael Hoey, and Gwyneth Fox (eds), *Techniques of Description: Spoken and Written Discourse*. London: Routledge, 196-208.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1982. Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 35-53.
- D'Alessio, Dave and Mike Allen. 2000. Media bias in presidential elections: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Communication* 50(4), 133-56.
- Erjavec, Karmen. 2001. Media representation of the discrimination against the Roma in Eastern Europe: The case of Slovenia. *Discourse & Society* 12(11), 699-727.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fang, Yew-Jin. 1994. 'Riots' and demonstrations in the Chinese press: A case study of language and ideology. *Discourse & Society* 5(4), 463-81.
- Fang, Yew-Jin. 2001. Reporting the same event? A critical analysis of Chinese print news media texts. *Discourse & Society* 12(5), 585-613.
- Flowerdew, John, David C.S. Li, and Sarah Tran. Discriminatory news discourse: Some Hong Kong data. *Discourse & Society* 13(3), 319-45.
- Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, translated from the French by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, Roger. 1996. On critical linguistics. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 3-14.
- Fowler, Roger, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress, and Tony Trew. 1979. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Franklin, Bob, Martin Hamer, Mark Hanna, Marie Kinsey, and John E. Richardson. 2005. *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies*. London: Sage.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political*

- Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kress, Gunther and Robert Hodge. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kuo, Sai-hua. 2001. "Is there only one China?": Analyzing the rhetoric of Chinese nationalism in a newspaper article. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 11(2), 283-99.
- Kuo, Sai-hua. 2007. Language as ideology: Analyzing quotations in Taiwanese News Discourse. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 17(2), 281-301.
- Kuo, Sai-hua and Mari Nakamura. 2005. Translation or transformation? A case study of language and ideology in the Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society* 16(3), 393-417.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Junghi and Robert L. Craig. 1992. News as an ideological framework: Comparing US newspaper's coverage of labor strikes in South Korea and Poland. *Discourse & Society* 3(3), 341-63.
- Levison, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Norrick, Neal R. 2001. Discourse and Semantics. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (eds), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 76-99.
- Richardson, John E. 2004. *(Mis)representing Islam: The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Saeed, John I. 2003. *Semantics*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schank, Roger C. and Robert P. Abelson. 1977. *Scripts, Plans, Goals, and*

- Understanding: An Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures*. Hillsdale, New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schokkenbroek, Christina. 1999. News stories: Structure, time and evaluation. *Time and Society* 8(1), 59-98.
- Searle, John R. 1970. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Teo, Peter. 2000. Racism in the news: A critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse & Society* 11(1), 7-49.
- Thetela, Puleng. 2001. Critique discourses and ideology in newspaper reports: A discourse analysis of the South African press reports on the 1998 SADC's military intervention in Lesotho. *Discourse & Society* 12(5), 347-70.
- Thompson, Geoff. 1996. Voices in the text: Discourse perspectives on language reports. *Applied Linguistics* 17(4), 501-30.
- Thompson, Rick. 2005. *Writing for Broadcast Journalists*. London: Routledge.
- Trew, Tony. 1979a. Theory and ideology at work. In Fowler et al., *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 94-116.
- Trew, Tony. 1979b. 'What the papers say': Linguistic variation and ideological difference. In Fowler et al., *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 117-156.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1988. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1993. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society* 4(2), 249-83.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1998. *Ideology*. London: Sage.
- Wang, Shujen. 1993. The *New York Times*' and *Renmin Ribao*'s news coverage of the

- 1991 Soviet coup: A case study of international news discourse. *Text* 13(4), 559-98.
- Wang, Yu-Fang. 2005. From lexical to pragmatic meaning: Contrastive markers in spoken Chinese discourse. *Text* 25(4), 469-518.
- Wang, Yu-Fang and Pi-Hua Tsai. 2007. Textual and contextual contrast connection: A study of Chinese contrastive markers across different text types. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39, 1775-1815.
- Waugh, Linda R. 1995. Reported speech in journalistic discourse: The relation of function and text. *Text* 15(1), 129-73.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 3-47.
- Yopp, Jan Johnson and Katherine C. McAdams. 1999. *Reaching Audiences: A Guide to Media Writing*, 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Yorke, Ivor. 2000. *Television News*, 4th ed, revised by Ray Alexander. Oxford: Focal Press.

中文參考書目

- 張玉玲 (Chang, Yu-ling). 2006. 臺灣報紙對 319 槍擊事件的新聞報導之研究—比較聯合報、中國時報、蘋果日報、自由時報. 世新大學新聞學研究所(含碩專班)碩士論文.
- 陳憶寧 (Chen, Katherine Yi-Ning). 2001. 總統候選人攻擊性新聞報導與其支持度的關聯：以公元兩千年總統大選為例. *新聞學研究* 69, 113-40.
- 陳萬達 (Chen, Wuan-ta Philip). 2001. *現代新聞編輯學*. 台北: 揚智.
- 陳義彥 (Chen, Yih-yan), 陳世敏 (Shi-Min Chen). 1992. 78 年選舉的報紙，新聞與

- 廣告內容分析. 台北: 明田.
- 齊隆壬 (Chi, Lungzin), 蔡美瑛 (Mavis Tsai). 2005. 有線電視收視行為及滿意度調查研究. 行政院新聞局專題研究調查報告.
- 簡琬璧 (Chien, Wan-pi). 2002. 李登輝的報紙形象—以聯合報及自由時報為例. 淡江大學大眾傳播學系碩士論文.
- 黃新生 (Hwang, Sherman). 1994. 電視新聞. 台北: 遠流.
- 文麗 (Kochurova, Marina). 2008. 大陸與台灣報紙對李登輝 2007 年訪日報導之比較研究. 國立政治大學新聞研究所碩士論文.
- 李蕙怡 (Li, Hui-i). 2008. 電視與報紙選舉新聞偏差現象之研究—以 2008 年總統大選為例. 國立屏東教育大學社會發展學系碩士論文.
- 李莉 (Li, Li). 2001. 試析副詞“卻”. 保定師範學報 14(3), 82-91.
- 林媛洳 (Lin, Yuan-Ju). 2004. 論漢語口語中的對比言談標記—「可是」,「但是」,與「不過」. 國立清華大學語言學研究所碩士論文.
- 劉清平 (Liu, Qing-ping). 2000. 卻與但是的語意、句法和語用比較. 學術研究 10, 122-25.
- 羅文輝 (Lo, Ven-Hwei), 侯志欽 (Gee-Chin Hou), 鄧麗萍 (Lee-Ping Tang), 李偉農 (Wei-Nung Lee). 2004. 2004 年電視總統選舉新聞的政黨偏差. 廣播與電視 23, 1-21.
- 羅文輝 (Lo, Ven-Hwei), 王慧馨 (Huei-Hsing Wang), 侯志欽 (Gee-Chin Hou). 2007. 2004 年台灣報紙總統選舉新聞之政治偏差. 選舉研究 14(2), 95-120.
- 羅文輝 (Lo, Ven-Hwei), 黃葳威 (Wei-Wei Vivian Huang). 2001. 2000 年總統選舉公民營報紙新聞之比較研究. 選舉研究 7(1), 1-20.
- 牛隆光 (Niu, Lung-Guang), 林靖芬. 2006. 透視電視新聞: 實務與研究工作談. 台北: 學富.
- 王功平 (Wang, Gong-ping). 2007. “倒”與“卻”的交際功能對比研究. 暨南大學華文學院學報 2007(2), 71-77.

王泰俐 (Wang, Tai-Li). 2006. 電視新聞「感官主義」對閱聽人接收新聞的影響. 新聞學研究 86, 91-133.

葉思吟 (Yeh, Szu-Yin). 2001. 2000 年總統大選候選人競選活動分析—以中國時報、聯合報、自由時報為研究對象. 中國文化大學新聞研究所碩士論文

APPENDIX A

Full content of the FTV News report on Ma's special expenses indictment

Caption	Speaker	Content
馬英九二度出庭 突襲·誘導·攻防 (Headline)	主播 張嘉欣	再來關心是政壇焦點,前台北市長馬英九特別費案今天第二次開庭 (Circumstances), 馬英九在法庭內呢企圖要推翻第一次侯寬仁檢察官的偵訊筆錄, 他認為呢, 被侯寬仁騙了, 臨時把他轉為被告是一種所謂的突擊檢查, 不過呢, 檢方認為, 檢察官偵訊完全合法(Lead)。
馬企圖翻供 指檢方“突襲偵查”	記者	馬英九二度開庭(Circumstances), 說檢察官侯寬仁首次偵訊(Previous Events), 突襲性偵查讓他做筆錄時, 沒帶律師, 防不勝防(Main Events)。
馬企圖翻供 指檢方“突襲偵查”	前台北市長 馬英九	我們到了庭上, 才知道我是以被告的身份去應訊, 不是以關係人。(記者發問: 那當時你會很錯愕嗎?) 當然會(Main Events)。
馬: 侯寬仁“誘導”問訊 扭曲人格	記者	馬英九還自稱自己一向以清廉掛帥, 侯寬仁逕行起訴, 扭曲他人格(Main Events)。

(當事人說話內容字幕)	前台北市長 馬英九	這一次檢察官在調查的過程當中，對於許多對我有利的證據都沒有採納，然後再以貪污罪把我起訴，我感到對於我清白的人格是非常大的傷害，我覺得其中也有非常多的扭曲(Main Events)。
陳清秀護主 批檢偷渡侵馬權益	記者	馬英九極力為自己辯護，幕僚也忙著聲援主子(Main Events)。
(當事人說話內容字幕)	前台北市政府 法規會主委 陳清秀	我們那個時候都嚇了一跳(Previous Events)，不是用關係人的身份傳我們嗎，怎麼用這樣的一個說要告知我們是一個被告的身份來說明這樣，這是受到一個突襲性的權利侵害(Main Events)。
(當事人說話內容字幕)	民進黨立委 王幸男	你這個方式把自己以前講過的話，把它推翻掉，我覺得這是不道德，而且不對的(Verbal Reactions)。
檢察官“突襲偵查” 法界：無違程序	記者	法界人士說，檢察官的作法沒有問題(Consequences)。
(當事人說話內容字幕)	台北地檢署 發言人 林錦村	偵察當中呢，並沒有誘導詢問的情事，第二點就是說，偵查當中，並沒有法院所謂交互結問規則的適用，所以呢，也就沒有所謂誘導詢問的問題(Consequences)。
(當事人說話內容字幕)	律師 莊勝榮	證人換成被告那是常常見到的，那所以根本沒有所謂違反正當的法律程序(Consequences)。

<p>馬控檢誘導偵訊 後改口心甘情願</p>	<p>記者</p>	<p>馬英九在庭外猛批檢察官，可是在庭內法官問到馬英九到底在偵訊時有沒有被恐嚇或被施加壓力，馬英九卻只說，遭檢察官誘導偵訊，法官要求馬英九想清楚，他卻改口是自己心甘情願作的筆錄(Main Events)。</p>
<p>馬英九供詞反覆 檢方斥勿再抹黑</p>	<p>記者</p>	<p>說詞反覆(Evaluations)這也讓當初負責偵辦的周士榆檢察官當庭站起來，措詞強硬的希望馬英九以及辯方律師團不要再抹黑檢察官，混淆大眾視聽(Consequences)。民視新聞，綜合報導。</p>

APPENDIX B

Political Headline Stories in ETTV News, FTV News, SET News, and CTi News from April 15, 2007 to May 9, 2007

I. The DPP news as headline story

ETTV News

April 28, 2007	聯手打蘇後 呂游謝各自出招造勢
May 1, 2007	不滿蘇揆"奸巧"說 李應元請辭
May 2, 2007	黨內初選倒數 蘇.謝南台灣拚場
May 4, 2007	四大天王挺誰? 陳總統仍未鬆口
May 5, 2007	公文外洩? 蘇謝唇槍舌劍"刀刀見骨"
May 6, 2007	黨員投票謝勝出 蘇游退選黨工不捨
May 7, 2007	民進黨總統候選人初選 確定不民調

FTV News

April 15, 2007	施世明拚基市長路 蘇呂站台
April 27, 2007	籲縣市長中立 呂游謝轟蘇
April 30, 2007	呂副遲到 快動作下車等候總統
May 5, 2007	謝反擊抹黑 夫人不捨落淚
May 6, 2007	謝長廷大迎蘇貞昌一萬多票

SET News

April 28, 2007	見天王互槓痛心 林義雄 5/6 後宣布參選?
April 30, 2007	天王惡鬥現裂痕? 扁呂同台互動冷
May 1, 2007	蘇奸巧說做不下去? 李應元請辭挺謝
May 3, 2007	天王交鋒遇鬧場 林一方噙扁縮回黑手
May 4, 2007	扁:手心手背都是肉 絕對沒有偏好

May 5, 2007 初選在即 謝長廷親上火線反擊對手！

May 6, 2007 決戰今朝！謝拚初選勝

CTi News

April 30, 2007 "沒營養"vs."誰造成" 扁呂同台無互動

May 3, 2007 辯論插曲 非常光碟製作人拉布條抗議

May 6, 2007 黨員投票落敗 蘇貞昌宣布退選

II. The KMT news as headline story

FTV News

May 1, 2007 馬致電談搭配 王態度冷淡

May 9, 2007 馬王配成局？ 6/24 前揭曉！

CTi News

May 2, 2007 國民黨提馬・總統參選人

副手是誰・王是關鍵

正式獲國民黨提名 馬再邀王當副手

May 5, 2007 不畏大雨台客照樣搖滾 馬.王也瘋狂

May 9, 2007 馬王配沒結論 王:馬可考慮其他人選

III. Government news as headline story

ETTV News

April 25, 2007 蘇貞昌宣布:聖露西亞爲我 25 邦交國

April 26, 2007 聖火路線公布 台:矮化!不接受!

台灣拒聖火 北京:台.港是境外路線

April 27, 2007 基本工資調漲幅度

April 30, 2007 減刑有例外!趙建銘、吳淑珍不適用

FTV News

April 26, 2007 聖火路線 胡志明 → 台北 → 香港

SET News

April 25, 2007 聖露西亞與台灣建交 成爲第 25 個邦交國

April 26, 2007 北京奧運聖火 越南 → 台北 → 香港

奧運聖火路線 胡志明 → 台北 → 香港

CTi News

April 26, 2007 不滿意路線 我創首例拒聖火來台

April 27, 2007 國進或/且國出 拒聖火來台決策內幕

聖火入台再協商 兩岸都留空間

IV. International news as headline story

ETTV News

April 23, 2007 俄羅斯前總統葉爾欽過世 享年 76 歲

FTV News

April 23, 2007 俄前總統葉爾欽逝世 享年 76 歲

SET News

April 23, 2007 俄羅斯前總統葉爾辛去世 享年 76 歲
