A Comparative Study of Discourse and Ideological Representations of Protesters in International Online News during 2014 Occupy Central

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Abstract: The sense of governance in society can be revealed by the embedded ideologies in news reports on political events. The present study investigates the case of 2014 Occupy Central (OC) in Hong Kong and analyses how three international news outlets in different political backgrounds constructed different profiles of OC protesters, the less powerful group in governance. Guided by the assumption that choices of certain linguistic forms indicate authorial ideologies and social power relations, we examined two dimensions in the media discourse: lexical framing of protesters and transitivity. The findings indicate that the image of protester was generally polarised between Outgroup and Ingroup members in different sources. The biggest ideological clash is found between the Chinese and American broadsheets. The *China Daily* held a much more critical view towards the protesters, labeling them as organised anti-government minority and regarding student protesters as ignorant campaigners. Such sketch serves to promulgate Chinese government's stances towards governance, the centralisation of power control and the public's obedience to the government. By contrast, protesters in the mouth of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* constitute the majority of Hong Kong people fighting for the deserved political power. Governance in this sense should involve a great agency from civilians.

Keywords: Occupy Central, protesters, critical discourse analysis, ideologies, governance

1. Introduction

Governance is the modern form of "managerialism" and has been extensively observed (Rose, 1999; Livingstone et al., 2007). Its significance is usually amplified in the government's reaction to tough social and political issues through public media discourse (Mulderrig, 2009, 2011). Governance matters in how government coordinates the actions of diverse social actors. In economic-political theories, the contemporary style of governing addresses the industrial economy as an impetus, citizens' self-organisation over actions and the decrease of direct control from government (Rose, 1999). Hong Kong has been governed under the "one country two system" framework since the handover to mainland China in 1997 and has maintained a capitalistic system in which HK people are granted civil liberties, rights to free speech and assembly, an independent judiciary, 2017 universal suffrage and so on. Yet there have been worries that Beijing's influence over the region has grown in recent years, putting the freedoms at risk (Flowerdew & Leung, 2007). Recently the 2017 election for Hong Kong's Chief Executive triggered more civil disobedience. The 79-day Occupy Central in Hong Kong

in 2014 is probably the biggest outburst of public discontent, a unique point in Hong Kong's history. The movement has attracted international attention and was widely reported from various angles by international media. The reports on this political event reveal that the value of governance differs in government and society, reflecting authorial ideologies of governance at all levels.

Ideologies in media discourse are usually embedded in the social actors or groups (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, the exploration of social groups in the report of an event, especially "those marginalized or suppressed by social society" (p.165), could unravel explicitly the authorial ideologies immanent in the media discourse (Lee et al., 2011). This study aims to examine how some global leading newspaper outlets (i.e., *China Daily*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *South China Morning Post*) sketched protesters in OC. Questions inquired are 1) How are protesters constructed by lexico-grammatical strategies in news reports? 2) What are the ideological implications about the protesters in opinion in online news from different media outlets? 3) What type of governance is reflected?

2. Literature Review and Concepts

The prevalence of mass media in the modern era has led to increasing exposure of information to the general public. Globalisation has made the world more interconnected and interpenetrated socially, politically, economically, and culturally (Waters, 1995). Global news is de facto the extension of domestic news, which is probably embedded with the respective national interests, foreign diplomatic goals and media interests. Therefore, any discursive event would have varied orchestration, which would launch the war for ideology in the world of journalism (Lee et al., 2002). What was once considered to be national problems are now probably recognised as global risks. As Beck (2007) claimed, globalised public communication is not so much characterised by "intensification" but by the parallelism of multiple transnationally fluctuating "densities". As a result, comparative studies have increased dramatically since the turn of the century. The literature review includes two parts: how Hong Kong has been portrayed by local and international media and how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the corpus approach can be used to examine the variations of culture and social aspects of Hong Kong governance and the resistance to power and control by different social groups in the OC movement.

2.1. Media Reports on Hong Kong

Hong Kong has been subject to international media reports whenever some important social events occur, such as the handover of Hong Kong to mainland China in 1997. News on the HK handover (e.g. Lee et al., 2002; Pan et al., 1999) or SARS (e.g. Lee, 2005; Zhang & Fleming, 2005) has been widely analysed in the literature, particularly the media framing of the political change.

The handover of Hong Kong is "the first major clash of global system and ideology after the crumbling of the Berlin Wall" (Lee et al., 2002, p. 170), and has thus attracted attention from world media. As is found in Lee et al. (2002) and Pan et al. (1999), the story of handover underwent several ideological battles in the media. The first contestation was

between PRC media and media in the so-called centre countries: The United States, Britain and "semi-peripheral" nations of Canada, Australia and Japan. The western alliance launched an ideological war and employed the ideologies of democracy, freedom and human rights to fight against the Chinese governance in Hong Kong. However, in western media coverage, common ideologies or interests may mix up with respective national interests, as observed by Lee et al. (2002). For instance, there were reports on Hong Kong immigrants in Canadian media, the economic relationships with China in Australian and Japanese reports. At the same time, the PRC media approached the handover as a national ceremony, in which "national" includes all Chinese communities with Beijing as centre. Pan et al. (2009) demonstrated that the PRC media orchestrated the family-nation narratives about the event. The transition story was portrayed as a national festivity that transcended ethnic and geographic differences. The Chinese family metaphor is an analogy of Beijing as a parent promising a brighter future for Hong Kong and China. By contrast, Hong Kong and Taiwan media took a defensive stance towards Beijing's actions. Hong Kong media repelled the hegemonic pressure from Beijing by appealing to international communities. The handover was regarded as "unfolding a crucial chapter in the local history" (see Flowerdew, 2007). Though being ethnic Chinese, Taiwan media defused the PRC's claims of family-nation; they were concerned about the effect of handover to Taiwan's future. Diversified ideologies and media representations of the same event are a good case in point for a comparative study.

The analysis of the political news reports on Hong Kong reveals that the dyad-relationships of nationalism and localism, freedom and governance have been woven in international media reports. It is also manifested that globalisation of any media event will be localised depending on the socio-political orientation of related media (Pan et al., 1999). Since the Occupy Central has been extensively reported in international media, it would be interesting to see how the ideologies associated with Hong Kong are represented by different media.

2.2. Ideology and Representation of Social Actors

Quite a number of studies have investigated sociopolitical ideologies by discursively constructing particular social actors in news text. Many employed critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a main approach (e.g. Chuang & Romer, 2013; Teo, 2000; van Dijk, 1988). CDA views ideologies as essential for social representation and construction in a way that they help the dominant social groups to reproduce, maintain and legitimate the unequal power in the society, "the relation of dominance and exploitation" (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 485). Ideologies also function to formulate the social in-groups and out-groups, us vs. them. In-group members and values are positively revealed in discourse in contrast to the negative presentation of outgroup community and their ideologies (van Dijk, 1997). The covert ideologies are manifested and enacted by the contextual use of language (Foucault, 1972; van Dijk, 1995), and the examination of linguistic features of discourse and the interpretation of word use in social-political contexts could ensure the unravelling of ideologies that legitimate the social dominance. It has been accepted that the critical nature of CDA is activated by the goal of unfolding ideological implications of discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Teo, 2000). As is implied in van Dijk (1995), discourse analysis in a critical paradigm can make opaque the ideological underpinnings in text. Such an approach can help

the current study pinpoint the linguistic constructions of ideologies of the OC protesters in different media discourses.

The study also draws on the conceptual tool of social actor developed by van Leeuwen (2008) to analyse the demonstrators in OC. According to van Leeuwen, social actors in discourse are the participants of social practices, "the socially regulated way of doing things" (p. 6). Social actors could be presented in myriad strategies probably corresponding with ideological choices by authors. Van Leeuwen's framework has two fundamental tactics: exclusion and inclusion. Exclusion is understood to deal with the passivisation of sentences, where actors are undergoing an activity. Inclusion is composed of a great number of subtypes, the tactics most relevant to the event. The inclusion of the present study covers generalisation (e.g. the use of *protesters* as a collective term), aggregation (e.g. *tens of thousands* of protesters) and identification (e.g. *idealistic* protesters).

Transitivity analysis stems from Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). It believes that clauses and clause complexes (i.e., complex sentences) construe the pieces of experience of the physical and psychological world (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The principle of transitivity concerns the idea of "who does what to whom", identifying the social actors of the practice and classifying infinite occurrences of a finite set of process types by different verb forms. Transitivity is a key element of the ideational metafunction and provides readers with a semantic concept of how experience is represented in clauses. Halliday (1994) proposed six types of transitivity process (see Table 1), in which participants of social practices (e.g. actor, sensor and speaker etc.) are engaged in the process of doing (material process), experiencing or sensing (mental), saying (verbal), being or becoming (relational), phenomena existing (existential) and human behaviours (behavioural). Fairclough (1995) further states that the linguistic realisation of experience is integrated with social, cultural and ideological considerations from writers. In this study, transitivity analysis offers a practical tool to investigate not only how language use constructs the process of OC, but also how protesters are categorised, represented and perhaps polarised in the news reports. The examples in Table 1 are from the OC data, used to illustrate the transitivity processes.

Table 1. Types of Transitivity Process (Adapted from Halliday, 1994)

Process types	Explanations	Examples
Material	Action or event in the real world	Protesters ***have violated*** the constitutional rights and freedoms of Hong Kong residents.
Behavioural	Outer expression of psychology	No one ***listened***.
Mental	Inner experiences of perception, affection or cognition	Occupiers genuinely ***believe*** they act in the name of "real universal suffrage".
Verbal	Oral output of psychological states or consciousness	The organizers ***said*** the umbrellas were for cover when the police used pepper spray on the Protesters.

Relational		
Attribution	Process of classification ascribing specific quality or attribute to the a actor and exchanging ideologies with readers	*Are* the "occupiers" serious or not?
Identification	Process of identification revealing how news establishes the connection between participants and their activities or goals	The illegal acts by the Protesters *have been* insidiously described as "civil disobedience".
Existential	Process of existence	There *are* no winners in a community at war with itself.

3. Methodology

The data of the study was downloaded from the official websites of three major news outlets: *China Daily*, *The New York Times* (NYT) and *The Washington Post* (WP). *China Daily* is an official publication by the Chinese government, working as a special source for the establishment and expression of Chinese national ideologies to international readers (Stone, 1994). A high degree of ideological affiliation was found between *China Daily* and *People's Daily*, a Chinese newspaper which is the "official mouthpiece" of Chinese government (Scollon, 2000). NYT and WP are the largest American metropolitan newspapers, both of which are notable for their coverage of international news and the influence on other mass media (Volkmer, 1999). According to the statistics of Pew Research Center (2016), they have been ranked within the top 5 elite newspapers in the US. The digital circulation of the NYT Sunday Newspaper ranked the first in 2014. The two newspapers may be known to be independent from any political parties, while the influences from politics have been indicated. Because of the blurring ideological boundary between the prestigious American media (esp. NYT) and the State (Chomsky, 1990), political elites may use the media to promote domestic and foreign policies (Cohen, 1963; Sigal, 1973). Therefore, the coverage of Chinese issues in the two newspaper reveals a similar ideological package (Lee et al., 2001).

The OC corpus in this study consists of 39 reports and articles collected from April to December 2014, covering the complete period of Occupy Central; 32 pieces were from *China Daily* (19,801 words) and 7 from NYT and WP (8,505 words). Online news and commentaries were used as data because they are deemed as the "local tool" to promote national ideologies, and the global media discourse for the dissemination of values to a larger number of people worldwide (Demers, 1999; Hermann & McChesney, 2001).

The analysis started with a quantitative analysis. Different noun forms of protesters were counted including all their inflections (e.g. *campaigners* include *campaigner* and *campaigners*). The counting was normalised to items per 10,000 words. The analysis of media texts was then conducted under the CDA paradigm to interpret the discursive strategies used for the construction of protesters in OC news. The transitivity analysis described the experience of social actors/protesters, and grouped them in various ways, suggesting similar and different

ideological foci in different texts. The lexical framing of protesters pertained to the alternative terms to address the protesting group, which were orchestrated ideologically into diverse expressions (similar research can be found in Baker, 2006).

4. Findings and Discussions

4.1. Lexical Framing of Protesters

The social actors in the OC demonstration were presented in different terms in the media. The most frequently used words are "protesters" (f = 198), "students" (f = 122), "organizers" (f = 40), followed by other 10 lexical items as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Terms of OC Protesters in Opinionated Discourse from Different Media (f = Items per 10,000 Words)

	WP &NYT	*China Daily*	Total
Protesters	67	39	85
Students	35	19	52
Organizers	2	16	6
Occupiers	0	15	16
Activists	12	1	3
Demonstrators	7	3	3
Student leaders	2	2	1
Leaders	1	2	0
Participants	2	1	9
Campaigners	1	3	4
Pro-democracy camp	4	0	15
Pan-democrats	0	3	3
Supporters	0	3	3

As demonstrated in Table 1, WP and NYT specifically referred the OC protesters to "students", with the intention to manifest that OC is a bottom-up and spontaneous political movement initiated by well-educated HK citizens. Another word "activists" is salient in the newspapers, indicating the revolutionary purpose of the protesters. Besides, the appeal for democracy and the 2017 universal suffrage is suggested by the use of "pro-democracy camp". This value was reversely refuted in *China Daily* which used "pan-democrats" with quotation marks. In *China Daily*, the social actors were also substituted with "organizers", "supporters" and "occupiers" with specific purposes. The comparatively high frequency of "organizers"

may label the OC movement as plotted by some social organisations. The exclusive use of "occupiers" and "supporters" seemingly elucidates some anti-governmental sentiments. The word "supporters" usually co-occurs with extreme actions in the news, such as "*attempt to provoke Beijing by disrupting society*". Using quotation marks for "occupiers" not only suggests the geological occupation of the central areas in HK, but may metaphorically imply the activists' ambition to seize the political power in Hong Kong.

Negative   **Positive**

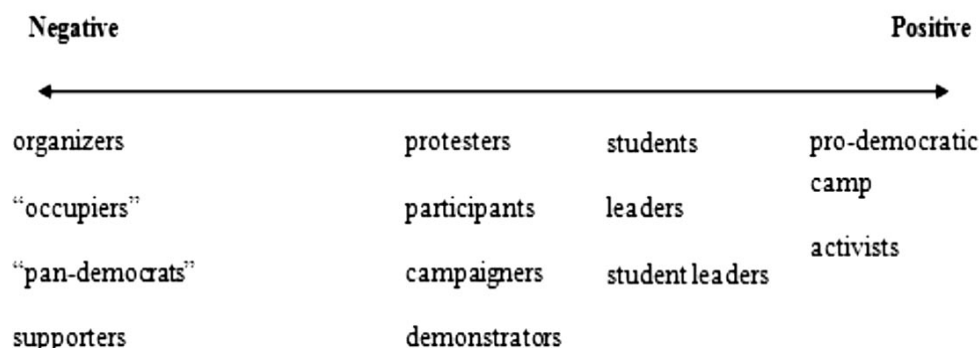| organizers | protesters | students | pro-democratic camp |
"occupiers"	participants	leaders	activists
"pan-democrats"	campaigners	student leaders	
supporters	demonstrators		

Figure 1. Semantic Scale of Protest

According to the semantic meaning of the chosen words and their pragmatic meaning in the news coverage, a semantic continuum (Carter, 1988) was conjured up, showing the evaluative connotations of the terms referring to OC protesters (Figure 1). The words "protesters", "participants", "campaigners" and "demonstrators" could normally be considered as neutral words and are visible in all news sources. Positioned at the left end of the scale are "organizers", "occupiers", "pan-democrats" and "supporters" filled with negative meanings, while "pan-democrats", "pro-democratic camp", "activists" on the right end are with positive attributes towards the OC protesters. Words on the left were used by the *China Daily,* and those on the right were mainly employed by American newspapers.

4.2. Transitivity Analysis

The transitivity analyses covered 150 clauses selected from *China Daily* and 100 from WP and NYT. Protesters served as the agent or victim, or rather the social actor in the transitivity patterns. A big contrast in the ideological construction of the OC protesters can be illustrated from the analysis of the texts from the two ideological camps.

4.2.1. *China Daily*: Protesters as Insidious Social Disrupters or Naive Idealists

In *China Daily*, protesters were presented as the actors, sensors and carriers who are much more engaged in the process of doing (material), experiencing/sensing (mental) and being/having (relational), than behavioural, verbal and existential processes. Table 3 lists the most important material processes in the coverage.

Table 2. Material Processes *in China Daily*

Sample No	Participant	Process	Receipts/Goal/Beneficiary
1	"Pan-democrats" leaders	rein in	the student violence, halt the protests and call an immediate move to the negotiating table
2	"Pan-democrats" leaders	used	this to censure the police
3	Occupy organizers	started to promote	the idea of creating a "shadow Chief Executive" in the SAR with an illegal referendum.
4	The protesters	are (now practically) pressing	the SAR government
5	They (protesters)	stirred up	the anti-government, anti-police feelings of the "Occupiers".
6	its supporters	tend to provoke	Beijing by disrupting society
7	Some "occupiers"	attacked	police officers with umbrellas and hard objects
8	Students	(are) trapped	in a terrible political game
9	The protesters	violated	the constitutional rights and freedoms of Hong Kong residents.
10	Idealistic students	striving for	outcome of (election of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage)
11	what the protesters are doing, including occupying public roads	(seriously) affects	people's livelihoods, and blockading the Chief Executive's office goes far beyond a peaceful protest.
12	They (Protesters)	would destroy	the stability required for maintaining our prosperous system of capitalism.

The samples in Table 2 reveal that most actions and events the OC protesters engaged in were realised in material processes, which means that the *China Daily* delineated participants of OC as actors deeply involved in the protest process. Negativity was attributed to this group of people in the description of behaviours, e.g. "*rein in the student violence*" (Sample 1), "*pressing the SAR government*" (Sample 4), "*provoke Beijing by disrupting society*" (Sample 6), "*stir up anti-governmental feelings*" (Sample 5) and "*attack police officers*" (Sample 7) etc., all challenging the existing governance, the power dominance of the SAR government and

Beijing. Sample 3 and 9 defined the event's legality: the protesters violated the Constitution and abused the freedom granted by the central government. Sample 11 and 12 signal serious consequences of OC: the damage to people's livelihoods and social stability.

These transitivity choices imply that, in the representation of conflict between the government and HK protesters during Occupy Central, the *China Daily* placed responsibilities and causality on the protesters, a less powerful group of citizens who are dissatisfied with the power control. In comparison, although students were viewed by *China Daily* as the mainstream group in the movement, they were more mildly pictured than the sheer protesters. The student protesters were regarded as passively "trapped in a terrible political game" (Sample 8), and hence became sacrifices in the battle. Such seemingly sympathetic discourses might serve to subtly transform the confrontation between the government and the public to a handful of organisers in the movement (see Sample 10 in Table 3).

Table 3. Mental Processes *in China Daily*

Identifying Relational			
Sample No.	**Sensor**	**Process**	**Phenomenon**
1	The "Occupy" organizers	never had any intention of	staging peaceful protests
2	The "occupiers"	are showing	that they really want to seize the power to govern Hong Kong
3	"Pan-democrats"	hopes	to bypass Nominating Committee screening procedure and realize their goal of competing in the 2017 election for the Chief Executive (CE) of the HKSAR.
4	They (OC organizers)	want	the situation to be as chaotic as possible.
5	Most of the demonstrators	know	full well they will not change central authorities' entirely legal decision
6	The occupiers	are fulfilling	their own prophecy
7	They (Students)	should recognize	that "international standards" for the implementation of universal suffrage do not exist, instead of believing what certain Western media outlets say.
8	I don't know whether the occupiers	realize	their "true democracy" is not democracy in its purest form – which is "direct" instead of "representative democracy".

9	I assume most of them (the occupiers)	are aware that	very few of the Western democracies have "public nomination" as part of their electoral systems.
10	They (leading occupiers)	know	what they are doing is illegal.
11	They, and in particular the students	should understand	that they have broken the law without a valid defense.

According to Halliday (1994) mental processes are expressed by verbs of feeling, perceiving or thinking. The samples in Table 3 clearly show the reporters' judgement on the protesters and their behaviour during the movement. The protesters, particularly the organisers, did not act peacefully as was claimed by participants per se, but took violent actions (Sample 1) with malicious intentions: seizing political power to govern Hong Kong (see Sample 2 and 3) and creating chaos in society (Sample 4). Sample 5 and 6 anticipated the doomed failure of OC because the majority of the occupiers were just fulfilling their "prophecy" that cannot shake the existing governance. Journalists of *China Daily* also saw democracy as a fallacy and an illusion—in their words, not "representative" at all (Sample 8). The idea of "public nomination" is hard to operate and does not exist in the West either (Sample 7 and 9). Again, the newspaper differentiated student protesters and leading occupiers in terms of illegality. Students were viewed as unintentional lawbreakers (Sample 11), while the organisers intentionally violated the rule of law (Sample 10). The presentations of protesters summarised in Table 2 and 3 also reveal the feature that protesters are left-collocated with the article "the" or words such as "occupy" and that may serve as a manifestation of polarised relationships between a handful of protesters with the general HK citizens.

Table 4. Identifying/Attributive Relational Processes in *China Daily*

Identifying Relationals			
Sample No.	**Identified**	**Process**	**Identifier**
1	Benny Tai You-ting	is	an associate professor of law at the University of Hong Kong.
2	Representatives of the Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS)	(is)now widely seen	the leader of ongoing protests,
3	The "occupiers"	are	not the only ones who want only to trample other people's individual rights.
4	What the occupiers are demanding	is	"public nomination" – a nomination procedure inconsistent with the Basic Law.

5	The leading "occupiers"	are	hired by the US authorities…
Attributive Relationals			
Sample No.	**Carrier**	**Process**	**Attitude**
1	Protesters	remain	blind to reality.
2	Most of the protesters	are	in Hong Kong are understandably happy with the outpouring of sympathy from around the world. This is due to a very successful misinformation campaign by those masterminding "Occupy Central".
3	Some diehard protesters	remain	on the approach roads to the SAR government's complex and major business districts. But the public's patience, especially among business proprietors, is wearing thin.
4	The "Occupy" protesters	are	naive, ignorant of political reality…
5	Student leaders	are	annoyed. But they remain oblivious to the fact that, from the beginning, they have been barking up the wrong tree.
6	Its chief supporters	are	surrounded by elements of sheer cunning and a degree of confusion.

Relationals, construing the relationship between two entities (Halliday, 1994), are another representative process type in *China Daily* for building the relations between protesters and their identities or attributions. It is clear in Table 4 that the relationals construct three entities: a small group of educated Hongkongers, law breakers and those working for the American government. On the one hand, protesters were reported to include university professors or students, as seen in Sample 1 and 2. On the other hand, they were specified to demand unlawful nomination procedure (Sample 4) or to trample the rights of other Hong Kong people (Sample 3). By connecting the OC organisers with US authorities in Sample 5, *China Daily* increasingly condemned the American interference in Hong Kong's affairs.

Consistent with the ideological discourse mentioned above, the attributive relationals in the samples tended to demonstrate a more negative image of the OC campaigners. Protesters summarised in Table 4 were systematically labelled as obstinate, blind, naive and ignorant of political reality (Sample 1 and 4). Their actions externally generated impatience from HK businesses in Sample 3 and internal conflict in Sample 6, thus totally "*barking up the wrong tree*" (Sample 5). In this sense, the orchestration of protesters as *them,* and their pursuit of

universal suffrage and true democracy as being detrimental to the governance are transparently unravelled.

In sum, *China Daily* serving as the mouthpieces of the Chinese government employed the diverse transitivity strategies, particularly material, mental and relational processes to construct the ideological world in which the current Chinese regime and its policies in Hong Kong will not allow the challenging against the existing power. Protesters, though claiming to uphold "love and peace", dynamically participated in the illegal movement and were clearly labelled as illegally disrupting the current social order. They were formulated as a snaky minority, who colluded with the US government to fight against the Basic Law. Students' participation described in this leading Chinese newspaper was treated differently as ignorant sacrifice in the political event. The representations of protesters, on the whole, attempted to promulgate to readers the authoritarian values endorsed by the Chinese central government—the bureaucratic steering of the public and the requirement of simple obedience (Jessop, 1999) as opposed to the free will practised by the OC activists.

4.2.2. NYT & WP: Protesters as Fighters for Democracy

The news in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* constructed a quite different picture of the OC protesters. Material processes and verbal processes were employed in most cases, as shown in Table 5 and 6.

Table 5. Material Processes in NYT & WP

Sample No.	Participant	Process	Receipts/Goal/Beneficiary
1	Tens of thousands of protesters	are occupying	the central city district of one of the world's largest financial centres
2	Thousands of protesters	(were) standing	together in the streets.
3	Protesters	are using	smartphones and social media to share news and rumours about the protests
4	Protesters	used	whatever they could get their hands on for protection.
5	People (protester)	(were) using	plastic wrapping to cover themselves.
6	Students and activists	faced off	riot police amid the canyons of skyscrapers
7	The protesters	garnered	800,000 votes in an unofficial poll supporting the movement.
8	Several protest group	called off	planned negotiations with the government in response.

9	Secondary school students	have been participating	(in the movement)
10	They (protesters)	clean up	their trash, even taking the time to pick out plastic and paper for recycling.

    While the protesters were seen to play an active role in the OC discourse in NYT and WP (see Table 5), a closer look at the semantic roles of these protester-related phrases as subject could reveal a fundamental divergence from those in *China Daily.* Demonstrators as the social actor strictly followed the principle of "love and peace" (e.g. *clean up the trash on the street* in Sample 10), and probably took the movement as a carnival, e.g. *sharing* "*news and rumors about the protests*" (Sample 3). The scenario described in the samples has the theme of the resistance to the police suppression. The heroic attribution was added to the protesters in recording the actions to violence, for instance, "*using plastic wrapping to cover them*" for self-protection (Sample 5) and their defence against the legislative actions (e.g. "*faced off riot police*" in Sample 6). NYT and WS did not focus on the antithesis between the minorities of vicious protesters and the majority of HK citizens. From the concordance analysis of the word "protesters", the left collocates has a high frequency of "*tens of thousands of*", readily evidencing the spread of OC in the Hong Kong society. Likewise, the separation of HK students from senior protesters in *China Daily* was substituted with student protesters (e.g. "*secondary school students*") in NYT and WP. Such presentations of protesters as the social actor might reveal the importance of OC as a spontaneous civil movement demanding democracy which received extensive support from HK citizens, not necessarily an anti-government plot supported by the US government.

Table 6. Verbal Processes in NYT & WP

Sample No.	Sayer	Process	Participant
1	Some within the protest movement	argued	protesters should reduce the number of sites they occupy
2	Some organizers	(were) threatening	to escalate the conflict by seizing government buildings.
3	An art student and protester	said	I lived in Denmark for six months and learned how good it can be in a socialist and democratic society
4	Organizer	acknowledged	its spontaneity was its strength in the early days, but a failure to agree on tactics has become a growing problem
5	Student	said	an umbrella looks nonthreatening

| 6 | The protesters | agree on | two demands: open democratic elections for the chief executive, and Mr. Leung's removal. |
| 7 | One of the main protest groups | said | they would not participate in the talks and blamed the government for the violence. |

In addition to being the social actor in the versatile material processes, the OC protesters were also empowered by the American newspapers to show their thoughts in various verbal processes, such as "argued", "acknowledged" and "agreed" etc. (see Table 6). Different from *China Daily* which subjectively blamed the actions of the so-called fanatical activists, NYT and WP openly took their stance towards the protesters and movement through the voice of protesters. That is, they purported the launch of the movement "nonthreatening" (see Sample 5) to the society, unless it was suppressed by the government (e.g. "*blamed the government for the violence*" in Sample 7). The pursuit of democracy is also emphasised in the citation, including the demand for "a socialist and democratic society" in Sample 3 and "democratic election" in Sample 6. Although some negative comments were also found when the newspapers criticised the anarchism among protesters, an internal strife ("*failure to agree on tactics*" in clause 4) and mania ("threatening to escalate the conflict" in Sample 2), the eulogy of OC was not weakened.

To sum up, NYT and WP employed several linguistic strategies to establish a unique OC profile, a determined hero fighting for democracy and against the dominant power of Beijing. This image is under the auspices of governance in capitalistic nations, where citizens are claimed to be offered greater agency to control their actions (Rose, 1999).

5. Conclusion

Occupy Central as a milestone political event in Hong Kong has posed rather diversified orchestrations of the involved entities in media discourse. The sketch of protesters as the less powerful participants in the OC movement could express more overtly the ideologies and stances through global media outlets. This research examined how lexical-grammatical features were used to construct the OC protesters in three leading newspapers in the US and China. Using lexical framing implies a package of ideological labels to the various types of protesters. The polarised construction of the group was reinforced through the investigation of transitivity (Halliday, 1994) in the media discourse. With these analyses, the shaping of protesters in *China Daily*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* explicitly demonstrates the respective Outgroup and Ingroup settings. The *China Daily* developed a discourse of condemnation of the protesters as the insidious anti-governmental minority, a handful of people plotting to seize the political power under the support of the American government. They are harmful to the social stability and harmony of Hong Kong. On the contrary, the two American broadsheets delineated the orderly demonstrators who represented the mainstream voice of Hong Kong public in the pursuit of a democratic election and social betterment, but were prosecuted by the social dominance. NYT and WP, at the same time, tried not to be obviously anti-Beijing, because they also covered the Hong Kong social order, the doom of the event and the opposition to the mania.

In terms of governance, the results might shed some light on the dichotomy of "governance" and "government" respectively valued in the US and China. The articles from NYT and WP advocated the governing in America, where citizens demonstrate their compliance to power more through volition than obedience (Jessop, 1999; Lukes, 2005). The relationship between the government and its citizens is being promulgated in the US nowadays, because it is necessary to encourage Americans to be active in politics through participating in the political community, attaching personal interests to the needs of communities and training commitment to the political group. The increasing citizen participation is seen as invaluable because people could "recognize their role and responsibility within a larger community", the nation (Rimmerman, 2001). The news collected from NYT and WP reflected that such political ideologies were imposed to the reports on the Occupy Central movement and that Hong Kong was viewed to possibly have the same political environment as the US. On the one hand, this idea implies that the advocacy or criticism of OC might serve the American politics and government. On the other hand, the findings may echo suspicions that American elite media have no political inclination (e.g. Chomsky, 1990; Sigal, 1973; Lee et al., 2001). Revealed by the contrast from the OC news in *China Daily*, Beijing tends to emphasise the validity and significance of the government's handling of all political events (e.g. political election), downside or even suppress the power of the general public. Such requests for centralised power control (Fairtlough, 2007) and the publics' obedience to the government (Lukes, 2005) may be contradictory to the modern form of governance prevalent in the US. However, one has to bear in mind that Beijing's attitudes towards HK is that the policy of "one country, two systems" emphasises that Hong Kong is a part of China (Cheung et al., 2015).

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