

Hong Kong Under the One Country, Two Systems Policy

— — Through the Case study of Anti-Extradition Law
Amendment Bill Movement to exploring the identity
and ontological security issues of Hong Kongese



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Author : Jichen Zhao

Supervisor: Catarina Kinnvall

Major: Political Science

Master of Science in Global Studies

Faculty of Social Science

Graduate School

SIMV07

Abstract

Traditional security studies focuses primarily on physical threats to the state. By contrast, the ontological security framework argues that individuals feel secure when they are able to maintain a communal narrative. Such a framework lends itself to an analysis of the impact of identity continuity on security. This thesis uses the ontological framework to understand the security issues that arise under the "one country, two systems" policy. In particular, this thesis takes the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement as the key point of investigation and applies critical discourse analysis as a method to examine discussions on Facebook about the "Civil Human Rights Front" (CHRF) as the main initiator of the demonstrations. Meanwhile It also examined the construction and presentation of local identity through the analysis of media publications during the movement by the "pro-democracy" newspaper Apple Daily. Meanwhile, during the qualitative analysis process, this thesis follows an abductive logic.

Though the analysis, the thesis found that during the 150 years of Hong Kong's history as a colonial territory, its residents have developed a unique local narrative. This sets them apart from mainland China, with its dominant nationalist narrative. While recent demonstrations by the Hong Kongese have been portrayed as "endangering national security," they are also indicative of its unique narrative within this history of colonization, meanwhile the narrative difference is enlarged and manifested by the construction of public media discourse. Divergence in communal narratives leads the Hong Kongese toward a different process of "subjective securitisation" than the mainland Chinese, whose narratives do not revolve around the same reference points. But within the perspective of China as a whole, the "one country, two systems" policy is changing the narrative and discourse structure of Hong Kong's inhabitants. With the passage of time and increased interaction between the two sides, a new narrative structure will be established, and a new sense of ontological security will take root.

Key Words: Hong Kong, One Country Two System Policy, Ontological Security, Identity, colony

Word Account: 21154

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my family for their support and encouragement during my study in Sweden.

Second, thanks to my reliable friends and classmates, they gave me confidence in some extremely depression times.

Third, thanks to the people who pushed me forward during the thesis writing process, especially Lisa Strömbom, Ted Svensson, thanks for them allowing me to keep summarizing the shortcomings of my previous works.

Fourth, thanks for Annika Bergman Rosamond and Marc Andre, they gave good advices to this article in the final seminar.

Most importantly, I appreciate my tutor: Catarina Kinnvall. Her thoughts have given excellent guidance to this paper, thanks for her careful and patient help, she made me feel a bright future throughout the difficult year of 2020.

Finally, thanks for the life.

Table of content

List of abbreviations	<u>4</u>
List of figures and tables	<u>4</u>
1. Introduction	<u>5</u>
1.1 Purpose	6
1.1.1. Research Question	6
2. Historical Background	<u>7</u>
2.1 Hong Kong as a Colonial City	7
2.2 One Country, Two Systems and the Transfer of Sovereignty	9
2.3 Street Politics	12
3. Literature Review	<u>14</u>
3.1 Previous Research on Security	14
3.1.1 Critical Security Studies	15
3.2 Previous Research on Conception of Identity	16
3.2.1 Heterogeneity of Identity	17
3.2.3 Research on Identity under the Post-colonial Era	18
3.3 Patterns and Shortcomings in the Analysis of Hong Kong	19
4. Overview of an Ontological Security Framework	<u>21</u>

4.1 What is Ontological Security?	21
4.2 The Definition of Ontological (In)Security	22
4.3 “Thick Signifier” and “Securitisation of Subjectivity”	24
4.5 The Theoretical Framework and its Function	27
5. Methodology as Opposed to Method	<u>28</u>
5.1 Philosophical Discussion	28
5.1.2 The significance of the case selected by this thesis	29
5.2 A Qualitative Research Nature	29
5.3 An Introduction to Method	30
5.4 Operation	31
5.5 Materials	33
5.6 Personal Reflexivity	37
5.7 Delimitations and Limitations of CDA	38
6. Findings and Analysis	<u>39</u>
6.1 Analysis at the Textual Level	39
6.1.1 Textual Metaphors	40
6.1.2 Subjective use of Words	41
6.1.3 Selective Reporting	42

6.2 Discursive Practices	44
6.2.1 Consumption of Identity	44
6.2.2 Awareness of Identity from Modality	47
6.2.3 Justice and Universal Suffrage	48
6.2.4 Youth Practices	50
6.2.5 Economic Factors	52
6.2.6 Expansion on a Global Scale	53
6.3 Social Practice	55
6.3.1 Inner Colonial Legacy	56
6.3.2 Political Subjectivity	57
6.3.3 Ideological speculation	58
<u>7. Thoughts on Ontological Security</u>	<u>59</u>
7.1 Identity Signifiers in the Post-colonial Era	59
7.2 Subjective Securitisation under the OCTSP	61
7.3 Abjection of Hong Kongese	63
<u>8. Conclusion</u>	<u>64</u>
<u>References:</u>	<u>67</u>

List of abbreviations

One Country Two System Policy	OCTSP
Civil Human Right fronts	CHRF
Chinese communism Party	CCP
Extradition Law Amendment Bill	ELAB
Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	HKSAR
WenWeiPo	WWP
People's republic of China	PRC
Critical Discourse Analysis	CDA

List of figures and tables

Figure 1. Survey results for people's affection for Hong Kong, the country and the Chinese Communist Party

Figure 2. Survey results for the strength of the citizens of the PRC identity

Figure 3. Hong Kong 2010-2019 public activity statistics

Figure 4. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA

Table 1. A list of five key events related to Anti-ELAB Movement

Table 2 Keyword search for five main selected events

Table 3 Quantitative tables for data collection

1. Introduction

In the past decade, a new set of trends has emerged in the international community: the rise of populism, the reaffirmation of nationalism, and the strengthening of nativism/localism that have led to a series of social movements and political changes. An important element surrounding these changes is the debate on identity. Having China as a focal point, the protests of Hong Kong people under the “one country, two systems policy” (OCTSP) are relevant to this debate. In particular, the increasingly tense conflicts in the past few years have attracted the attention of international public opinion.

Especially in 2019, protests broke out in Hong Kong in response to the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill. This event sparked the region’s most intense social movement since Hong Kong was returned to China from the British government’s colonial rule in 1997. More than 40 demonstrations broke out in the three months of the climax of the social movement (2019.6-2019.9). At the largest demonstration on June 16, 2019, it was estimated that two million people, out of Hong Kong’s total population of seven million, had participated in the protests; with the escalation of demonstrations, the number of violent conflicts had also increased (Bradsher & Victor, 2019).

Some scholars and policymakers engaged with Hong Kong’s issues are almost uniform in their assessment that the violent protests are not “sudden” or “triggering”; this claim reflects the different emotional responses of the two parties in relation to different identity assertions (Lee, 2019). Resistance to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the preservation of Hong Kong's localist values have always been a part of the spirit of street politics (Shi, 2018). The definition of “Chinese” or “Hongkonger” has substantial political implications; it is manifested in the incompatibility between local identity and national identity after the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong (Cheng, 2016).

However, a chronic contradiction between Hong Kong and mainland China was embodied in this quasi-revolutionary movement. As a processing method, Beijing continues to make headlines through its nationalist rhetoric and as insistence on the

OCTSP , and as the “National Security Law for Hong Kong SAR” has been carried out from the perspective of China as a whole. Despite this, the country still offers a thought-provoking theoretical quandary on how best to understand the modern relationship between people’s security and identity under the OCTSP, meanwhile which is deeply connected with the broader modernity discussion in addition to the "democracy-authoritarian" contradiction. Given this contradiction, this thesis will take the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill movement (Anti-ELAB) as the entry point to analyse the local identity of the Hong Kongese through an ontological security perspective with the aim of understanding the connection between Hong Kong people’s identity and security in the post-colonial era.

1.1 Purpose

In a general sense, this thesis will conduct a case study of Hong Kong in the light of the Chinese OCTSP to deepen the understanding of identity issues under this said policy and analyse the factors that influence “local identity” and Hong Kong people’s sense of security and belonging. More specifically, this thesis takes the Anti-ELAB movement as the key point of investigation and applies critical discourse analysis as a method to examine discussions on Facebook about the “Civil Human Rights Front” (CHRF) as the main initiator of the demonstrations. It will also examine the construction and presentation of local identity through the analysis of media publications during the movement by the “pro-democracy” newspaper Apple Daily. The purpose of this case study is to deepen the understanding of ontological (in)security and to supplement the limitations of previous studies on the relationship between the Hong Kong people’s local identity and security, as well as to develop the conception of OCTSP from an ontological security perspective.

1.1.1. Research Question

Given the purpose, this text poses the following research question: ***To what extent have questions of identity influenced Hong Kong people’s sense of security under the OCTSP?***

2. Historical Background

In this chapter, a basic introduction of Hong Kong's post-colonial history and political environment will be made using specific case information to clarify the background and general historical framework behind the research question.

2.1 Hong Kong as a Colonial City

In China's historical narrative, the failure of the Opium War (1839-1842) and the sovereignty of the Hong Kong Island ceding to Britain in perpetuity, mark the beginnings of modern Chinese history (MacFarquhar & Fairbank, 2008). Later on, the Conventions of Peking concluded the Second Opium War (1856-1860) and yielded the Kowloon Peninsula permanently. Seizing the opportunity in the imperialistic "Scramble for Concessions" following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the British settled a 99-year lease of the New Territories. In this way, the entire 1,107 square kilometres of territory and 1,648 square kilometres of water encompassing Hong Kong almost all became British colonies. During the colonial period, Hong Kong became a more popular destination for Eastern and Western civilizations and was subsequently included in the world of global capitalism. Although Hong Kong had become a British colony, most residents living in Hong Kong had not formed a British identity in the early stages of colonisation, as the experience of colonisation was viewed as humiliating. To ease universal colonial resistance, the British government pursued "cultural protectionism" (Crowder, 1964) in the Asian territories. Its policy in Hong Kong was no exception; however, it mostly eliminated the confrontational mentality of Hong Kong residents. It also allowed colonial residents to gradually accept colonial rule (Crowder, 1964).

The bourgeoisie in Hong Kong had started to accumulate large quantities of capital under British colonial rule, beginning with textile manufacturing and export, including extensive international shipping trade and services, and later with financial markets. By the 1980s, it had become the largest financial centre in Asia outside of Japan, a commercial and liberal site for newly industrialised economies in South Asia and even the world (Chan, 1996). These developments led Hong Kong to form unique colonial cultural characteristics and a liberal ideology. At the same time, because of the stability

and prosperity of society and the steady improvement of the economy, Hong Kong residents developed a spirit of superiority—especially compared with “communist mainlanders” who lived in widespread poverty and disenfranchisement. In the popular discourse of Hong Kong residents in the same period, mainlanders were regarded as “poor relatives in the mainland” or “narrow-minded persons”¹ (Lui and Si-Keung, 2017). These attitudes represent the collective impression and conception of Hong Kong citizens towards mainland residents. The difference in the identity of Hong Kong residents relative to the mainland has, to a certain extent, deepened Hong Kong’s prejudice against the mainland, and has expanded the cultural alienation and social differences between the mainland and Hong Kong.

Furthermore, the UK government has also continuously increased the proportion of local social and economic elites in the government and hired them to hold positions in the political establishment of the colony. As King mentions, the role of this “administrative absorption of politics” (1975) was two-sided. It can make democratic rule accessible by promoting democratic values in Hong Kong residents. However, from a critical point of view, it has not allowed the local elite to truly enter the core of decision-making (King, 1975). Under such a political background, the local Chinese senior civil servants were always technical bureaucrats who implemented the policies and were promoted. Although they worked in Hong Kong all year round, they lacked the vision and foresight for far-reaching policies, and their will to govern was also very dependent on foreign administrative officers (King, 1975). After the return of Hong Kong to China, British officials were replaced as indigenous Hong Kong officials took administrative positions. However, the significant number of indigenous officials in Hong Kong lacked the capacity for sufficient political leadership in transitioning from policy implementers to policy designers. Some mainland scholars, such as Fei Yan, believe that this incompetence at the decision-making level provides ample space for Hong Kong residents to discuss policies, and for the media to expand its role in politics (Yan, 2013).

¹ This is my translation, the original Chinese is “表叔/BiaoShu” and “阿灿/A Can”. These titles all come from the images in Hong Kong film and television dramas of the 1980s, and are well known by most Chinese. They describe people who came to work in Hong Kong during the 1980s or representatives of state-owned enterprises on the mainland. These expressions have a sense of taunting in semantics, which also shows the pride of Hong Kong residents at that time on a consumptive discourse level.

2.2 One Country, Two Systems and the Transfer of Sovereignty

The 1984 Sino–British Joint Declaration stipulated the sovereign and administrative arrangement of then-British Hong Kong after July 1, 1997 in which “one country, two systems” became the principle for achieving reintegration in the handover (Su, 2011). The original goal of OCTSP was to resolve the dispute between China and Taiwan. With this development, a method for settling colonial problems in Hong Kong and Macau was produced in the 1980s (Su, 2011). According to the official Chinese government decree, the guidelines for OCTSP in Hong Kong are as follows:

1. Hong Kong can keep its capitalist system separated from the communist system on the mainland, thus the policy was called “One Country, Two Systems”.

2. Hong Kong will have a high degree of autonomy in running its economic, cultural, and political affairs. The territory can even keep its police and armed forces, its currency, its capitalist social habits (like horse racing) and institutions, and Hong Kong will have its own law and courts. Mainland laws and regulations will not be applied to Hong Kong. Beijing and other local governments on the mainland will not interfere in Hong Kong affairs except those concerning foreign diplomacy.

3. Hong Kong people will rule Hong Kong (gangren zhigang (港人治港)). The government of Hong Kong will be elected by Hong Kong people, and Beijing will not send any officials to run the Hong Kong government.

4. The “One Country, Two System” policy will be kept unchanged for 50 years after the mainland resumes the sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997 (Gov.cn, 2020).

To sum up, although the policy has completed the transfer of sovereignty from colonial rule at the international level, it is contradictory in terms of truly promoting reunification within a specific period. There are significant scalability and interpretation issues with OCTSP, especially the 50-year commitment referred to in Article 4. Cao observes that under such a structure, the political emphasis leaves an unclear standard

for whether to favour “One country” or “Two systems” (Cao, 1987). This opens a wide range of interpretation on a political level that has forced both parties into a long game of securing political trust. About three rounds of this game have been played so far. The first round occurred in the 1980s, when economic integration promoted a basic level of trust with Hong Kong’s sizeable investment in China and many former immigrants returned to the mainland to build factories. Although the economic integration of Hong Kong and mainland China developed rapidly at this stage, political integration was agitated at the end of the 1980s, especially after the Tiananmen incident in 1989. Since then, in 1990, the central government responded by amending the Basic Law and adding a new clause—Article 23—at the last minute before it was passed in the National People’s Congress. Article 23 asserts:

The Hong Kong Special Administration Region shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the central people’s government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organisations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit organisations or bodies of the region from establishing ties with foreign political organisations or bodies. (Gov.cn, 2020)

According to Zhu, this has led Hong Kong’s people to experience a feeling of potential “political pessimism” (Zhu, 2013). It also resulted in Hong Kong to paying more attention to the “two systems” after 1997 to ensure that the political system was not affected by unification. In the early days after reunification, the central government did not put much power into intervening in Hong Kong, and both parties maintained mutual respect and boundaries. Until 2003, Hong Kong survived the trap of the Asian financial crisis, and the central government intervened to resolve Hong Kong’s economic downturn. Electric power, transportation and internal market support from the mainland led the central government to emphasise the importance of “one country”, In the long run, however, Hong Kong’s “political pessimism” is the main factor affecting the current crisis. When mainland China puts more force into intervention, Hong Kong will emphasise “two systems” (Ibid).

Compared to the previous generation’s mild handling of the Hong Kong case, the new leadership of the CCP, with its emphasis on “one country”, has become

increasingly stricter. This has led to increased protests in Hong Kong. A survey on national identification conducted by The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2016) confirmed that negative sentiments towards the mainland come mainly from party politics (see Figure 1). Sing mentions that the political distrust from the mainland has resulted in a pervasive perception of dwindled freedoms and exacerbated governance in Hong Kong. The influence of politics on identity recognition is particularly embodied in Hong Kong (Sing, 2017); a survey conducted by the University of Hong Kong shows a downward trend in Hong Kong people’s identification with the People’s Republic of China (see Figure 2).

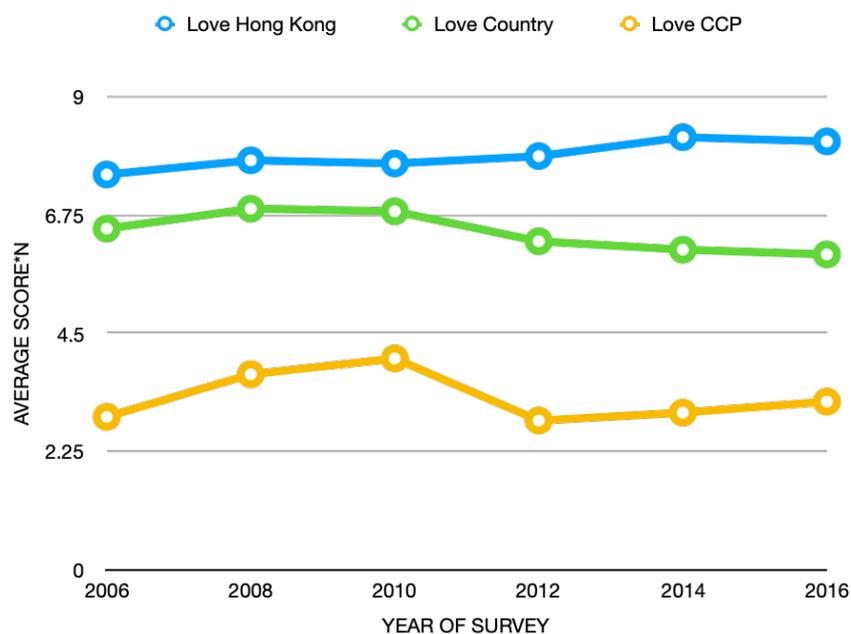


Figure 1. Survey results for people’s affection for Hong Kong, the country and the Chinese Communist Party The chart is drawn by author. Source details (e.g., survey method, sample information): <http://www.com.cuhk.edu.hk/ccpos/en/sample3.html>.

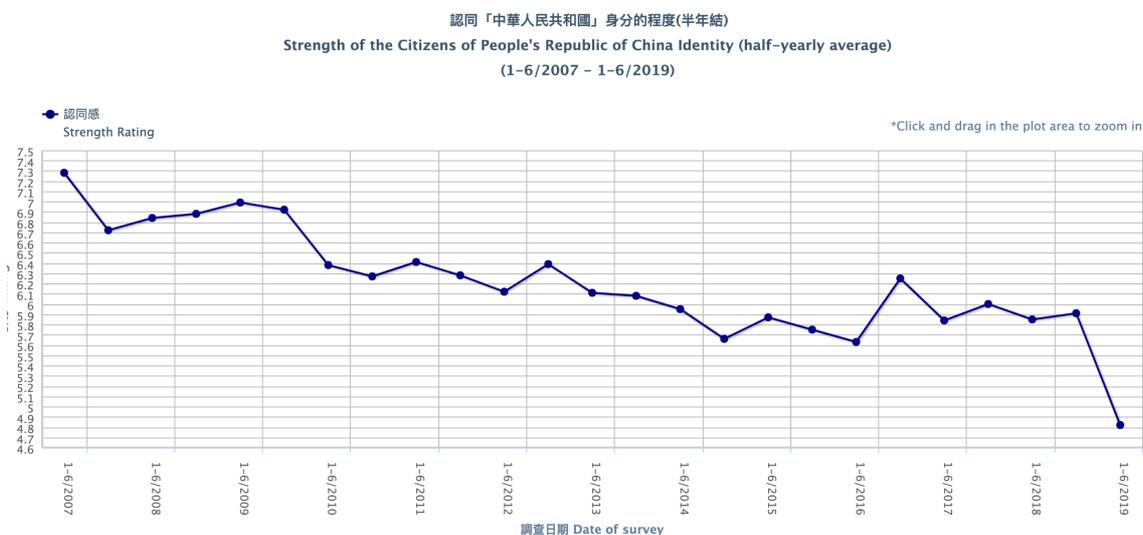


Figure 2. Survey results for the strength of the citizens of the PRC identity. Source: https://www.hkpop.hku.hk/chinese/popexpress/ethnic/RepublicOfChina/halfvr/halfvr_chart.html.

2.3 Street Politics

Since the 1980s, colonial authorities divided the territory into 18 district boards and launched a district board election system (Luo, 2002). The Hong Kong Bill of Rights (1991) was incorporated into the legal system to protect human rights, superseding all conflicting laws (Luo, 2002). Democratic reforms, along with the tradition of the rule of law, have since been put in place to protect civil liberties and ensure the freedom of speech and assembly. After the handover of sovereignty, Hong Kong Basic Law guaranteed “the freedom of political parties”, which led to the tradition of "district boards" in Hong Kong (Chen, 2014). Cheng uses the term "hybrid regime" to describe Hong Kong's political system after the reunification. He believes that on the basis of the "district boards", the "central government", the "SAR government" and the “pro-government/China elites” (taking the “pro-establishment camp” as the main body) have the priority to reorganise on election issues, which shows a clear disparity of power relationship with “pro-democracy camps”. In order to achieve a balance of power, as a result, the civil society and “Pro-democracy Camp ” could combine OCTSP's commitment to the rule of law and civil liberties to normalise street politics (Cheng, 2016).

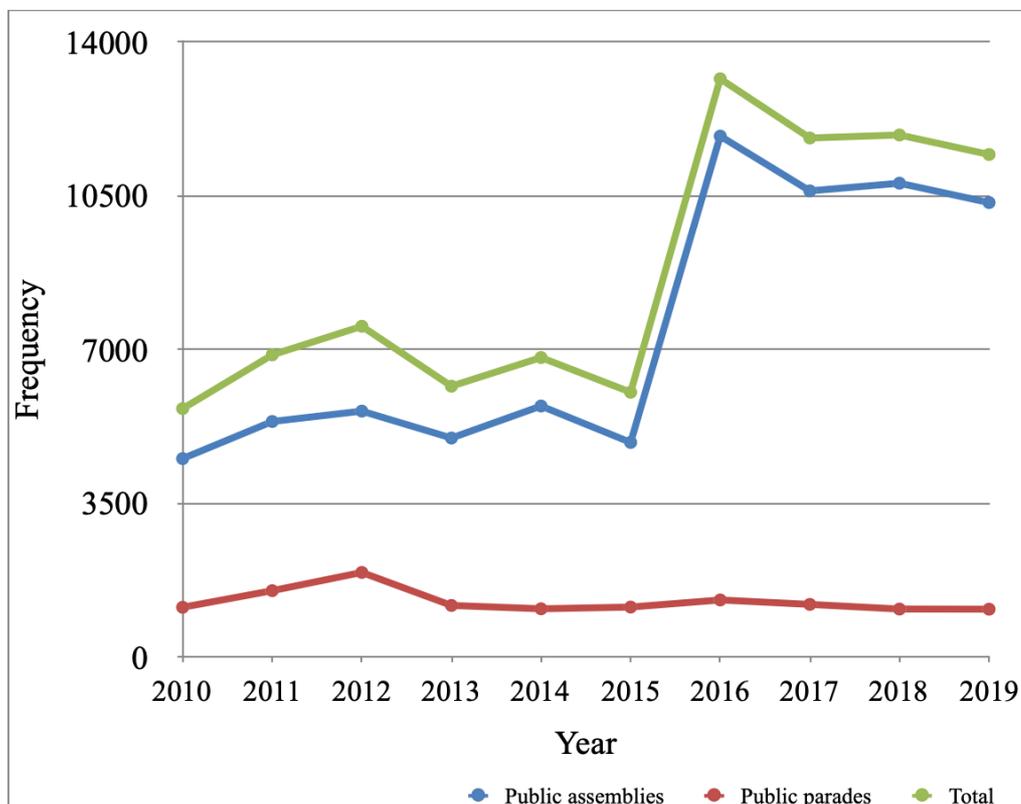


Figure 3. Hong Kong 2010-2019 public activity statistics. Source (drawn by author): https://www.police.gov.hk/ppp_tc/09_statistics/poes.html.

According to statistics from the Hong Kong Police Department, the average annual number of public assemblies and parades has reached over 6000 since 2012, with about 5000 public gatherings and 1000 public demonstrations (see Figure 3). Some scholars found that from 2012 to the present, among the 56 large-scale social movements, there were 51 political demands-based social movements, of which 20 directly targeted the Hong Kong SAR government (Liu & Lin, 2017).

It cannot be denied that the Anti-ELAB movement is the largest social movement in Hong Kong's history after unification, and therefore the most representative. This conflict started in February 2019, by HKSAR government's anticipated introduction of the controversial Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation Bill, or what was known as the Extradition Law Amendment Bill. The initial purpose of this bill was to establish extradition agreements with other territories within the People's Republic of China, including Taiwan, Macau, and mainland China. This bill was disputed since it might have led to Hong Kong residents being detained in the mainland and subjected to its jurisdiction and legal system, which would have undermined Hong Kong's judicial autonomy and civil liberties. Some demonstrations by local lawyers expressed the people's resistance, but it was not until June 2019 that the anti-ELAB movement gathered impetus through large-scale marches organised by the Civil Human Rights Front, an organisation affiliated with almost all pan-democratic camps in Hong Kong.

The scale of these protests was unprecedented, forcing Chief Executive Carrie Lam to give in by suspending the bill on June 15, then claiming its "death" on July 9, and finally withdrawing on September 4, 2019. Throughout that summer, the movement grew and was exacerbated in terms of its expanding impact and its appeal to a global audience. For example, the protesters raised funds for publishing advertisements against the ELAB in major press outlets of other countries to gain support globally; some extreme protesters committed suicide to express their opposition to the ELAB. The concession made by the chief executive was too late to stop the chaos, and the repressive measures implemented by the government (e.g., police violence and face mask bans at public gatherings) incited greater resistance from the protesters. Until the District Council election on November 24 2019, which was regarded as a temporary

halt to the movement. The voter turnout of the District Council election was 71.2 percent, the highest rate in history, and the pro-democracy camp gained 86 percent of openly contested seats (District Council election, 2019). The voter turnout was a powerful show of solidarity among citizens who supported the pro-democracy candidates and blamed the government for its inappropriate handling of the crisis; it also revealed a large divide between local identity and the authorities. Meanwhile, the vote also makes the central government take more stressful political measures, making the situation more confusing.

3. Literature Review

This chapter will examine some previous work to further clarify the research motivation and significance of this text, as well as to develop an understanding of the progress of relevant research. These investigations can be used as the basis for further study of certain issues in this thesis by examining the limitations of existing literature—or areas that are not yet involved in existing work. The aim is then to support research questions at the forefront of this field with empirical evidence, and, at the same time, to understand the pertinence and possible contribution of this thesis to academic inquiry.

3.1 Previous Research on Security

The "traditional" description of security tends to be that of "political realism" (Brecher & Harvey, 2009). Military threats to sovereign states are the basis of traditional security studies. After the Cold War, along with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and drastic changes in Eastern Europe, the international political pattern characterised by the opposition between the capitalist and socialist camps led by the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively, were altered dramatically. The emphasis on national security shifted from focusing on military security to covering an unprecedented wide range of areas, such as the economy, the environment, energy, and other broad concerns (Brecher & Harvey, 2009). This kind of extreme broadening of "security research" is risky, because, according to this logic, issues such as pollution, disease, child abuse or economic recession can be included in the field and threaten appropriate responses to those issues. Defining such problems as objects of security re-

search may destroy the coherence of the body of knowledge that has accumulated, making it more difficult to find solutions to any of these critical problems (Buzan, 1991).

In relation to Hong Kong, some scholars believe that OCTSP makes mainland China and Hong Kong uniquely intermingled by way of forming a "sovereign-sub-sovereignty" symbiosis. Thus, Hong Kong has become a sub-sovereign region with its own unique political system and laws as well as a high degree of autonomy, but this autonomous power is restricted by superior sovereignty (Shen, 2013). Obviously, traditional security studies based on national realism are difficult point of references to accurately analyse the Hong Kong issue under OCTSP.

3.1.1 Critical Security Studies

Follow the development of constructivism, more critical views on security studies were developed in such enclaves as the Copenhagen School, the Welsh School and the Paris School. The Copenhagen School theorists such as Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver define security as a "threat to the control and developmental ability of political subjects" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). They put forward the theory of "securitization," believing that this concept describes the inherent logic of security studies (as well as the core theoretical viewpoint of their school). It starts with "existing security threats" and forms a policy or institutionalized result in the process of various forces co-constructing and responding to security threats (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). This definition is an effective transfer of security issues from the physical to the psychological level and argues that, rather than security issues being 'real' threats, they are socially constructed through discursive security practices. This can, for example, be a constructed narrative of terrorists as brutal and extreme (Aly & Green, 2010). Wæver refers to this as a speech act: the mere utterance or naming of security as a performative act constitutes it as such. He strongly underlines that it is the state and its elites who, in the final instance, decide when something is a security problem and when to use the tool of securitisation (Wæver, 1995).

Nevertheless, people are the main subject of security, with the human need to protect values lending meaning to the term 'security'—yet little is done to conceive of this relationship at the state/elite level (MacSweeney, 2006). A notable representative of the Welsh School was Ken Booth. He criticised the Copenhagen School for placing more attention on the state level, arguing that emancipation of each individual is the

way to obtain security. In this case, he was referring to the liberation of people from “physical and human constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on” (Booth, 2011). Of course, there are still some problems with the approach. Compared with the Copenhagen School, the Welsh School puts too much emphasis on the "political process," ignoring regional and economic issues (Song, 2016). Thus, the Paris school, exemplified by Bigo and Huysmans, tried to integrate sociological research methods into security research, combining social security within the country with international security. The School focused on power relations at the micro-level and practical theories (Song, 2016).

In short, critical security researchers offer many new perspectives, but too much attention is placed on "external things" at the expense of "internal things". In other words, although they have paid attention to the security of human beings in many ways, they still focus on the external means of obtaining security and underestimate the role of psychological consciousness/identity construction. As a result, researchers need a bridge that is built between identity issues and security at the level of political psychology. Therefore, in subsequent research, scholars pay more attention to people as subjective: ontological security acts as a bridge between the "external things" and the "internal things". This development follows the broader argument, put forward by some constructivists like Krause and Williams, that conceptions of security vary with identity (Krause & Williams, 1997). This echoes the focal point of the present text with regard to identity issues.

3.2 Previous Research on Conception of Identity

To understand the identity problem in Hong Kong, the connection between individual and community/nation must be clarified. Especially in East Asia, the central works of social science emphasise the link between social/national traditions and self-identity (Wang, 2016). Moreover, Giddens disagrees with methodological individualism, arguing that the self can only be coherent and consistent through reflexive use of the wider social environment (Giddens, 1991). As Anderson observes, the most exceptional ability of humankind is to create a community of imagination, and this imagination is the link between each individual (Anderson, 2016). For example, Gellner holds that “nationalist humanity...cultures, even a shared number of symbols and communication, were important even in the pre-industrial age” (Gellner, 1996). Pre-

national communities (including the initial human groups) built the "cultural cues" or "lifestyles" through which to construct altruistic compatriots. In doing so, they built a social world within which individuals came to construct the self. This means that individual security is linked with the preservation of one's community by maintaining its fantasy kinship and fantasy place (Eberle, 2017). In short, "Identity is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation" (Hall, 1996, p.2).

Hall points out that the identity of individuals or groups is manifested in their social interactions and practices, especially in discursive practices (Hall, 1996; Wodak et al., 1999). Identity is not formed by static ideas, but is a historical, societal, academic and political process constructed by human-beings and is about the interplay between beliefs and practices, the relationship between harmony and conflict, of people and their imaginations (Young, 2003). The reconstitution of epistemic power and knowledge was what made the post-colonial period challenging, and the situational, narrative and linguistic construction of identity has become embodied in this sense (Hall, 2002; Monroe et al., 2000). Hall (2004) regards the legacy of colonialism as a discursive practice, as one of the ways in which the nation constructs collective social memory. Identity is created by the speaker "selectively binding their chosen high points and memorable achievements" into an expanding story (Hall, 2004, p.5). Rather than subjects using discourses to construct identities autonomously, it is discourse itself that produces power-knowledge relations within which subjects are placed and bodies are disciplined (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). Given these reflections, this thesis views identity as a conceptualization influenced by different narratives in a given situation.

3.2.1 Heterogeneity of Identity

Practically, group/national identity still relies on the ability to differentiate between "us" and "them." As Hegel's dialectics describe, self-consciousness cannot exist in isolation. If consciousness is to examine its own existence, it must be based on some contrast. In other words, humans must have a "non-self" as a reference in order to understand what "self" is (Sun, 2008). Expanding on this idea, previous scholars have also explained the differences in group identity.

Kinnvall (2006) mentions that in the unclear situation of modernity, individuals often choose to believe in grand narratives such as regional collective narratives, religious narratives, and nationalism to maintain the stability of self-identity. As noted here, nationalism and religion provide extraordinarily powerful stories and beliefs because they can offer security, stability, and simple answers. They do this by their portrayal of being on real land, creating the feeling that the world is indeed its true face (Kinnvall, 2004). Meanwhile, this also brings about the “politicization of identity”; politicised collective identity justifies itself through scheming actions at a societal level, whereby action participation strengthens group identification. Once the politicised identity is polarized, it can turn radical and violent, involving societal security at large (Van Stekelenburg, 2013; Klandermans, 2003). Indeed, like the reason for "group cohesion" in the same situation, the process of “self-determination” leads to differences between narratives. As Pagel has mentioned, using an anthropological perspective, this enforced differentiation has led to a hindered adoption of outside cultures, which are “regarded with suspicion or even indignation” (Pagel, 2013). This aversion creates more divergence between neighbours in different cultural contexts, as many people will instinctively reject the influence of others, maintain what they believe, and even hope to influence others in this way (Betz, 2013).

3.2.3 Research on Identity under the Post-colonial Era

The colonial experience defined a necessary heterogeneity for the formed identity that lived with and through difference and hybridity. After the end of colonial rule, the evolution of identity did not fully abandon the colonial past but involved selective retrieval of colonial history as appropriate forms in post-colonial societies. As Goss (1996) explains, the post-colonial status is thus paradoxical as an expression of being. On the one hand, a once colonised people kept benefiting from the consumptive culture brought by colonialism, while rejecting their links to the humiliation of colonial rule on the other. Chatterjee (1993) argues that non-Western elites implicitly accepted the “civilized” culture by their unwillingness to dethrone Western power and decouple reason from capital. Mudimbe (1994) describes post-colonial identity as ironic and contradictory, an unquestioned identification with the coloniser’s culture and its simultaneous rejection consisting of the anxiety of inauthenticity. In some contexts, urban architecture

and spaces function as forms of colonial intervention (Kusno, 1998; Nalbantoglu & Wong, 1997)

Regarding "cultural imperialism" in post-colonial society, Said (2002) holds that in the post-colonial period, the system, culture, and lifestyle left by the former colonists have long-term impacts on the local identity of the colonised. Klandermans (2014) points out how relationship between national and local identities acts as a form of superordinate and subordinate identity in a modern country that was formerly under post-colonial rule. The dominant representation of nation-ness denies complexity and difference within the nation, resulting in the denial of other possible identifications with communities based on subordinate characteristics (Klandermans, 2014). Throughout history, governments have tried to promote national identification and somehow suppress expression of subordinate identification (Stapell, 2004).

3.3 Patterns and Shortcomings in the Analysis of Hong Kong

In addition to concepts of "identity" and "security" related to this study, previous studies on Hong Kong issues are reviewed here with the purpose of understanding the general scope of current scholars' studies on Hong Kong issues, and to discover the significance of this research. From this review, it is clear that there has been less "academic" work on the security perspective with regard to Hong Kong studies. Given this, the present study attempts to make a contribution to this gap.

Nevertheless, some scholars have done excellent research on local issues in Hong Kong, like Jie and Xiaoshan (2019), who assume a legal perspective to explain localism/nativism in Hong Kong. Other authors begin from a city cultural perspective to describe nativism in Hong Kong, such as John and Stephan's (2013) work at the City University of Hong Kong. One could consult Ma, Liang and Wang's (2009) evaluation of the literature and Wang and Lui (2007) for an economic analysis. There are also important works by Zhu (2013) as well as Ng, Ma, and Lui (2009) on the cultural situation from a historic perspective. Clearly, the economic situation of Hong Kong is still a point of focus: Rabushka and Kress (2019) along with Hsia and Chau (2019) present a clear account from an economic perspective of Hong Kong's situation before and after the reunification. In the realm of media studies, Yidong (2019) places a critical focus on the influence of pop culture and the film industry in Hong Kong.

In some similar Western studies, Husa (2017) uses a comparative law perspective to explain the OCTSP. Byron and Wen (1987) conducted an analysis from the regional strategy viewpoint. While these studies help to illuminate an unclear and elusive policy, work on security studies are rare. This factor mirrors the words of certain scholars studying human rights and democracy in Hong Kong, such as Thomas (2013), who holds that historically ambiguous concepts of democracy and human rights may also make it complicated for scholars to engage security issues. Although studies on democracy and human rights lack an investigative framework for security issues, some countermeasures to democracy can be examined under the dual ideological structure in the works of Davis (2015) and Joseph and Cheng (2011). Concerning the nationalism construct, Brian and Fong (2018) outline the trend of different nationalisms that arose under the OCTSP.

In the field of ontological security studies, it is worth mentioning Krolkowski's research on Chinese nationalism (2008). Although she did not address Hong Kong, she used a paradigmatic ontological security framework for an in-depth description of the role of Chinese nationalism in international relations. In the study, she offers a more comprehensive account of China as a state actor, the formation of a "nationalist" identity inter society, and its impact on external and internal relations (Krolkowski, 2008). This investigation indirectly elucidates the motivating factors behind the mainland's treatment of OCTSP from the standpoint of ontological security.

To sum up, although there is certain literature which analyses the identity of Hong Kong people, it is difficult to find reliable scholarship explicitly dedicated to a security perspective. What is certain is that when different identities collide with each other under OCTSP, a potential identity crisis of variable intensity is detected. These identities will all become variables that influence the direction policy in the mainland as well as the stability of Hong Kongese identity. Similarly, research on Hong Kong's localism/nativism exists outside the security perspective which also demonstrates the exploratory nature of this thesis that attempts to apply an ontological security perspective to analyse Hong Kongese identity.

4. Overview of an Ontological Security Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical perspective employed in the subsequent analysis will be developed. A definition of ontological security will be provided as well as its intended use for the empirical analysis, and the two main concepts of the “thick signifier” and “securitisation of subjectivity” will be discussed and applied to this analysis.

4.1 What is Ontological Security?

Ontological security theory is the result of an interdisciplinary study that draws on the concept used in the book *Modernity and Self-Identity* (Giddens, 1991). It refers to “the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and the constancy of the surrounding social and material environment of action” (Giddens, 1991, p. 92). However, when Giddens' concept of ontological security was introduced on world politics, scholars did not reach a consensus on its conceptualisation and operability. Since there are different views on the understanding of ontological security in the political field, this lack of consensus is a major fault line that has divided research into two major “teams”. Furthermore, both sides contain a significant amount of theoretical diversity.

One team trends toward a “state-centred” approach, the main body of research being produced by Steele (2005; 2008), Zarakol (2010) and Subotić (2015). These three represent some of the diverse branches that exist within this more state-centred approach. Although they do not have a common definition for ontological security, the same ground is covered in their research on the “personification” of the state. One example of how this can be expressed can be seen in Steele’s article (2005), where he describes states as social actors with their own identity that is reflected in how the state acts on the global stage. According to Steele, “It is unnatural for a state to identify itself one way and to ‘perform’ acts in a different way” (Steele, 2005, p.524-527). In other words, when the state reacts to humanitarian or moral behaviour, such behaviour is caused by the satisfaction of needs for national self-identity which allows the state to obtain ontological security.

The critique against this state-centred perspective can be stated in quite different ways, from those who instead prefer a focus on the society and people, as opposed to the state. Mizen (2006) emphasises social interaction as the productive force behind ontological security. She opposes the realist assumption that the type (identity) of the country is naturally formed and inherent. Krolkowski (2008) argues that seeing the state as a social actor, and granting it personhood, can result in one overlooking the effect the state can have on the ontological security of its people. Others, such as Roe (2008), also put into question the assumption that states are even in need of feeling ontologically secure in the first place.

Of course, whether they are concerned with "state" or "society", these two "teams" both analyse ontological security from a macro-political perspective, instead of focusing on the "self-identity" of every individual in modern society from a micro perspective. Although macro-politics are necessary, this research surrounding it is more inclined to change to the micro perspective. In other words, this thesis tends to analyse Hong Kong people's identity by focusing more on the relationship between individuals and society, mainly through exploring the relationship between ontological security and identity.

4.2 The Definition of Ontological (In)Security

The greatest influence of this thesis comes from Kinnvall, who focuses less on state relations and more on how individuals and groups accept living in an insecure world, and the ways in which looking for one's ontological security "has played out with significant others" (Kinnvall, 2018, p. 530).

She reaffirms the loss of a sense of "home" among those affected by growing interdependence, unemployment, economic instability, and forced migration. Kinnvall points out that the home serves as a "secure base on which identities are constructed" (Kinnvall, 2004, p.747), and a "protective cocoon" formed around "particular narratives of home and secure pasts" (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2018, p.826).

She agrees with the unstable nature of identity (identity blurring or loss of known behavioural coordinates) and suggests a more prevalent need for continuity. The desire for continuity and routine in predictable relationships, and the behavioural or perceptual adjustments that create this routine with suitably imagined others, pervades everyday societal imagining of politics. The other's presence as an alternative to self

and the uncertainty of unexpected events, interrogate the self and its identity boundaries (Kinnvall, 2004).

Kinnvall summarises: "For Giddens then, like [Erik] Erikson, self-identity consists of the development of a consistent feeling of biographical continuity where the individual is able to sustain a narrative about the self and answer questions about doing, acting, and being" (Kinnvall, 2006, pp. 746-747).

Such psychological perceived consistency is vital, for, as the Gergen's note, our view of self is "fundamentally nonsensical unless it can be linked in some fashion with one's own past"(Gergen & Gergen, 2011). Laing deliberately uses a version of "ontology" different from that conceived by Heidegger, Sartre, and Tillich. He notes, "I have used the term in its present empirical sense because it appears to be the best adverbial or adjectival derivative of being" (Laing, 1969, p. 39) As Steele indicates, ontological security then has to do with the "security of being" (Steele, 2014), or as Kinnvall puts it, "security as being" (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 746). Inspired by this, in terms of human existence itself, I think the formation of ontological security is a fantasy of the future utopia that always involves the unity of "inner self" and "external environment." If utopian imagination is expressed as "all the best possible worlds"(Nozick, 2017) rather than a paradise that cannot be reached, then the question here is how to recognize this possibility.

However, as Kinnvall mentioned, there is no long-term stable environment in the accelerating globalization process (Kinnvall & Lindén, 2010). The subjective narrative stability of modern society will more easily be broken by its changing environment, which creates anxiety and distrust as the root of ontological insecurity. With the advent of capitalism in Europe, modernity is made distinct by its "dynamism," which is characterised by rapid, extensive social changes forcing self-reconceptualisation. This includes globalisation and technological advances that have made previous distant events exert a significant impact on "recent events and close relationships with oneself" (Giddens, 1991). What followed was the development of an "abstract system," i.e., a combination of symbolic tokens (currency as a medium of exchange) and an expert system that can be used in many cases. Such a system of knowledge is independent of its practitioners. Validated, usually this "abstract/non-intuitive system" increases the variables in the cognitive relationship and also increases the suspicion, this means that there is no certain truth. This allows risk awareness to

"dip into almost everyone's actions," leading to increased reflexivity, and "most aspects of social activity are easily affected ... long-term revisions based on new information or knowledge" (Giddens, 1991).

Bauman argues on this basis that we now live in flowing rather than heavy modernity. Heavy modernity is characterised by a central organisation—represented by the Ford factory—and a rigid community (Bauman, 2018). Although depressing in nature, it provides predictability and grounding. Then we know the purpose, even if it is not the means. But in flowing modernity, it is the opposite: we know the means, not the purpose. (Ibid). Although we can estimate the consequences of high-impact risks (those that exceed our ability to directly influence them), we can never be sure. With the acceleration of globalisation, events elsewhere may have consequences for our everyday political, social, and economic lives and may affect individuals' sense of being (Kinnvall, 2002, p. 5).

Overall, the anxiety brought about by a changing modern environment has dissolved the sense of security caused by social interaction; the actor must first rely on his/her inherent ability to self-organise which generates endogenous goal-seeking to maintain a sense of identity stability. In other words, the need to set a "endogenous-goal" to maintain the utopia imagined by self.

4.3 "Thick Signifier" and "Securitisation of Subjectivity"

Given the above statement with underscore, I will use the "thick signifier" approach to arrive at a more operable explanation. "Thick signifier" approach was first point out by Huysmans (1998) with an aim towards a conceptual analysis of security, later Kinnvall endues a development of it at an ontological security position.

Interpreting security as a "thick signifier" provides an understanding of how the category "security" articulates a particular way of organising forms of self-life. Moreover, the purpose of this approach is to clarify what security does and how it determines social interactions to unveil power relations through which security discourses are developed, i.e., how individuals define themselves concerning others based on their structural basis of power (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 745; 2006, p. 35).

Kinnvall (2004, p. 745) argues that these power relations reflect the division and inequality between those involved and affected by the discourse. Security as a "thick

signifier” thus places “an individual or a group inside the wider discursive and institutional continuities within which they are embedded” (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 745).

Following Kinnvall (2004, p. 742), as individuals feel vulnerable and experience anxiety, they wish to reaffirm a threatened self-identity; thus, any collective identity that can provide security is then a "potential pole of attraction". She cites an instance, nationalism and religion are two poles of attraction or "identity signifiers" that can provide answers to those in need: *“nationalism and religion supply incredibly powerful stories and beliefs because of their ability to convey a sense of security, stability, and simple answers. They do this through their portrayal as resting on solid ground, as being true, thus creating a sense that the world is what it appears to be”* (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 742).

Ontological insecurity thus undermines trust and creates a "setting conducive to manipulating this distrust by political actors who act to re-channel this anxiety into specific and habituated fears" (Rumelili, 2015, p. 2). Here, political and religious actors become essential in the quest for ontological security to construct a group's identity in relation to others (Rumelili, 2015, p. 3).

At an individual level, ontological security is provided by the belief that the story (the discourse) being told is a good one, and rests on solid ground. Hence, those who produce the discourse also have the power to make it "true" (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 746). This is evident when one group holds more privileges and resources than the other, and when it uses the language of difference to gain power against others (van Dijk, 1997 – referred to in Kinnvall, 2004, p. 746). Hence, comprehending why feelings of fear, loathing and hatred "creep into 'our' perceptions of 'them,' and how these feelings act as common denominators in times of uncertainty" becomes relevant when talking about ontological (in)security (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 751). Kinnvall (2006, p. 48) claims that Turner et al. (1987) conceptualise self in the self-categorisation theory at different levels of abstraction. In comparison, the author argues that Tajfel (1970; 1982), in his work on social identity and the self-categorisation theory, states that individuals tend to favour their group in relation to other groups—the minimal group paradigm—leaving a binary distinction between personal and social identity. Although there is a conceptual difference between these two approaches, both identity theories are in line with the concept of "othering" as a strategy of identity formation.

The “other” here, which is part of the unconscious self, is an abject; it is not an object or a subject, It is derived from a modal or feeling. It is something rejected by the self—the idea of an abject other. This thesis is significant because it focuses on how Hong Kongese emotions are publicly expressed by media that as a way to securitise subjectivity, reduce anxiety, and increase ontological security by projecting "our fears and negative emotions onto another person group, an abject" (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 53).

Kinnvall argues that abjection is caused when identity or systems of order are disturbed. Changes in globalisation, democratisation, and traditional structures become a source of abjection (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 53). The spread of democratic values (i.e., norms of equality and egalitarianism) have tended to delegitimize previous hierarchical structures in many societies around the world. Old behaviours have eroded as traditional power relations have become democratised (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 743). As a consequence, old ways of getting and understand things are eliminated, which can usually leaves behind uncertainty, and the structures that bound the community together are also eliminated, leaving a disintegrative effect behind (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 743).

However, and as Kinnvall (2004, p. 743) points out, it is important to state that even though this new social order can be categorized as a problematic aspect of democratisation: "traditional structures have often served to justify unequal relationships based on inheritance, gender, class, caste, or other unequal power hierarchies, and the breakdown of these structures can have liberating and challenging effects" (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 743). Thus, the abject becomes an important element of collective identity formation when the familiar stranger is suddenly recognised as a threat (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 53). To assure that the self is essentially different from the other, the other then needs to be systematically debased; it has to be demonised (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 54). Securitising subjectivity becomes a differentiation of whom I am as compared to who I am not.

This process leads to the “securitisation of subjectivity”, where one creates and reaffirms certain identity traits within oneself, and the juxtaposition of these traits with that of a stranger-other (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 749). Hate and the process of demonising the other become the link between the past, present, and future, functioning as a social chain for future generations as a particular event or trauma becomes part of the group's sense of self (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 54). In response to the “securitisation of subjectivity”, Giorgio (2017) supplements the post-colonial relationship with the West from the perspective of Lacanian psychoanalysis. The West continues to profoundly influence the

psychic structures of post-colonial subjectivity even when it appears absent, representing an idealized “mirror” through which post-colonial subjectivity is constituted. This means that post-colonial subjects are motivated by an unconscious anxiety (in a Lacanian sense of the term) to imitate/replicate a “mirror image” that represents their former colonial masters (Shani, 2017). The mirror stage is the original instance in which a formative image is created of the subject’s ‘I’ in relation to a projected and idealised ‘other’. We enter the symbolic order of culture, language and meaning with a preconceived idea of an imaginary self that takes place in the “mirror” stage of an individual’s psychological development (Ibid).

4.5 The Theoretical Framework and its Function

This paper makes two arguments: First, society has always been a means of creating self-identity. To a large extent, ontological insecurity stems from the mistrust of social interaction in its dynamic relationship with modernity. Second, the structure of modern society is constantly changing, with identity also facing continuous deconstruction and reconstruction. Yet, this process is also the continuation of modernity.

Returning to the ontological security of Hong Kong as an actor under the processes of rapid globalisation and modernisation, the region was forced to separate with, and return to, the mainland while seeking to gradually reach external goals from the perspective of an endogenous identity in the early stage of self-formation. The goal of the Hong Kongese is to find a balance between an endogenous identity and external relationships. In other words, as an untrusted "other", the mainland has brought anxiety to the Hong Kongese, which has strengthened Hong Kong's “securitisation of subjectivity” process, that is, by tending to promote localism.

Overall, the aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the relationship between identity and ontological security. The theoretical framework described above provides valuable analytical perspectives to answer the research question. The terms "thick signifier" and "securitisation of subjectivity" are the two main concepts used in the subsequent analysis to examine the relationship between Hong Kong people's identity and security under OCTSP. This chapter also expounds the role of narrative and discourse in the formation of ontological security, this also makes a preliminary theoretical inspiration for this thesis to applying a critical discourse analysis method.

5. Methodology as Opposed to Method

5.1 Philosophical Discussion

This article is an exploratory study that links a specific case with a designate theory. A large part of our understanding of the social and political world comes from case studies. A case study is considered as a robust method that provides a holistic, in-depth examination of instances within real-life contexts (Ragin & Becker, 1992). To properly conduct a case study, we need a firm ontological and epistemological basis to ensure our research is scientific.

This paper is more inclined toward the idealist monism of analytical logic and follows an interpretive path.

Here I will explore the epistemological roots of interpretivist approach briefly. Embedded in social constructionism, an academic stance in which reality and its inherent meanings are developed by the individual in conjunction with others, the interpretivist approach focuses on the subjective meanings constructed and reconstructed through the engagement of people (Porta & Keating, 2012; Leavy, 2017). In global politics, more specifically, this philosophical approach seeks to understand social meanings within world politics that are beyond the field of empirical observation (Lamont, 2015).

Trigg proposes that social science is, first and foremost, the investigation of the spiritual dimension of man; according to him, this "understanding" of a holistic spirit or culture does not exist in the natural sciences (Trigg, 2001, p. 78-81). For this reason, the task of social science is to "understand" the intention or goal contained in the phenomenon (Trigg, 2001, p. 78-81). In this sense, "understanding" as a cognitive method of social science is different from the strict, unified, and exclusive cognitive method of natural science. I believe abstraction makes knowledge, as it were, more portable. In Max Weber's vast work, the "ideal type" is an important concept. He advises that researchers begin with "the creation of—let us say it calmly—imaginative pictures through the disregarding of one or more components of 'actuality' that have been factually present in reality, and through the mental construction of a course of events altered in reference to one or several 'conditions'" (Weber, 2009). This

suggestion provides an important guiding role for subsequent research of social science. It requires researchers to proceed from the subject and construct knowledge through abstract concepts and principles, the knowledge constructed through "understanding" is here with the subjective interpretation of the researcher.

Moreover, this case study can be considered as following an abductive logic. Abductive logic is based on comprehensive and extensive reasoning; it can provide a deep understanding of specific events or cases and can offer new understandings of said occurrences by re-associating them with general theoretical structures. In other words, we can find associations between particular cases and public situations/theory through abduction and obtain new understandings of special cases (Gabbay, 2003).

5.1.2 The significance of the case selected by this thesis

About the significance of case (research subject) selection, Yin (2009) proposes a number of reasons for selecting a specific case, including its criticalness, extremeness, typicalness, revelatory power, or longitudinal possibility. For the present purpose of understanding Hong Kong people's identity and sense of security under the OCTSP, the anti-ELAB movement has been chosen since it fits the criteria of case selection in terms of: a) its criticalness in changing the power relationship between mainland and Hong Kong under the OCTSP; b) its typicality concerning the geopolitical reasoning and identity politics circumstances; c) the evolution of its large-scale radical and violent protests that have garnered global concern, as well as its series of social and economic security issues; d) its provision as a point of departure for understanding the identity constructed by media and the ontological security of people in post-colonial cities; e) Anti-ELAB as a special case as useful for deriving a longitudinal extension of local identity and sense of (in)security felt by Hongkongers.

5.2 A Qualitative Research Nature

In terms of research nature, the case study of this thesis is qualitatively. Unlike quantitative research, which emphasises "objective facts," qualitative research pays special attention to the understanding of various "meanings" constructed by society (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009); thus, a qualitative research is consistent with this thesis's intention to emphasise "understanding". Therefore, qualitative research does not generally pursue a "positivist" line; it is more instructive in social science research (Sun,

2013). In other words, unlike quantitative research, which aims to find objective evidence, qualitative research is more inclined to find the meaning behind social phenomena.

Related to the research theme and theoretical framework is the idea that identity and ontological security are relatively subjective: it is difficult to quantify the subjective experience of people themselves. Although hybrid research methods have been developed in recent years, it is still more difficult to adapt them to our theme than to qualitative research. Qualitative research is varied in its methods and forms. What this diversity reveals is that qualitative investigation especially emphasises the suitability of research methods to their objects, topics, and phenomena. That is, different objects, topics, and goals require different research methods. It is precisely because of the high degree of openness and flexibility in qualitative research strategies, types, designs, and methods that we can actively adapt them to the complexity and diversity of social studies. The various complicated social phenomena in nature are not simply "cropped" into relatively isolated "variables," but still "keep their complexity and integrity...in day-life social practice" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). In this nuanced regard, qualitative research has methodological significance. In this context, "methodology" means something considerably different from "methods". Methods are techniques for collecting and analysing pieces of data, whereas methodology is "a concern with the logical structure and procedure of scientific inquiry" (Jackson, 2009).

5.3 An Introduction to Method

Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that analyses written, vocal, or sign language, involving the interaction between speaker (or writer) and auditor (or reader) in a specific situational context (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Among the many schools of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a popular method. CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, and tries to explain discursive structures in terms of the nature of social interactions rather than solely their descriptions. This critical approach concerns the way specific discourse is deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, in which the notions of power, hegemony, ideology, discrimination, interests, reproduction and institutions are featured (Van Dijk, 2001).

In CDA, language-as-discourse is both a form of action through which people can change the world and a form of action which is socially and historically situated in a

dialectical relationship with other aspects of the social (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2011). Fairclough (2007) proposes three dimensions of discourse: text(micro), discursive practice(meso), and social practice(macro), which are a complete unity in organic combination. Text is a linguistic description of the content. Discursive practice is a bridge between text and social practice: social practice mainly analyses the relationship between discourse, power and ideology (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2007).

Given this, the present analysis is based on the Fairclough model, where the aim is to combine the micro, meso and the macro-level of understanding: analysis of spoken, visual or written texts, analysis of discourse practice (including processes of text production, distribution and consumption),and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice (see Figure. 4).

5.4 Operation

In the context of identity construction, discourses are regarded as empirical materials articulating complicated arguments about social realities (Denzin, 1994). Similarly, as described in the previous chapter, ontological security is provided by the belief that the story (the discourse) being told is a good one and that it rests on solid ground. Hence, those who produce the discourse also have the power to make it "true" (Kinvall, 2004, p. 746). Moreover, Rumelili (2015, p. 56) points out that individuals secure themselves as beings, mainly by the discourses and practices that differentiate them from "others". Thus, analyses of how identities are represented in public discourses help explain the construction process and evolution of these identities, including how the media shapes what is "true".

Therefore, in the operation of CDA, I focus on an analysis of how utterances of others are included (interactional control); how identities are constructed (ethos); how words are used to give meaning (wording); which "truths" an author constructs (grammar and modality); and how he or she uses metaphors (Fairclough, 2010).

Turning to in-text production and consumption(discourse practice), I will classify the literature's intentions and audience. In the analysis of the text, the function of discourse is to establish order in the outside world (Xin, 2003). The discourse classification system often reflects the literature's worldview and is, therefore, the most ideological. A careful examination of the description of the core processes and

characters will help to clearly understand the attitude and position of the speaker. The discourse classification system refers to the naming and description of people and things in the discourse, mainly through the choice of vocabulary. Sometimes the labelling of categories based on the text does not necessarily reflect the inherent characteristics of things, as they are often influenced by our level of cognition and specific thoughts. In other words, different perceptions of things and experiences can lead to bias. For example, in a newspaper, the description of “security” may be given specific values that make it politically meaningful. Of course, text and discursive practice indicate two different dimensions in Fairclough’s model, and should thus be separated analytically. Analysis of discursive practice focuses on how authors draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how readers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in their consumption and explication (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2011).

When we analyse text in the literature, we must also pay attention to whether the reorganisation of the order of discourse has produced new meaning for audiences at the social practice level. Fairclough (1992, p.86) argues that social practice is a space in which discourse creates actual consequences in the lives of people and their communities. It is important to note that ideologies and values may influence the construction of some forms of discourse. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that not all discourse is fundamentally ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 91). Therefore, this thesis will also extend to ideological factors beyond discourse.

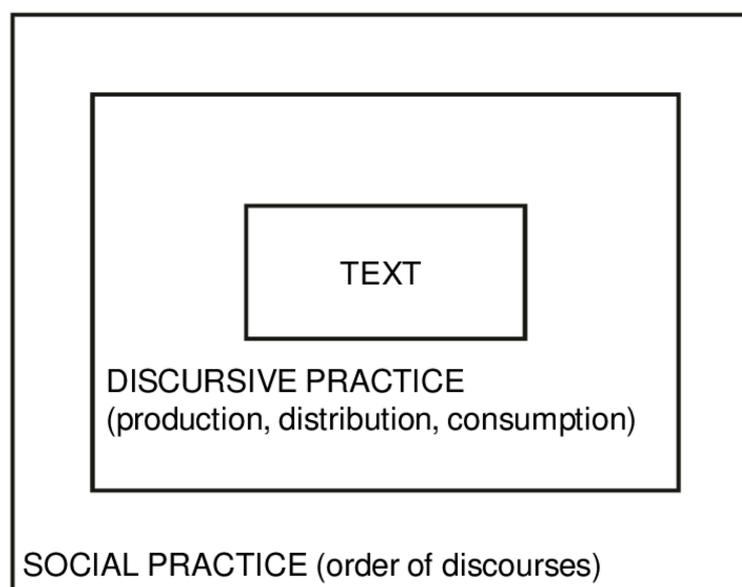


Figure 4. Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA (1992, p. 72)

5.5 Materials

Regarding the classification of genres, the reason for choosing media reports for analysis is that they are the most direct producers of discourse in the Anti-ELAB movement. This thesis will analyse the Facebook posts and pictures of the "Civil Human Rights Front" and Apple Daily's reports, Hong Kong's largest localist media outlet (to include the website's posts and videos). In addition, I will also include the official media information and governmental documents as auxiliary data.

On July 1, 2020, Although the central government promulgated the the National Security Law for Hong Kong SAR, the Anti-ELAB movement is still ongoing and it is impossible to determine when it will end. However, coupled with the gathering pressure under the global pandemic, overall there will not be a larger-scale protest.

Due to long exercise time span and frequent events, this thesis will first structure the entire case and focus on five key events to perform a comparative analysis. This procedure follows the case study method proposed by George and Bennett (2005), a "structured focused comparison method" that allows for the systematic comparative analysis of the elements chosen for exploration in this case study. Furthermore, it yields high conceptual validity because the variables are finely shaped and differentiated, taking into account the complexity of the social world.

Following the movement's timeline, these five selected events all had a landmark impact (focus point). The ELAB was initially proposed on February 13, 2019, which marked the beginning of the social movement. Since then, ELAB has attracted media and public attention, and subsequent small-scale rallies and protests have occurred. By June, it has gradually grown as large-scale demonstrations with more than 10,000 people, notably on June 16, when 2 million people participated in the demonstration. The demonstrators put forward "five demands", which exacerbated the conflict with the SAR government. With the expansion and escalation of the movement, on July 21, the demonstrators besieged the Chinese Liaison Office in Hong Kong and graffitied the Chinese national emblem; this event marked a rise in contempt for the central government. Withdrawal of the bill on September 4 denoted the SAR government's retreat and signified a turning point in this episode regardless of its moderate effect on alleviating the conflict. On November 19, the passage of the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act in the U.S. House of Representatives signalled

foreign intervention at a formal and legal level. To a certain extent, this helped the “Pro-democracy camps” win a big victory in the “district boards”, meanwhile threatened the central government to accelerate the promotion of the "Hong Kong version of the National Security Law." More details of these events are described below.

Date	Event	details
February 13, 2019	ELAB initially proposed	The Security Bureau proposed a mechanism for the transfer of fugitives within pan-China areas, including Taiwan, mainland China, and Macau, which are currently excluded in the existing laws.
June 16, 2019	Five demands	a) full withdrawal of the Extradition Bill; b) retracting the classification of protesters as rioters; c) amnesty for arrested protesters; d) a commission of inquiry into alleged police brutality; e) dual universal suffrage
July 21, 2019	Defacement of the national emblem	The incident of smearing the national emblem with ink in front of the Liaison Office of the Central Committee marked the resistance to authorities and central power. Since then, the confrontation between the police and the protesters has intensified.
September 4, 2019	Chief Executive announces withdrawal of ELAB	Chief Executive Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor released an official video announcing the withdrawal of ELAB, but this measure did not stop the movement.

Date	Event	details
October 16, 2019	The US House of Representatives pass the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act	This act is a federal law that requires the U.S. government to impose sanctions against mainland Chinese and Hong Kongese officials considered to be responsible for human rights abuses in Hong Kong, and requires the U.S. Department of State and other agencies to conduct an annual review to determine whether changes in Hong Kong's political status (its relationship with mainland China) justify changing the unique, favourable trade relations between the U.S. and Hong Kong.

Table 1. A list of five key events related to ELAB.

I now move to providing basic information about actors involved in analysis:

a) The Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF) is an organisation that focuses on the issues of Hong Kong politics and livelihood, affiliated with almost all pan-democratic camps in Hong Kong, with the aim of providing a platform to consolidate voices and power from various groups along the spectrum of Hong Kong society which seek to advance the development of human and civil rights movements. It has always been a major participant in street politics in Hong Kong. In recent years, it has mainly organised offline activities through social media such as Facebook.

b) Apple Daily is a Hong Kong-based, tabloid-style newspaper founded in 1995, which tends to support the pan-democracy camp with strong criticism towards the government and the CCP. The bold and sensational style has garnered much appreciation from the public: in terms of sales volume, it is one of the top newspapers in Hong Kong (Next Digital, 2019). In addition, as an official media source, WenWeiPo (WWP) was also selected for this study with the aim of understanding the government's attitude towards the same event. Similarly, certain HKSAR government documents and the speech of the chief executive are also presented as supplementary materials.

Regarding the sampling of data, this study used an Internet search engine, materials related to literature review and theoretical framework come from Google Scholar and Lund Library. Materials for analysis were collected from their official websites and Facebook home pages with a keyword search of the coverage during one week after the event happened (see Table 2). Texts are the primary source of analysis, including commentaries, feature articles, forum papers, and editorials. Sampling criteria include choosing publications produced by journalists from the Apple Daily. Videos and posters were also examined. I digitised the sources of these materials which are displayed in Table 3. Each piece of independent text, poster or video is regarded as one source. I also collected some online comments on the CHRF’s Facebook homepage with the aim of understanding young people’s reasoning. These comments are difficult to quantify because many of them express similar meanings. The selection of materials is inclusive as it involves opinions from different standpoints, which facilitates a better comparison and illustration of the identity problem. The data provide a powerful account of the multidimensional interactions between media and politics, as well as the construction and manifestation of identity and ontological security.

DATE	Search Term
February 13, 2019	Fugitive offenders, legislation, amendment
June 16, 2019	The biggest demonstration, five demands
July 21, 2019	National Emblem of the Liaison Office, police violence
September 4, 2019	Withdrawal of Extradition Bill
October 16, 2019	The Human Rights and Democracy Act

Table 2 Keyword search for five main select events

Date	CHRF	Apple Daily	WWP	The HKSAR Government	Total
13/2/2019	4	14	12	2	32
16/6/2019	6	17	10	3	36
21/7/2019	9	17	11	2	39
4/9/2019	7	15	5	4	31
16/10/2019	3	12	5	2	39
Total	29	70	43	13	177

Table 3 Quantitative tables for data collection

First, I encoded and copied the collected data so that I could find and use it in the analysis. Then, I read and translated these data three times to ensure that I understood them accurately. The first stage of reading is mainly to understand the meaning of words and the style of expression at the textual level, including how the author utilized contextual conditions and social language to express opinions, how they built up significance for certain details, and how they related political events to people’s identity constructions. The second round of reading focuses on interpreting the material, to understand the backgrounds or premise for the writer’s opinions, what the intention is, what aspects of the events are highlighted, and what the differences are between agents at the same events at the level of discourse practice. At the final stage, it is possible to analyse the overall materials with regard to social practice at a more abstract level using the insights gained from the previous stages (Packer, 2011). By reviewing the comments and quotes with a theoretical lens, explanation and analysis are generated to conclude the interrelationship among public discourses, political events, ontological security and identity construction.

5.6 Personal Reflexivity

In social science research, maintaining reflexivity is necessary. Reflexivity is an awareness of the researcher’s role in the practice of research and the way this is influenced by the object of research, enabling the researcher to acknowledge the way in

which he or she affects both the research processes and outcomes (Symon & Cassell, 2012). Despite the aim of objective description and analysis, it is difficult to completely avoid the influence of the author's background and culture, value and logic (Butler, 2001). In this research, I do not hold any political stance on the Anti-ELAB movement. However, I spent 19 years on the mainland and get 6 years high education in Sweden , which may affect my views and attitudes towards this movement. Moreover, the analysis of ontological security is based on feelings to a certain extent, so this study involves certain subjective factors.

5.7 Delimitations and Limitations of CDA

It is now prudent to discuss the limitations of the evidence and methodology that used in this investigation and to clarify how I address them.

Considering the time constraints, this thesis engages the Anti-ELAB movement as its principal case, and analyses the media data of four agents (two major and two minor) to understand the security and identity issues of Hong Kong people under OCTSP. Limitations include the inability to describe in depth certain historical factors affecting Hong Kong's identity, and other historical events and discourses that are not widely involved. Further, when analysing the selected materials, some facts were omitted since the media did not report them. As a result, the findings and analysis are not exhaustive.

Another criticism concerns the validity and reliability of CDA as a method. Toolan (1997) and Stubbs (1997), as cited in Breeze (2011), hold that CDA often fails to approach texts systematically, which could lead to a researcher's subjective interpretation rather than capturing the 'actual' social phenomena (Breeze, 2011).

In other words, the complexity of discourse interpretation affects the validity of the analysis. Although the analysis of media discourse can clearly produce ideological factors behind their political positions and outline certain values they represent (such as culture, identity, etc.), it cannot be denied that some journalists will use subjective elements in their reporting which affects the authenticity of their analysis. In addition, translation between Chinese and foreign languages will also affect the reliability of analysis. For example, some journalists will quote foreign reports using subjective emotions that affect the strength of their language. Furthermore, concerning coherency (particularly in terms of target readers), the selected publications are all written in Chinese;

some specific vocabulary in the Chinese context will affect my translation and I attempt to elaborate on this consequence as much as possible.

Another limitation I would like to delineate is with regard to CDA as an analytical tool. Despite being appreciated in the poststructuralist field, CDA also has its criticisms. One of the most frequently addressed critiques is that CDA lacks structured techniques or guidelines for researchers to follow. Fairclough (2006) himself addressed this issue, but he did not consider it a disadvantage. Rather, Fairclough (2006) contends that there is no explicit rule in ordering the three elements (discursive practices, texts, and social practices), and it is up to each researcher to decide based on the purposes and emphases of the study which will ensure the diversity and flexibility of analysis.

6. Findings and Analysis

In this chapter, I will list the empirical findings from the materials using CDA and conduct a qualitative and systematic analysis of them. This chapter will describe, interpret, and explain the materials from the micro (literal level), meso (discourse level), and macro (social practice level). From the texts, visuals, and speech I expound the discourses by relating a few highlights, and then position the practice within socio-cultural contexts to provide explanations based on the theoretical framework mentioned earlier. In this way, the relationship between Hong Kong people's local identity and ontological security will be explored.

6.1 Analysis at the Textual Level

In this section, I will analyse the discursive artifice at the textual level, provide insight into the media's strategy in their use of specific discourse, and develop an understanding of how discourse connects local identities and political events. The political sentiment behind discourse in interpreting facts and establishing arguments and the differences in the meaning of expressions between different discourses at the textual level will be explored.

6.1.1 Textual Metaphors

Compared with government reports and official media that tend to write in the same vernacular as the mainland, it is evident that all excerpts and texts in Apple Daily are written in colloquial Cantonese, including interview data with passers-by and quotes from celebrity speeches. Similarly, CHRF's Facebook posts rarely use Mandarin grammar, except for some formal statements in response to the government; this standard arose from a consensus that the target audience is the local people in Hong Kong. Here, written Cantonese is expressed as a form of social language organized with a particular local identity (Gee, 2011). What is more distinctive is that some words in Hong Kong Cantonese come from direct transliterations of English, such as the word “boycott”² which has the same pronunciation and meaning as boycott. However, this word does not exist in the mainland (in either Cantonese or Mandarin). This word is used to express the collective resistance within the Hong Kong Legislative Council towards decisions handed down from the government. When describing Carrie Lam’s response to questions from reporters and activists, Apple Daily used the Cantonese slang word “寸寸貢 (cyun cyun gung)” (Kwai, 2019a), which means a contemptuous attitude .

In addition to language, Apple Daily text also uses metaphors and allusions extensively. In one report, it borrowed a councillor’s metaphor of the “Trojan Horse” story to demonstrate its opposition to the extradition bill and to describe the political conspiracy of the mainland government to expel political prisoners (Law, 2019). Apple Daily is also skilled at using familiar historical figures and events as metaphors. In one report, it used "Wu Sangui"³ as a metaphor for the actions of the chief executive to describe her betrayal of Hong Kong’s system and people (Lui & Lam, 2019). The use of metaphors is instructive and indicative. The news outlet fully considered the needs of the target audience (the Hong Kong locals) and guided them to adopt a certain way of thinking that resisted the chief executive and the government.

On the contrary, the HKSAR government and official media share the same stance as the mainland, and they are good at using metaphors to describe the indivisibility of

² Chinese : 杯葛

³ At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, many Han intellectuals hated the foreign rule of the Manchu regime and Wu Sangui (吳三桂), as a Han person, for colluding with the Manchus, denouncing him as a "traitor". Wu Sangui has also become synonymous with "traitor", and later people often used the title "modern Wu Sangui" to attack opponents.

Hong Kong and the state. In its report on July 21, WWP emphasised the importance of "one country" in the OCTSP, and that "Hong Kong people without national consciousness" will become "dogs of family loss" (Kei, 2019). A few allusions (e.g., "Sima Zhao's heart")⁴ were made to reveal the 'evil' ambition of the "reactionaries" trying to "subvert the regime" and "drag Hong Kong to the abyss", and it warned Hong Kong people that "to provoke the country is to provoke yourself" (WWP, 2019, July 22). Looking back on the governmental discourse, the Chief Executive once used the rhetoric of a mother and her children to describe the relationship between the people and herself and to insinuate a heart-to-heart intimacy (Lam, 2019b). Her intention of connecting the public and the government could be interpreted as a strategy to quell rage and gain recognition from the people, and to make up for the lack trust at stake. This evidence reflects the government's mentality as a "serious patriarch".

6.1.2 Subjective use of Words

Many commentators have strong political stances in their articles. In addition to their extreme use of modal words in mobilizing political sentiment, they also attack opposing views. The Apple Daily commentator Lu Feng (2019) claimed that ELAB was a serious violation of Hong Kong's constitutionality and would turn the principles of the Basic Law into "bubbles." In the same report, he emphasised that the Chief Executive's "following orders" attitude towards Beijing would "collapse" Hong Kong society. In the end, the Legislative Council was "fully controlled by power" (Lu, 2019).

There are many editorials that express feelings of fantasy and fear. For example, one February editorial was entitled "Western Ring Concentration Camp", implying that ELAB was an act of "political extradition" that would allow foreign capital to be "withdrawn from Hong Kong." The intention was to imply that Western entrepreneurs would become potential "diplomatic hostages"; if the revised regulations were successful, Beijing could use the "excuses" of "economic crimes" to extradite foreign employees/entrepreneurs to the mainland for political purposes (Kwai, 2019b).

In other editorials after September 4, the commentators pointed out that espousing official "withdraw ELAB" sentiment was part of the Chief Executive's strategy and was criticised as "poison" used by the SAR government to divide Hong Kong society and

⁴ Chinese : “司马昭之心，路人皆知”. This is a Chinese idiom of allusion. People use the phrase, "The heart of Sima Zhao is known to all passers-by", to illustrate that the ambition of the conspirator is obvious to everyone.

“split up protesters and palsy citizens” (Lee, 2019a). According to one author, the decision of “withdrawal” was a “false concession” backed by a politically calculated “conspiracy” (Wu, 2019). The withdrawal was viewed as a “political makeup” for the later introduction of policies to restrict social movements (Wu, 2019).

Compared with mass media, social media speech is more intense. In the post which responded to the government’s decision, CHRF pointed out more violently that “withdrawal...will not help calm public opinion” and that the government is “ignoring” the residents’ “five demands”. CHRF called on Hong Kong people to fight to the end (Facebook, 2019). These editorials all conveyed a provocative tone. Some texts exaggerated the existing controversy, expressed general distrust of the government and the Chief Executive and widening the gap between public society and the government while catering to the local consciousness of Hong Kong.

On the contrary, official media has always used warnings modal to discourage social movements and resistance organised by CHRF. In the description of WWP, “pro-democracy camps” are evil groups that “suck the blood of the people” to earn political benefits (Kwok, 2019a). The organisation was described as a “real betrayer of China” who were “set upon the citizens” (Yeung, 2019). The purpose of propagating “distorted freedom and democracy” is to launch a “color revolution.” It is an act of “subverting the regime”, and emphasises that one country is the foundation of the OCTSP (Kam, 2019a).

6.1.3 Selective Reporting

Selective reports on textual information will subtly affect the production of meaning. In explaining “semantic macrostructures”, Van Dijk mentioned that selective textual expression will help the producer of meaning to control the topic (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 365).

Selective reports continue to exist in the anti-ELAB movement, especially in a series of reports following the desecration of the national emblem on July 21. Carrie Lam emphasised the OCTSP and raised it to the perspective of national security after the event:

The order and security for Hong Kong as a commercial and financial centre is very important. It is essential for Hong Kong citizens to be protected in their daily lives. But I believe everyone agrees that it is also important for Hong Kong

to sustain the one-country-two-system principle. It can even be said to be more important. Therefore, some radical demonstrators have defaced the national emblem, which is a symbol of our country. This action has trampled on the vital principle of "one country" in the one-country-two-system concept and is a danger to Hong Kong. I hope everyone can appreciate the importance of this incident. (Lam, 2019c)

Unlike the official media which always warns against the desecration of the national emblem as a challenge to the nation and the authorities, Apple Daily and CHRF reports are more inclined to conflicts between the police and the public.

Especially with regard to reports of indiscriminate attacks in Yuen Long District on the evening of July 21, in this way, they accused the Hong Kong police and authorities of condoning violent elements and possibly colluding with "gangs." One of Apple Daily's articles criticised the Hong Kong government for inaction in the "Yuen Long Incident". It believed that the national emblem only had a symbolic meaning, and that the SAR government should be responsible for the safety of the people (Lui, 2019a). Most of the subsequent Apple Daily reports condemned the police's repressive behaviour and considered the demonstrations to be a "resistance to power."

The official media did not report on these attacks in real time. I only found three reports from this year on WenWei Po's website, which involved the government's handling of "indiscriminate attacks" and claimed that the "democratic camp" used the media to slander the police.

It can be seen that there is a universal dominant-subordinate relationship in media discourse, in which only one version of the story will be told while others are marginalised. What was evident from the different discourses was that they shared common terms used to build significance for certain details while downplaying others (Gee, 2011). The construction of significance guided, and even altered, public opinions using intentionally constructed narratives and biased discursive practices, further affecting the reader's political standpoints, as well as their recognition of the government and state. In the government's response, the OCTSP and national security were solemnly mentioned along with the 'propaganda' of Apple and CHRF and changing the power structures, which has further widened the conflict.

Generally, selective reports also contain another discursive artifice to achieve the effect of beautifying oneself and degrading others through semantic transformation and selective focus. The government and official media have gradually described demonstrators as "thugs" since June; one report claimed that the demonstrations were "terrorist-oriented" (Kam, 2019a) or "riots fighting for power" (Chau, 2019), which has severely damaged the rule of law and social civilization. Chau also emphasised the role of the SAR government and the mainland in safeguarding Hong Kong's economic interests and social stability since the return of Hong Kong (Chau, 2019).

One Apple Daily report critically compares the situation of Hong Kong during the colonial period and after reunification. It pointed out that, compared with the British colonial government as "undemocratic but respecting public opinion and freedom", the current Hong Kong SAR government is gradually "disrespecting public opinion" and leading its people to a "loss of freedom". It also claimed that the protests were "forced", and that it was a "just choice" made by Hong Kong people to make the government "re-respect public opinion." The purpose of the Anti-ELAB movement is to normalise the "false freedom" of Hong Kong people (Chen, 2019). These counter-discourses undoubtedly established the "positive self" and the "negative other" in attempting to articulate and justify their own actions.

6.2 Discursive Practices

This section will interpret the meaning behind the discursive practices, through empirical materials to analyse the connection between discourse and the identity construction of Hong Kong people. This will include the perception of identity and its emotional connection, the contradiction of Hong Kong's identity and intergenerational relations, and its connection with the wider world of politics.

6.2.1 Consumption of Identity

At the level of discourse production and consumption, the audience is passively controlled. They are only informed by the media, and then interact with the media through their own framework of knowledge, choosing to believe or not to believe information as it is presented to them (Van Dijk, 2001). In the publication of social events, both Apple Daily and official media are successful in describing the impact of political events on people's daily lives, thereby affecting the political consciousness of

the audience, and allowing the audience to evaluate their own morals and knowledge in choosing positions.

Specifically, compared with the official propaganda from the viewpoint of national consciousness and the overall economic situation, the discourse produced by Apple Daily and CHRF is consumed by audiences in Hong Kong. They emphasised that the bill would have a profound impact on every Hongkonger (Chiu et al., 2019). They are also good at using street interviews to relay everyone's views on the incident and attach them to the relevant videos. In an interview, the narrator directly stated: "Our sense of justice is being used by the government. Should we choose to be silent?" (Liu, 2019). This combination of text and video makes the words more impactful. Especially when reporting conflicts between demonstrators and the police, the degree of injury to the demonstrators will be reported from an individual perspective (for example, the police accidentally injured the left eye of a female demonstrator during the conflict)⁵. In terms of the real-time nature of media production, it is obviously easier to capture everyone's emotions than collective and macroscopic rational descriptions.

By using the timeliness of the media in production, the collective defence of the psychology of Hong Kong people and their core values are consumed and reproduced by Apple Daily and CHRF. In particular, follow-up reports on the same incident (such as reporting on the follow-up medical treatment of victims in a conflict, and the attitude of police response) subtly influence the audience's attitude.

In addition to textual analysis, this technique will also be expressed in other forms of discourse, such as videos of interviews and pictures mentioned earlier. In addition, the use of posters also constructs the meaning of discourse.

CHRF symbolises the audience's emotions in distinctive slogans and banners, and uses pictures, audio, text and other methods to occupy social media headlines. For example: "Liberate Hong Kong, the revolution of our times (光复香港，时代革命)", which undoubtedly has great appeal to young audiences on social media. Similarly, the picture of black flags of demonstrators are included in the posts with a large space dedicated to slogans such as "Five demands, not one less (五大诉求，缺一不可)".

⁵ Apple Daily reported on this incident as: The Hong Kong police violently suppressed the demonstration and shot and wounded the right eye of the girl demonstrating at close range. This detonated the anger of Hong Kong people. Approximately 6000 citizens responded to the call of netizens. Many people covered their eyes with white, red or black gauze to protest the police attack. The injury to the girl's eye may lead to blindness. Source: <https://tw.appledaily.com/international/20190813/PG3HQ2F6W37LAYJNRPUO4J4UNU/>.

Such slogans and banners which appear repeatedly in reports will affect the mood of the audience as the exposure rate increases. From a critical view, the audience's identity and knowledge structure have also been changed and manipulated by discursive production and consumption.



Figure 5. The post for CHRF responded to the Chief Executive's speech on the withdrawal of ELAB on September 4.



Figure 6. The banner designed to make a poster.



Figure 7: Poster about the delayed withdrawal from Apple Daily. The text says that if we accept the government's conditions, our dead friends will not forgive us: two pairs of [injured] eyes, two terrorist attacks, two seriously injured people, and eight sacrifices, with over 1100 being accused (Source: Yiu, 2019).



Figure 8: CHRF uses red, black, white and yellow colours and the countdown clock design to express the dissatisfaction with the CCP's totalitarian rule. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/CivilHumanRightsFront/photos/2506713649376011>.

These posters use extremely bright and opposing colours to morph the slogan, which create a sense of tension that reflect local political demands. Similarly, some videos and music are even more potent than posters. The expression of opinions is usually radical and bold in videos, which matched the tabloid-style of Apple Daily. In one video, the public speech about withdrawing the bill by Carrie Lam, whose purpose was to end the chaos and appeal to a collective action against violence, was interpreted by the anti-government group as a speech “published under threat”, with ironic background music and negative comments by netizens (Chan et al., 2019). The video reflects the fact that the people and the government have lost confidence in each other. Since the proposal of the “five demands”, the Hong Kong SAR government has shifted the focus from emphasising national recognition to regaining the trust of its people. The severity of the ELAB crisis and the broken relationship between the public and the governments became evident. Similarly, it reflects the anxiety of Hong Kong people's local identity under OCTSP.

6.2.2 Awareness of Identity from Modality

In the case of Hong Kong, under OCTSP, the "national identity" emphasised by the government and the "local identity" emphasised by the public have different contents. From the core value advocated by "national identity", which respects and safeguards the emotions, dignity and sovereignty of the Chinese nation, the local identity often puts forward a demand for promoting democracy in politics, focusing on monitoring the operation of the government and treating "human rights," "equality," "justice," "tolerance" and "freedom of speech" as critical social values⁶.

This antagonism has been accompanied by the development of public opinion that continues to affect the thinking of the new generation; the discourse of the "Hongkonger" and "freedom Hong Kong" was widely used on social media⁷. Similarly, “Hong Kong spirit”, “solidarity”, “independence”, and “homeland” are attached when arousing local identity, and the interpretation and expression of these "local core values" also have profound Hong Kong characteristics.

⁶ Refer to the post on CHRF's Facebook website

⁷ Refer to the online comment on CHRF's Facebook website.

In depth, the empirical foundation of “solidarity” is based on participation in street politics; “independence” is not only sought in the hope of obtaining a "true non-colonial" status, but that Hong Kong will belong to the people and not only to the party or the elite, and ordinary Hongkongers will be ensured the right to express their opinions. Whether or not there was a "pro-democracy camp" behind it, the increasing number of similar discourses on social media represents the ideology of "freedom" being awakened. For some radical protesters, dying for the sake of "democracy" and "revolution" is the sacrifice of pursuing pure faith; this kind of sacrifice is considered the ultimate recognition of the "local spirit”.

6.2.3 Justice and Universal Suffrage

The core of the initial debate in Anti-ELAB movement that was the independence of Hong Kong's judiciary, and the commitment to democracy in the fight for "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong (港人治港)” in the Basic Law. This is the local value that Hong Kong people are most proud of. Apple Daily stated that ELAB was not strengthening public cooperation between the two parties, but the mainland’s intervention in Hong Kong’s legal institutions. Accepting the amendment is the first step for the mainland to completely intervene in Hong Kong, and it is a serious violation of local values. It also violated the promises of the Basic Law (Lo, 2019). Although Apple Daily did not directly express its distrust of the mainland's judicial system, it reported that if prisoners are extradited to the mainland, they may be subjected to torture and abuse (Chiu, 2019). The general knowledge structure of Hong Kong people recognises the superiority of the Hong Kong rule of law in protecting human rights, which has led to the acceptance of speculation about the mainland judicial system in the totalitarian rule. This can be interpreted as a "contextual" factor, because the audience has common knowledge, the narrator can say nothing, and some modalities will be understood, even if it is just fantasy and speculation (Gee, 2011).

On the contrary, WWP tried to relate national identification by presenting the progress that the mainland judicial system had made and the integration of the relationship between Hong Kong and the mainland (Chan, 2019). They also propagated the advantages of the ELAB, including “making up for the legal loophole”, "dealing with transnational crimes", and "protecting Hong Kong from being the criminal heaven"

(Kam, 2019c). Pro-democracy camps' disagreement was regarded by WWP as dissidents' suspicion of Hong Kong's legal institutions, demonizing and politicising justice (Chan, 2019).

In fact, most of the final debate on street politics after the reunification can be attributed to "universal suffrage", which also is regarded as the cornerstone of safeguarding Hong Kong's core values and the ultimate goal of the Anti-ELAB-movement⁸. In 2007, the central government promised that the Hong Kong Chief Executive in 2017 could be elected by Hong Kong citizens on the basis of "universal suffrage" (Langer, 2007). Of course, as is typical in the field of democratic studies, disputes over the electoral process are ever present. In 2014, the central government published the "White Paper on the Practice of One Country, Two Systems in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region." It emphasised that:

...the high degree of autonomy of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is not inherent, and its sole source is the central authority. The high degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is not complete autonomy or decentralisation, but the local management of power granted by the central government. (Gov.cn, 2014)

What followed was a series of election rules formulated in 2015. The official discourse meant that the Chief Executive's candidates, who participate in elections, need to be recognised by the central government.

This undoubtedly caused intense discussions among Hong Kong residents. The "pro-democracy camps" believe that the election process that meets the requirements of Hong Kong residents should be "one person, one vote," rather than Beijing screening the candidates first, and then informing Hong Kong's citizens that they can vote based on the filtered list (CHEN, 2016). CHRF stated that after the failure of the Umbrella Movement⁹, Hong Kong had experienced five years of "helplessness" and "no hope" on

⁸ Refer to CHRF's Facebook post: <https://www.facebook.com/CivilHumanRightsFront/posts/2426162890764421>.

⁹ The Umbrella Movement (Chinese: 雨傘運動) was a political movement that emerged during the Hong Kong democracy protests of 2014. Its name arose from the use of umbrellas as a tool for passive resistance to the Hong Kong Police's use of pepper spray to disperse the crowd during a 79-day occupation of the city demanding more transparent elections, which was sparked by the decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (NPCSC) of 31 August 2014 that prescribed a selective pre-screening of candidates for the 2017 election of Hong Kong's chief executive.

the road to "universal suffrage", and that the anti-ELAB movement should be a "new start"¹⁰.

Visibly, social/public media, at the political group level, involves time-sensitive and antagonistic discourse that can serve as an outlet for citizens' emotions in a short time, thereby enhancing the opposition's identity. In the Hong Kong case, this is reflected in the complex continuity of local identity and street politics. The government's robust approach made Hong Kong residents feel that the identity of the "Hongkonger" was put under pressure; as a result, the demands for institutional reform in street politics are combined to a certain extent with the denial of the "national identity" advocated by the government.

6.2.4 Youth Practices

It is apparent that in the social movements of Hong Kong in recent years, young students have become the main subjects as different identities collide on social media. Especially in the Anti-ELAB movement, in addition to college students as the main body, many middle school students also participated in it (Ng et al., 2019). Through collection of social media materials, we see that online discourse is gradually becoming the motor of the social movement, and that the online confrontation of identities arises from the practice of discourse.

In the online comments on CHRF's Facebook page and government post, the opposition between young people is obvious (mainland and Hong Kong). Some comments from mainland youth and some "pro-China" people in Hong Kong often use the Chinese character "freedom (自由)" in a reverse way like "甲由(yuē yóu)" with the aim of satirising demonstrators who seek what they see as the wrong kind of freedom under terrible political influences¹¹. In addition, the word "甲由" in Chinese means cockroach. This also insinuates that the black T-shirts commonly used by demonstrators look like cockroaches during street parades. In contrast, comments like "May the glory return to Hong Kong(愿荣光归香港)" have surged among protesters. The demonstrators who violently fought on the streets were called "braves," and the violence was interpreted as a frustrating result after many peaceful marches fighting for

¹⁰Refer to CHRF's Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/CivilHumanRightsFront/posts/2494670793913630>.

¹¹ Refer to <https://www.facebook.com/CCTV.CH/videos/2346892358974396>

"universal suffrage", the street struggle to gain the "freedom to avoid fear". Apple Daily's articles with titles like "The Young: Never be Afraid in the Face of Shooting" and "Be Confident in the Young Generation" were explicitly aimed at this group (Ng et al., 2019; Li, 2019).

Compared with the older generation's immigrant background from mainland China, the new generation in Hong Kong is more convinced of Hong Kong's local identity and can sacrifice anything that threatens local values to show their solidarity. One report remarked that while mature citizens tend to join public assemblies, young people are more inclined to participate in more conflicting demonstrations (Lee et al., 2019). This is consistent with the findings of the survey report of the Hong Kong Public Opinion institution, that 78% of young people (aged 14-29) are "very opposed" to ELAB, while only 50 percent of people aged 30 or above opposed the bill (Chung, 2019, p.4). By participating in street politics and social movements, protesters have formed an interesting unity and political subjectivity that binds them together in what has been called "a community of common destiny"(Ku, 2020). Furthermore, in November of 2019, the University of Hong Kong became a "battlefield" (Li,2019). In most cases, the radical behaviours of young people, such as "arson" and "barricades", will be tolerated by ordinary people (Ku, 2020).

The state of young people reflects the gap between local identity and national consciousness, and online comments and media attention paid to young people also reflect this fact. Their status also reflects the media's role in manipulating young people's passion through repeated publicity, their active resistant attitudes and inherent tendency toward criticism of the state, and their reinforcement of local solidarity and strengthening of local recognition; moreover, the passion of young people also mobilised the sympathy of other Hong Kong residents. The repeated demonstrations have allowed young people to establish a sense of "non-hierarchical" community and to strengthen their unification around a local identity, which also allowed them to "freeze" from the "national consciousness" advocated by the central and SAR governments. It is difficult to determine whether these characteristics will achieve a political payoff. However, there has been an increase in conflicts between the police and citizens and, in some cases, violence. At its worst, violent confrontation has escalated to the use of roadblocks, arson, and high-pressure water gun vehicles.

6.2.5 Economic Factors

During the Anti-ELAB movement, the economy is as an influencing factor for debate. The government has always emphasised that social stability is the foundation of Hong Kong's development and has pledged to strengthen its commitment to people's livelihoods and housing. In the government speech, Carrie Lam mentioned the socio-economic measures taken by the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government in the past few years in response to the media's doubts about her and promised to adopt preferential policies in the public domain (for example, public housing, public participation, and land supply) (Lam, 2019e). The WWP's report echoed Lam's speech, claiming that the continued protests have caused "serious damage to the business environment in Hong Kong" and created "endless chaos", but there is no way to improve "the living conditions of Hong Kong people" (Lam, 2019d); these statements emphasised the necessity of integrated development between Hong Kong and the mainland (Tang, 2019).

Carrie Lam has repeatedly emphasised the role of young people in her speeches and promised to increase employment opportunities and basic vocational training for young people in her TV speeches (Lam, 2019). A periodical article in WenWei Po appealed to young people from the "national standpoint":

*The country is eagerly looking forward to seeing young people discern right from wrong, obeying discipline and the law, cherishing their youth, and actively understanding the country. It will help improve mutual trust among people in Hong Kong and the mainland. The young should seize the opportunities in the **Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area**, try to integrate into national economical development, plan a better future for individuals, and give back to society in the right ways. (Hui, 2019, A14)*

However, in the local consciousness of the Hong Kongese, integrated development has its dark side. The Apple Daily pointed out the anxiety of some Hong Kongese that excessive economic integration will cause a large influx of national capital and immigrants from the mainland. Mainlanders will not really integrate into Hong Kong society, but they will seize Hong Kong's resources and force foreign capital to withdraw (especially the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan, which are important in Hong Kong's economy); this will make Hong Kong's proud liberal economic market

regress and become “mainlandized” (Pun et al., 2019). One report responds to the government's speech on economic policy, stating that the government uses "economic issues" to shift the focus to escape the political demands of the people (Lui, 2019b).

Apple Daily also referred to the "Hong Kong City-State Theory" that was proposed by Chen Yun in 2013, to prove that Hong Kong's local economy and politics are unified and unique (Li, 2019). Chen (2013) emphasising that the identity of the Chinese in Hong Kong is not only their identity under the influence of Chinese history and culture but is also shaped by other factors such as political disputes, economic pursuits and lifestyle choices. The idea is that the rights of all Hong Kong people to choose freely should not be infringed upon, and the OCTSP should safeguard the interests of Hong Kong residents economically and politically (Chen, 2013). A "Hong Kong-style democracy" is further purported as a "political hero" of the Chinese nation in the process of modernisation and protecting "Hong Kong's democracy" is a struggle to promote China's political modernisation (Ibid). A political framework that guarantees freedom is the cornerstone of local economic development (Ibid). Thus, the phenomenon surrounding the economic debate no longer ends at the simple dialogue between the subject's emotional identity and social psychology, but goes deeper into the political ideology that shapes discourse, power, identity and social values, arising from the textual level to the social practice level and eventually appearing as a “localist ideology”.

6.2.6 Expansion on a Global Scale

In the international context, seeking foreign intervention and help is also a means for protesters. In particular, the signing of the "Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act" brought the movement to the level of international politics. The Mainland Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a warning to the United States on the grounds of "serious interference in China's internal affairs and sovereignty" and “trying to undermine the great practice of OCTSP”(Xinhuanet, 2019). WWP further accused the United States of ignoring justice and holding irrational anti-China views. The protesters' visit to the United States was described as “serving the host” and aimed at “defamation of [the] homeland”. The United States could also use this opportunity to “restore Western governance” in Hong Kong and to launch a "color revolution" under the banner of "protecting democracy" (Kwok, 2019b).

On the contrary, in Apple Daily's description, the passage of the act helped protect Hong Kong's social justice and human rights; it could also represent the international community's recognition of Hong Kong's protests (Auyeung, 2019). CHRF believed that the passage of the act had strengthened Hong Kong people's determination to fight tyranny, further strengthening the solidarity of local people in Hong Kong¹². Before that, it promoted and participated in demonstrations to praise the implementation of the act¹³. In the accompanying poster (see Figure 9), the torch logo symbolises the act as leading Hong Kong to the light. Similarly, in the text, the United States is regarded as a messenger of justice to punish "black police" and "treacherous officials". In addition, a poster released by Apple Daily before the passage of the act (see Figure 10) better reflects the post-colonial characteristics of Hong Kong's local identity. In this poster, the United States is almost regarded as a religious god, and the passage of the act is considered "The Salvation of Hong Kong People".

Through the different interpretations of foreign intervention by the government and civil society, we can see the profound ideological influence behind the discourse. The difference in ideology and social values also caused mainland and Hong Kong residents to different understand the same incident. This misconception affects the group's psychological perception, and this perception is revealed in the discourse of media propaganda. This effect also relates to a broader social practice in which: "Masses and elites that have nothing otherwise in common can find that the same ideology and the same organizing leadership unites them, relieves them of their rootlessness; the same apocalyptic and redemptive vision gives them a common future. They are relieved by it, enthused by it, feel swept into place by it, and they are glad to be alike, uniform, in a historical process that asks no thinking of them but gives them the comfort of an obedience that does not feel passive to them." (Kinnvall, 2018). In this vein, the antagonistic political positions between different media under the OCTSP which have accelerated the recognition of Hong Kong people's political identity and hope to maintain the native democratic system.

¹² Refer to: <https://www.facebook.com/CivilHumanRightsFront/posts/2642940815753293>

¹³ Refer to : <https://www.facebook.com/CivilHumanRightsFront/posts/2624492447598130>



Figure 9. The propaganda poster of the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act Thanksgiving Rally.



Figure 10. The propaganda poster of a petition for the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. Reference from: <https://hk.appledaily.com/local/20190906/2GRFUIIDTSM4U5NZTS77M3MSFI/>

6.3 Social Practice

In this section, this study will begin to integrate the empirical materials and discourse analysis results collected in the first two parts of this chapter to analyse the deeper "social practice" behind the identity of Hong Kong people in light more vast factors, such as history, culture and ideology that aim to link the identity and security of Hong Kongese under a wider global environment and modernity.

6.3.1 Inner Colonial Legacy

As Laing discussed in his book *The Divided Self*, we can see that the change in the individual's subjective survival situation is related to the formation of subjective identity, the subject obtains ontological security and belonging by identifying with other subjects. (Laing, 1960). Here has one logic behind it : when the identification relationship between the individual and the society is mutually established, the emotion of an individual will inevitably give preference to the society to which it belongs, and reserve a certain repulsion or defensive psychology for the other, as a result, the boundary distinguishing self from "other" appears with a symbolic form.

It can be seen from the conflicts between national and local identities in political events that colonies are essentially the historical memory and internalised culture of the people who were once colonised, which are internalised into "necessities for survival/existence" closely related to daily life. Significantly, the prestige, honour and achievements that Hong Kong's social values created economically in the 1980s have enhanced the self-esteem of Hong Kong residents. In other words, an "endogenous cultural identity" has been realised along with an economic one. During the later period of British rule in Hong Kong, the promotion of democratic values and the improvement of the system also inspired Hong Kong's residents to recognize that a local political system had been established. At the level of discursive practice, in the later period of British colonisation, the British government used systemic reforms and other methods(such as absorbing politics) to transform the contradiction in the "orders of discourses" between "Chinese nationalism" and "colonialism." Through multiple semantic transformations, the colonial government successfully transformed the original narrative into a local narrative in politics. In this political narrative, the discourse of the "uniqueness of Hong Kong democracy" (Zhu & Zhang, 2019) was repeatedly emphasised and a confrontation with the mainland political system was established. This conflict created a politically heterogeneous society through the community imagination, that is, through the political "others" of the same ethnic group.

The West (especially Britain and the United States) continues to observe the Anti-ELAB movement, and the "pro-democracy camps" continue to call for Western intervention, which also demonstrates the influence of Hong Kong's inherent colonial heritage. This intertwined relationship illustrates the "modernity" connection between the coloniser and the colonised in terms of identity construction in the post-colonial era

(Said,1993). The continuous appearance of the British and American flags in the movement shows that Hong Kong's civil society has not given up its attachment to the colonial period, while the mother land of the former colony is portrayed as a “non-modern authority”.

The BBC quoted the British Prime Minister’s view on the situation: "The fundamental freedoms of Hong Kong people have been eroded, and the UK will honour its commitments and provide assistance" (BBC, 2020). Apple Daily’s recent article reported that the United Kingdom had broadened the scope of BNO passports for Hong Kong to support Hong Kongese immigrating to the United Kingdom and mentioned the appeal of two young Hong Kong people who had immigrated to the island nation with the hope of continuing their "fighting" from there (Laing, 2020). This event reflects the continued concern of Britain for the governance of the former colonies and the establishment of political continuity within it. The local identity of Hong Kong does not deny the history of being colonised, and to a certain extent regards colonial heritage as glorious. This is consistent with what Said (1993) said about "cultural imperialism" in post-colonial society. The term "Hong Kongese" now symbolises a unique history, lifestyle, values and community customs. These elements are what local actors value and insist on. They advocate a strong local identity that deviates from the Chinese central government.

6.3.2 Political Subjectivity

In the political alterations after reunification, the legacy of the colonial period still has a significant effect on the construction of Hong Kong people’s subjectivity. Under the OCTSP, the crisis in Hong Kong revealed its hybridity and, at times, ambivalence toward identity was presented as a form of political contradiction. The different political camps’ construction of "Hong Kong's political subjectivity" have further contributed to the deepening and maturity of the internal logic of Hong Kong’s political identity. "Hong Kong characteristics" and "Chinese characteristics" became two irreconcilable contradictions: under the influence of ideological differences and the “hard-power” imbalance between two actors, the "Chinese other" constitutes a political "power" oppressing the "Hong Kong self," and the authoritarian mainland was assumed as a political threat. In the local identity of Hong Kong, whether "pro-democracy camps" or some other radical parties were being defined as "nativist and self-determina-

tion groups" by the media, the general consciousness in their political logic was the same. They hoped to classify "Hong Kong characteristics" apart from "Chinese characteristics" under the OCTSP, and they portrayed the mainland as an "other" with symbolic characteristics such as hard, solidified, and powerful.

"Pro-China camps" or "pro-establishment camps" are only different from "pro-democracy camps" in terms of their administrative methods and treatment of the central government, but they are also a part of Hong Kong's democratic politics (Scott & Leung, 2004). In another sense, the game between different camps is the political manifestation of Hong Kong's endogenous values. It is also an endogenous model of Hong Kong society, which has accelerated the development of local identity at the political level. In essence, these are the embodiments of "Hong Kong characteristics".

In the Anti-ELAB movement, we can see the formulation of "endogenous goal-seeking" by Hong Kong local identity. In addition to safeguarding the judicial system, the "Universal suffrage" is a political bargaining chip for dialogue with the power centre under the OCTSP, which plays a certain role in balancing group psychology. The demonstrations also represent the external practice of seeking ontological security. In other words, with the construction of the subjective values of "Hong Kong characteristics," Hong Kong's local identity has been supported by a certain theoretical form, which has promoted the development and maturity of "Hongkonger's" own internal logic. The demonstrations have also been transformed into an important force of political identity and popular appeal in the native actions of different political parties, groups and communities in Hong Kong. Hong Kong's residents have closely linked the demands of "Hongkongers" directly with social developments in street politics. At a deeper level, this development of political subjective reflects the dual influence of ideology and public discourse.

6.3.3 Ideological speculation

At the ideological level, the underlying reason for this movement is the "abjection" of party politics and nationalist concepts that the CCP has continuously strengthened in recent years. The fundamental differences in ideology between the one-party dictatorship and democratic politics breeds distrust and anxiety between the two forms of rule. With the development of the mainland economy, Hong Kongese first felt that their economic interests and advantages were being lost. The central government's constant

change of commitment to the issue of universal suffrage has posed an existential threat to Hong Kong that has affected the stability of its “local identity”. Therefore, the way Hong Kong maintains ontological security is on the level of social practice that is displayed in the form of street parades. However, under the OCTSP, the imbalance between "endogenous goal seeking" and "external practice" of local identity always exists: all the demonstrations seemed to be weak, for peaceful protests such as street parades have not failed to win the results of "universal suffrage”, according one report from Apple daily, the discourse of “feeling the structural violence” was established by protesters (Deng, 2019a). This makes them put more focus into breaking down existing power relations, thus, violent resistance has gradually evolved as a coping strategy.

However, China's party-state narrative exerted pressure on Hong Kong's social environment, aroused disgust, and greatly affected the formation of national identity. The state’s determination to establish ethnic and cultural homogeneity among the public has not helped much to enhance national identity (Gellner, 1983; Lie, 2008). Even if the people of Hong Kong feel connected with traditional culture, their disagreement with the CCP prevents them from identifying themselves as Chinese. Distrust of the party and its governance extends to doubts about their laws, the judicial system, and all aspects related to politics.

7. Thoughts on Ontological Security

In this chapter, this study will integrate the ontological security framework, based on the preliminary analysis of chapter 6, to further explore the research question.

7.1 Identity Signifiers in the Post-colonial Era

Through the analysis of media discourse during the Anti-ELAB movement, we have seen that the mainland's compelling national narrative gradually began to restructure and reshape Hong Kong's subjectivity/identity. The crisis in Hong Kong indicated that the ambivalence of post-colonial identity was presented through political contradiction (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996). Looking at China as a sovereign country, one can see that the OCTSP is still playing a role of “national security”. Semantically, it always regards "one country" as a precondition for parties to reconcile the identity

issue. It puts the proposition of "one China" into a larger "subject" that overrides Hong Kong's "endogenous local identity". This undoubtedly makes Hong Kong people feel that their "endogenous identity" is gradually "eroded" at the psychological level, this process is painful and dispiriting. Under this anxiety, the colonial heritage has become a "thick signifier", or a "protection cocoon" of security; the tendency toward localism expressed in the movement is just the embodiment of a process of "subjective securitisation".

As Giorgio (2017) said, "The West continues to profoundly influence the psychic structures of post-colonial subjectivity even when it appears absent, representing an idealized 'mirror' through which post-colonial subjectivity is constituted". Lui points out that, despite the mainland narrative of "national shame" which might have coloured the event, Hong Kong residents do not think of the ceding of Hong Kong as a "shame" (Lui, 2020). Hong Kong residents felt a sense of humiliation in the early period of ceding control, but this feeling of humiliation gradually weakened and dissipated under long-term colonial rule (Lui, 2020). During long-term colonial rule, the demographic composition of Hong Kong was more diverse, and it became a buffer zone in the process of modernisation in East Asia. Globalisation and modernisation are undoubtedly key characteristics of Hong Kong, and the achievements of the economy in 1980s still make Hong Kong proud to this day. In this process, the mainland has long been fantasised by Hong Kong people as the opposite of "self-existence", a barbaric, un-modern, and low-quality "other."

Particularly from the beginning of the ELAB event, the public discourses have implicitly depicted the gap and disparity between the mainland and Hong Kong in terms of judicial fairness and protection of human rights. From the implication of an incomplete judicial system to the claim of ruling-the-country-by-the-party (Lo, 2019), a superior "self" with the inferior "other" have been constructed, demonstrating a high level of local recognition but a low level of national identification.

In the discourse of CHRF and Apple Daily, the narrative of "democracy" and "freedom" left over by former colonists have become two important identity signifiers with the purpose of maintaining the continuity of local narratives. Thus, discontent with partisan politics and the government's attempt to change institutions directly leads to

suspicion, opposition, and even defacement of national identification symbols in pro-democracy media (Lam, 2016; Fung, 2004; Sing, 2017).

7.2 Subjective Securitisation under the OCTSP

When the OCTSP was proposed in the 1980s, it played a role in the "family" of ontological security of both sides, depicting the "subjectivity" of China as a whole. The "family-state" narrative in the Chinese Confucian tradition emphasises "self-cultivating; family-regulating; state-ordering; then finding a great governance method of universal." (Wen & Wang, 2013). This is also the logic of Chinese traditional society, which holds the personal feeling of being with "family" as tightly integrated with the nation (Wen & Wang, 2013). Hong Kong residents in the early 1980s generally accepted this. Similarly, the mainland, which had just undergone reform and was opening up at the time, showed great sincerity toward Western countries in terms of political reform. At the time, the OCTSP was considered a policy that balanced the political identity of both parties after the transfer of sovereignty (Zhu, 2013). On the other hand, this common ideal is based on a pre-modern cultural tradition; with the flow of modern globalisation, its function seems to dislocate gradually. The reason for this is that the illusion of ideology under modernity has created two social truths, and this seems to be a common argument in modern state polities—an argument between authoritarianism and democracy— which also compounds the discursive struggle between "colonisation" and "decolonisation". This responds to Kinnvall's argument that I quoted in the section 4.3, the spread of democratic values (i.e., norms of equality and egalitarianism) have tended to delegitimise previous hierarchical structures in many societies around the world. Old behaviours have eroded as traditional power relations have become democratised (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 743). As a consequence, old ways of getting and understand things are eliminated, which usually leaves behind uncertainty, and the structures that bound together the community are also eliminated, leaving a disintegrative effect behind (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 743).

The OCTSP allows Hong Kong to further recognise its political identity by considering local values on an ideological level. While the Basic Law's commitment and protection of "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" has deepened Hong Kong's pursuit of the goal of "universal suffrage", it also allowed Hong Kong to conduct social practices

through street politics. However, as Krolikowski mentioned, under the leadership of the CCP, the narrative of nationalism is based on the disappearance of individual subjectivity to a certain extent, the traditional "Family-state" narrative has been replaced by "Party-state". (Krolikowski, 2013). Hong Kong residents have a democratic awareness, viewing society from the bottom up; this creates an ontological conflict with the national narrative structured by the CCP, which views society from top to bottom at the political level (Ibid). In other words, Hong Kong gradually constructed a collective appeal from the subjectivity of each resident in a post-colonial society.

The Chinese model became the most significant opposition to the modernity of global hegemony. Its ontological insecurity is partly due to the long-time propaganda invasion of "Western-style democracy." However, on the mainland, the party-state system was always sceptical of "Western democracy" (Han, 2013). Through the analysis of the official discourse, the "five demands" of the Hong Kong people, especially the requirement for "universal suffrage," are regarded as "splitting the country" and "attempt to color revolution" by the central government¹⁴. Here, we can see the differences in ontological security within the same nation in modernity due to the obstruction of their narrative. In the context of globalisation, the uncertainty brought about by modernity further reinforces the narrative of one's own community. It is precisely because the mainland's special construction of ontological security is based on the "disappearance of personal freedom" that Hong Kong can maintain a critical attitude. Every year in Hong Kong, for example, there are activities centred around criticism of the CCP to commemorate the Tiananmen Square incident (Cheng, 2009).

However, with the entrenchment of the CCP party-state, the criticism of the CCP implied the criticism of national sovereignty, which in turn caused a division of political identity between "Hongkonger" and "Chinese." As China's dependence on global economic markets increased, the new generation of CCP leaders has continuously emphasised the identity of "national sovereignty" and the "Chinese nation" in its official discourse. They compare "Chinese" and "Western" at the level of civilisation, emphasising China's superiority of governance capacity (Cheng, 2019). All of this has also created a means to resolve regional and ethnic disputes by preaching "Chinese characteristics", which have gained their own narrative stability. Claiming sovereignty

¹⁴ Refer to an editorial in the People's Daily, China's official media, on September 22, 2019 <https://wap.peopleapp.com/article/4614661/4496396>

and unity is a “subjective securitisation” process to reinforce the stability of the "party state” identity. To ensure the continuity of self-narration, the discourse emphasis on the role of "one country" under the framework of the OCTSP promises to be magnified rather than tempered. This point helps to explain the reason why "Hongkongers" gradually became violent during the demonstrations: under the pressure of a politically "powerful other", they use different forms of protests as an "external practice” to respond to the endogenous goal of "universal suffrage” while aiming to maintain the continuity of their endogenous identity narrative. The irony and dissatisfaction with the authorities in the pro-democracy media’s discourse that also reflects a "subjective securitisation" process, aim to strengthening and maintaining of local identity then to achieve political goals.

7.3 Abjection of Hong Kongese

It is apparent that, in the 23-year process of interaction, Hong Kong people’s "endogenous goal seeking" has not been truly recognised under the OCTSP framework, and the externalised practice of "endogenous goals" has not been met. Habermas said that “modernity is unfinished business” (1989). In the process of mainland China's modernisation, we can see that the stability of identity is always deconstructed and transformed by the CCP, and it has moved towards a modern model less focused on “democracy” and “freedom”, and more focused on "good governance” (Li, 2020). This inevitably makes Hong Kongese who pursue "democracy and freedom" feeling “marginalized”, therefore led to the emotion of abjection.

According to current stereotypes championed by the OCTSP, the subjective consciousness of Hong Kong is politically weakened, while the mainland enjoys a "powerful" consciousness and emotional comfort stemming from the nationalist narrative. However, we can see that whether the demonstrators call the police "gangsters”, or the central government defines the demonstrators as "thugs," these words are semantically offensive. Ontological insecurity thus undermines trust and creates a "setting conducive to manipulating this distrust by political actors who act to re-channel this anxiety into specific and habituated fears" (Rumelili, 2015, p. 2) This brings ontological security back into the perspective of today's reality, that is, the "subjective securitisation" process developed independently by both parties, and the emotion of Hong Kong people’s abjection.

This research also fleshes out a common problem in the development of information technology in a modern society: with the development of the Internet, young people on both sides are divided into increasingly polarized camps. As Harris mentioned, under the circumstances of the popularity of the Internet and the acceleration of global capital, the rational or elitist order gradually disintegrated (Harris, 2020). In the confrontation between the two sides on social media, we saw a logic full of offensiveness, where anyone "other than me is harmful." From the perspective of CDA, some groups that were initially on the verge of the right to speak have found emotional venting through emerging media, and so the discourse opposition also widens the identity gap. The debate of these online discourses has awakened Hong Kong's young people to social practice in the form of social movements. Placed within a broader background, the practices of young people also reflect the central government's grip on local identities when promoting national identity, leading to a solidarity of emotional response and manifesting the incompatibility of local identity and national identity. This antagonism does not only come from the influence of the mainland's abjection such as establishment of an Internet firewall; it is born from an increase in uncertainty and anxiety caused by modernity itself.

8. Conclusion

I now return to the research question of this study: *To what extent have questions of identity influenced Hong Kong people's sense of security under the "one country, two systems policy"?*

This paper has conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis of the media discourse surrounding the Anti-ELAB movement by combining an ontological security perspective with an abductive exploration to respond to this question.

This investigation has provided theoretical support for understanding the Hong Kong problem in the context of relations between security and identity. By expounding the construction of local identity during the major political uprising in Hong Kong, the thesis has analysed and understood the influence of the colonial experience on identity formation by investigating the role of public discourse in the construction and reproduc-

tion of the relationship between different identities and the process of “securitisation of subjectivity”.

Kinnvall argues that the structural changes brought about by globalisation leave individuals vulnerable to feelings of existential anxiety, which they attempt to alleviate by reaffirming a threatened self-identity (Kinnvall, 2006). In Hong Kong, this is manifested in the government’s strengthening of nationalist narratives and desire to reform Hong Kong laws, which has increased Hong Kong people’s anxiety and created ontological insecurity. The Anti-ELAB movement essentially reflects Hongkongers’ reaffirmation of their local identity and produces the added effect of controlling anxiety. The mainland is imagined as an “abject-other” by Hong Kongese, the discourse used by media has further deepened this negative sentiment, on this account to constructing the “subjective securitisation”.

In my opinion, the collision and contradiction brought about by reaffirming this essentialist identity is the basis for creating a future: it is an essential force in the process of identity formation. Kinnvall recently proposed a change of focus from ontological security as a security of being to a process that is in constant progress. This shift of focus to a Lacanian notion of subjectivity aims to “understand emotions as social, cultural, and political constructs that bind subjects to identities, collectives, and particular narratives” (Solomon, 2017, cited in Kinnvall, 2018, p. 531). Ontological securitisation is then a process of becoming rather than a process of being (Kinnvall et al., 2018, p. 253). We can understand this process as constantly changing in modern society as people’s pursuit of ontological security is also constantly changing. The concept of time should be integrated into the social dimension of identity formation to understand the internal and external dynamic factors in the identity formation of actors. Time also helps us analyse how different actors imagine their respective positions in the world and assesses potential conflicts and convergences in the process of implementation.

Similarly, based on this thinking, I have shown that the conflicts and contradictions between mainland China and Hong Kong are due to different identity narratives under the framework of the OCTSP. Placing this point in the temporal context of China’s historical development, it is not difficult to see that it is also a means to reshape Hong Kong's identity. My expectation is that truly benign interaction should involve mutual

trust and mutual security based on mutual respect, especially the political mutual trust between the government and the masses. However, under the framework of "sovereignty-subsovereignty," we must consider the real situation between power relations. It is clear that the status of Hong Kong under the OCTSP has been institutionalised. The current security issue is the perception that subjectivity has been eroded and that distrust has been generated in the interaction with both parties. Although the process of rebuilding a Hong Kongese identity is not voluntary, the "goal-seeking" for ontological security will achieve reconciliation. On the temporal axis, identity is an ongoing process of structuring and remodelling aimed at achieving ontological security.

In the end, extending to a more wider range of modernity, this research has inspired me to think about more future concerns. The issues of Hong Kong under OCTSP shows : the instability nature of identity politics that has caused the media to consume collective emotions to fulfill their political expectations, meanwhile unstable political identity can easily bring ontological insecurity due to institutional changes. So it might valuable to further explore the element that helps detach identification from the impact of politics. Especially, how to throw away the emotional impacts which from the duality conflict of "self-other" or "democracy-authority" on the political level? How to starting with a truly rational means to promote social equality, thereby increasing "ontological security"? More specifically, Under the framework of OCTSP, can Hong Kongese social movements overstep the logic of identity politics? Can the two sides deliberate with each other on an equal footing while resolving their anxieties to promote institutional innovation?

References :

- Anastastasia, Y., 2015. Hong Kong and China: One Country, Two Systems, Two Identities. *Global Societies Journal*, 3(2), p.20.
- Anderson, B., 2016. *Imagined Communities*. 1st ed. London: Verso.
- Arno, A. and Dissanayake, W., 2019. *The News Media In National And International Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Ash, R., 2003. *Hong Kong In Transition*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Baiasu, R., 2009. Heidegger's Topology: Being, Place, World, by Jeff Malpas. *European Journal of Philosophy*, 17(2), pp.315-323.
- Bauman, Z., 2018. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Berenskoetter, F., 2017. National identities and international relations. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30(5-6), pp.577-580.
- Betz, H., 2013. A Distant Mirror: Nineteenth-Century Populism, Nativism, and Contemporary Right-Wing Radical Politics. *Democracy and Security*, 9(3), pp.200-220.
- Bhabha, H., 1990. *Nation And Narration*. 1st ed. London & New York: Routledge, pp.25-27.
- Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S., 2003. *Qualitative Research In Education*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Booth, K., 2011. *Realism And World Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P., 2010. Sociologues de la croyance et croyance de sociologues / Sociologists of Belief and Beliefs of Sociologists. *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 63(1), pp.155-161.
- Bradsher, K. and Victor, D., 2020. Hong Kong Protesters Return To The Streets, Rejecting Leader'S Apology.. [online] *The New York Times*. Available at: <<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/16/world/asia/carrie-lam-hong-kong-protests.html>> [Accessed 29 December 2020].
- Brecher, M. and Harvey, F., 2009. *Conflict, Security, Foreign Policy, And International Political Economy*. University of Michigan Press.
- Buzan, B. and Waeber, O., 2003. *Regions And Powers*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buzan, B., 1991. *People, States & Fear*. 1st ed. London: Cambridge, p.326.
- Callahan, W., 2008. Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-hegemonic or a New Hegemony?. *International Studies Review*, 10(4), pp.749-761.
- Cao, X., 2015. *Hong Kong Political Parties And Benign Politics*. 1st ed. Hong Kong: joint publishing, pp.122-124.
- CHAN, M., 1996. Hong Kong: Colonial Legacy, Transformation, and Challenge. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 547(1), pp.11-23.
- Chang, M., 1995. Greater China and the Chinese "Global Tribe." *Asian Survey*, 35(10), pp.955-967.
- Chao, C., 1987. "One Country, Two Systems". *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 14(2), pp.107-124.

- Chatterjee, P., 1993. *Nationalist Thought And The Colonial World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- CHEN, A., 2016. The Law and Politics of the Struggle for Universal Suffrage in Hong Kong, 2013–15. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 3(1), pp.189-207.
- Chen, G., Chan, A. and Hsiao, R., 2013. *Living Out The Contradiction Of Our Time*. 2nd ed. HongKong: Hong Kong Polytechnic University Press.
- Chen, L., 2014. Hong Kong District Election Process. *Chongqing Social Journal*, 1(6).
- Chen, Y., 2013. *Hong Kong City State Theory/香港城邦论*. 1st ed. Hong Kong: Enrich Publishing Ltd, pp.34-39.
- Cheng, E., 2016. Street Politics in a Hybrid Regime: The Diffusion of Political Activism in Post-colonial Hong Kong. *The China Quarterly*, 226, pp.383-406.
- Cheng, E., 2016. Street Politics in a Hybrid Regime: The Diffusion of Political Activism in Post-colonial Hong Kong. *The China Quarterly*, 226, pp.383-406.
- Cheng, J., 2009. The Tiananmen Incident and the Pro-Democracy Movement in Hong Kong. *China Perspectives*, 2009(2), pp.91-100.
- Cheng, J., 2011. Challenge to the Pro-democracy Movement in Hong Kong. *China Perspectives*, 2011(2), pp.44-60.
- Chernobrov, D., 2016. Ontological Security and Public (Mis)Recognition of International Crises: Uncertainty, Political Imagining, and the Self. *Political Psychology*, 37(5), pp.581-596.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N., 2007. *Discourse In Late Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crowder, M., 1964. Indirect Rule—French and British Style. *Africa*, 34(3), pp.197-205.
- Davis, M., 2015. Beijing's Broken Promises. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(2), pp.101-110.
- DE CILLIA, R., REISIGL, M. and WODAK, R., 1999. The Discursive Construction of National Identities. *Discourse & Society*, 10(2), pp.149-173.
- Dewey, J., Boydston, J. and Ross, R., 2002. *Reconstruction In Philosophy And Essays*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Pr.
- Eberle, J., 2017. Narrative, desire, ontological security, transgression: fantasy as a factor in international politics. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 22(1), pp.243-268.
- Emirbayer, M. and Mische, A., 1998. What Is Agency?. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(4), pp.962-1023.
- Fairclough, N., 2010. *Discourse And Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Feng, Q., 2016. The inherent logic and historical evolution of Hong Kong's Nativism. *天府新论*, 5(1).
- Fong, B. and Lui, T., 2018. *Hong Kong 20 Years After The Handover*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Gabbay, D., 2003. *A Practical Logic Of Cognitive Systems*. 1st ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- Gazit, O., 2018. Corrigendum to “Van Gennep Meets Ontological (In)Security: A Processual Approach to Ontological Security in Migration”. *International Studies Review*, 20(3), pp.546-546.
- Gee, J., 2011. *How To Do Discourse Analysis*.
- Gellner, E., 1997. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- George, A. and Bennett, A., 2005. *Case Studies And Theory Development In The Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Gergen, K. and Gergen, M., 2011. Narrative tensions. *Narrative Inquiry*, 21(2), pp.374-381.
- Giddens, A., 1991. *Modernity And Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A., 2015. *The Consequences Of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.92-93.
- Goss, J., 1996. Postcolonialism: Subverting whose empire?. *Third World Quarterly*, 17(2), pp.239-250.
- Guo, S., 2012. National Education ignores history. *Ming Pao*,
- Guo, Y., 2003. *Cultural Nationalism In Contemporary China*. New York: Routledge.
- Habermas, J. and Lawrence, F., 2004. *The Philosophical Discourse Of Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Pr., pp.169-173.
- Hall, S. and Du Gay, P., 1996. *Questions Of Cultural Identity*.
- Hall, S., 1999. Un-settling ‘the heritage’, re-imagining the post-nationWhose heritage?. *Third Text*, 13(49), pp.3-13.
- Han, Q., 2013. On the Unique Advantages of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. *Chinese Social Sciences*, 1(1).
- Harris, J., 2020. Nativist-populism, the internet and the geopolitics of indigenous diaspora. *Political Geography*, 78, pp.102-124.
- Harris, P., 1972. The International Future of Hongkong. *International Affairs*, 48(1), pp.60-71.
- Hsia, R. and Chau, L., 2019. *Industrialisation And Income Distribution In Hong Kong*. 1st ed. Routledge library editions.
- Hua, S. and Guo, S., 2016. *China In The Twenty-First Century*. [Place of publication not identified]: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Husa, J., 2017. ‘Accurately, Completely, and Solemnly’: One Country, Two Systems and an Uneven Constitutional Equilibrium. *The Chinese Journal of Comparative Law*, 5(2), pp.231-252.
- HUYSMANS, J., 1998. Security! What Do You Mean?. *European Journal of International Relations*, 4(2), pp.226-255.
- Jackson, P., 2009. *An Introduction To Philosophy And International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L., 2011. *Discourse Analysis As Theory And Method*. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage.

- Karim, M., 2013. The South China Sea Disputes: Is High Politics Overtaking?. *Pacific Focus*, 28(1), pp.99-119.
- Keohane, R. and Ostrom, E., 1995. *Local Commons And Global Interdependence*. London: Sage.
- Kincheloe, J., 2008. *Critical Constructivism Primer*. 1st ed. New York [etc.]: Peter Lang.
- King, A., 1975. Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the Grass Roots Level. *Asian Survey*, 15(5), pp.422-439.
- Kinnvall, C. and Lindén, J., 2010. Dialogical Selves between Security and Insecurity. *Theory & Psychology*, 20(5), pp.595-619.
- Kinnvall, C. and Mitzen, J., 2018. Ontological security and conflict: the dynamics of crisis and the constitution of community. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 21(4), pp.825-835.
- Kinnvall, C., 2004. Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security. *Political Psychology*, 25(5), pp.741-767.
- Kinnvall, C., 2006. *Globalization And Religious Nationalism In India*. London: Routledge, pp.746-747.
- Kinnvall, C. 2015. borders and fear: insecurity, gender and the far right in Europe. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23(4), 514–529.
- Kinnvall, C. 2017. Feeling ontologically (in)secure: states, traumas and the governing of gendered space. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52(1), 90–108.
- Kinnvall, C., 2018. Ontological Insecurities and Postcolonial Imaginaries. *Humanity & Society*, 42(4), pp.523-543.
- KLANDERMANS, B., 2002. How Group Identification Helps to Overcome the Dilemma of Collective Action. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(5), pp.887-900.
- Klandermans, P., 2013. Identity Politics and Politicized Identities: Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Protest. *Political Psychology*, 35(1), pp.1-22.
- Krause, K. and Williams, M., 1997. *Critical Security Studies*. 1st ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Krolikowski, A., 2008. State Personhood in Ontological Security Theories of International Relations and Chinese Nationalism: A Sceptical View. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2(1), pp.109-133.
- Kusno, A., 1998. Beyond the Postcolonial: Architecture and political Cultures in Indonesia. *Public Culture*, 10(3), pp.549-575.
- KUSZA, K., SIEMIONOW, M., NALBANTOGLU, U. and WONG, K., 1997. Leucocyte and lymphocyte behaviour in peripheral microcirculation under propofol and halothane anaesthesia. *European Journal of Anaesthesiology*, 14(5), pp.543-544.
- Lacan, J., Miller, J. and Porter, D., 2008. *The Seminar Of Jacques Lacan*. London: Routledge.
- Laing, R., 1969. *The Divided Self*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Lam, W., Lui, L. and Wong, W., 2007. *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics*. 1st ed. Hong Kong [China]: Hong Kong University Press.

- Lamont, C. (2015). RESEARCH METHODS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Langer, L., 2007. The elusive aim of universal suffrage: Constitutional developments in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5(3), pp.419-452.
- LEE, F., 2018. MEDIA, SOCIAL MOBILISATION AND MASS PROTESTS IN POST-COLONIAL HONG KONG. [Place of publication not identified]: ROUTLEDGE.
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-Based, and Community-Based Participatory Research Approaches* (1st ed.). The Guilford Press.
- Li, h., 2020. The Chinese Discourse on Good Governance: Content and Implications. *Journal of Contemporary China*, [online] 29(126). Available at: <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10670564.2020.1744376>> [Accessed 24 November 2020].
- Li, S., 2019. Hong Kong elections and party building. *Finance Monthly*, 1(2), p.2.
- Liu, Z. and Lin, J., 2017. The Theoretical Interpretation of Social Movements and the Historical Evolution of Hong Kong Social Movements. *Academic Research*, C919(2).
- Lui, T. and Si-Keung, C., 2017. *The Cinematic Contradiction Of The China-Hong Kong Integration*. Bradford, West Yorkshire: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Lui, T., 2020. The unfinished chapter of Hong Kong's long political transition. *Critique of Anthropology*, pp.0308275X2090830.
- Luo, Y., 2002. *Whose City? - Civil Culture And Political Exposition In Hong Kong After World War II*. 2nd ed. Hong Kong: Oxford university press.
- Luo, Y., 2019. The left and right of nativist in HK. *Reflexion*, 1(26), p.220.
- Ma, A., Ng, C. and Lui, T., 2009. *香港文化政治*. 1st ed. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Ma, E., 1998. Reinventing Hong Kong. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1(3), pp.329-349.
- Ma, J., Liang, W. and Wang, H., 2009. Literary Review in Hong Kong. *Journal of Local Discourse: Civil renaissance and Colonial orders in Hong Kong*.
- MacFarquhar, R. and Fairbank, J., 2008. *The Cambridge History Of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacSweeney, B., 2006. *Security, Identity And Interests*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, p.34.
- McMahon, P. and Zou, Y., 2011. Thirty Years of Reform and Opening Up: Teaching International Relations in China. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(01), pp.115-121.
- McSweeney, B., 2006. *Security, Identity And Interests*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitzen, J., 2006. Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma. *European Journal of International Relations*, 12(3), pp.341-370.
- Moore, A., 2016. China's War Reporters: The Legacy of Resistance against Japan. *Twentieth-Century China*, 41(2), pp.201-203.

- Mouffe, C., 1992. *Citizenship and Political Identity*. October, 61, p.28.
- Nozick, R., 2017. *Anarchy, State, And Utopia*. 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp.13-16.
- Pagel, M., 2013. *Wired For Culture*. 1st ed. W. W. Norton & Company, p.53.
- people's Daily, 2019. [online] Hm.people.com.cn. Available at: <<http://hm.people.com.cn/n1/2019/1122/c42272-31468923.html>> [Accessed 18 May 2020].
- Prescott, C., 2018. *Modern Monarchy: State and Nation*. SSRN Electronic Journal,.
- Rabushka, A., 2019. *The New China*. 1st ed. New York: ROUTLEDGE.
- Roudinesco, E., 1997. *Jacques Lacan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rumelili, B. (2015). *Ontological (In)Security and Peace Anxieties: A Framework or Conflict Resolution*, in Rumelili, B. (Ed.) *Conflict Resolution and Ontological Security: Peace Anxieties*. Oxon: Routledge, 10-29.
- Said, E. and Galli, S., 2002. *Orientalismo*. [Milano]: Feltrinelli.
- Schacht, R., 2016. *Nietzsche*. [Place of publication not identified]: Routledge, pp.57-59.
- Schenk, C., 2002. Banks and the emergence of Hong Kong as an international financial center. *Journal of International Financial Markets, Institutions and Money*, 12(4-5), pp.321-340.
- Scio.gov.cn. 2014. *White Paper On The Practice Of One Country, Two Systems In The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. [online] Available at: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/tt/Document/1372801/1372801_4.htm> [Accessed 3 April 2020].
- Scott, I. and Leung, J., 2004. Dysfunctional elections and the political system in Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 12(2), pp.1-30.
- Scott, I., 1989. *Political Change And The Crisis Of Legitimacy In Hong Kong*. London: Hurst.
- Sen, A., 2007. *Identity And Violence*. London: Penguin, p.32.
- Shani, G., 2017. Human Security as ontological security: a post-colonial approach. *Postcolonial Studies*, 20(3), pp.275-293.
- Shen, F., Xia, C. and Skoric, M., 2020. Examining the roles of social media and alternative media in social movement participation: A study of Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement. *Telematics and Informatics*, 47, p.101303.
- Shen, S., 2013. *Hong Kong's Sub-Sovereign Status And Its External Relations*. Leiden [etc.]: Nijhoff.
- Shi, W., 2018. Ten Years and the politics of fear in post-Umbrella Hong Kong. *Continuum*, 33(1), pp.105-118.
- Sing, M. (2017). *Politics and Government in Hong Kong*. In *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*, 1-11. Springer, Cham
- So, A., 2011. "One Country, Two Systems" and Hong Kong-China National Integration: A Crisis-Transformation Perspective. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 41(1), pp.99-116.
- Song, X., 2016. *A Community Of Human Security And Liberation: A Study Of Welsh School Security Theory*. 1st ed. Beijing: Social Science Literature Press.
- Stapell, H., 2004. *Madrid And The Movida*.

- Steele, B., 2014. *Ontological Security In International Relations*. Routledge.
- Stekelenburg, J., Roggeband, C. and Klandermans, B., 2013. *The Future Of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Subotić, J., 2015. Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, p.n/a-n/a.
- Sun, W., 2011. Chinese Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957-) (CD-ROM). Editorial Board of the Chinese Anti-Rightist Campaign CD-ROM Database. *The China Journal*, 66, pp.169-172.
- Sun, Z., 2008. Dialectics: Hegel, Marx and post-metaphysics. *Social Sciences in China*, 29(4), pp.5-18.
- Tao, R., Liu, S., Huang, C. and Tam, C., 2011. Cost-Benefit Analysis of High-Speed Rail Link between Hong Kong and Mainland China. *Journal of Engineering, Project, and Production Management*, 1(1), pp.36-45.
- Thomas, N., 2013. *Health Security And Foreign Policy Challenges*. London: Routledge.
- Trey, G. and Habermas, J., 1989. The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Habermas's Postmodern Adventure. *Diacritics*, 19(2), p.66.
- Trigg, R., 2001. *Understanding Social Science*. 1st ed. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tsang, S., 1995. *A Documentary History Of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Tubilewicz, C., 2016. *Critical Issues In Contemporary China*.
- van Dijk, T., 1993. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), pp.249-283.
- Van Rythoven, E., 2015. Learning to feel, learning to fear? Emotions, imaginaries, and limits in the politics of securitization. *Security Dialogue*, 46(5), pp.458-475.
- VanderStoep, S. and Johnston, D., 2009. *Research Methods For Everyday Life*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Van Stekelenburg, J. (2013). Collective Identity. In D. Snow, D. Della Porta, B. Klandermans, & D. McAdam (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*, 219–225. Malden, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell
- Veg, S., 2007. Cultural heritage in Hong Kong, the rise of activism and the contradictions of identity. *China Perspectives*, 2007(2).
- Waltz, K., 2010. *Theory Of International Politics*. 2nd ed. Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- WANG, K., 2019. *Hong Kong Popular Culture*. 1st ed. Hong Kong: Hong Kong university press.
- Weber, M. and Andreski, S., 2009. *Max Weber On Capitalism, Bureaucracy And Religion*. London: Routledge.
- Wen, H. and Wang, H., 2013. Confucian cultural psychology and its contextually creative intentionality. *Culture & Psychology*, 19(2), pp.184-202.
- Wendt, A., 2014. *Social Theory Of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Weng, B., 1987. The Hong Kong Model of “One Country, Two Systems”. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 14(4), pp.193-209.

Wittgenstein, L. and McGuinness, B., 2001. Wittgenstein: Letters, Lectures, Conversations, Memoirs. [Charlottesville, VA]: InteLex®.

Xin, P., 2003. Practical Method Of Discourse Analysis. 2nd ed. Beijing: people's University., pp.46-49.

Yan, F., 2013. Demystifying British Colonial Governance of Hong Kong: A Review of Governing Hong Kong: Insights from the British Declassified Files. *he Twenty-First Century Review*, 6(137).

Yep, R., 2008. The 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: The Diplomatic and Domestic Fronts of the Colonial Governor. *The China Quarterly*, 193, pp.122-139.

Young, R., 2003. Postcolonialism. 1st ed.

Yu, H., 2019. The Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area in the Making: development plan and challenges. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, pp.1-29.

Zarakol, A., 2010. Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan. *International Relations*, 24(1), pp.3-23.

Zhao, L., 2008. The Mould of the Current East-Asian Nationalism and National Consciousness. *Journal of North-east Asian Cultures*, 1(17), pp.307-325.

Zhu, J. and Zhang, X., 2019. Critique Of Hong Kong Nativism. 1st ed. Singapore.

Zhu, Y., 2013. Lost In Transition: Hong Kong Culture In The Age Of China (SUNY Series In Global Modernity). 1st ed. State University of New York Press.

List of cited News

Apple Daily

Apple. (2019, Jun 17). 全球多地声讨暴政. *Apple Daily*. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190617/20706297>

Apple. (2019, July 21). 警亲属联署促「政治问题政治解决」. *Apple Daily*. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190721/20734510>

Auyeung, L. (2019, Sep 6). 网民周日往美领馆发声. *Apple Daily*. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190906/20763125>

Apple Daily 蘋果日報. 2019. 【引渡惡法】反駁老董賴通識影響青年論 教大學者：結構性暴力造成不公義. [online] Available at: <<https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/realtime/article/20190707/59795369>> [Accessed 18 May 2020].

Apple Daily 蘋果日報. 2019. 【引渡惡法】美議員：中共不允許一國兩制 香港自由遭侵蝕. [online] Available at: <<https://hk.news.appledaily.com/china/realtime/article/20190612/59705535>>

Apple Daily 蘋果日報. 2019. 勇武派：寧跟暴警一齊入獄. [online] Available at: <<https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/20191224/VWB7HK566YXDJD4HIRFRHQCNDA/>>

Chan, K. & Li, Y. (2019, Feb 14). 京港商讨移交逃犯修例 恐变政治武器 泛民:港人随时押到内地受审. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190214/20612647>

Chan, Y., Yiu, K., Chou, Y., & She, K. (2019, Sep 5). 林郑仅撤恶法 无视四大要求 香港不收货. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190905/20762480>

Chiu, A. (2019, Feb 13). 内地随时捏造罪名 林荣基:非常担心. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190213/20611769>

Chung, K. (2019, Jul 22). 躲在警民矛盾背后的政府 理大社会政策研究中心主任. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190722/20734802>

Ho, K., Lee, S., Law, C., & Mak, C. (2019, Oct 15). 13 万香港人反抗 坦克车前不退缩 促美通过《人权法》. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20191015/20787295>

Kwai, T. (2019a, Jun 17). 西环集中营:记招寸寸贡心战惨不忍睹. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190617/20706380>

Kwai, T. (2019b, Feb 20). 西环集中营:政治引渡昭然若揭外商恐慌. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190220/20616495>

Li, B., 2020. 【李八方online】26歲連登型男現真身 挑機林鄭！推介陳雲《香港城邦論》 | 蘋果日報. [online] Apple Daily 蘋果日報. Available at: <<https://hk.appledaily.com/local/20190926/ZV7JZOGX2LACI647V6GP5W2YHM/>>

Lam, C. (2019a, Feb 20). 王志民:港不应成国安法外之地 泛民斥施压修订逃犯条例. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190220/20616490>

Law, K. (2019, Feb 16). 移交逃犯修例 质疑政府「堵塞漏洞」别有用心 泛民:冲击超 23 条. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190216/20613925>

Lee, P. (2019a, Sep 5). 林郑四招 不是国庆礼物是分化毒药. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190905/20762406>

Lee, P. (2019b, Jul 23). 莘论 · 主权在民岂容西环治港官黑勾结. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190723/20735510>

Leung, YH. (2019a, Jun 18). 「城市游击战」料成示威常态. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190618/20707207>

Leung, YY. (2019b, Jun 17). 黎智英斥林郑是魔鬼道歉都有用. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190617/20706150>

Li, Y. (2019, Jun 18). 陈淑庄:要对年轻一代有信心. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190618/20707156>

Lo, F. (2019, Feb 18). 莘论 · 修例移交逃犯将令港法治港崩堤. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190218/20614917>

- Lui, H. (2019a, Jul 23). 林郑重国徽轻视港人安危. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190723/20735701>
- Lui, H. (2019b, Oct 17). 施政报告拒响应港人声音 林郑掷千亿难息民愤. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20191017/20788619>
- Lui, H. & Lam, C. (2019, Feb 21). 港府修逃犯条例出卖一国两制 泛民怒轰林郑「吴三桂」. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190221/20617383>
- Lui, H. & Hui, W. (2019, Feb 17). 指移交逃犯倘不修例 叶刘歪理「变相鼓励到台犯事」. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190217/20614403>
- Ng, A., Law, K., & Tsang, W. (2019, Jun 17). 年轻人:不会被开枪吓怕. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190617/20706132>
- Pun, P., Chou, Y., & Cheng, K. (2019, Jul 22). 老中青同行怒骂林郑祸港. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190722/20735138>
- Wu, C. (2019, Sep 5). 假让步 真斗争. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190905/20762407>
- Yiu, K. (2019, Sep 5). 泛民:林郑口袋的人无公信力. Apple Daily. Retrieved from <https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/daily/article/20190905/20762575>

HKSAR Government

- Lam, C. Y. (2019b). Transcript of remarks by the Chief Executive, Mrs Carrie Lam at a media session on July 18. Retrieved from https://sc.isd.gov.hk/TuniS/www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201906/18/P201906180_0926.htm
- Lam, C. Y. (2019e). The full text of the video address by the Chief Executive, Mrs Carrie Lam, to members of the public on September 4. Retrieved from https://sc.isd.gov.hk/TuniS/www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201909/04/P201909040_0664.htm
- Locpg.gov.cn. 2020. «“一国两制”在香港特别行政区的实践» 白皮书(全文). [online] Available at: <http://www.locpg.gov.cn/jsdt/2014-06/10/c_1111067166_3.htm>.
- Gov.cn. 2020. 林郑月娥：“一国两制”是香港繁荣稳定的基石_滚动新闻_中国政府网. [online] Available at: <http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2020-04/01/content_5498068.htm>
- Gov.cn. 2020. 和平统一·一国两制. [online] Available at: <http://www.gov.cn/test/2005-07/29/content_18285.htm> [Accessed 18 February 2020].
- Yau, T. (2019, Oct 16). Secretary of Commerce and Economic Development talks about the "Policy Address" and the "Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act". Retrieved from https://sc.isd.gov.hk/TuniS/www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201910/16/P201910160_0640.htm

Chan, K. (2019, Feb 21). 【名家时评】 修例堵漏护公义反对派盲反求自保. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/21/PL1902210009.htm>

Chau, C. (2019, Jul 25). 维护社会稳定才有辉煌未来. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/07/25/PL1907250002.htm>

Cheng, S. (2019, Feb 14). 反对派抹黑「追逃」修例被谴责. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/14/YO1902140006.htm>

Chong, K. (2019, Jun 18). 青年应坚守理性核心价值. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/06/18/PL1906180003.htm>

Ho, S. (2019, Feb 17). 造谣抹黑修例 中箭误导台民. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/17/YO1902170003.htm>

Hui, S. (2019, Jul 25). 年轻人应抵制暴力明辨是非把握机遇. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A14. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/07/25/PL1907250003.htm>

Kam, Y. (2019a, Jul 23). 反修例暴力运动齐备颜色革命特征. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A1. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/07/23/HK1907230001.htm>

Kam, Y. (2019b, Feb 15). 反对派「追逃例反建议」藏陷阱. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/15/YO1902150007.htm>

Kam, Y. (2019c, Feb 13). 移交疑犯个案安排拟修例 免港成「逃犯天堂」. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A4. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/13/YO1902130006.htm> Kei, S. (2019, Jul 23). 冲击中联办就是冲击国家主权. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A14. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/07/23/PL1907230004.htm>

Kwok, C. (2019a, Jun 18). 反对派得寸进尺 不乱港不收手. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A13. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/06/18/PL1906180001.htm>

Kwok, C. (2019b, Oct 17). 《人权法案》让港人看清「汉奸」嘴脸. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A14. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/10/17/PL1910170002.htm>

Lam, L. (2019d, Jun 19). 维护香港繁荣稳定 必须支持行政长官. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A14. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/06/19/PL1906190002.htm>

Lu, M. (2019, Feb 15). 修订法例堵漏洞伸正义 移交逃犯不应政治化. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A13. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/02/15/PL1902150001.htm>

Ma, K. (2019, Sep 6). 对症下药 决心解决深层次问题. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/09/06/PL1909060003.htm>

Tang, H. (2019, Jun 20). 放下纷争 聚焦民生. *Wen Wei Po*. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/06/20/PL1906200002.htm>

WWP (2019, Jul 22). 暴徒触碰「一国两制」底线 侮辱国家挑战法治必须严惩. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A3. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/07/22/WW1907220002.htm>

Yeung, W. (2019, Oct 22). 内外勾结乱港祸国图谋不能得逞. *Wen Wei Po*, p. A14. Retrieved from <http://paper.wenweipo.com/2019/10/22/PL1910220003.htm>

BBC

BBC News. 2019. Hong Kong Protesters Defy Ban And Battle Police. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49534439>

BBC News 中文. 2020. 香港《国安法》：英国谴责中国“严重失信”重申将兑现“历史承诺” - *BBC News 中文*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/uk-53253030>> [Accessed 30 December 2020].

Xinhuanet

Xinhuanet.com. 2020. 外交部就美方签署“香港人权与民主法案”发表声明-新华网. [online] Available at: <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2019-11/28/c_1125283979.htm> [Accessed 18 November 2020].

People's Daily

people's Daily, 2019. [online] Hm.people.com.cn. Available at: <<http://hm.people.com.cn/n1/2019/1122/c42272-31468923.html>> [Accessed 18 May 2020].