Hong Kong: Another Brick in the Wall of China

A Critical Analysis of the Discourse of Identity in the New Hong Kong

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A third semester research project on discourse, media and identity

Abstract

The purpose of this study is the investigation into the varying portrayals of Hong Kong identity produced by different media institutions within the region. This paper critically analyzes discourse stemming from news media sponsored by the Hong Kong and Chinese government as well as from independent news sources and social activists. Reception, culture and CDA theory are used as a framework to understand the discourse and its relationship with concentrations of power. The analysis textually examines our data, identifying trends in the different discourses. We then articulate that institutions that are politically aligned with Chinese and Hong Kong government, portray cultural identity by emphasizing aspects of it that functions to encourage wider integration into the Chinese system, whilst the opposition and various social activists and independent media outlets portray increased political participation and democracy as a solution to the city's social issues. We also suggest that a lack of political participation is vital to upholding the social order as it exists in China.

Glossary

Legislative council - The legislative council roughly corresponds to the parliament in Hong Kong. It is often abbreviated to legco.

Mass Media - Any source of wide-reaching media that potentially expresses a given discourse e.g. newspapers, televised news, talk shows.

Discourse - *"We consider discourse to be a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action"* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; p. 89)

Cultural Identity - A sense of collective self which is selectively constructed and portrayed as the "essence" of a culture, but is undergoing constant transformation (Hall, 1990: 223).

Identity - We use this concept to conceptualize the way in which citizens relate to their national environment and their sense of self.

Social Order - "*Social order is a fundamental concept in sociology that refers to the way in which the various components of society—social structures and institutions, social relations, social interactions and behavior, and cultural features such as norms, beliefs, and values—work together to maintain the status quo*" (Cole, 2018)

Power - *"The possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interest of others"* (Wodak, 2015: 4)

Social wrong - *"Aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps major changes in these systems, forms or orders"* (Fairclough, 2010: 167-168)

Acronyms
HK - Hong Kong
SAR - Special Administrative Region
HKSAR - Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
Legco - Legislative Council

HKNP - Hong Kong National Party

UM - Umbrella Movement

PRC - People's Republic of China

DHA - Discursive-Historical Approach

DRA - Discursal-Relational Approach

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CDS - Critical Discourse Studies

1. Introduction

Hong Kong (HK) is a significant metropolis of trade and shipping (Kaushik, 2015). It is also an important strategic location in terms of geopolitics, due to it being located right on the southeastern outskirts of China. The economic power of HK makes it a strategic asset to the state in which it belongs. HK has only recently been the dominion of China. Before the 30th of June, 1997, *"Britain* [had] *been the sovereign master"* (Roberts. E, 1996, p. 25). A treaty was prompted stating that HK would revert back into China, as of 1997 under the conditions that the city would retain their freedoms and comparatively liberal system excluding foreign and military affairs for a period of 50 years, referred to as the "one country two systems" system. Herein lies the problem of our project that we will be working with. Roughly 150 years of colonial rule by the British and the resulting socialization into a more Western mindset resulted in ideologies and attitudes within HK that diverged radically from that of the mainland Chinese. Furthermore the general economic success of HK due to its status as essentially an Asian trading Mecca, further consolidated the belief in the Western style capitalist system and liberal values. The recent re-nationalization of Hong Kong presents a new challenge for the People's Republic of China (PRC). The change in national identity means the re-integration of Hong Kong's culture into China. Thus after the renationalization in 1997, major political unrest emerged, centered primarily on the issue of universal suffrage. This includes taking political power out of population's hands, increasing censorship and social control. The issue of universal suffrage for electing the Chief Executive and the legislative council, which roughly

corresponds to a prime minister and the parliament, essentially sparked a war of ideas, propaganda and manipulation, in which social movements, most notably, the Umbrella Movement (UM), would organize to pressure for political reform.

Laying aside the fact that China and Britain are vastly different from each other in governing styles and ideology, a swap in nationality means the mandatory reconsideration of what being a 'Hongkonger' means and how these people relate to the space around them. Amidst this problematic environment, our aim is to analyze the communication used by differing media outlets to investigate how different actors are evolving Hong Kong's identity post colonization. China now has a greater interest in framing Hong Kong identity in a certain way. This research studies how this is done, and discusses what this new portrayal of HK as part of China means for the populace.

Mass media serves as an incredible tool in shaping national discourse concerning an infinite number of topics. In the case of re-nationalization, mass media can be used to influence who people believe they are (identity) and how they relate to the nation. In other words, political actors, who often control public media outlets, have the power to further their own ideas about what being a 'Hongkonger' means. This can be expressed explicitly or otherwise through mass produced discourse.

The Umbrella Movement is a social movement that came about in response to discontent with the changing governing practices after the handover of sovereignty to the People's Republic of China (PRC). This report analyzes the time period four years before and after the occurrence of the UM in an effort to investigate the social and political struggle for the new identity of Hong Kong.

This is a study into the discoursal power of mass media discourse in the wake of uncertainty surrounding the future of Hong Kong identity and democracy. The messages within the media, when assessed critically, can 'demystify' political agendas. What can be uncovered in the investigation into the discursive fight for Hong Kong's postcolonial identity, and what does that mean for the population subjected to the discourse?

1.1 Problem Area

In 2014, unhappiness with the changing politics and continued intrusions of the PRC into the democratic processes of Hong Kong lead to a massive protest turned occupy movement. The occurrence of the Umbrella Movement showcases a social and political power struggle. Hong Kong's re-nationalization also spells a period of national re-identification. There are several actors involved in this identity power struggle such as; the various political parties within Hong Kong, many of them advocating for eventual universal suffrage and a multi-party system, The Communist Party of China (CPC) exercising jurisdiction over both the People's Republic of China and, since the Sino-British handover, the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong, and last but not least, the citizenry of the region of Hong Kong, who have watched their land traded several times by great global powers.

The PRC, in contrast to the political parties in Hong Kong advocating universal suffrage, have begun to make changes to the political system toward a governing strategy which better represents the way China is governed. After the substantial changes in sovereignty, there was a great effort from the Pro-Beijing establishment to integrate Hong Kong into China, both politically through democratic limitations of chief executive elections and culturally by promoting cultural similarities between the two, eg. classic Chinese craftsmanship (CGTN, 2017). This has important implications for the regional identity of the people, as national/regional identities tend to be constructed as a result of institutions of power (Flowerdew, 2017).

The issue of universal suffrage is one of the predominant factors that sparked the power struggle for the future identities of Hong Kong. Instead of having a popular election for the position of Chief Executive (CE), the chief political position in the region, a committee has been put together in order to select the candidates for this position (Bush, 2016). The criteria for the candidates are, among other things, that they should be loyal to the PRC, and cannot harbor any separatist sentiments (Bush, 2016). Large parts of the population thus are not represented by the Chief Executive. Considering the citizenry to be a social actor in

the re-nationalization of the region of Hong Kong, the battle of political identity kicked off. The intrusions of the PRC in the democratic process of Hong Kong provoked a civil disobedience response from pro-democracy protesters collectively known as 'Occupy Central' and later as the 'Umbrella Movement' (Yuen, 2015: 2). Interference from Beijing, was followed by tens of thousands of protesters against the mainland Chinese influence in the democratic elections. Thousands of people demanded that the newly elected CE renounce his position (Occupy Central with Love and Peace, 2018).

Each actor involved in the fight for the new Hong Kong identity, have their own social methods of garnering influence. One such method could, for example, be the use of mass media to promote certain political ideas. Contemporary mass media allows for the infinite distribution of varying symbolic forms of meaning making. The media distributes different types of discourse to a large amount of people. In this way, media plays a large role in the creation of collective discourse, because it reaches such a large audience holding thus a large amount of social and discursive power.

When looking at mass media as a discursive weapon in the struggle of the differing actors involved in the re-identification of Hong Kong, it is interesting to see how this weapon is used. The emergence of the UM shows that much of the society within Hong Kong does not agree with the way that it is being changed or run. The social movement was a testament to that. It was a message, a response, a discourse of the people in answer to the politicians. It is a piece of the discursive puzzle in the process of re-nationalization.

1.2 Problem Statement

This report investigates the media discourse surrounding the time of the Umbrella Movement. We see the media as a stage of political and social struggle for the identity of the SAR of Hong Kong. This study intends on critically analyzing the discourses stemming from the various actors involved in the re-identification of the SAR via the media. With a conceptualization of mass produced media as a social and political weapon, we find the

critical analysis of politically sponsored media discourse to be an interesting topic of investigation. We would like to study the ways in which political actors use mass media to further their idea of a specific Hong Kong identity. We would like to stress that we are not seeking to define some static definition of what Hong Kong cultural identity is, but rather critically analyze discourses expressed by varying relevant actors and media within HK.

1.3 Research Question

How has cultural identity been discursively portrayed by institutions of power, and how does that discourse function to dissuade or encourage political participation of the citizens of Hong Kong?

Sub-questions:

1. How do the different actors frame the problems within society and how do they frame the solution?
2. What are the differences and commonalities between the varying discourse and institutions?
3. What do the discourses do within the social order? Oppose or support it?
4. How do social issues salient within the discourse relate to a lack of political participation?

2. Research Design

The research design gives the reader an overview of each of our chapters and explains how each section of the project is ordered and functions to answer the research question. Like the data that we analyze, the sections within this project are organized in a way to takes the reader through our investigation and give meaning to our results and our research question.

The literature review assesses the academic field and places this study in the existing scientific knowledge. The literature review is split up into two parts, academic knowledge

concerning identity, discourse and discourse studies as well as previous investigations into discourse research within Hong Kong. These two sections give the reader an overview of where we contribute to the field of identity and discourse study as well as our contribution to the study of postcolonial Hong Kong, especially where institutional discoursal trends are concerned.

Our theoretical framework utilizes reception theory, culture theory and theory associated with Critical Discourse Analysis. The different theories do different things for our analysis as well as work together to create a framework for understanding the discourse within Hong Kong.

The methodology section of this paper presents our philosophy and limitations. Here we utilize post-structuralism. The limitations of this project include both the limitations of time constraints and page numbers, in other words, limitations that we as researchers did not have control over, as well as the boundaries of the research we choose for ourselves.

The methods chapter comprehensively describes our choice of critical discourse analysis. We utilize a mix of Wodak and Fairclough for our method, as neither of their methods fully represent the way we envisioned how to analyze our data. We extensively outline our steps of analysis which include how we arrived at our research question, and the critique used in interpretation of our data. This chapter illustrates our research process, as the method addresses the evolution process of formulation of the research question. As we chose a data driven method, our research question was finalized late within the research process as we let the data guide our area of study.

The historical context gives the reader an understanding of the political situation within Hong Kong as well as a historical description of the main political institutions involved in the discourse being studied such as the Chinese and HK government. The historical aspect of this project is imperative for Wodak's contribution to our method of CDA as it takes the

history of the region of study into account in order to understand the context of the discourse. The historical context is also imperative for understanding the cultural identity of HK as its postcolonial history sets the stage for the political and social struggle of the region's identity.

The analysis takes our selected pieces of data and summarizes them to start with, in order to present each specific discourse within its individual context. Here elements of the data are critically analyzed within the specific source. Common themes between the actors publishing the data and the sources are then highlighted to show contradictions. For example, we analyze the common topic of HK prosperity by illuminating how the different actors portray what would make HK prosperous. Discourse produced from Chinese institutions might advocate for a prosperous HK being associated with more integration with China, while independent media might frame a prosperous HK as more autonomous from the mainland. We also discuss the cultural identity portrayed between the actors as well as how they from society's issues and proposed solutions.

The discussion is more reflective than the remainder of the project. We assess our philosophy and theory putting focus on the challenges we faced within the theories and meta-theories. We identify how we contributed to the academic field of identity discourse studies within the media as well as scientific knowledge on postcolonial Hong Kong. We additionally discuss the social wrongs found within our research and advocate for increased political participation as a solution to these problems.

3. Literature Review

The purpose of this review is to evaluate the field of identity studies and the different axioms held by a variety of scholars in the field, it will also include elements of discourse studies, as the study of discourse often goes hand in hand with the study of identity. By reviewing the literature on the subject and the multiple perspectives held within the field, we may better decide on how we wish to conduct our own study on the subject of the

identity of Hong Kong after the re-nationalization into China. This will be an integrative literature review which includes past studies made by some of the more acknowledged scholars within the field. Some of these studies will not be centered around Hong Kong, but rather will be studies of the identity of other groups. While emphasizing the state of the field of study, we will however also include studies of Hong Kong which are used to evaluate the topic of identity in Hong Kong specifically. The conclusions as well as the theoretical and methodological assumptions within the studies will be commented on and compared in order to provide an overview of the assumptions held within the field.

3.1 Identity and Discourse Literature

We found that many studies of identity have a significant emphasis on discourse used by the groups that were the object of study. Ruth Wodak, whom together with her colleagues of the University of Vienna who founded the Discourse Historical Approach, makes wide use of discourse when examining identities, this is plain to see in her 1999 article *"The discursive construction of national identities"* (Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, 1999), in which she evaluates Austrian identity. However this trend of evaluating identity through the discourses used by the respective groups, is used widely throughout identity studies. In her 2011 article *Identity* Lauren Leve examines the identity of Nepalese buddhists that have organized themselves in order to gain identity-based religious rights. Interestingly she notes that although the buddhists belong to a religious community defined by a doctrine that *"there is no such thing as self in the conventional sense"* (Leve, 2011), they still participate in identity politics, and invokes discourses of human rights to do so. This goes to show, that identity-based discourses are necessary when advocating for identity-based rights, even if one does not believe in the concept of identity. Another example is Yuri Teper of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem which in his analysis of Official *Russian Identity Discourse in Light of the Annexation of Crimea* (2010) notes that *"the official identity discourse used to frame the annexation of Crimea suggests an especially indicative insight into the broader context of Russian identity politics"* (Teper, 2010, p. 2). These articles show that discourse analysis is widely used in the field of identity studies,

and especially when evaluating identity politics. One could argue that the situation in HK is also identity politics to some extent, due to the fact that a population with opposing political views are forced to integrate themselves into a political system of an external power, whose beliefs differ from that of the native Hong-Kongers. Of course the population of Hong Kong are not a monolith of the same political views, and that is something we are aware of. However we can conclude that discourse analysis is used by several acknowledged identity scholars, and is a useful method to evaluate our object of study. It is worth noting however that while discourse and analysis of communication is one of the more useful methods of discerning identity, other methods exist. In their 2007 article, *Identity Studies: Multiple Perspectives and Implications for Corporate-Level Marketing*, Dr Hong-Wei He and professor John M. T. Balmer identifies four major schools of thought within identity studies, which all differ in their mode of conceptualization as well as their focus of analysis and their way of explaining. These are: corporate, visual, an organization's and organizational identity. These respectively exemplify identity characteristics in terms of visual appearance, attributes (what is the organization?), how the organization is perceived by beholders and social identity (how do members of the organization act toward one another) (He & Balmer, 2007). These perspectives are also used in the field and while they all potentially could be categorized as aspects of communication or semiotics, thus making them subject to discourse analysis, they provide a useful analytical framework of things we should pay attention to in the analysis.

Another trend that is prevalent across the field is the ambivalent attitude of scholars towards the rise of identity politics, thought to be a result of globalization. Lauren Leve (2011) describes how identitarian movements provide new paths to social justice. Being part of a certain identity group practically corresponds to political currency in the modern world, which one can use to advocate for identitarian interests. However as Lauren Leve states *"Some ethnographers report being caught in powerful ethical double binds when anthropological knowledge contradicts indigenous agendas or empowers some subgroups at the expense of others"* (Leve, 2011: 514). Examples of this are also found in Yuri Teper's

study, in which Ukraine is conveyed as Russia's 'significant other', thus defining Russian identity in relation to a constructed external enemy. *"Russian national definition shifted to essentially incorporate all Russophone Ukraine, thus turning Ukrainian nationhood into an inherently hostile phenomenon"* (Teper, 2010: 392). In some studies this extends into a critique of identitarianism and nationalism. In his 1991 book *Internationality*, Jonathan Rée critiques nationalism by arguing that nationalism is not an expression of a cultural identity, but rather a system in which the state (which is separate from the nation) places itself above society and monopolizes cultural identity, making it synonymous with the state. Thus nationalism tricks us into consenting to state power by disguising it as an expression of our feelings. Anthropologist Virginia Domínguez also criticizes identitarianism by stating that *"collective identities are nothing more than conceptual representations masquerading as objects"* (Domínguez, 1989:190) . We are going into the project assuming the native Hong-Kongers to be a marginalized group in relation to the rest of China, due to not having their interests properly represented, however we are still going to have a critical angle in the analysis in which we try to see both sides of the argument.

3.2 Hong Kong Literature

While the last section focused on preceding academic knowledge of identity and discourse, this section of the literature review reveals previous research into the Chinese/Hong Kong relationship since the handover. This aspect of the literature review is important because our research hinges on understanding the societal context where Hong Kong's new national identity is formed. This section places our research in the academic knowledge surrounding the Chinese Hong Kong dynamic, discourse as well as previous research into the Umbrella Movement where identity is concerned.

Identity studies have contributed to understanding, why and how Hong Kong identity has been shaped in the aftermath of the Chinese take over. Much of the literature highlighted here deals with the Chinese perspective and their relationship with Hong Kong identity.

A trend in this academic field indicates that China's approach to Hong Kong lacks the compromise between the two systems. This serves to not only establish resentment towards Beijing as a government, but also the Chinese mainlanders. According to Hang-Yue Ngo & Hui Li (2011), the perception of mainlanders is positively correlated with discrimination of the Hong Kong population. This area of research has the explanatory power of understanding how the two populations view each other if one chooses to generalize (Ngo and Li, 2011: 743).

Literature into China's influence on Hong Kong identity emphasizes varying methods of spreading Chinese nationalism within Hong Kong's communities. This can be exemplified with the decreasing of the use of the English language within civil society and an increase of nationalistic practices within education. Stephen Evans (2016), has found that spoken English has disappeared from the Executive and Legislative councils (legco) in an attempt to de-westernize Hong Kong, although documentations shows English internally written as a communication and record tool, (Evans, 2016: 110, 116). Stephen Ortmann's (2018) work on identity politics has shown an increase in attempts to manifest Chinese nationalism through introducing national education and symbolism, such as singing the national anthem and raising the flag (Ortmann, 2018: 127).

Academic literature in relation to the Umbrella Movement and discourse deals with Hong Kong identity in resistance to continued intrusions of the PRC into the social and political aspects of Hong Kong culture. An article by Wai-Kwow Benson Wong (2017) argues that the increased hegemony imposed by Beijing and enforcement by the Hong Kong government has raised the awareness of those who feel their culture and identity is under threat. In the face of capitalist and governmental power taken over by Beijing, *resistance through public sphere have become the only tool of collective self-empowerment*" (Sunny Shiu-Hing Lo, 2015). It is here where our understanding of the events leading up to the UM

take place. The citizenry felt that their voice could only be heard though that of a collective social resistance in an effort to protect Hong Kong's previously established identity.

Through a combination of previous scientific knowledge concerning identity, discourse and Hong Kong's place in all of it provides this research the tools needed to contribute to this area of investigation. We found a lack of studies focusing on the critical discursive level, of the timeline between 2010 and 2018. Our research into the discursive creation of national Hong Kong identity after the Sino-British handover contributes to the academic fields of identity, identity discourse, critical discourse studies, media influence and Chinese influence in Hong Kong.

4. Theory

The focus of this chapter is to outline the theoretical lens used in our analysis of identity portrayal via the media. The theories and concepts outlined in this chapter represent how we conceptualize discourse within the media as well as how that discourse is used to construct the identity of the citizenry of the Hong Kong SAR. This chapter outlines culture theory, reception theory and CDA theory and the relevant concepts attached. Each subsection describes one theory and details which scholars and concepts are used and how they relate to this study. We begin with a short description of the theories and concepts, and end by illustrating how the theories create a framework for the understanding of identity discourse within the media of Hong Kong.

Culture theory defines our conceptualization of identity by relating the concept to the context of the specific cultural under study. Reception theory deals with methods of creating and interpreting the discourse within the media. This theory is important in that dominant cultural discourse is opposed or further established by the reproduction of said discourse; the analysis of interpretation and creation of varying discourses is thus imperative for understanding the establishment of dominant discourses. CDA theory deals with power and language. This theory views the powerful institutions and actors producing

discourse as assuming roles of social power. The mass production of dominant discourse in a society holds power because, according to CDA theory, discourse creates who a person is and the roles they play in society. Thus, institutions who produce dominant discourse have the power to design the varying roles within society. In short; culture theory is used to define identity, CDA theory is used to illuminate the power within mass produced discourse, and reception theory is used to analyze how dominant discourses are created and reproduced and/or opposed.

4.1 Culture Theory

In this section, culture theory is discussed in general. Different scholars and their areas of study are briefly discussed. This then leads into concentration on scholar Stuart Hall and his contribution to the field of study. We then define cultural identity based on Hall's conceptualization of the concept and finish this section by clarifying our use of the theory and concept.

Culture theory encompasses the study, conceptualization and understanding of the dynamics of culture (Encyclopedia.com, 2018. a). Culture is defined and evolved within this field by scholars such as Gramsci and Foucault; each studying the *"signifying system through which the social world* [is] *mapped"* (ibid.). Gramsci's work contributed to understanding of the role of culture and cultural practices in relation to class, politics and authority while foucault focused on the discursive understanding of languages, connections between representation and power and history as an instrument of government (ibid.). Feminist arguments within the field have examined the formation of gender identities within cultural practices and languages (ibid.).

Stuart Hall was a Jamaica born British sociologist and one of the leading scholars within culture theory (Williamson, 2018). He was one of the founders of cultural studies and helped establish the 'Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' in 1964 (Stuart Hall Foundation, 2018). Hall articulates two definitions of cultural identity; the first

conceptualizes *"One shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficially or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common"* (Hall, 1990: 223). Hall has used his influence within the field to study postcolonial societies and has contributed to academic knowledge concerning the rediscovery of identity within societies after colonial rule (ibid.). His second definition acknowledges cultural histories, but emphasizes identity as undergoing constant transformation; rather than focusing on what a cultural identity is, he uses colonial history to investigate what a cultural identity has become (ibid.). In his 1994 influential essay titled '*Cultural Identity and Diaspora',* Hall describes his view of identity as an ever changing category, always in the process of production and never complete (Hall, 1994: 222). In the essay, he is sceptical about the idea that cultural identities in populations that were under colonial rule, can be rediscovered in a way that is essentially authentic. He makes the case that the process of 'rediscovering' the cultural identity, is also a process of 're-imagining' it, because any representation of identity before colonial rule (movies, art, music, etc.) is always going to be incomplete (ibid).

Hall's work into the rediscovery of identity after colonial rule resonates in our investigation. The people of Hong Kong share a history with one another of colonial rule and Stuart Hall's conceptualization of identity as constantly changing as well as his work in postcolonial society serves this report in our conceptualization of identity. We use the discourse produced from the media to investigate the process of re-imagining identity after British colonial rule in Hong Kong. If identity is viewed with the lens of a shared cultural history uniting Hongkongers into one people, as well as constantly evolving, it allows this report to investigate this process of identity evolution.

4.2 Reception Theory

This subsection briefly outlines the aim of reception theory and then focuses on Stuart Hall's development of the field. After a description of Hall's utilization of this theory, we outline the ways in which the concepts discussed are used in the report. This theory is

utilized as a lens but also as an analytical strategy. The concepts of 'encoding' and 'decoding' by Stuart Hall are exemplified in an effort to illuminate how we view the expansion of dominant discourses. The creation and interpretation of media seen through this theory gives this research the tool of analyzing how dominant discourses are created within the media and how they are interpreted and reproduced by the population in Hong Kong.

Reception theory originated from the work of German scholar Hans-Robert Jauss in the 1960s as a type of readers response theory (Wheeler, 2018). This field of theoretical analysis provides a means of understanding the interpretation of media texts by audiences (Encyclopedia.com, 2018. b). It focuses on the context of the viewer *"taking into account all the various factors that might influence how she or he will read and create meaning from the text"* (ibid.). This theory has been used to research interpretations of films by audiences to advocate censorship, as well as a means of theorizing varying meanings viewers attach to texts and media (Encyclopedia.com, 2018. c). As this theory focuses on uncovering actual interpretations and interactions of viewers with media, its usual methodology involves ethnographic and interview methods for analysis (Encyclopedia.com, 2018. b). However, Stuart Hall's contribution to receptions theory is what makes this relevant for this report as we will not be using ethnographic research or interviews in our methodology.

As stated in the previous sub-chapter, Stuart Hall is a cultural theorist, however, he contributed greatly to the theoretical field of reception theory with his publication of *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (1973) (Shepherd, 2014). His concepts of 'encoding' and 'decoding' represent the ways in which those in power *"communicate* [encode a message into the production of media] *with the masses through popular culture and how those on the receiving end interpret* [decode] *those messages"* (ibid.). Hall outlines three positions adopted when audience members decode (interpret) a text; dominant, or preferred reading, oppositional reading and negotiated reading (Revision World, 2018). These concepts are used to explore the semiotic relationship between mass media and

discourse. A key observation of Hall is that the meaning that is encoded and the meaning that is decoded, are not the same, but subject to interpretation (Hall, 2001). From that, Hall goes on to explain how this process of encoding/decoding is different in audiovisual mediums like TV, because, unlike written text that uses arbitrary signs to refer to a specific meaning, the use of visual signs construe their hidden meanings (ibid.). Dominant or preferred reading is described by Hall as an interpretation of media discourse as the *"producer wants the audience to view the media text"* (Revision World, 2018). Oppositional reading is defined as an interpretation of media texts *"when the audience rejects the preferred reading, and creates their own meaning for the text"* (ibid.). This is possible when either controversial messages are contained within the media which the audience members disagrees with or when the media deals with topics not often dealt with within the society (ibid.). This can lead to a questioning of the entire social order. Negotiated reading is defined as *"a compromise between the dominant and oppositional readings, where the audience accepts parts of the producer's views, but has their own views on parts as well"* (ibid.).

The different methods for decoding messages produced by mass media outlined by Stuart Hall give this research the strategic tools needed to investigate the spread of dominant discourse within Hong Kong. This study investigates the implications of the varying meanings produced and spread through mass media by those in positions of discursive power. Though we do not intend to interview members of the HK citizenry, these concepts allow us to conceptualize the effects of identity discourse spread by social actors in control of the media. Those in control of media outlets have a significant amount of power in the reshaping of postcolonial citizen identity. Because of these concepts, we try to identify media produced or reproduced from dominant, oppositional or negotiated mind sets. Rather than using interviews, our plethora of media outlets allow us to hypothesize about the nature of the positions taken in the decoding of media ideology by looking at discourse produced that support that social order and that do not support the social order. This

theory also enables us to investigate the encoded messages by identifying the existence of the encoding process.

4.3 CDA Theory

CDA as a theory requires a bit more justification than the theories previously discussed. This sub-chapter begins by placing the theory in its larger theoretical context. As CDA comes from Speech Act Theory (SAT) within Linguistics, we start with a brief examination of Theoretical Linguistics and funnel down to SAT and then CDA as a theory. We then present Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak as scholars within the field along with concepts we utilize for our conceptualization of this theory for our study. This section ends with a discussion of the relation of our case to the concepts mentioned.

Linguistic theories attempt to answer questions such as *"'what is language?'* [...] *How does one determine a meaning for an expression one has heard?'* [and] *How does one determine an expression for a meaning one intends to convey?"* (Langendoen, 2006: 235). Linguistic theories focus on syntax, grammar, semantics and pragmatics. Pragmatics is the field of Linguistics used for the study of comprehension and production of meanings via language as well as the language use in social contexts (Nordquist, 2018). It is within pragmatics that Speech Act Theory comes into play. SAT asserts that the meaning within linguistic expression *"can be explained in terms of the rules governing their use in performing various speech acts"* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013). Speech acts are the use of words and sentences used in the performance of speech (e.g. Promising, questioning, warning, commanding etc.) (ibid.). CDA is a discipline emerging from SAT claiming that *"language is used not only to describe things, but to do things as well"* (Ghazali, 2007: 1). CDA's contribution to linguistics focuses on problems within language use in relation to power and ideological discursive practices (ibid.).

There are a large variety of scholars within the field of CDA theory such as Van Dijk (1996), asserting that discourse is influenced by the social power of one group over another,

Fowler (1996), arguing for a specific use of critique within discourse studies and Ballaster (1991) expressing concerns about misrepresentation in femininity within sex narratives hinging on social asymmetries such as women's magazines (Ghazali, 2007). This study however, utilizes concepts stemming from Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak as we have modeled our methodology after their versions of CDA. Fairclough - one of the founders of CDA - *"was one of the first linguists to assert the relationship between language and power* [...] *According to this view, CDA demonstrates the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge"* (ibid: 3). Ruth Wodak is another distinguished scholar in the field of CDA. She is currently affiliated with the school of Vienna where she is involved in a research project on the *"Discursive Construction of National Identity - Austria 2015"* (Lancaster University, 2018). One of Wodak's contributions to the field is her contribution of the Discursive-Historical Approach to CDA. This approach along with Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach inspired the method utilized for analysis in this research.

This study uses the concepts of power, ideology and 'common-sense' assumptions (also described as naturalization of ideologies) developed and evolved within CDA stemming from both Fairclough and Wodak. Wodak employs Weber's (1980) definition of power as, *"the possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interest of others"* (Wodak, 2015: 4). Fairclough and Wodak take the concept of ideology from John Thompson in his conception of ideology in relation to mass media (Wodak & Meyer, 2009. p. 88). Thompson (1990) discusses the process of discursive symbolic meaning making and connects mass media's creation to the establishment of mass-produced discourse (Thompson, 1990: 1). He relates this mass production of symbols to the analysis of ideology, which can *"enable us to show, or seek to show, how symbolic forms serve* [...] *to establish and sustain relations of dominance"* (ibid.). Our use of CDA theory takes the stance that ideology helps actors, specifically political actors, influence mass communication and push agendas through, for example, the media, to assert hegemonic narratives establishing discursive power (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 88).

Power is conceptualized in this research by the power relations between differing social actors who occupy various social positions or groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 88). Discourses are often arenas of social struggle and/or dominance (ibid: 89). Power can also be exerted discursively. This can be done by means of controlling *"the regulation of access to certain public spheres"* such as news outlets or newspapers (Wodak, 2015: 4). Wodak's conceptualization of power is important to this research as it investigates the hegemonic discourse produced through news media to 'demystify' oppressive structures within the discourse.

Last but not least, we have Fairclough's concept of 'common-sense' assumptions or naturalization of ideologies (Morley, 2004). According to Fairclough, ideologies are an integral part of language and a recurrent 'taken-for-granted' piece of discoursal nature (ibid.). Ideologies are continuously legitimized within everyday discourse and thus social relations, giving them the power to naturalize ideological agendas, behaviors and roles within society according to whichever actor is responsible for the production of the ideology. These common-sense assumptions *"exercise power through coercion and that through the manufacture of consent"* (ibid: 20). They naturalize particular ideologies into common sense, thus making them invisible as ideologies (Fairclough, 2010).

"Since any set of discursive norms entails a certain knowledge base, and since any knowledge base includes an ideological component, in acquiring the discursive norms one simultaneously acquires the associated ideological norms" - Fairclough, 2010; p. 42

The discursive analysis of the re-nationalization of the people in Hong Kong requires 'access to the public sphere' when assessing the dominant discursive powers within the SAR. News outlets hold a great deal of discursive power. Within our case of Hong Kong, we attempt to identify ideological discourses from state sponsored media in relation to specified political actors and investigate the dynamics of discourse during the time of the Umbrella Movement. We endeavor to 'demystify' the oppressive discursive practices

coming from the sponsored news media in an attempt to elucidate dominant discourses leading to naturalization of ideologies. Discovery of dominant discourses, viewed with the conception of CDA's 'common-sense' assumptions, ideology and power could shed light on the future identities within Hong Kong.

4.4 Theoretical Framework

Each of these theories and their respective concepts are essential in understanding our theoretical lens of media discourse produced for the citizenry of the HKSAR. This section illustrates how these theories connect and interrelate for a comprehensive understanding of our theoretical approach to discursive identity creation.

CDA theory exemplifies the discursive power of institutions in producing naturalized ideology within mass media. In this way, powerful institutions and actors such as public news outlets produce discourses for the interpretation (decoding) of its audiences. These ideologically charged discourses become imbedded within the discourse and are reproduced giving them the power to contribute or even create cultural identity. In other words, CDA theory gives us the key to understanding the power of language produced through powerful institutions. Reception theory gives us the tools to conceptualize the creation and interpretation of this discourse. The ideologies decoded are then discussed amongst the population, which gives way to reproduction and naturalization of discourse. Culture theory defines identity as continuously evolving, making way for the decoding and reproducing of discourse to mean furthering the evolution of the cultural identity of the people of Hong Kong.

5. Methodology

This chapter illustrates our philosophical approach as well as our limitations and delimitations. The philosophy subchapter explains approach of post-structuralism. The limitation section outlines the boundaries of this research by illustrating the restrictions

we had no control over, such as time limits and access to the research area, and boundaries we as researchers chose to give ourselves, such as the corpus size and analysis strategy.

5.1 Philosophical Approach

Because we are interested in the relationship between power, discourse and identity, our project falls into the ontological category of constructivism, and specifically the European strain of constructivism. In foreign policy analysis, European constructivism is characterized by a more 'bottom up' and inductive approach, where the discoursal structures of society are understood to be the primary object of research (Behravesh, 2011). This differs from the North American strain of constructivism, which takes a more 'top-down' approach, and *emphasizes the role of 'social norms' and 'identities' in constructing international politics and determining foreign policy outcomes* in a way that is more positivist (ibid). In other words, European constructivism attempts to explain and study the creation of discourse linguistically and, in our case, the discursive creation of cultural identity and its processual change (ibid).

The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis is inherently *critical* and epistemologically *interpretivist*, in that it aims to obtain knowledge about the structure of society, not by identifying causal links between entities as a positivist would, but by looking critically at preconceived ideological narratives and assumptions, as well as the contextual power relations they exist within. It is interpretivist in that it we obtain this knowledge by using subjective interpretation, informed by a theoretical framework, for processing the data. This is because human subjective interpretation is a very consequential part of the 'structure' of society, which is mediated and understood through language and semiotics (Delanty, 2005; Gadamer, 1977).

This places us within the realm of post-structuralism, which is a school of thought influenced by scholars such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, who argued that the structure of language that shapes our understanding of the world (and determines social

practice) is 'unstable' and unknowable (Murphy, 2005). This is partly because they considered any given component of this 'structure' highly contextual and interconnected with all other components, meaning that it is potentially infinite and impossible for the human consciousness to conceive of fully, but also because there is a near-infinite amount of ways a given discourse could be interpreted, leading to a rejection of grand narratives or what has been referred to as *the death of the author* (ibid). Foucault, also elucidated the relationship between power and discourse, and held that powerful institutions will reinforce their power by producing discourse that reinforces these power structures. He did this through historical investigation of discourse surrounding different fields of inquiry (such as sexuality, madness, and punishment), where he discovered how these fields have evolved, and how the discourse surrounding them determined how people at the time were able to think about the world, as well as how specific ways of thinking, over time, became 'common-sensical' assumptions, the power of which were effectively made invisible (Halperin and Heath, nd). Because our project operates within post-structuralism, we recognize that our interpretation of the discourse will also be imperfect and not all-encompassing, however, we aim to be aware of the institutions and history that influences and contextualizes the discourse and to attempt to understand it in a way that is critical and embraces complexity.

5.3 Limitations

This project was produced during a period of 3.5 months from the country of Denmark. As this project focuses on Hong Kong, we do not have access to the region. This has limited our use of methods and areas of focus. Due to access restrictions, we do not take part in research involving ethnographic or field research. The time period allotted requires the data set to include a corpus size that can be analyzed within the time period. This has meant that we chose methods that allowed for a more in depth study into less data as well as influenced our choice of an interpretivist approach. This approach allowed us to interpret the data as we read it, instead of creating categories or using methods that require a larger amount of time.

Our corpus involves 6 pieces of data involving 4 actors. This is also a limitation as it does not give us a comprehensive understanding of the discourse within Hong Kong. In an effort to overcome this obstacle, we chose to have two pieces of data from the actors that hold more influence (i.e. the HK government sponsored media and the Chinese sponsored media), and one theory per non-governmental actor. Our theory does not include postcolonialism, regardless of the postcolonial state of HK. This was partly due to the time period allotted as well as our intention to focus on discursive concentrations of power within the region.

6. Methods

We have chosen discourse analysis and specifically critical discourse analysis as our choice of methods for analysis. This chapter justifies our choice of method and comprehensively outlines the steps involved in our analysis. As our method is influenced greatly by both Ruth Wodak's Discursive-Historical Approach as well as Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach to CDA, we discuss their influence and summarize which parts of their methods we incorporate. Our methods for data collection are mentioned during our discussion of the method and further elaborated on in the section below.

6.1 DA and CDA

We have chosen to use discourse analysis as a means of elucidating the meanings that are constructed and reproduced between the people of Hong Kong and the dominant discourse produced from the establishment. CDA applies to our project specifically in that, critical discourse analysis allows the researchers to 'demystify' power relationships within societies as well as the agenda being pushed. With so many varying perspectives of what Hong Kong is or wants to be, doing a critical discourse analysis on the messages within sponsored mass media could show aspects of the unknown future identity of Hong Kong by illuminating the discourse spreading around the country and assessing which actors these discourses would benefit.

6.2 DHA and DRA

In order to understand the specific way identity is constructed discoursally, as well as how these discoursal structures relate to the wider social structures, we are influenced by two different methods within Critical Discourse Studies. One being Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA), as well as Ruth Wodak's Discursive-Historical Approach (DHA). Both of these approaches are interdisciplinary and triangolatory (Wodak and Meyer: 2009: 182). DHA, focuses on the historical development of objects of research in order to understand how discourse is recontextualized as well as providing our data driven approach (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 95), while DRA attempts to see the discourse and its dialectical contextual interactions.

DHA is data-driven and includes deep investigation into a wide data-set within a particular topic before the research questions are specified. We like this approach because it allows us to assess the discoursal 'landscape' before we focus in on the specifics of a semiotic problem. Fairclough's DRA is very useful for this, as it helps us to think more specifically about social wrongs and points of tension that are particularly interesting for research. It also includes interesting ways to think about the semiotic relationship between the social order and the social wrongs we have identified (partly through DHA), as well as possible ways of ameliorating them.

Our CDA method of analysis consists of 9 steps which combine aspects of both the DHA and Fairclough's DRA. These steps are as follows:

1. Find a topic and begin process of formulating a research question.
2. Consultation of preceding academic research and knowledge and further establishment of research question.
3. Identify a social wrong and continue evolving research question

4. Systematic collection of data, identification of primary actors and context information
5. Quick skim and preparation of data for analysis and finalization of research question
6. Critical analysis of data
7. Detailed description of results
    a. consideration of the social wrong and its relation to the social order
    b. Formulation of critique
8. Discussion of results
    a. identification of obstacles to addressing the social wrong
    b. Identification of ways past the obstacles
    c. Future related positive critique contributing to the improvement of communication

This research method begins with identification of an area of interest leading then into the beginnings of a formulation of a research question. We started out with an interest in Hong Kong and the Sino-British handover. After a bit of general research, this topic evolved into an interest of Hong Kong's (political) identity with a focus on the mass distribution of discourse through mass media.

The second step involves comprehensive research into the preceding literary and theoretical knowledge (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 97). In our case this involves research into the existing data on national identity and identity discourse. This is where the literature review becomes imperative. Extensive data is collected in reference to areas of scientific knowledge such as; the relationship between national identity and discourse, the creation of identity discourse, the discursive influence of media on discourse and the relationship between the media and discourse.

Step 3 focuses on finding a social wrong considering our literature review as well as continued evolution of the research question. In this step, we attempt to identify a social

wrong that is being committed. This is obviously somewhat subjective and controversial, and there are a multitude of ways one could define *social wrong*, however it is understood by Fairclough to be *"aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could, in principle, be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps major changes in these systems, forms or orders"* (Wodak, 2009: p. 167-168). Here we decided to focus on repression of citizen agency in Hong Kong in political participation within identity discourse. We take the assumption that when political actors push a specific types of discourse, it contains roles that citizens subordinate themselves under. This also has underlying meanings in the type of citizen one should be and how one should behave.

The next step involves comprehensive data collection. This method is data driven, meaning that preceding the formulation of a research question, data is gathered considering specific criteria. Here we identify specific political units in selection of data such as the actors behind the sponsorship of the media. Next, we isolate a period of time in *"relating to important discursive events"* relating to national identity (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 98). We have chosen to focus on discourses surrounding the time of the UM, (2010-2018). Our specific fields of political action are news on TV and the Student Strike Declaration from the UM.

The next step is then to prepare the corpus for analysis by downsizing the data. This step also involves skimming the varying topics in an effort to solidify the research question.

Step 6 is essentially the hands on activity of the analysis. Gathered inspiration from both the DHA and Fairclough's DRA, we assess our data keeping in mind imperative aspects such as critical strategies pulled from Fairclough and Wodak to better assess the specific discourses and texts. The approach is heuristically orientated to five questions under analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 93)

1. How are persons, phenomena/events, and actions named and referred to linguistically?

2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

4. From what perspective are these arguments expressed?

The results and findings of analysis are then articulated. We identify which actors were involved in which discourses and which discourses benefit which actors and their agenda. Showcasing the link between the social order and discourse as well as between our social wrong and the social order, gives us a map of the interdiscoursal relationship and allows us to critically discuss our findings.

The discussion step and chapter focuses on several elements; the identification of obstacles to addressing the social wrong, whether or not the social wrong is inherent to the social order, or can be addressed within it, it opens up a forum to discuss ways past the obstacles and allows us to contribute to the improvement of communication in general within Hong Kong. This aspect is elaborated on where Fairclough asks the question, *"does the social order 'need' the social wrong?"* Here, we look critically at how the social wrong functions in the wider social order, and attempt to imagine the extent to which the system could go on without it (Wodak, 2009: 170). By establishing the link between the social order and the social wrong, we are, as Fairclough puts it, linking 'is' to 'ought': *"if a social order can be shown to inherently give rise to major social wrongs, then that is a reason for thinking that perhaps it should be changed. It also connects with questions of ideology: discourse is ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination"* (ibid.: 171).

In addition to the above aspects of our discussion, we consider our data keeping in mind the DHA's specific formulation of critique described by Wodak and Meyer (2009);

1. Attention toward inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.

2. concerned with demystifying the - manifest or latent - persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. Here we make use of our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories as well as other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret the discursive events.

3. Future-related prospective critique, which seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication.

Utilizing meta and mid-range theory, we attempt to critique the discourse and hopefully influence contemporary discourses on national identity, and *"raise awareness of involved social actors about the problem, more responsibility"* to adequately represent the identity of Hong Kong, illuminate the unequal power relation within media discourse on national identity discourse (Wodak, 2009: 171).

6.3 Data Collection

In selecting our data for analysis, it was important to establish some criteria for relevant material. One requirement is that the data must involve Hong Kong in some way. Because we are investigating the relationship between concentrations of power, media, discourse and identity, it seems appropriate to look primarily at media outlets designed for wider public consumption. That includes mainstream media outlets such as broadcasts on national television (these are usually funded by the political and economic establishment in Hong Kong), as well as more independent sources of media (such as the non-profit Hong Kong Free Press). We are also including the strike declaration from the Umbrella Movement, and media outlets that are not explicitly political, but might be more oriented towards the everyday lives of the people of Hong Kong, and so might help explain the relationship between identity and politics. It was important for us that the sources we chose were influenced by different power relations, so we could get a good overview of the discourse, and we could see if there is variance in the discourse (the assumptions and contradictions inherent in the text) based on these relations.

Another requirement is that the material must touch upon something political, as we are interested in the relationship between politics and identity. This is one of the areas where it should be noted that the researcher might classify certain discourses as non-political and other discourses as political somewhat arbitrarily. Therefore it should be elaborated what kinds of political themes we are looking for. These include questions of independence in Hong Kong, universal suffrage and political participation in general, etc. These are themes that we as researchers are particularly interested in.

We also see the Umbrella Movement as a pivotal point of political tension in recent times. This is primarily because of the sheer scale of it, but also because of the cultural impact it had in the collective consciousness of Hong Kong and the world at large. Discursively, the event can be understood as a crisis point in the social order, where contradictions within the dominant discourse caused a large number of people to collectively mobilize and attempt to negotiate their position in, and even challenge, the social order. The UM protests seem to embody many of the political issues that are currently facing Hong Kong. For this reason we have decided that our dataset should be comprised of data from 2010-2018; four years before and after the UM protests.

In conclusion, we have established the following criteria of the data:
1) It must consist of media designed for wide public consumption
2) Consist of a variety of sources from different politically aligned institutions
3) Involve questions or themes of politics and identity in Hong Kong
4) Be within the timeframe of 2010-2018 (four years before and after the UM)
5) It must also be produced in the English language or have English subtitles

Selected data

Following is a list of sources that we have selected for further evaluation:

RTHK:

RTHK is a government funded broadcasting organization as well as the first one of its kind in Hong Kong. It broadcasts in English, Traditional Chinese and Mandarin.

- RTHK source 1

  This is a 2018 RTHK Broadcast, featuring Priscilla Leung from the Basic Law Committee, explaining her position on why the pro-independence parties, such as the Hong Kong National Party were banned. Also features an interview Johnson Yeung who is an Executive Council member, pro-independence, and involved with a civil rights movement in HK.

- RTHK source 2

  A 2017 article, featuring a short interview and audio clip with Chief Executive Carrie Lam on universal suffrage.

CGTN:

CGTN (China Global Television Network) is a state owned Chinese broadcasting institution. It is partly intended for an internationally minded audience, and broadcasts primarily in English.

- CGTN Source 1

  A *2017 Interview with Chief Executive Carrie Lam, discussing economy and politics in Hong Kong.*

- CGTN Source 2

  A *Documentary about Hong Kong for the 20th anniversary of "Hong Kong's return to China". Talks about history, culture, economy, etc.*

HKFP:

Hong Kong Free Press is an independent online news media outlet that was established as a response to a decline in freedom of the press in the area.

- HKFP Source 1

  Rather short interview with the last British governor of Hong Kong as a colony, Chris Patten, where he talks about what makes Hong Kong uniquely distinct from the rest of China, as well as China's influence in HK.

Other Sources (OS):

- Students' Strike Declaration (OS Source 1)

  The student strike declaration from the UM is essentially a list of demands from members of the social movement in their protest for democracy during the occupy movement. This document provides insight into the hearts and minds of the population involved in the UM.

7. Historical Context

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical overview of the situation in Hong Kong. In the chapter, we will highlight major historical events and developments that provide the reader with a better understanding of the context, as well as a framework for understanding the motivations of any significant actors in the conflict.

Origins of the HKSAR

Hong Kong has undergone a series of changes in sovereignty, including the transition into being a British colony (1860) and with the re-nationalization back into China as of 1997.

Following the second of the so called "Opium Wars" (1856-1860), fought between China and Britain over the British trade of opium and Chinese sovereignty, the former Chinese territory of Hong Kong Island was conquered by the British, and officially conceded to Britain in 1860 with the end of the war. Although the territory was now practically under British dominion and was expected to remain British forever (Carrol, 2005: 18-36). With the second convention of Peking in 1897 it was decided that the new territories should

instead be leased by the British from the Chinese for a period of 99 years (Flowerdew, 2017). This was a gesture from the British Empire meant to allow the Chinese leadership to save face by not insisting that the territory remain British forever (Vines, 2000). However, at the time of the second convention of Peking in 1897, few people had foreseen the world wars of the 20th century. The wars indirectly resulted in the decolonization of many former British colonies, and while Hong Kong remained under British dominion until 1997, the empire that everyone thought would live forever, only remained as a 'reluctant' colonial power in the last half of the 20th century (Carrol, 2005: 18-36). In 1984, it was decided jointly by the British and Chinese governments (in what was to be called the Joint Declaration), that when the lease ended in 1997, all of Hong Kong would revert into the PRC. Based on the Joint Declaration, a Basic Law was constructed for HK, and with the official handover of 1997, the HKSAR (Hong Kong special administrative region) was established. The treaty stated that the HKSAR would be subjected to the "one country two systems" system in which it was promised that Hong Kong, for a period of 50 years, would hold on to many of its freedoms. The system in HK was to be relatively autonomous compared to the rest of the PRC, which was only to be responsible for defense and foreign policies.

British Dominion

Under the British dominion, the people of the region of Hong Kong lived under a rule quite different from that of China. HK was British for roughly 150 years and this proved to create a culture that diverged significantly from that of the mainland Chinese and would ultimately be the source of political unrest in the region when the Westernized colony was to be renationalized into China. The original colonial model of governing established by British colonizers kept government intervention *"largely restricted to ensuring that business conducted its affairs untrammeled by high taxation or any other major hindrance"* focusing its authority on matters concerning mostly defense and foreign affairs (Roberts. E, 1996: 26). This however equated limited suffrage, as it was the business elite that held most of the power, and the class gap grew so much, that the public outcry for a system

reconstitution was loud enough to be heard in London (ibid). Furthermore, Mao had, due to his fear of capitalists regaining control of China in 1966, initiated his infamous 'Great proletarian cultural revolution' meant to purge China of capitalist elements (Benton, 2005). This affected Chinese people worldwide and would also lead to political unrest in Hong Kong as well as the sizeable population of Chinese people in London, of which most were from Hong Kong and its surrounding territories. In response, Britain restructured the governing structure of Hong Kong to win the support of the population and prevent the rise of communist sentiments in the colony fostered by dissatisfaction with the Empire (Benton, 2005). In London, the Hong Kong government office (HKGO) was restructured from an organization that primarily worked with the external interests of the colony, into being an organization that actively sought to protect Hong Kong immigrants in London, even granting them special privileges at times in order to win their allegiance and combat the spreading of communism in the heart of the empire and globally (Benton, 2005). The restructuring of the governing structure provided the people of Hong Kong with more influence in their government especially within civil matters. Though this was not a full democracy, the governmental system resembled that of Britain more than China, and the fact that citizens of Hong Kong could successfully acquire a system change through public opposition, gave the people the power of a voice and opinion over their lives. Hong Kongers took to the new liberties given by the British-sanctioned system change and this period became HK's most peaceful and stable history chapter. Corruption diminished, living standards rose and demonstrations disappeared (Roberts. E, 1996: 27). Throughout British dominion, Hong Kong was generally described as being geared towards business and thriving with this political system. This quote from the 4th British Governor John Bowring (1872) elucidates this: *"Its magnificent harbor invites the flags of all nations which there is nothing in its legislation to repel. Its Laws give no privileges to any, but afford equal security to all, and I am persuaded the equity with which Justice is administered is beginning to produce a most salutary effect on the minds of the Chinese people."* (Carrol, 2005: 18-36). According to author John Carrol, the governor was only exaggerating a "little bit" on the success of Hong Kong. Hong Kong was generally seen as being an extremely successful and

prosperous colony under British dominion, first purely measured in its economic growth, but later it also found social success through reforms that promoted democracy and a heightened degree of social justice. This knowledge of how Hong Kong was perceived under British dominion helps to understand how the culture of Hong Kong was changed somewhat compared to the mainland Chinese. The apparent success of the system seemed to have swayed the people of HK into accepting a more westernized culture and sticking with it (Carrol, 2005: 18-36).

Contemporary Times

Naturally, before the opium wars, Hong Kong – being a part of China, identified as Chinese, adhering to a Chinese model of governing. However, after more than a century of British rule modeling the territory toward Western law rather than Chinese, Hong Kongers had adopted principles disassociating more and more from that of the Chinese system. The change of sovereignty from Britain to China represents an issue of re-nationalization. This creates an identity crisis as Hong Kong assimilates into the Chinese culture. This region is no longer British Hong Kong, but a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China. Hong Kong was never fully democratic, but getting to elect the city's Chief Executive with universal suffrage in a "one man, one vote" system had been something the populace had wanted since before the re-nationalization. As it were, the business elite still held a relatively high degree of power, and now the populace was also subjected to new regulations from the mainland without the say of the common citizens. The PRC had established a preparatory committee that would screen any candidates for Chief Executive. Naturally, Chief Executives should all be 'Pro-Beijing', and be deemed 'cooperative' enough for the Chinese establishment. This was a move away from democracy, however the populace seemed to accept it, but they still wanted universal suffrage. The different CE's have had diverging opinions on the issue. The first CE of the new HKSAR Tung Chee-Hwa has allegedly told central government officials that *"universal suffrage was wrong and would be bad for Hong Kong"* (South China Morning Post, June 2014, l. 49), however Chee-Hwa later denied this (ibid., L. 6). Chee-Hwa later quit before his term had ended due to "health

issues", whilst also being very unpopular. His successor, Donald Tsang on the other hand, had aimed to establish universal suffrage before his term ended in 2012 (South China Morning Post, January 2007, l. 12), stating that he needed the trust of the PRC in order to succeed *"The more suspicions being expressed, the more difficulty we'll have in moving towards the final destination"* (South China Morning Post, January 2007, l. 24). However, he was optimistic in his changes to establish universal suffrage *"well before his term had ended"* (South China Morning Post, January 2008, l. 38). Tsang generally seemed to campaign on promises of democratic rights and compromises with the PRC. He later retracted these promises when it seemed he would not be able to reach a consensus on the issue, he proposed to delay the deadline for universal suffrage until 2017 (Asia news, December 2007). The term of Donald Tsang shows that universal suffrage still seemed achievable at that time and that politicians even used it in their political agenda to gain popularity, indicating that the PRC seemed willing to find a solution at that point in time, it is unknown whether this was ever their true intention or they only appeared to entertain the thought of universal suffrage in order to keep stability. The last CE to serve before Carrie Lam was CE Leung, and he was perhaps the most controversial. It was during this term that the umbrella movement emerged and loudly demanded that he should step down from office. Needless to say, Leung was not popular within the UM and he also came under fire in his term for trying to redefine what universal suffrage meant. Although being defined as *"The right of almost all adults to vote in political elections"* in the Oxford English Dictionary, Leung stated that *"Different places have their own form of universal suffrage"* (CE Leung, march 2015), and compared the system of Hong Kong with that of Britain *"The UK has universal suffrage, without being able to directly elect their political leader by popular vote, and I believe they would not say their election is fake democracy"* (South China Morning Post, March, 2015, l. L. 23). In response, Civic Party leader Alan Leong Kah-kit said: *"This exposes how C.Y. Leung fails even very elementary political theory. How can he say that any political model designed with the restraints of* [Beijing's] *decision could be comparable to the USA and the UK?"* (South China Morning Post, March 2015, l. 32). In this period universal

suffrage seemed progressively more unachievable, and language such as this, seeking to redefine universal suffrage through discourse angered the opposition even further.

The notorious Umbrella Movement started its days under another name; as the "Occupy Central with Love and Peace" movement. The goal of the movement was to successfully conduct a civil disobedience campaign to occupy Hong Kong's central business district to pressure the PRC-government into reforming the methods of selection for the city's chief executive and legislative council (legco). The NPCSC (Standing Committee of the National People's Congress) had in 2007 promised to allow full suffrage to the people of the SAR by 2017, for the election of the chief executive (Flowerdew, 2017: p. 6). This movement mobilized when China decided against their earlier commitment. Occupy Central was later renamed "The Umbrella movement" after the umbrellas that were used by the protesters to protect themselves against tear-gas and pepper-spray.

The Umbrella Movement opened spaces for negotiation and realization of Hong Kong identity in various ways. There was an effort to make political demands that would challenge the political influence of mainland China, such as demand for the Chief Executive at the time to step down, as well as mitigate mainlanders influence over property and resources (Flowerdew, 2017: p. 3). There were also many examples of expression of identity, as defined in opposition to the discourse around identity that was being perpetuated by the pro-Beijing establishment. These included acts of displaying thousands of post-it notes on government buildings, carrying messages of what seems to emphasize more democratic sentiments (Flowerdew, 2017: p. 12). This is typical of *Occupy* style demonstrations, where a space is appropriated by a collective, allowing them to redefine their own relation *to* that space (ibid: p. 3). However after roughly three months of protests, the Umbrella Movement ended quietly, without having achieved much in the way of political reform.

The extensive opposition of the people of the Hong Kong SAR showcases the differentiation of this region from the mainland. Movements such as the Umbrella Movement push the creation of identity based on differentiation and add to the construction of an identity. Movements like this contribute to cultural and political identity discourse.

8. Analysis

In this chapter we will analyze our sources using CDA and try and identify latent discourses within each source at the textual level, be it pro-democracy, pro-PRC or Hong-kong identity in general. Although we have conducted a comprehensive discourse analysis at the textual level with all our sources, we have chosen to only highlight specific points of interests and relevance from our findings, in this chapter in order to keep the reader engaged, these findings will later be discussed and divided into themes of relevance. However the full analysis at text-level will be posted in the appendix.

8.1 Textual Analysis

8.1.1 RTHK

RTHK is a HK government sponsored radio broadcasting corporation which began in 1928 (RTHK, 2002). It operates under the Commerce and Economic Development Bureau within the HK government (Commerce and Economic Development Bureau, 2011). This branch of the government handles a plethora of matters such as policy on HK's external commercial relations, investment promotions, and control of obscene and indecent articles (ibid.). As we take the reader through the source, different excerpts are taken from the data, and used to exemplify or show what the discourse is doing.

Carrie Lam Article

This 2017 article by RTHK, features a brief audio clip of Chief Executive Carrie Lam addressing concerns over freedom of speech, democracy and universal suffrage. This is

interesting to us because these are topics that relate to the social wrong of the people of Hong Kong being dissuaded from participating in the political process.

In this article Carrie Lam seems to communicate that Hong Kong does have freedom of speech as well as democracy, and she portrays universal suffrage as a *final goal*. She also emphasizes the *utility* of universal suffrage, implying that it is only a valuable right insofar as it is compatible with the wider social order and produces consequences that are in line with the national interest of China, however that is defined.

The audio bite from Carrie Lam's statement is as follows:
"HK is a very free society with freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, so we respect these utilities, as long as they are conducted in an orderly manner. And of course, everybody wants more democracy, and it is also laid out in Basic Law, Article 45, that the ultimate objective is to achieve universal suffrage."

First it is stated that HK is a very free society, and a list of rights is mentioned. Here she is painting a picture of HK culture as free and political participation as fundamentally good.

The phrase *"so we respect these utilities"*, implies that political participation is a *utility*, and not a *right* in the liberal view of the term. This emphasizes the *usefulness* of freedom of expression, assembly, etc., which may help construct the view that these issues are not universal, but simply serve a higher purpose of increased efficiency, meaning that it may be reasonable to restrict these 'utilities' if it is determined that they are no longer efficient.

This naturally leads to the next part of the sentence, which once again qualifies these 'utilities' as only applicable if *"they are conducted in an orderly manner".* It is not elaborated on, what would constitute an orderly manner, but it does imply that the speech must be compatible to be integrated into the social order. This focus on efficiency and order is also evident in other sources that are backed by both Beijing and HK government. It seems that the social wrong of lack of universal suffrage and political participation is implicitly

communicated as being disruptive to the social order and the primary objectives of ensuring Chinese competitiveness in global capitalism.

Then she expounds that *"everybody wants more democracy"* referring to Article 45 of Basic Law which, according to Carrie Lam, portrays achieving universal suffrage as the *ultimate objective*, emphasizing the idea that while universal suffrage is a good thing to strive for, it must be implemented in a way that is in accordance with the authorities. There is also the implication that democracy is something that is good, but something we must strive for, not something that can be implemented completely in a short span of time.

It should be noted that this clip is from the day that Carrie Lam first took office, and that it is reasonable to suspect that there was political pressures to find a way to address the concerns of the entities in society that want more democracy, and the ones whose power might be threatened by too much political participation.

The article ends with the paragraph:
"She added that the 50-year guarantee that Hong Kong's way of life will not be changed before 2047 is an important aspect of the Basic Law and there is no reason for people to fear society's freedoms will disappear."

The striking assumption here is that it is irrational for citizens to be worried about restrictions of freedom. This assumption is construed as being backed up by Basic Law which, according to Carrie Lam, states that *"Hong Kong's way of life will not be changed"* before 2047. However, it is not obvious what Hong Kong's 'way of life' entails. As we know from Stuart Hall (1990), cultural identity is usually portrayed in a way that is highly selective, especially when construed by powerful entities such as governments. As such, it highly depends on interpretation, which raises the question of how Carrie Lam interprets Hong Kong's way of life. This is not elaborated further on, and so it is an open question, how she will construe the cultural identity of Hong Kong.

RTHK Broadcasting Episode

This source is split up into four sections. Section one discusses the banning of the Hong Kong National Party (HKNP). Section two is an interview with a civil service representative from the civil society group Hong Kong civil hub. The third section interviews a European politician, and the fourth is news concerning the death of a Chinese scientist. The structure of this broadcast constructs meaning as well as the individual sections. The summary of this source will briefly present the content within the four parts of the broadcast and end with a critical analysis of the meaning embedded within the topic structure of the entire episode.

Part 1

The beginning of this broadcasting episode discusses the banning of the HK national party. It is interesting to point out that they highlight previous attempts at spreading democratic values in a government reform done by the last colonial governor, Chris Patten, and use this as leading to the *"national security threat"* that the HK national party became, thus leading to their banning.

"The last governor Chris Patten wanted to implement a more fairly representative electoral system […] That's proved useful for the current government. On Monday, for the first time since the Handover, the Secretary for Security John Lee used the Societies Ordinance to issue an immediate ban on a local political group" - Steve Vines

During a speech by John Lee, within the data, he describes the banning as essential for public safety. The banning is said to be based on "*the need to safeguard national security, public safety, public order and the protection of the rights and freedoms of others*". The use of the word '*public safety*' makes the party seem dangerous. This can be interpreted as a common-sense assumption, as it is *"based on the need to safeguard national security"*.

Priscilla Leung, a Legislative Council member, legitimizes the banning of the HKNP by discussing self-determination of China vs. self-determination of Hong Kong. She states that:

"If we are talking about self-determination of China, then it's okay, but if we are talking about self-determination of Hong Kong in the international arena, we are actually talking about independence of Hong Kong, which should not be allowed." - Priscilla Leung

This explanation is interesting, because it mentions the international arena. If the national party was vying for self-determination, it does not necessarily mean that they were attempting to attain international independence. It could be that they wanted self-determination in relation to China, or more independence and autonomy ruling themselves. The focus on the international sphere, could be directing attention to something that the HKNP did not want, basing the ban on something that was not representative of the party.

Part 2

The host of the show interviews Johnson Yeung, an executive committee member of the Hong Kong Civil Hub. As such, Yeung is a supporter of the UM and does not support the ban of the National Party. The authoritarianism of China is discussed in relation to a crackdown on civil liberties as well as the unease of the people where China's authority to ban political parties is concerned. This part of the data was surprising as we expected to find narratives that support or encourage the discourse coming from China. This interview sheds light on unrest concerning diminishing political participation, and we did not expect to find this from this actor.

Part 3

The interview with the Greek politician begins by discussing Europe's liberal values and the ways in which China can work with Europe despite its authoritarian style of governing. This section of this episode mentions China as a whole, including HK. Here, RTHK discusses how, in the international arena, China works well with multilateral Europe. In relation to the structure of the episode, it is important to point out that HK was mentioned in regards

to the international arena earlier in the episode when Priscilla Leung stated that the act of relating HK to the international sphere should not be allowed. Here, it is not Hong Kong that is mentioned in the international arena but China, and Hong Kong is excluded.

Part 4

The Episode ends by reporting on the death of a famous Chinese scientist. Seen critically, this could be an implicit encoding of the message that this scientist's death is something that both China and HK and resonate with, uniting the two.

Interpreting the structure

This episode portrays Patten's participation in spreading democracy within HK, as leading to an event that insights national security issues. In other words it lead to an independence party pushing for a political stance that advocates for self-determination and is then a threat to the Chinese and thus Hong Kong civil order and national security. This discourse can be interpreted as limiting self-determination and pushes for political participation. The discourse from the interview with Yeung came as a surprise, and it critically interpreted as a negotiated encoding. It highlights the concerns of HK people who oppose the dominant discourse, but could also be used within the structure to lower the defenses of the audience so that the discourse can be redefined and legitimized through the hegemonic conceptualization of identity thus further advocating for limited political participation and HK/Chinese assimilation. The interview with an international politician from Europe refers to China as whole, this could implicitly be used to get HK people to see themselves as one with China. Ending the broadcast with news of the death of a Chinese scientist could be interpreted as a way to unite the people of HK with the people of China implicitly.

8.1.2 CGTN

The China Global Television Network (CHTN) is a media outlet that represents the perspective of China and is owned and operated under the Beijing Government (Xinhua News Agency, 2000).

Carrie Lam Interview

CGTN interviews Carrie Lam, the recently elected Chief Executive. Carrie Lam was one of the candidates approved of by the PRC before election. We expected this piece of data to be an encoding of the dominant discourse due to the fact that it is a Beijing sponsored media outlet interviewing a Beijing approved Chief Executive. The topics of Carrie Lam's career as a civil servant are discussed and an extensive overview is given of her plans for the government of Hong Kong. Lam talks about connection to the people of HK and quotes the Chinese president often. She claims that she represents 'exactly' what the HK people want and are 'thinking'. She discusses infrastructure as a first priority to connect HK more with the mainland. HK's relationship with the mainland is justified under 'one country, two systems', and Lam discusses the importance of not breaching national security on the matter of self-determination. She stresses that HK cannot succeed without China. Carrie is personalized through discussions of her use of Facebook and describes herself as a strong fighter in government.

Carrie's goals

Carrie lam is supported greatly within the discourse from the interviewer. Her goals are described as 'good' implicitly when the host asks; *"what kind of goals are you supposed to achieve with all these good messages"* where 'good messages' indicates a common-sense assumption toward what is coming in Lam's response. During explanation of her goals in government, Lam also openly supports China by using the Chinese president's words of *"no one should be left behind"* when she explains that she will help lower class people out of poverty. This could insinuate that the problems within society will be taken care of within the current establishment, and that more democratic rule is not necessary to solve issues. Carrie claims that she completely understands the HK people when she states that *"a lot of things Hong Kong has been thinking, I have been thinking".* This is a generalization and greatly shows ideology within the discourse.

HK's Relationship with China

Host: *"you are appointed by the Chinese central government, but on the other hand, there are different understandings of Hong Kong's relationship with the mainland from different parts of society in HK. So once again that's another balance you need to take. But you were very firm on the no breach on national security."*

Carrie: *"well, as long as we are very clear that Hong Kong can only succeed under one country two systems, if HK wants to continue to be prosperous, it has to be one country two systems. Then we will be able to strike this needed balance. And in the words of president Xi* [Chinese president], *this comprehensive jurisdiction, the country over the SAR, and this high degree of autonomy, of HK being a SAR, are not contradictory. They should be in a form of organic interaction."*

The host points out some of the controversy within HK and gives Lam the opportunity to frame the relationship between HK and China in the way that she sees fit. Lam then points out the importance of understanding HK as under Chinese sovereignty and relates this to the ability of HK to be prosperous. This common-sense assumption then produces discourse that equates HK prosperity with the dominant discourse emanating from China.

Facebook Governance

The host and Lam then work together to advertise the newly elected Chief Executive. She is described as 'strong', a 'fighter', 'lowkey' yet self 'promotional'. They then personalize her by discussing her use of Facebook, and coin the term 'Facebook governance'. The host then says *"I hope this interview will illuminate the reality and the trends in the political change that is occurring here in HK"*. This paints the picture of an objective reality.

Documentary

Rediscovering China: The changing face of Hong Kong

This documentary is produced by the Chinese government funded CGTN, and it is explicitly stated that it aims to *"explore the vibrant city of Hong Kong in all its shapes and forms"*. The purpose of this segment of the findings is to understand how the discourse within it constructs a particular *cultural identity* (Hall, 1994) of Hong Kong, as well as how this discourse functions to reinforce the social order.

The structure of the documentary seems to construct a cultural identity that is comprised primarily of 4 components: *Industry, finance, culture* and *scientific progress*.

The broadcast has elected to emphasise these factors in the construction of what changes in Hong Kong the documentary is focusing on. Together, these aspects paint a picture of a cultural identity, that we have interpreted as being focused on maximizing production, efficiency, encouraging trust in existing institutions, and ultimately suggesting that the solution to various problems that the different sectors are facing, lies in increased integration into the Chinese system. As such, it appears that this documentary as a discourse primarily is encoded to support the dominant discourse, that dissuades political participation in favor of central bureaucratic management. This is portrayed as necessary in order for China to compete in global capitalism, which is seen as a net benefit for everyone involved. This overall message seems to be salient in all the sections throughout, however it is constructed in different ways which we will go through.

Industry

The first aspect of Hong Kong identity that is focused on is industry. It portrays the host visiting the Port of Hong Kong, the largest container port in the world. It is mentioned the port employs 5% of the workforce, thus showing that industry is (according to the documentary) inherently good for the common person, because they are employers, and they will bring financial stability. It is also mentioned that Hong Kong faces issues of housing and high population density, and that *"while apartments had to stack up, so did the containers"*. The mention of overpopulation is interesting, because it seems to be an issue

that affects people in their everyday life, and is salient throughout the discourse.

Then, there is some tension presented in the form of a problem where the host proclaims that *"things aren't as rosy as they used to be in this sector, the amount of containers being shipped through Hong Kong has been declining, hitting a 14 year low in 2016."* The CEO is subsequently asked about the nature of the challenges facing the HK port today, to which he responds:

"We're dependant on the global economy [...] and actually since the handover, China has become very competitive in the port industry. So it's not as much the decline of Hong Kong as the growth of ports in China, especially places like Shanghai, which is now no. 1 in the world".

So, according to this source, while the port in Hong Kong is highly efficient and can be trusted to bring prosperity to the people of Hong Kong, it is not as efficient as other parts of China at doing exactly that, which is why they have been dropping in productivity. This may show a contradiction in a negotiated view of the wider social order:

1) There is the social wrong of overpopulation, lack of housing, etc.
2) The industrial elite is part of the solution, their powers should grow, however
3) They are failing, not because of a problem with them (they are still the solution), but because the rest of China is competing.

It is then reasonable to conclude (based on this worldview presented) that social change to fix social wrongs of overpopulation, inadequate housing and unemployment does not lie in democratic political participation, but in wider integration into the social order, more merging of industry and establishment politics, more in the direction of the Chinese system, which is portrayed as necessary to compete in global capitalism.

Culture

This segment of the documentary signifies the explicit cultural dimension of its construction of Hong Kong. It focuses on what they claim to be, the last major manufacturer of hand painted porcelain in HK today, as well as the fact that it is one of the last ones that

are still operating, and that it is a family owned business. Interestingly they are using an ancient Chinese practice to construct this aspect of Hong Kong culture, instead of using something that is unique to Hong Kong, implying that the substance of Hong Kong's culture did not originate in HK specifically, but ultimately came from China as a whole.

The most important things it emphasizes are the fact that porcelain manufacturing used to be huge in Hong Kong, because of Chinese migration in the 1960's. It is mentioned that these immigrants *"went on to become the backbone labourforce of Hong Kong's manufacturing industry".* It is also mentioned how porcelain manufacturing has become less prosperous in Hong Kong because "*China was opening up so much of its manufacturing business, moving operation to the cheaper mainland. Now Hong Kong's manufacturing sector employs only 2.5 % of the workforce".* This is followed by the statement: *"When you think about an economy you can't just think of the economy of a city, you should think of it as a region".* Again, the idea that China is more efficient and productive is emphasized, and further reinforced by the closing statement that instead of thinking in terms of individual cities (such as HK), the entire *region* should be thought of holistically as *one* China. It implies that the substance of Hong Kong culture comes from China, and is only made possible due to Chinese influence.

Finance

The finance segment functions to encode the message that working within the existing social hierarchy can grant you success in life. It also presents challenges in the financial market in Hong Kong and suggests that more integration into the Chinese system is inherently good for Hong Kong's economy.

The segment focuses on an investment banker named Shaun, and emphasizes the fact that he came from a small town, but through hard work secured a high position in the hierarchy. This is evident when he recalls the first time he came to Hong Kong:

"The first time I came to Hong Kong was in 2001, I was a small town boy, hadn't really lived in the megacities in Beijing and Zhanghai. I do clearly remember standing in the center of the American

banking tower, watching the people looking in front of me back and forth. Nobody looks at me. Everyone seems so busy, everyone is engaged with the business, and everyone is discussing with each other about some deal or transaction. I feel a little bit lonely, a little bit afraid, I feel a little bit lower and I think this needs to be changed, and I need to work hard."

It is possible that Shaun is supposed to represent the viewer, and the hardship the viewer might go through as a citizen of HK. Shaun seems to express a feeling of being lower in the social hierarchy and possibly alienated by society. The message seems to be that the way to solve problems of loneliness and alienation from society is to work hard within the hierarchy that exists. The documentary shows how he has been rewarded for his hard work, and continuously states that he now lives a "glamorous life", where he is playing pool with businessmen and eating fancy dinners - *"it is all about impressing people".* This part of the broadcast seem to represent success. Shaun was a small town boy, but through hard work, he helped China and Hong Kong symbiotically by growing capital that he got part of, and now he is living a good life.

It is repeatedly stated that the rise of China is what caused the financial success of Hong Kong, however it is simultaneously portrayed as the source of certain problems because Hong Kong now has to compete. However, it also states in an interview with an expert that the competition is a good thing for Hong Kong:

"If you have a neighbor who is rich, are you gonna earn more or less? Most likely you are gonna earn more because your neighbor is gonna require more service. If Shanghai becomes a richer city and will deliver in financial services, it's gonna use more financial services in HK"

Here the case is made that a more prosperous China means a more prosperous HK. Of course, this will only be the case if there are financial ties between these actors. It is interesting that he makes the case that a booming China will make HK more prosperous, when in the *industry* portion of the documentary, pointed out that business at the port was slower exactly because China took up more of the market share. This is because there is a open wound in this ideological framework. The contradiction is this:

1) Hong Kong is losing business to China which performs better. Therefore HK must adopt a system that is more like the Chinese one, in order to compete.

2) Hong Kong will be more prosperous with a Chinese neighbor, because as China becomes richer, it will demand more services from Hong Kong. Therefore we must increase ties between HK and China.

Both of these cannot be true, but the documentary holds that it is. This might be an example of a negotiational reading from two different institutions, which both are deeply beholden to the social order, but because the social order depend on them, they must portray themselves as good, powerful and functional, even if their interests collide in some cases.

Scientific Breakthroughs

This final, rather short segment focuses on the entrepreneurs in Hong Kong and the scientific breakthroughs they are bringing to the table. It focuses on a startup company that use fish embryos to check for toxins in food products, and have used it to test baby powder that can be contaminated. One person from the company says:

"How come our country is becoming stronger, people are becoming richer, but the only products for babies are still so dangerous and I find out that one of the reasons is that existing testing methods regulations are very outdated."

Here it is explicitly stated that the country has become stronger and that people are better off. The message seems to be that while there may be problems, they can be solved with technological progress. It is stated that Hong Kong is a great location for startups and that it could become the new growth engine of the future, but that the expensive housing prevent them from succeeding to the extent that they could. This is a social wrong that we have encountered other places.

To sum up, this documentary has had an emphasis on production, finance, manufacturing etc., and even culture seems tied in with it. There is also an emphasis on closer integration with China to achieve all this. It presents culture as defined by resilience, efficiency,

production (which China is presented as actually doing better than HK). The historical aspect of cultural identity comes from the porcelain paintings which are described as disappearing, related more to ancient Chinese history than HK, highly tied to the 'production' narrative, and only made possible because of Chinese immigration (which HK must approve of if it want to maintain its cultural heritage).

There is no mention of political struggle or the Umbrella Movement, even when discussing the financial sector that was occupied by protesters. In fact, the solutions to the problems that are presented are not showed to be more political participation at all, but on the other hand, more integration into the Chinese system, talented people climbing the power hierarchy that is essentially just and rewarding if you work hard. There is a feeling of automatisation and bureaucracy fixing the majority of the problems.

At the end it is mentioned that the three parties should come to an agreement. It is implied that this agreement should develop around the imperative of the social order, which is essentially economic success.

8.1.3 Non-governmental

The Students Strike Declaration

This is an analysis of the "students strike declaration", a document made by the University of Hong Kong's students union (HKSU). It was released in 2014, right before the strikes associated with the umbrella movement and in this document, they state their demands and their rationale for believing as they do, the document will be analyzed using critical discourse analysis., in the analysis we will focus on points of interests especially relevant to the object of study, but the full analysis at the textual level will be added to the appendix. The cultural identities (Hall, 1990) that the HKSU seek to portray will be decoded, and concepts of reception theory (Hall, 1974),will also be employed due to the HKSU having a certain interpretation of the Government discourses.

The identities expressed are generally very rebellious, there is widespread discontent with the establishment, but there are no hints of independence sentiments, partly because it's practically outlawed after the banning of the Separatist National Party and there is little hope of ever achieving it. Another identity that is displayed throughout is that the HKU and the activists within see themselves as the true champions of the people (Occupy Central with Love and Peace, 2018), this is apparent when they state the government is said to be surrendering to Beijing ignoring public opinion, while the students pledge to spread public awareness on the democratic developments (HKU student declaration), also the popular phrase by Thomas Jefferson *"When injustice becomes law resistance becomes duty"* (Jefferson) which is widely used in the UM and various activist movements, aptly portrays the mindset of the youth; the government is weak and corrupt, and it is the duty of the new generation to fix this, by seeking to make political reforms through the power of public opinion through a bottom-up approach. This further is reinforced when they mention the school motto "sapience and virtue" which means that it is the duty of the student to stand up for justice. Another identity portrayed in the declaration more so pertaining to Hong Kong as a society is that there is a majority of pro-democracy supporters in Hong Kong, in truth it is hard to truly determine the percentage of pro-democracy supporters due to extensive censorship. However, the declaration repeatedly portrays themselves as "the voice of the people" for instance when they stated the sham proposal an insult to each and every citizen of HK (Occupy Central with Love and Peace, 2018), which may be a bit of a generalization. HKU also seeks to portray the Hong Kong system identity as elitist, which is demonstrated in the phrase *"the rich and powerful could dictate Hong Kong's future",* they use this in contrast to display their own identity as more oriented towards the betterment of the general population, almost portraying the whole ordeal as a class struggle.

In summary, the discourses identified in the declaration can be characterized as respectful and orderly but at the same time very expressive of the discontent felt by the students of HKU. At times, the declaration feels as if it appeals to an international audience rather than the Chinese establishment; for example, when they invoke the international standards

(Occupy Central with Love and Peace, 2018). This could be an attempt to make external powers put pressure on the PRC. It's worth noting that members of the HKU are more politically active than the common citizen and might diverge somewhat regarding their political methods, however they still serve as a representative of the youth of Hong Kong, and the identities expressed must correspond somewhat to most young people of HK.

HKFP

This piece of data is a short interview conducted by a non-profit independent news source *"seeking to unite critical voices"* throughout HK called the Hong Kong Free Press (HKFP) (HKFP, 2016). This news outlet was put together due to rising concerns of limiting freedom within the press and Hong Kong during changing constitutional development after the handover (ibid.). The interview is done with Chris Patten who was the last colonial governor of HK before the change in sovereignty. He is a supporter of independence as well as self-determination of HK.

Structure

This two minute interview goes through a short and positive description of HK. Hong Kong is described as 'free' with people that have a *"real sense of citizenship"* however, there is not any detail that goes into this description. He then goes into the topic of China and China's relationship to HK. Patten discusses the issue of trust of China in how it handles HK. This illustrates HK as vulnerable to the overarching governing power of the mainland. The treaty is brought to light where Patten discusses if China will 'break its word' and then discusses the UM demonstrators and uses this to say that the people of HK will decide the fate of the region. This uses language to highlight the power of the people against the Chinese system.

Interpretation

The interview starts out as follow;

"Hong Kong is a fantastic city. You know It's one of the freest cities in Asia still. People in Hong Kong have a real sense of citizenship which involves pride in what has been achieved here and pride in what Hong Kong stands for" - Chris Patten

The fact that the element of freedom is mentioned could be in contrast to that of China, in that it is compared to other countries in Asia. The highlighting of citizenship shows a distance of HK to China. The word 'here' is used illuminating the separateness of HK from China.

"The way China handles Hong Kong is a test case for how much china will be trusted in the next few years. And I think that's something which […] European countries, and countries in Asia should make clear" - Chris Patten

This piece of the text illustrates a mistrust of China. By pondering how China will 'handle' HK, HK then seems vulnerable to China. Patten goes on to discuss the importance of the international community and their attention to HK. This could insinuate that HK's vulnerability could be helped by the international community.

"What happens after 2047? Well the people will decide that are the people who are demonstrating at the moment at universities and unfortunately in some cases are in prison" - Chris Patten

Rather than illustrating opposition to the dominant discourse, the HKFP paints the opposition in a positive light. Patten says that *"the people who are demonstrating at the moment at universities are unfortunately in some cases in prison"*. The use of the word 'unfortunately' makes the prisoners look righteous. The fact that this comes after Patten states that the people will make the destiny of the region, also has the effect of painting the prisoners of the people as martyrs. This opposes the social wrong of decreasing political participation by exalting the people fighting for increased political participation

8.2 Common Themes

In this section, we will cover common aspects of the discourse that were recurring across the sources and actors presented above. It illustrates differences and commonalities between the actors and the sources. Contradicting messages from a single actor showcase ideology while differences between actors allow this research to assess how the discourse supports or opposes the social order as well as the varying political actors associated with the broadcasting institution. This section covers the topics of Hong Kong prosperity, what is framed as a threat to public order and how the opposition is framed, be that the establishment or activist groups.

HK Prosperity

This section elucidates the varying ways that different actors and sources have framed what HK prosperity looks like. We try to get a birds eye view of the discourse to assess how it encourages or opposes the social order. We investigate the differences between establishment discourse and non-governmental.

According to our research, There is a trend in the discourse found within data from the establishment (i.e. RTHK and CGTN) that Hong Kong can only prosper under China. This is done in many ways. Carrie Lam does this explicitly in an interview by CGTN, saying that; "*Hong Kong can only succeed under one country two systems if HK wants to continue to be prosperous*". This is echoed by Priscilla Leung, a member of the Legislative Council, by RTHK, where Leung states that talking about Self-determination of Hong Kong should not be allowed. This message is also articulated implicitly as well as explicitly in a CGTN documentary where integration into China is framed in a positive way hinting that it will enhance Hong Kong economically and culturally.

"When you think about an economy you can't just think of the economy of a city, you should think of it as a region." - (CTGN Source 2)

"If you have a neighbor who is rich, are you gonna earn more or less? Most likely you are gonna earn more because your neighbor is gonna require more service." - (CTGN Source 2)

"I think the reason for Hong Kong becoming a financial center around the globe, is that they have fully taken advantage of the rise of China." - (CTGN Source 2)

These three quotes exemplify the advertisement and justification for the prosperity of Hong Kong as contingent on its integration with China. The idea that China is more efficient and productive is emphasized, the case is made that a more prosperous China means a more prosperous HK only if there are financial ties and that HK can thank China for its past prosperity, as it was due to China's rising. Additionally, Carrie Lam articulates her policy inspiration as coming from *"the presidency of the PRC"* Lam goes on to say that she has been putting forth policy recommendations which are *"very much in line with President Xi's* (the Chinese president) *vision"* This show's discourse further warenting HK prosperity with assimilation into China. There is little to no mention of political struggle or the Umbrella Movement, even when discussing the financial sector that was occupied by protesters. The solutions to the problems that are presented are not shown to be more political participation, but more integration into the Chinese system. Universal suffrage is presented as a utility rather than a right and something that can be placed as a goal in the future instead of a primary priority.

Discourse stemming from actors within the data not associated with government institutions have a tendency to frame the qualities of a prosperous HK differently. To begin with, HK is discursively portrayed as separate from China more often than in the discourse stemming from government sponsored institutions. For example, Chris Patten stated that, *"people in Hong Kong have a real sense of citizenship which involves pride in what has been achieved here and pride in what hong kong stands for"* This example shows that Hong Kong is discussed in a manner that suggests that HK's pride is just that, Hong Kong's. There is also a common theme that HK prosperity requires more democratic practices within the SAR. This is exemplified in the UM student's pledge to spread public awareness on the

developments of democratic values, and comments from Johnson Yeung, the executive committee member of the Hong Kong Civil Hub, stating that; *"we have to seek more channels and opportunities to practice democracy, We have to practise democracy in our daily life".* These examples illustrate the difference in discourse between actors connected to the establishment and actors not sponsored by the establishment.

The Threat to Public Order

Differing discourses emanating from varying sources and thus actors distinguish threats to public order and national security in different ways. This section identifies the differences between the ways in which the establishment has framed the threat to the public order and the way non-governmental actors from our data have framed the threat.

One of the most common threads of discourse pertaining to this topic is the threat of HK self-determination or independence. This is a popular discoursal trend between RTHK and CGTN, the institutions sponsored by their respective governments. RTHK presents the Hong Kong National Party as a threat to national security, public safety and public order due to their continuance to push for HK independence. As mentioned in the textual analysis, any mention of self-determination or independence is conceptualized by individuals such as Priscilla Leung or Carrie Lam as 'not allowed' or a *"breach on national security"*. Carrie Lam's interview exemplifies the tendency of establishment discourse to formulate a specific conception of the Chinese/Hong Kong relationship.

> *Host: "Hong Kong is part of china, of course"*
> *Carrie: "yes"*
> *Host: "And you are appointed by the chinese central government, but on the other hand there are different understandings of Hong Kong's relationship with the mainland from different parts of society in HK. But you were very firm on the no breach on national security." - (CGTN Source 1)*

This excerpt demonstrates that though the populace may not all agree on the autonomy of HK, HK is Chinese, and anything else would be a security breach.

Conversely, the discourse that comes from institutions that are not governmental have a different conception of who the threat is. Chris Patten insinuates that 'China' constitutes the threat to the public order when he questions *"how much China* [can] *be trusted in the next few years"*. This sentiment is echoed in the student declaration of the UM strike when students name the election committee and the Beijing government as representations of the problems within society. This is done when the HK government is said to be surrendering to Beijing and ignoring the public concerns and when the election committee is described as unjust and an insult to local citizens.

The Framing of the Opposition
Like the themes listed above, the varying actors portray the opposition in varying ways. This section outlines how the oppositions is framed.

During RTHK's interview with Johnson Yeung, the host insinuates that Yeungs opinion on pressuring the international community to put pressure on the government is illegitimate when he responds with *"really? Do you think the government is particularly worried about whether, say, the British government or whoever makes a statement on this?" - Steve Vines* The host's use of the word 'really' followed by the framing of this question, insinuates that the Chinese government wouldn't care. Political participation is framed by CGTN as being disruptive to the social order. Mentions of concerns for higher levels of political participation are articulated by Carrie Lam as being irrational, as the Basic Law states that *"Hong Kong's way of life will not be changed before 2047* [and] *there is no reason for people to fear society's freedoms will disappear."*

Independent news and our data from society frame the establishment somewhat negatively. The establishment is described as unjust, elitist, ineffective, corrupt, untrustworthy, disconnected from the people ignoring their concerns as well as weak in

contrast to the people who, within the student declaration, frame themselves as the 'true champions' of the people.

The differences between the framing of the opposition helps this study demonstrate and identify which discourses benefit the social order and showcase the discursive fight against the social wrongs and the political identities in the wake of the new Hong Kong.

8.3 Cultural Identity

A significant part of this analysis is a focus on cultural identity and how it is constructed to serve a specific function that relates to power relations and either enforces or challenges the current social order. However, as we know from Stuart Hall, it is not necessarily the case that there is an *essence* of cultural identity (Hall, 1996). While not every source focuses on culture, there is plenty of material in our data to discuss the different ways that cultural identity has been constructed. This section goes over the different ways that cultural identity has been portrayed by the different sources, and compares similarities and differences between them.

Overall, the institutions that are aligned with the Chinese or Hong Kong government tend to construct a portrayal of Hong Kong culture that is based on efficiency and productivity, and they generally seem to advocate integration into China.

The documentary, *Rediscovering China: The Changing Face of Hong Kong* is a good example of that. It constructs a view of Hong Kong culture that heavily emphasises production and frames that as the most important aspect of Hong Kong identity. Even the segment on culture that revolves around the ancient Chinese practice of porcelain painting mainly focuses on the economic aspect of it, and emphasises the fact that the industry has been failing in Hong Kong because China can do it cheaper and more efficiently. This is also the case for the finance segment, as well as the one about industry (CGTN, 2017). Thus, it is reasonable to suspect that it advocates increased integration into China, by focusing on

specific aspects of cultural identity that portrays China as superior, and rationalize subordinance to authorities and institutions that are connected to China. This idea of an efficient bureaucracy that will maximize utility seems to be a common theme. Several of our analyzed texts, including *RTHK Source 2* discuss rights such as universal suffrage and freedom of speech as *utilities;* that is demonstrated here: "*HK is a very free society with freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, so we respect these utilities, as long as they are conducted in an orderly manner*" - (RTHK Source 2). In this audioclip, Carrie Lam also states that *"everybody wants more democracy"*, portraying the Hong Kong people as valuing these rights, but only insofar as they are compatible with the wider social order. Another example of this is at the end of the documentary, where the CEO of the Hong Kong port states that: *"I don't know anyone who's betting against HK. It just has this ability, this resilience and this grid about it, that just, year after year, continues to prove to the world that it's still the place to be. It's such a valuable piece of the Asian-Pacific region"*, emphasizing *resilience* and *grid* which are associated with productivity and efficiency. Referring to it as *valuable* in this context also implies monetary value for increasing capital.

This is in sharp contrast with the independent sources that seem to emphasize the aspects of Hong Kong identity that have to do with the democratic rights in HK in comparison to the Chinese system. They generally seem to portray the Hong Kong people as overwhelmingly pro-democracy. The UM strike declaration does this when it says "*Hong Kong's dream for genuine democracy and the realization of universal suffrage simply diminish into fantasy*" (OS Source 1), implying that the Hong Kong people are interested in increasing democracy, but that the system in place will suppress it, which will lead to a diminishing of public participation in policy. By referring to it as the *dream* of Hong Kong, it also seems to imply that democracy constitutes an essense of Hong Kong that would ideally be free, were it not for the perceived suppression from government. This sentiment is somewhat similar to the one found in the Chris Patten interview, in which he states;

"Hong Kong is a fantastic city. You know It's one of the freest cities in Asia still. People in Hong Kong have a real sense of citizenship which involves pride in what has been achieved here and pride in what hong kong stands for" - Chris Patten

By *"what has been achieved here"* he is most likely referencing the democratic nature of Hong Kong (compared to the rest of China) as part of the *One Country, Two Systems* approach. He seems to frame this as central to Hong Kong's identity, which he calls *"Chinese with a lot of qualities which other cities don't have".* Johnson Yeung of the Civic Hub Party also spoke of democratic rights as being a *"concern for the Hong Kong people"*, reinforcing the narrative of democracy as part of what makes up cultural identity in Hong Kong.

8.4 Social Issues and Solutions

This section illustrates how the varying actors frame the problems within society as well as their prescribed solutions. A wide variety of social issues are presented within the discourse. In this section we will elucidate issues that seemed particularly salient and reoccuring, both within and across different discourses and actors.

A recurring issue across our datasets has been overpopulation and limited housing. The reasons for these problem as well as the suggested solutions have however varied between the actors and sources themselves. Carrie Lam, in her interview with CGTN, proposed a *"debate with the surrounding areas on where to build"* as a solution to the issue. Conversely, the documentary through CGTN, *Rediscovering China: The Changing Face of Hong Kong,* seems to prescribe adherence to authority and wider integration into China as the solution. The documentary also presents challenges within Hong Kong's finance and industry sector which primarily revolve around the fact that China has been competing, causing the economic growth of Hong Kong to stagnate compared to that of many other Chinese cities, such as Shanghai. Again, the solution seems to be the same. It also portrays the problem of poverty and alienation from society, and prescribes the solution of working hard within the system, which, according to the source, will lead to social mobility and prosperity.

As stated in the above sections, one of the issues named within our sources, is the occurrence of discourse pertaining to HK self-determination or independence. This has been done through the HKNP as well as by activist groups and social movement. Institutions associated with the establishment have framed the solution to this as a silencing of the opposition by banning the National Party and ignoring the UM.

In contrast to the discourse stemming from the sources sponsored by the establishment, the student strike declaration as well as the independent news source depict societies problems and thus solutions in a different way. There is more focus on the subject of democracy and the level of trust that should be bestowed onto China as a governing structure. In response to limiting democratic freedom, the strike declaration proposes protesting stating that *"when injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty" (Thomas Jefferson)*. Here the issues revolve around political participation and thus the solutions include tools to use in the fight to achieve their goals. Independent news focuses on concerns of the upholding of the handover treaty and frames the problem as a lack of trust where China is concerned.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the critical analysis of our pieces of data. We started with an in depth textual analysis of each source where the structure of the individual data source was analyzed in an effort to illustrate the meaning embedded within the structure and ordering of the topics within the piece of data. Individual parts of each piece of data were exemplified to show how the discourse worked, as this report does not have the space limits to address an in depth critical analysis of every part of each source. In addition to an analysis of each source individually, common themes between the sources were chosen and analyzed in order to give the analysis the tools to see the discourse from a wider stance. This allows us as researchers to gain a better understanding for the discoursal map of the society. Rather than only focusing on how each piece of data contributes to the social

order, analyzing the sources across each other gives us a better understanding of how the discourses contribute to the wider discoursal landscape.

In summary, our analysis has elucidated varying common themes within the discourse which portray the varying identities produced through the media. Establishment media commonly portrays the essence of Hong Kong identity as contingent with Chinese culture often advocating for assimilation as a solution to the problems within society. Our sources from independent news and society relate HK identity as more separate from China, advertising HK as a culture like no other country. Here solutions to the issues within society advocate for more democracy and representation of the people.

9. Discussion

The aim of the discussion is to reflect on the various aspects of the report. We begin by describing where this study contributes to the academic knowledge on Hong Kong, Hong Kong identity and identity discourse studies. We assess our use of the theory selected and reflect on how useful it was in its explanatory and investigatory abilities as well as discuss the challenges we faced in our use of them. Philosophy is also reflected upon where we discuss our post-structuralist approach and examine where we stray from the elements of this approach. For example, there are elements of the social order which we do not analyze and take as real, giving parts of our approach a realist aspect. Finally, We consider the social wrong we have identified and discuss whether the greater social order needs the social wrong and attempt to identify obstacles past it.

Contributions to the Academical Field

In our studies we have examined the political climate, attitudes and discourses from politically charged areas of the society. Our specific contribution to the field has been the coverage and dissection of institutional media discourse, and discourse of various societal actors in the period from 2010 to 2018. This has been achieved through discourse analysis and respectively reception and cultural theory (Hall, 1970). We found a gap in the

literature regarding discourse analysis in the above-mentioned time span. A deeper academical level of analysis of the discourses and identities portrayed seems to be missing. As the time span allotted to this study did not permit a large dataset, further research into the field could prove useful in a more comprehensive understanding of the discoursal map of identity portrayal between powerful media outlets.

Reflect on Theories

The theories used in this study are reflected on in this section. This includes the extent to which they are and are not utilized, their explanatory and investigatory powers are considered and the overall theoretical frame is reflected upon.

Culture Theory and Cultural Identity

We defined cultural identity as a shared sense of self and attempted to investigate the specific framings of identity discourse from the media outlets selected. Though we found various portrayals of different medias conceptions of their ideal cultural identities, we did not find elements of identity representation in every source of data. This is also due to our limited time, and thus, limited corpus. If this research was done over a longer period of time, a larger data set could have been possible, and a more refined and diverse view of portrayed cultural identities from the differing institutions could have been analyzed. This also meant that we did not go into as much depth with this concept as we could have. The concept of cultural identity was helpful in our conception of identity with Hong Kong because it gave a perception of the culture as changing and allowed us to speak about the general identity of the entire population due to this concept's element of collectivity between the people, as it is defined as a 'shared sense of self'.

Reception Theory

We mostly used this theory to conceptualize how ideology, agenda and specific discourses were encoded on the producers end, and then theorized how individuals were interpreting the messages. This theory is usually used to measure audience decoding processes and differences. This theory gave us the idea that there was a dominant and hegemonic strand of discourse, and different producers within our data, were either following that strand of discourse or opposing it, and thus producing a different strand. This is where we used dominant, negotiated and oppositional reading as concepts. Instead of using the theory as it is normally used focusing on the interpreter, it gave us a conceptualization and frame for thinking of the discourses produced and the meanings behind the production. Reception theory helps us understand the obscure but existing and consequential relationship between the *encoder* and the *decoder*. Having access to audience reception data would have been helpful in obtaining an understanding of the decodings of the varying discourses. We could have used focus groups or interviews subjecting the chosen individuals to the data, but the interpretation would not have given an accurate account of the interpretation in HK because they are of a different discoursal configuration, and not the target audience, since we would not have access to subjects from Hong Kong. More time and resources could also have lead to a more detailed interpretation of the discourse, especially in media such as TV because visual details and connotations are highly consequential in producing meanings which could be related to cultural identity. For example, the documentary frames the world in a specific way, via words, images, the way things are shot, angled, etc. When something is visualized in a particular style, that can change the perception of it. The relationship between the *encoding* and the *decoding* of these more connotative meanings, is inherently somewhat asymmetrical and obscure, but with a proper analysis of the power relations involved they can be further elucidated (Hall, 1994). This would of course require a project of a larger scope, involving more complexity and deeper interpretivist analysis.

CDA Theory and Method

This section is reflexive concerning the method we used for analysis as well as the CDA theory used. We discuss the influence of the DHA and the DRA in our CDA method. CDA theory is reflected upon where we could have elaborated on Fairclough's conception of power within the media.

Method

This research was heavily influenced by the methods stemming from Wodak and Fairclough. The DHA has a focus on the historical context within discourse, thus the name Discursive-Historical Approach. Due to this focus on history and context, the method requires a data driven approach, where the researcher immerses herself in data in order to get a comprehensive understanding of the context before identifying problems within the data to focus on. The specific steps of our data analysis method are modeled closer to that of DHA and DRA because DHA puts an emphasis on a data driven approach. However, Fairclough's DRA contributed to this research by adding the concept of a social wrong. This aspect equips this research with the tools to critically reflect on the issues interpreted from the data within society as well as allows us to positively critique them by coming up with solutions to problems. This has lead us to the solution of increased political participation. This will be discussed further on in the discussion. There are aspects to both the DHA and DRA which are not included in our method as we were influenced by these methods rather them combining them in completion.

Reflection on Philosophy

Writing a project within post-structuralism has interesting implications. It is a school of thought that embraces complexity and imagines the social world as one of uncertainty and near-infinite possibility of interpretation. This means that every conception of the world includes elements of interpretation, leaving the researcher with the task of constructing an

understanding of a given social event, that is critical and refrains from thinking reductively about the world, however that might not be possible. While post-structuralists generally (through methods such as discourse analysis) 'prescribe' an attempt to reach a more refined interpretation, it also holds that *any* interpretation will be selective and reductive, including that of the researcher investigating discourse. When this way of thinking is taken to its logical conclusion, it is possible to reach a state of mind that scholars such as social theorist Andrew Sayer has referred to as "pessimistic post-structuralism", and it has been criticized for leading to a radically relativist, and ultimately nihilistic worldview (Sayer, 2000). We do believe that some interpretations are more functional than others for ensuring human flourishing and challenging power, and it is our position that empirical inquiry is a valuable means to that end, although we do realize that what qualifies as 'human flourishing' can also be highly influenced by ideology and interpretation. While we realize that we will never develop a 'complete' or 'final' analysis of our field of inquiry, the project of refining our interpretation and embracing as much contextual complexity as possible, is one that we agree with. As such, we consider ourselves to be operating under a philosophy of what might be called "optimistic post-structuralism".

Power

In post-structuralism, as is laid out in the methodology segment of this paper, situating discourse within power relations is a central aspect of discourse studies. The reason for this, as Foucault explains, is that there is a somewhat 'evolutionary' process to the relationship between power and discourse. If institutions of power are able to reinforce that power through ideology, that means that they will consolidate and expand that power. This makes analysis of power relations a highly useful, and some would argue superior, tool for understanding the structure of society, compared to simply identifying causal links between entities. This begs the question, did we properly understand the power relations of the discourse? While I do think we have some evidence that the Chinese and Hong Kong government has some influence over most of the broadcast institutions we are working with, a project of a larger scope, or future projects could certainly include more theory on

power and institutions as we currently take them 'for granted' to an extent. That could have included Fairclough's concept of *centrifugal and centripetal discoursal pressures*, as well as *Ideological Discursive Formations*, that explains how there are formations of power that compete for dominance within institutions (Fairclough, 1995). Since we found many references to competition in the global economy as a reason for more integration into China, an economic theory such as Marxism could have worked well with our method.

The Social Wrong

This section reflects on the social issues identified in the analysis of the data and presents a solution in an effort to positively critique as well as negatively.

Political Participation

There are varying issues within society that are mentioned throughout the data. Some of these include overpopulation and lack of housing. Each of the actors frame the problems differently and provide varying ideas for solutions to the problems. This research argues that the overall social wrong within society is the occurrence of discourse which advocates for diminishing political participation. We argue that the advertisement of an identity that involves decreased participation in the political process might lead to many of the issues mentioned by the actors and institutions. We argue that if the people of Hong Kong had more political power in choosing their political leaders, some of these issues would begin to be addressed. We argue that many of these social issues exist because of the exploitative relationships between classes of people such as the elites and the average citizen. This outlook showcases the physical orientation of us as researchers within the West, as it is common to believe in universal liberal democracy within the West. However, we are fully aware that universal suffrage does not always constitute a solution to society's ailments that Western neoliberal democracy has yet to eliminate. Even so, we argue that higher levels of democratic citizen involvement in the political process might help remedy some of these issues, that leave the population dissatisfied, in the West as well as Hong Kong. However, it is reasonable to suspect, based on our findings, that the current social order is

dependant on limited democratic participation, to uphold the bureaucratic institutions of power in place, that enables China to effectively compete in the global economy.

10. Conclusion

In this project we have found a variety of discursively portrayed cultural identities, and generally interpreted a noticeable difference in how these cultural identities have been construed based on the power relations of the institutions. Overall, we have found that media institutions that are politically aligned with the Hong Kong or Beijing government, emphasize components of cultural identities that are related to maximizing production and utility, and ultimately advocate increased integration of Hong Kong into the rest of China. Conversely, the institutions that were independent or generally opposed to the status quo, such as HKFP and the activists associated with the Umbrella Movement portrayed cultural identity in a way that emphasized the unique democratic aspects of the system in Hong Kong, compared to the rest of China.

While we could have had a more detailed analysis of the power structures affecting Hong Kong, particularly related to the economy, our data did seem to suggest that the social order is dependant on repression of democratic participation, to uphold institutions of power to compete in global capitalism.

Considering Hong Kong's postcolonial history through the lens of Stuart Hall's theory on cultural identity, it is reasonable to think that the dramatic shifts in power associated with the change of sovereignty, have left a vacuum of a sort in terms of identity. Usually cultural identities are cultivated over time in a way that reinforces concentrations of power, but seeing as these concentrations of power have changed so rapidly, that might help explain why the portrayals of cultural identity that we have observed, have seemed to lack a certain degree of substance and history. It is possible that we as researchers are not sufficiently immersed in the culture in HK, however, through our research, it seemed fairly obvious that the culture portrayed functioned as thinly veiled ideology that reinforced the

economic utility of HK to serve the national interests of China, as they are currently defined in the discourse.

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