The Umbrella Movement in the media: A corpus-driven analysis of newspapers in Hong Kong and China

THOMAS CHAN
City University of Hong Kong
chanhontung@gmail.com

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Author biography:
Thomas Chan is currently a PhD student at the Department of English, City University of Hong Kong. He obtained his BA degree in Teaching English as a Second Language and his MA degree in Applied English Linguistics. His research interests are genre analysis, academic research writing, and corpus-based discourse analysis.
Abstract

Through a corpus-driven discourse analytical approach focusing on lexical frequency and keyword analyses, this paper aims to investigate the extent to which the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement differs in two comparable corpora of texts, which were collected from English-language newspapers with different ideological stances in Hong Kong and China. The results show contrasting discourses produced by the newspapers. For example, one corpus constructs the protest as an act of promoting and developing democracy and the protesters as behaving peacefully, whereas the other corpus depicts the protest as an act of separatism and an anti-China movement and the protesters as having illegal, radical, and aggressive behaviors. Such opposing discourses not only represent the ideological stances of the newspapers and their readership regarding the Umbrella Movement, but also reflect the conflicting opinions held by the local and national newspapers on democracy, the legal system of Hong Kong, and the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle under the Basic Law. The research not only contributes to a better understanding of the role of language in the construction of political ideology in the news media, but also provides an insight into the social and political tensions between Hong Kong and China.

Introduction

This article presents a corpus-driven study of the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement, a pro-democracy protest, in two comparable corpora of texts collected from newspapers with different ideological positions in Hong Kong and Mainland China. In the sections that follow, I first provide an account of the origin of the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. This is followed by a discussion of discourse studies in journalism and the use of a corpus approach to discourse analysis. After that, I describe the methodology adopted in this study and discuss the findings of the study. Finally, I conclude this article by summarizing the findings and discussing the implications of the study.

The Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong

The Umbrella Movement, formerly known as the Occupy Central Movement, caught the attention of the world in late 2014. This event was seen as ‘the culmination of Hong Kong’s protracted democratization process’ (Ortmann, 2015: 32). Despite the fact that there had long been demands for universal suffrage from the community, the Beijing government constantly showed resistance to further democratization in Hong Kong, because they wanted to ensure that no subversive politician would be elected as the Hong Kong Chief Executive (Lee, 2015). After a series of difficult negotiations between the Hong Kong and Mainland governments and the Legislative councilors, a preliminary timetable for the democratic development of Hong Kong was set up. The first official decision made was that the election of the fifth Chief Executive in 2017 would be implemented through universal suffrage.
To collect citizens' opinions on the methods for implementing the 2017 universal suffrage, a series of government-led public consultations were held. A report on the consultations was subsequently submitted to the Beijing government for a final decision. However, the public expressed concern that the report was not a completely genuine reflection of their own views on universal suffrage. Thus, some pro-democracy activists and scholars claimed that they would occupy streets and roads in Central Hong Kong if the Beijing government turned down the public request for a democratic electoral system. On 31 August 2014, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) made a final decision on universal suffrage. However, it was met with great discontent from the community, as the NPCSC imposed very strict requirements on the Chief Executive election.

In response to the Beijing government's actions, Chan Kin-man, the initiator of Occupy Central, hinted on 11 September 2014 that the planned campaign would begin on the National Day of China (Lee, 2015). Meanwhile, the Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) began a one-week class boycott protesting against the Central government's decision. Although the class boycott ended on 26 September 2014, the HKFS student leaders continued the protest in front of the Government Headquarters. Late that night, they attempted to enter Civic Square and were repelled with pepper spray and arrested. On 27 September 2014, the protest continued as more people, especially youngsters, joined in and demanded the release of the student leaders (Lee, 2015). On 28 September 2014, there were growing calls for the start of the Occupy Central campaign in the wake of the student protest. Tai Yiu-ting, another initiator of the campaign, announced that 'an era of civil disobedience [had] begun' (Bhatia, 2015). After the announcement, tens of thousands of citizens went to Admiralty to join the movement.

On the afternoon of 28 September, the protesters attempted to breach the police defense line. That evening, at around 6pm, the police fired tear gas in an attempt to disperse the protesters, and the protesters repelled it with their umbrellas (Ortmann, 2015). After the violence occurred, many more citizens felt upset over the violent response by police to peaceful protests and joined the movement. Within 24 hours, several major districts, namely Mongkok, Wan Chai, Causeway Bay, and Tsim Sha Tsui, were rapidly occupied. The global media named the occupation the 'Umbrella Revolution', based on the images of the protesters' actions against the police. Soon local activists also dubbed the Occupy Central Movement the 'Umbrella Movement'. Finally, the 79-day Movement ended on 15 December 2014.

**Journalism and discourse studies**

The study presented in this article follows the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1995). This paradigm emerged in the late 1980s as an interdisciplinary European school of discourse studies (Joye, 2010). Since its emergence, CDA has become one of the most influential branches of discourse analysis (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Essentially, CDA places emphasis on the identification of different relationships between language, ideology, and power (Titscher et al, 2000; Wodak, 1996). According to Richardson (2007: 26), CDA takes the view that 'discourse seeks to (re)produce social life and create an effect on social practice and social relationships of disempowerment, dominance, prejudice and/or discrimination'. In
order to accomplish this goal, CDA aims to explore ‘a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations’ (Titscher et al, 2000: 146). Simply put, CDA is primarily concerned with the examination of how discourses are linguistically realized in texts that constitute social reality, and how these discourses enact, maintain, and challenge power through their ideological properties (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007).

Along with an increasing recognition of the important function of CDA in analyzing the relationships between language, ideology, and power, its application has attracted much attention in research on media discourse. In particular, a growing number of media discourse studies have examined newspapers from the perspective of CDA (e.g., Achugar, 2004; Beldarrain-Durandegui, 2012; Costelloe, 2014; Joye, 2010; KhosraviNik, 2015; Min, 1997; Owens and Hawes, 2015; Saft and Ohara, 2006; Stamou, 2001; Yin, 2007; von Seth, 2011).

As research in critical discourse studies has shown, newspapers can not only impose a certain set of values upon whatever they represent, but also produce expressive meanings that construct certain ideological representations of different social events. It has been argued that the job of newspaper producers is to report news ‘without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way’ (Schudson, 2001: 150). However, the fact is that news-producing processes usually involve deliberate selection, interpretation, and presentation of social events, through which social reality can be constructed in a way that corresponds to the underlying ideologies of the newspaper producers and their target audience (Min, 1997). These ideologies represent what Richardson (2007: 38) calls:

the result of choice [on the part of the speaker/writer] – the choice to use one way of describing a person, an action or a process over another; the choice to use one way of constructing a sentence over an alternative; the choice to include a particular fact or opinion or argument over another, etc.

In other words, every aspect of textual content that is written about a social event in a newspaper is articulated from a particular ideological position. It is therefore unsurprising to note that newspaper producers can spread certain ideologies to their audiences through the use of language.

Ideological discourses can also be seen in Hong Kong and China’s print media: the Umbrella Movement was extensively reported to such an extent that the local and national coverage of the event revealed two distinct ideological positions that influenced public opinion on the direction of the movement. By analyzing the ways in which the Umbrella Movement was depicted in Hong Kong and China’s print media in this study, insights into the ideological stances of Hong Kong and China can be provided.

A corpus-based approach to discourse analysis

Much research over the years has been carried out using different approaches to discourse analysis, namely ethnomethodology (Garfinkel et al., 1981), conversation analysis (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Schegloff, 1987), sociolinguistic analysis (Bernstein,
1987; Goffman, 1959), and critical discourse analysis (Atkinson, 1988; Fairclough, 1989; Harris, 1991; Hudson, 1978; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). However, these studies have received quite a lot of criticism. For example, Widdowson (2004) criticizes the Faircloughian approach for not having adequate textual evidence. Baker and Levon (2015) also argue that the language analyzed in discourse studies is often ‘cherry-picked’ by the researchers to confirm their bias, and Brindle (2015) points out that discourse studies have a tendency to analyze language based on a close reading of a small number of texts.

In response to such criticism, discourse analysts have begun to incorporate corpus linguistics into their research methods, focusing on both quantitative and qualitative aspects of linguistic analysis. As Hunston (2007) indicates, corpus methods are useful in assisting researchers in conducting not only quantitative analysis of recurring instances of different linguistic forms, but also qualitative analysis of how these forms are structurally and functionally used. Widdowson (2004) also notes that corpus-based methods can provide a wider contextual setting which can more accurately reveal the intended meaning of otherwise isolated expressions. For these reasons, linguists using corpus methods have found that corpus-based analysis is well-suited to address issues in discourse on different levels (Meng and Yu, 2016).

With the value of using a corpus approach to discourse analysis, the past few years have seen a proliferation of corpus-based studies in the field of news media discourse. For example, Baker (2005) employed a corpus-based approach to unravel the discourses of homosexuality. The representations of Islam in the British media were also examined using a corpus-based discourse analytical approach (Baker et al., 2013). Other works related to corpus-based discourse studies include Krishnamurthy (1996), who analyzed the discourse of racism; Morley and Bayley (2009), who examined the discourse of the Iraq conflict; Brindle (2015), who investigated the representations of the Sunflower student movement in the Taiwanese press; and Marin-Arrese (2015), who examined epistemicity and stance in English and Spanish journalistic discourse.

Corpus-based news media discourse studies have also been carried out in Hong Kong, examining various topics. For example, Flowerdew et al. (2002) adopted corpus methods to examine the discriminatory discursive practices of one leading liberal newspaper in Hong Kong – South China Morning Post (SCMP). Cheng and Lam (2010) also conducted a corpus-based analysis of the changes in the representation of human rights in SCMP. In a recent corpus-based study by Cheng and Lam (2013), they analyzed Western perceptions of Hong Kong between 1997 and 2013 in local and overseas English-language newspapers. Such studies have been able to not only identify the presence and distribution of a wide range of patterns of language use in large quantities of news articles, but also highlight that journalists have a preference for certain grammatical patterns and lexical choices over others when making reference to certain issues, individuals, and events.

Despite different corpus-based discourse studies in recent years, such as those reviewed above, there has been little comparative corpus-based research on news media. In particular, relatively little scholarly attention has been devoted to the issue of political ideology in Hong Kong and China’s print media; with the exception of Flowerdew and Leong’s (2007) study on the use of metaphors to construct patriotism in
two ideologically opposed Hong Kong Chinese newspapers. This paper seeks to fill this gap by looking at the role that language in the media plays in the politics of Hong Kong. Specifically, it focuses on the role of language in instantiating competing discourses constructed in two corpora of texts collected from ideologically opposed newspapers concerning the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. By utilizing a corpus-driven discourse analytical approach that focuses on lexical frequency and keyword analyses, the current research seeks to address the following questions:

1) What are the most common words used to depict the Umbrella Movement event in the two corpora in terms of the lexical frequency and keyword lists?

2) To what extent does the discursive construction of the protest differ in the two corpora based on the findings from research question 1?

Methodology

4.1 Corpus collection

For the analysis of the present study, two comparable corpora of texts were compiled from three different English-language newspapers, namely South China Morning Post (SCMP), The Standard, and China Daily. These three newspapers have been selected due to the fact that they have primarily different editorial stances, which presumably had an impact on the way in which they reported the Umbrella Movement. In the following sections, I briefly describe the three newspapers.

SCMP, the first English-language newspaper in Hong Kong, has a history that dates back to the Colonial Period. It claims to have an estimated readership of over 349,000 people, aged between 29 and 50, for its online and print media. Recent figures show that about 78% of its readers are university educated (South China Morning Post, 2016). Thus, the newspaper is seen to have an elite readership (Flowerdew et al., 2002; Cheng and Lam, 2010). Despite the fact that the newspaper underwent several changes of ownership, its reporting style has remained unchanged and is regarded as very similar to the Western-oriented news agencies that support democratic development (Chan, 2000; Cheng and Lam, 2010).

China Daily is among the most read English-language newspapers published in China. It is seen as the 'Voice of China' or 'Window to China', with an average daily circulation of over 200,000 (China Daily, 2005). It also claims to have a wide audience from all over the world, including foreigners in China and other parts of the world and high-end nationals such as diplomats and governmental policymakers (China Daily, 2005). The main aim of the newspaper is to help the world gain a good understanding of China and its integration with the international community. The newspaper is also regarded as the most authoritative English-language publication in China and an important, reliable source of information on the development of the country, ranging from Chinese politics to the economy and from society to culture. The editorial stance of the newspaper closely aligns with the political stance of the Beijing government.
The Standard, formerly known as the Hong Kong Standard, is a local English-language newspaper, with an estimated daily circulation of around 231,000 (Sing Tao News Corporation, 2014). The newspaper was established after the end of the Chinese Civil War by a Chinese tycoon who observed a lack of Chinese voice in the English-language press during the Colonial Period of Hong Kong. As with China Daily, it also takes a pro-Beijing editorial stance. Table 1 describes the composition of the two corpora used for this study.

Table 1. The composition of the corpora.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpora</th>
<th>No. of Texts</th>
<th>Length (words)</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong corpus</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>306,434</td>
<td>SCMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese corpus</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>294,534</td>
<td>The Standard &amp; China Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,356</td>
<td>600,968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hong Kong corpus consists of 695 newspaper texts collected from SCMP, and the Chinese corpus encompasses 661 newspaper texts, with 313 texts from The Standard and 348 texts from China Daily. The data for the two corpora were collected during the whole period of the Umbrella Movement (i.e., from 28 September 2014, the start of the Movement, to 15 December 2014, the end of the Movement), using the search engine Wisenews and the keywords 'Umbrella Movement', 'Occupy Central', 'Universal Suffrage' and 'Hong Kong'. The texts in the corpora mainly include news articles from the local news, economy/business, and politics sections, editorials, opinion articles, and readers’ letters. These texts are primarily used to report the Umbrella Movement in various respects (e.g., social, political, and economic) and feature comments on the event from readers in different sectors (e.g., business, education, and government).

As Van Dijk (1991) points out, since newspapers and readers have considerable power to exert influence on each other, the position that newspapers choose to hold may reflect the views held by their readership. In other words, what is cited in the newspaper texts can serve as an indicator of the ideological stance of the newspapers and their readers. Overall, the Hong Kong corpus of SCMP texts represents 'liberal' or 'pro-democracy' voices, whereas the Chinese corpus of The Standard and China Daily texts supports 'pro-Beijing' perspectives.

Data analysis

In this study, a corpus-driven discourse analytical approach was employed, with a particular focus on lexical frequency and keywords combined with concordance analysis. AntConc, a free corpus analysis tool, was used to analyze the data for this study. Before starting the analysis, the raw data for the two corpora were first ‘cleaned up’. They were then processed to remove running headers and footers (e.g., the text titles, the names of the newspaper and reporters, page numbers, etc.), and were saved as plain text files for use.
To address the first research question, concerning the most frequently occurring words in the two corpora, lexical frequency and keyword analyses were carried out. The raw frequency of non-function words occurring in the two corpora was first studied. The focus on non-function words was due to the fact that it allows researchers to highlight certain linguistic phenomena in the data and provide ‘a sociological profile of a given word or phrase enabling greater understanding of its use in particular contexts’ (Baker, 2006: 47); a keyword analysis was subsequently undertaken generating the keyword lists of the two corpora. These keyword lists were used to compare the two data sets in the corpora. In other words, the lexical frequency analysis serves to ‘facilitate distinguishing similarities between the data sets’ (Brindle, 2015: 8), whereas the keyword analysis functions to ‘study the differences between the two data sets’ (Brindle, 2015: 8). Through these analyses, the similarities and differences in the two corpora can be revealed. To address the second research question, regarding the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement, concordance analysis was carried out. A close examination of the most salient words found in the lexical frequency and keyword lists was conducted by looking at how these words were used with other lexico-grammatical items and in their surrounding contexts, thereby highlighting how the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement differed in the two corpora. Owing to the varying length of the texts collected, the raw scores were normalized to a relative frequency per 1,000 words to account for the differences in overall word count, and to make reliable comparisons between the two corpora. A log-likelihood test was also carried out to examine the keyword lists of the two corpora, with the \( p \)-value set at .000001.

**Results and Discussion**

This section provides an in-depth description and discussion of the findings of the study with regard to the above research questions.

**Lexical frequency and keyword analyses**

The first research question is concerned with the examination of the most salient non-function words and keywords in the two corpora (see Tables 1–3). Tables 1 and 2 show the top 20 frequently used words within the two corpora. As can be seen, a large proportion of words relating to the Umbrella Movement are commonly found within the two corpora, such as ‘Hong’, ‘Kong’, ‘Occupy’, ‘Central’, ‘movement’, ‘government’, ‘police’, ‘protesters’, ‘people’, and ‘students’. Of the 20 non-function words, the reporting verb ‘said’ was particularly common in the two corpora. The high occurrence of the use of this word is potentially due to the formal nature of the texts, which are primarily news articles, editorials, opinion articles and readers’ letters. As previously stated, since these texts are used to report the Umbrella Movement in various socio-economic and socio-political aspects, and the comments on the event from readers in various sectors (e.g., business, law, education, and government), it is necessary for the writers to cite information from external sources to support their own propositions. It is therefore unsurprising to note the common use of the reporting verb ‘said’ in the two corpora.
However, some words are particularly common in one corpus, but not the other. For example, ‘law’ and ‘public’ are 22.76% and 13.46% more common in the Chinese corpus than the Hong Kong corpus (712 vs. 448; 632 vs. 482). In the Hong Kong corpus, three words, namely ‘Beijing’, ‘democracy’, and ‘yesterday’ are 25.32%, 17.80%, and 38.59% more frequently used than in the Chinese corpus (547 vs. 326; 536 vs. 374; 510 vs. 226).

Table 1. The top 20 frequently used words for the Hong Kong corpus.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>3217</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>students</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>2129</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>movement</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kong</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>occupy</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>1244</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>executive</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>police</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>protesters</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>democracy</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>protests</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Raw frequency. 2 Frequency per 1,000 words.

Table 2. The top 20 frequently used words for the Chinese corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>2701</td>
<td>9.17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kong</td>
<td>2425</td>
<td>8.23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>movement</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>2326</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>students</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>occupy</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>public</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>protests</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>police</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Leung</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>protesters</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>law</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Raw frequency. 2 Frequency per 1,000 words.

Table 3 presents the top 10 keywords for the two corpora. As shown in Table 3, only two keywords are commonly shared in both corpora: ‘percent’ and ‘organizers’. The former is used mainly to describe figures from the opinion polls, the local and international business corporations, and the stock market, whereas the latter refers to those who organized the protest. Based on the rest of the keywords, two different foci can also be observed. For example, most keywords are time-oriented in the Hong Kong
corpus, with a high occurrence of temporal words relating to the present and past (e.g., says, yesterday, said, would). In the Chinese corpus, however, many keywords are government/organization- and evaluation-oriented, with a high frequency of the use of short forms for special administrative regions, government committees, and organizations (e.g., SAR, NPCSC, HKFS) and lexis of evaluation (e.g., illegal, opposition).

Table 3. The top 10 keywords for the two corpora (ordered by keyness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Hong Kong corpus</th>
<th>Chinese corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R.F.(^1)</td>
<td>F.P.W.(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>organizers</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Says</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Said</td>
<td>3217</td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Had</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>3.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Macau</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>6068</td>
<td>19.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Beijing’s</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>would</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Raw frequency. \(^2\)Frequency per 1,000 words.

The discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement

I will now address the second research question on the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement. Based on the results of the lexical frequency and keyword lists presented above, I have observed numerous distinct ideological differences in the representation of the event as framed in the discourses of the two corpora. Due to space constraints, however, I have selected seven words from the lists – four non-function words and three keywords – for in-depth analysis, which are ‘movement’, ‘protesters’, ‘law’, ‘democracy’, ‘Macau’, ‘Beijing’s’, and ‘color’. For each chosen word, the differences in its usage in the discourses of the two corpora are examined (the number given in the parenthesis shows the number of times the lexical items occurred in the data and the snapshots of the relevant concordance lines of the selected query words in the two corpora are provided in the Appendix).

Movement

I will begin with the word ‘movement’, one of the most frequently used non-function words in the Hong Kong and Chinese corpora. In the data, ideological variations in the usage of the word are found, although the two corpora adopt the same naming strategies for the protest, with ‘movement’ occurring repeatedly with ‘Occupy’, ‘Occupy Central’, ‘Umbrella’, ‘student’, and ‘protest’.
It is found that the word ‘movement’ is often charged with negativity in the pro-Beijing discourse of the Chinese corpus, with a strong collocational relation to the adjective ‘illegal’ (58) and the noun phrase ‘civil disobedience’ (26). Such phrases are used primarily to construct the protest as an illegal and unacceptable act that had devastating effects on the Hong Kong community (see Extracts 1 and 2). However, the framing of the protest in the pro-democracy discourse of the Hong Kong corpus is not much aligned with the pro-Beijing voice as represented by the Chinese corpus. It is found that ‘movement’ occurs more frequently with the noun phrase ‘pro-democracy’ (31) than ‘civil disobedience’ (9) in the Hong Kong corpus, with no instances of the word ‘illegal’ identified. These phrases are mainly used to depict the protest as an act of promoting and developing democracy in Hong Kong (see Extract 3). Although the Hong Kong corpus presents contrasting stances in relation to the protest, the low frequency of ‘civil disobedience movement’ partly shows the SCMP’s intention to conceal the negative concerns about the protest from its readers.

**Extract 1** – It is time to find out how the organizers of the illegal movement were able to fool so many people with their lies about democracy and convince them to participate in occupying the streets at the expense of Hong Kong society. (*China Daily*)

**Extract 2** – The civil disobedience movement – already waning – is bound to end one day. But it will take much longer to heal the wounds, including deep splits in the community over electoral arrangements, the disenchantment of young people over the current way of life... (*The Standard*)

**Extract 3** – Dr. Chan Kin-man, another Occupy organizer, admitted the movement was stuck in a dilemma on whether to force a de facto referendum. The by-elections could extend the pro-democracy movement beyond the occupied sites, he said, but it would also be a risky move for the camp. (*SCMP*)

In addition, the two corpora show distinct differences in the ideological depiction of the effects of the Umbrella Movement on the Hong Kong community. It is found that the writers in the Chinese corpus tend to express negativism and pessimism over the Umbrella Movement, with ‘movement’ often being used to serve as the subject of ‘affect’ (27), ‘disrupt’ (13), ‘harm’ (6), and ‘inflict’ (5). These phrases are used to describe the negative economic and social impacts of the protest (see Extract 4). In the Hong Kong corpus, however, ‘movement’ is often resisted by the pro-democracy discourse. It is found to commonly occur with ‘little impact’ (12), ‘successful’ (9), and ‘succeed’ (5). These phrases are often used to depict the protesters’ or supporters’ attempts to make a close connection between the protest and basic human rights, and to express their counterarguments as to the detrimental effects of the protest (see Extracts 5 and 6).

**Extract 4** – She [the Chief Secretary for Administration] added that the illegal movement had disrupted many local residents’ daily lives and seriously affected businesses located in the vicinity of the blockades, as well as transport services along the blocked streets. (*China Daily*)

**Extract 5** - Wharf Holdings Peter Woo Kwong-ching said the Occupy movement had been successful in showing Hong Kong’s freedom of speech to the world. (*SCMP*)
Extract 6 - Sino Land Executive Director Daryl Ng Win Kong said the Occupy movement had had little impact on the property market. (SCMP)

Protesters

Another ideological variation can be seen in the usage of the word ‘protesters’ by the pro-Beijing and pro-democracy discourses. Like ‘movement’, it is another highly common non-function word and is used with the same referential terms in the two corpora, namely ‘Occupy’, ‘young’, and ‘student’. However, they are observed to be attributed to different lexical items in the data.

The Chinese corpus tends to construct protesters as having violent and socially unacceptable behaviors, which are mostly realized by the common use of negative adjectives such as ‘radical’ (9), ‘illegal’ (8), and ‘aggressive’ (5). These phrases are mainly used by the pro-Beijing Standard and China Daily newspapers to criticize the harmful attribution of the event to the protesters who, it is implied, should value Hong Kong’s collective interests (see Extracts 7–8). In the Hong Kong corpus, however, ‘protesters’ often collocates with the noun phrase ‘pro-democracy’ (30) and the adjective ‘peaceful’ (10), which constructs the protesters as non-violent advocates of democracy. These phrases are primarily used by the pro-democracy SCMP to link positive attributes to the protesters who fight for individual rights (see Extract 9). Such differences in the emphases of the two discourses can ‘reflect their respective political motivations in attempting to sustain or subvert the discursive hegemony’ as constructed by the pro-Beijing discourse (Flowerdew and Leong, 2007: 287).

Extract 7 - There are still some radical protesters causing problems for the business owners and tourists in Mong Kok. (China Daily)

Extract 8 - He [Security Secretary] said they were determined and able to restore traffic and public order. A minimum level of force will be used to deal with aggressive protesters. (The Standard)

Extract 9 - Accusations flew that police had failed to allocate enough manpower to protect peaceful protesters and sided with anti-Occupy supporters, many believed to have links with triad societies. (SCMP)

Law

Another non-function word that is worth discussing is ‘law’. Although it is more common in the Chinese corpus than in the Hong Kong corpus, it is used to construct two noun phrases in the two corpora, ‘the Basic Law’ and ‘the rule of law’. Nevertheless, a study of the concordance lines of ‘law’ clearly shows the ideological orientation of the usage of this word in the two corpora.

In the Chinese corpus, ‘the rule of law’ and ‘the Basic Law’ are used to cite the propositions expressed by Hong Kong government officials, with the former being the
object of ‘undermine’ (14), ‘threaten’ (7), ‘weaken’ (6), and ‘jeopardize’ (4) and the latter occurring repeatedly with ‘follow’ (11), ‘undermine’ (8), and ‘violate’ (4). In all instances, these words are used to describe the devastating effects of the protest on the legal system of Hong Kong, with the exception of ‘follow’, which is mainly used to emphasize the Hong Kong government’s assertion that the Chief Executive election must strictly follow the Basic Law (see Extracts 10–11).

In the Hong Kong corpus, however, ‘law’ is depicted in a much more positive fashion. For example, ‘the rule of law’ is frequently used with ‘respect’ (13) and ‘uphold’ (8) to describe the protesters’ propositions about the rule of law, whereas ‘the Basic Law’ serves as an object of ‘understand’ (9) and ‘treasure’ (7) and is mainly used by the government to describe the desperate need for Hongkongers to value more and know more about the Basic Law (see Extracts 12–13).

How the two corpora use these verb phrases reveals two different ideological stances of the protesters and the Hong Kong government regarding the legal system of Hong Kong. As is well known, the rule of law and the Basic Law are a defining ideology of the Hong Kong community and the focus of considerable attention for the international community; thus any perceived threats to the legal system of Hong Kong are always prevented. In Extract 12, it can be seen that the protesters’ account of the rule of law seems to be construed in the Western-style legal tradition, i.e., a set of basic human rights which ‘protect citizens’ freedom from infringement by governments and which ensure one’s freedom to participate in the civil and political life of the state without repression’ (Liu, 2015: 7). Despite the fact that the protesters were fully aware that the protest posed a threat to the legal system of Hong Kong, their emphasis on the rule of law could signify their intention to remain calm during the protest and bear legal responsibility for breaking the law when the police clear the occupied sites.

In contrast, the Hong Kong government’s account of the rule of law and the Basic Law tends to align with the standpoint of the Beijing government, which criticized the protesters’ irresponsible neglect of Hong Kong’s legal system. As shown in Extracts 10, 11, and 13, the rhetoric of the Hong Kong government officials is intended to emphasize the proposition that Hong Kong is a special administrative region of the Republic of China, rather than an independent political entity; that the constitutional power is given by the Beijing government; and that the Basic Law, under the ‘One Country’ regime, is intended to support the stable, long-term development of Hong Kong.

**Extract 10** – Street politics won’t help advance democracy; what it will do is **undermine** the **rule of law**, Yuen [Secretary for Justice] said. (*China Daily*)

**Extract 11** – To be pragmatic, we must strictly **follow** the **Basic Law** and the NPCSC decision, Leung [Chief Executive] said. (*The Standard*)

**Extract 12** – Joshua Wong Chi-fung, the leader of student group Scholarism who went on hunger strike for over 100 hours last week, also called for calm. We **respect** the **rule of law** and we will remain non-violent when the police clear the occupied sites, he said. (*SCMP*)
**Extract 13** – They [Hongkongers] should know what is conducive to Hong Kong’s long-term prosperity and stability following the recent developments. They should also **understand** better **the Basic Law** and the democratic rights enshrined, Li, a top official in charge of Hong Kong affairs, said. *(SCMP)*

**Democracy**

The final non-function word that deserves extra attention is ‘democracy’. While it occurs more frequently in the Hong Kong corpus than in the Chinese corpus, it shows distinct differences in the ideological underpinnings of the newspapers. From the data analyzed, it is found that ‘democracy’ is often used by *SCMP* writers as a strategy to demonstrate public perceptions of democracy in Hong Kong, whereas *The Standard* and *China Daily* writers tend to make a sarcastic attempt to undermine the validity of the pro-democracy arguments. For example, the Chinese corpus often constructs ‘democracy’ as less significant and suitable for the Hong Kong community by using the adjective ‘so-called’ (17) (see Extract 14); however, no instances of this usage are found in the Hong Kong corpus.

Interestingly, although ‘democracy’ also collocates with the adjective ‘true’ (8) in the Chinese corpus, such combinations are negatively interpreted as the protesters’ acts of an anti-China movement and separatism (see Extract 15). In the Hong Kong corpus, however, ‘true democracy’ (5) is depicted as the protesters’ passion for the pursuit of democracy for the future development of Hong Kong (see Extract 16).

**Extract 14** – The **so-called democracy** being demanded on the streets will achieve nothing particularly if those articulating these demands are increasingly resorting to illegal behavior. *(China Daily)*

**Extract 15** – *Occupy wasn’t a pure campaign for true democracy; rather it is an anti-China movement aimed at turning the Hong Kong SAR of the Peoples’ Republic of China into an independent political entity. Anti-China forces are using Occupy to try to seize control of Hong Kong.* *(The Standard)*

**Extract 16** – *It has been almost three weeks since the Occupy Central movement began. The aspirations for true democracy expressed by Hongkongers remain clear. They will never give up their pursuit of true democracy.* *(SCMP)*

**Macau**

‘Macau’ is among the most salient keywords in the Hong Kong corpus. Of the 107 instances, nearly half of them refer to the ‘Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office’ (HKMAO); in contrast, there are only 11 instances of this noun phrase in the Chinese corpus.

During the Umbrella Movement, the HKMAO served as a very important platform for the Hong Kong government to convey the stance of the Central Government to the protesters. This office, established in 1978, is an administrative agency under the
control of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China (The State Council, 2014). The major duties of the office include coordinating the official contacts between different mainland departments and localities including Hong Kong, promoting cooperation and coordination of cultural, economic, and political ties between the HKSAR and Mainland China, and promoting the Basic Laws of Hong Kong and the principles and policies of the Central Government regarding Hong Kong (The State Council, 2014).

In both corpora, ‘Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office’ is primarily used to reiterate the Central Government’s assertion that the protest was illegal and harmful to the future prosperity and stability of Hong Kong society, and Beijing’s affirmation of its determination to support the Hong Kong government in maintaining social order (see Extract 17). Although it is unsurprising to note a pro-Beijing discourse occurring in the Chinese corpus, one may wonder why such discourse is also found in the Hong Kong corpus. That SCMP writers often add a pro-Beijing voice to their reportage of the protest can be explained by their intention to depict the Beijing government as oppressive and irrational, and to defend the newspaper's own ideological principle of universal suffrage. Such defensive attempts by the pro-democracy SCMP can help to ‘undermine and resist the discursive hegemony framed by the pro-Beijing discourse [of China Daily]’ (Flowerdew and Leong, 2007: 286).

Extract 17 – The State Council’s Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office said the Central Government firmly opposed all illegal activities that could undermine the rule of law and jeopardize social order. The Central government offered strong backing to the Hong Kong government in its efforts to maintain social stability and protect residents. (SCMP)

Beijing’s

Another salient keyword in the Hong Kong corpus is the possessive form of ‘Beijing’, which often collocates with ‘decision’ (17), ‘framework’ (13), ‘ruling’ (8) and ‘restrictive framework’ (8). Although these possessive phrases are used mainly to refer to the Chief Executive election methods proposed by the Central Government, they are charged with negativity towards the election requirements and are constructed as totally inappropriate and unacceptable to Hong Kong from the perspective of the protesters (see Extract 18). In the Chinese corpus, however, the possessive form ‘Beijing’s’ is mainly used to modify nouns such as ‘authority’ (7), ‘control’ (3), and ‘jurisdiction’ (3). Such phrases are referred to as the absolute sovereignty of the Republic of China over Hong Kong, with the aim of criticizing the protesters for challenging the Central government’s authority over the city (see Extract 19).

In fact, the difference in the use of ‘Beijing’s’ can be interpreted as an indication that the two corpora see the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ principle in different ways. The Standard and China Daily emphasize ‘One Country’, i.e., China as the authoritative ruling party, whereas SCMP focuses predominately on ‘Two Systems’, i.e., the Basic Law as the ‘mini constitution’ of Hong Kong which stipulates that the election of the Chief Executive will ultimately be implemented by means of universal suffrage (the Basic Law, Annex 1, 2015).
Extract 18 – Demonstrations continue with streets from Central to Mong Kok occupied as government changed tack following Sunday’s chaotic scenes. The government’s decision to withdraw riot police from the streets helped lower tensions but tens of thousands of Occupy Central supporters continued their protest against Beijing’s decision to set strict limits on Hong Kong’s electoral process. (SCMP)

Extract 19 – The illegal assembly by Occupy supporters in Hong Kong violated the One Country principle, challenged Beijing’s authority and disregarded the Basic Law, said Zhang Xiaoming, director of the Liaison Office of the Central Peoples’ Government in the HKSAR. (China Daily)

Color

The final keyword that deserves attention is ‘color’. It occurs more frequently in the Chinese corpus than in the Hong Kong corpus. Of the 85 instances examined in the Chinese corpus, the majority are referred to as either ‘color revolution’ (63) or ‘Hong Kong’s version of a color revolution’ (17) (see Extract 20).

The term ‘color revolution’ has been widely referred to as a large-scale mass protest against the leadership of authoritarian regimes (Gerlach, 2014). Typically, color revolutions are triggered by a long accumulation of grievances among the population, and take place in countries where the governments are incapable of performing important tasks in the best interest of their citizens, such as guaranteeing territorial integrity, a certain level of prosperity or basic services, and where they are led by exceptionally strong governors with powerful informal networks who are prone to corruption and violation of democratic and legal norms (Gerlach, 2014). Color revolutions are also characterized by such key elements as being non-violent in nature, seeking to achieve democratic breakthroughs, using symbols such as colors or flowers as the identities of the protest and protesters, and involving non-government organizations, politicians and international democracy assistance communities (Mitchell, 2012). Instances of protests sharing these features include, but are not limited to, Serbia’s bulldozer revolution in 2000, Georgia’s rose revolution in 2003, Kyrgyzstan’s tulip revolution in 2005, and Taiwan’s sunflower revolution in 2014.

In this study, the high occurrence of ‘color revolution’ in the pro-Beijing discourse of the Chinese corpus can be explained by the common ideological values of the writers, who hold the belief that the protest shares some of the common features of a color revolution described above. First, a color revolution generally adopts a color or flower as its symbol, which is clearly reflected in the Umbrella Movement that was symbolized by the yellow umbrellas of the protesters against the police. Second, it is often seen as a type of civil resistance and breach of local laws, which is also similar to the Umbrella Movement in which the protesters declared it to be a civil disobedience campaign from the start. Third, participants in a color revolution mostly advocate Western-style democracy, primarily by means of demonstrations and strikes, and generate strong public pressure for change. This also applies to the Umbrella Movement in which the protesters used Occupy to compel the Central Government to accept genuine universal suffrage and withdraw the NPCSS’s decision on the Chief Executive election methods. Finally, a color revolution is usually supported by local non-government organizations,
politicians, and democratic communities, which is true for the Umbrella Movement due to its widespread support from the student unions of different Hong Kong universities, the Hong Kong pro-democracy camp, and Western countries. All of this explains why the event was stigmatized as a color revolution in the Chinese corpus.

**Extract 20** – A day before the Admiralty clearance, Chen Zuoer, the former deputy director of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office, reiterated that he thought Occupy Central was Hong Kong's version of a **color revolution**, a reference to uprisings in post-Soviet States, (*The Standard*)

**Conclusion**

This study utilized a corpus-driven approach to examine the extent to which the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement differed in two corpora of texts collected from ideologically opposed English-language newspapers in Hong Kong and China. Results found that the two corpora shared some similar and distinct features in terms of lexical frequency and keyword lists. For example, the reporting verb ‘said’ was used by the writers mainly to cite evidence in support of their own propositions in the two corpora. It was also found that the pro-democracy corpus was characterized by the frequent use of such words as ‘Beijing’ and ‘democracy’, whereas the pro-Beijing corpus had a high frequency of such words as ‘law’ and ‘public’. Concerning the discursive construction of the Umbrella Movement, the two corpora showed distinct differences. For example, the pro-democracy SCMP writers tended to positively construct the protest as having a broad degree of support from the public and others in various sectors (e.g., business and politics) and the protesters as having a strong desire to fight for true democracy. However, the pro-Beijing Standard and China Daily writers seemed to negatively depict the protest as an anti-China revolution and the protesters as having illegal and radical behaviors.

One may think that newspapers should always adopt the principle of ‘objective journalism’ (Schudson, 2001), i.e. objective reporting – impartial, unemotional, rational, level-headed, factual, and devoid of adjectives or personal opinions. However, the findings presented above clearly indicate that the newspapers analyzed in this study go against this expectation, as many distinct ideological principles in the discursive construction of the protest have been found. The contrasting discourses of the newspaper texts not only represent the ideological stances of the newspapers and their readership regarding the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, but also reflect the conflicting opinions of the local and national press on such issues as democracy, the legal system of Hong Kong, and the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ principle under the Basic Law. In particular, such opposing discourses have increasingly raised debate in Hong Kong society over questions of localism and independence from China, for instance.

The research also contributes to the current literature on news media studies in different ways. First, in terms of research methodology, the findings of this study show the value of using a corpus approach to discourse analysis. A focus on lexical frequency and keywords, combined with concordance analysis, has proved successful and sufficient in demonstrating a wide range of patterns of language use in newspaper
articles. Second, in terms of theory, this corpus-driven study focuses exclusively on political ideology constructed in the news media in general, and Hong Kong and China’s news media in particular. It not only contributes to a better understanding of the role of language in the construction of political ideology in the news media, but also offers insight into the social and political tensions between Hong Kong and China under the ‘One Country, Two systems’ principle of postcolonial Hong Kong.
References


Appendix - Snapshots of the concordance lines of the selected query words

Extract 1 – Illegal

3. The economy was also hurt, as the masterminds of the illegal movement intended. Although the campaign did not succeed in re
4. Ordinance. Although they have never denied that theirs is an illegal movement, they have persisted despite growing public opposition
5. be too little, too late. They should accept that their illegal movement can not win public support. It was always designed
6. matter how popular sentiment changes. There is little doubt the illegal movement is virtually immune to popular opposition. However, i
7. seizing power in Hong Kong! In just two months, the illegal movement evolved from peaceful sit-ins in the beginning to
8. of the remaining HK$200 million. Naturally, public sympathy for the illegal movement waned even further as suspicions grew. All these deve
9. in the larger area of the Admiralty protests. While the illegal movement is finally drawing to a close, an economist and
10. Tai and his fellow advocates could not have kept the illegal movement non-violent even if they had wanted to. It
11. warned against attempts to paralyze Central, the organizers of the illegal movement chose to block traffic around government headquarters
12. operations in Admiralty and Mong Kok, public resentment toward the illegal movement intensified. Obviously, the three initiators of the illegal

Extract 3 – Pro-democracy

11. roads outside government headquarters brought to mind the 1989 pro-democracy movement on the mainland, of which Zhou was one of
12. Occupy Central co-founders and student leaders, ever expected the pro-democracy movement could be so big and last so long. Now
13. force de a facto referendums. The by-elections could extend the pro-democracy movement beyond the occupied sites, he said, but it would
14. ed foreign forces in particular, the United States, of instigating the pro-democracy movement that has seen protesters occupying major roads in various
15. non-profit foundation in the US, has been funding the local pro-democracy movement. This followed an earlier commentary published on the front
16. actual future looked set to go ahead: Government and mainstream pro-democracy movement leaders united in condemnation of violent clashes between p
17. the markets prospects as it hinged very much on how the pro-democracy movement ends and how long it lasts, he said. Wong
18. protester, Marco Ho, said he drew a divination stick for the pro-democracy movement at a Sha Tin temple, which read: The students
19. operations caused by blocked streets, in an attempt to pressure the pro-democracy movement to halt its action. Twenty groups representing small and
20. which appeared in the days before the military crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. In the protesters H

Extract 4 – Affect

1. compensated for with a few apologies. Furthermore, the illegal movement has affected the future of those young people who
2. and retail companies have been hardest hit as the movement has affected their businesses, he said. A large group
3. a partner of Chin & Associates, Barry Chin Chiyung. The movement has affected businesses in Mong Kok seriously, according to
4. drop of more than 50 percent in revenue. The Occupy movement has affected other industries in Hong Kong. Jimmy Wan,
5. compensated for with a few apologies. Furthermore, the illegal movement has affected the future of those young people who
6. and retail companies have been hardest hit as the movement has affected their businesses, he said. A large group
7. a partner of Chin & Associates, Barry Chin Chiyung. The movement has affected businesses in Mong Kok seriously, according to
8. drop of more than 50 percent in revenue. The Occupy movement has affected other industries in Hong Kong. Jimmy Wan,
9. been due to Occupy Central fears. She said the movement has affected business in Wan Chai and Sheung Wan.

Extract 6 – Little impact

1. rs down by 3 to 4 percent. However, Tung said that the movement has had little impact on various industries in Hong Kong at all. In fact, we are more c
2. scheme in just six months is challenging. As for Occupy Central, it has had little impact, Fang said. The Stock Connect will certainly be launched, although
3. would not be affected by the election results because the local contests had little impact on Central government policies. Across the strait, Li Fei, a Taiwan
4. a key factor in the well-being of the city. However, the movement is making little impact on the lives of Hong Kong residents. The protesters are striving
5. their projected salary increases. At this point in time, the movement has had little impact on companies' planning for 2015, he said. Employees in Asia
6. in unsettled global markets. However, Li said that the movement has had little impact on the financial markets. We have heard the voice of the studen
7. executive director Daryl Ng Win Kong said the Occupy movement had had little impact on the property market. We haven't launched new projects du
8. urge developers to build smaller flats. It appears that movement has had little impact as most buyers are end users. Small flats continued to sell for b
9. Shanghai and Hong Kong. I think the Occupy Central movement will have little impact on the launch date, he said. Indeed, I think it will reinforce the m
10. icy movement. Some, such as Qin Hong from Guizhou Province, said it had little impact on their plans. Qin, 23, said the wait at the Lo Wu checkpoint

Extract 7 – Radical
Extract 9 – Peaceful

In fact, police had failed to allocate enough manpower to protect peaceful protesters and sided with anti-Occupy supporters, many believe. Sources say the force may begin executing injunctions against the peaceful protesters in Mong Kok and Admiralty. The shocking scenes of tear gas, pepper spray and baton charge to disperse peaceful protesters amassed near the government offices in Admiralty, as well as against the thousands of protesters attacking the police, enduring the use of tear gas against the peaceful protesters on September 28, and the 90 protesters attempting to block delivery of Apple Daily to the newspaper's offices by protesters out of the building, a mob of young protesters and reporters have been transformed into makeshift bathrooms by thousands of peaceful protesters camped near the area, with dozens of bottles of water discarded on the ground.

Extract 10 – Undermine

The colonial administration recently claimed that deliberately violating existing laws does not undermine the rule of law, if the culprits turn themselves in afterwards, a view which the government accepts. Street politics won't help advance democracy. What will it do is undermine the rule of law, Yuen said. A mob of young protesters wearing face masks and carrying bricks, stones and sticks, gathered outside the government offices in Admiralty, under the imposing Central government headquarters. The government's response was to call for calm and order. The protesters responded with a hail of bricks and stones, and the police fired tear gas to disperse them. The protesters, however, ignored the order and continued their protest, saying they had a right to speak out.

Extract 12 – Respect

To fully restore social order as early as possible and respect the rule of law, people should continue to support the police and respect the rule of law, he said. They respected the rule of law before the Occupy movement, and they respect the rule of law after the Occupy movement. "He said, "Chinese Dream", he should share Hongkongers' democracy dream and respect the rule of law, Lee said. Spot on the money... Water is wet, the Pope is Catholic and most people respect the rule of law. What depth of intellect. The bigger for over 100 hours last week, also called for calm. We respect the rule of law and we will remain non-violent, protesters do recognise and accept the legal and political limits, respect the rule of law and make compromises on political reform... nothing we can do about this as long as we respect the rule of law. As for the students - even Joshua in a civilized society like Hong Kong. The protesters do respect the rule of law in Hong Kong. They are also..."
Extract 17 – Macau

... attempts to divide Hong Kong society in the name of so-called democracy. The central government obviously has always been well-intentioned. However, the umbrella movement has nothing to do with so-called democracy. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is a highly developed economy with a high standard of living and a high quality of life. The people of the region always fought for the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Basic Law and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They have always been exercising the right of peaceful assembly and demonstration. The so-called democracy is in fact a means for the ends and too many people seek so-called democracy while dictating their wills to others. Many young people are frustrated with the slow pace of progress in the region and the lack of meaningful dialogue with the government. They are seeking change through non-violent means.

Extract 18 – Beijing’s decision

In response to the demands of the pro-democracy activists, the government decided to impose a new urban development plan in Hong Kong. This decision was met with widespread resistance, particularly from the pro-democracy movement. The government’s decision was seen as an attempt to stifle the demands for democratic reforms in Hong Kong. The government argued that the new plan was necessary to address the economic challenges facing the region.

Extract 19 – Beijing’s authority

In response to the demonstrations, the government imposed a new emergency law which gave the government greater powers to suppress protests. The law was seen as a violations of democratic rights and freedoms. The government argued that the law was necessary to address the threat posed by the pro-democracy movement.

Extract 20 – Color revolution

The color revolution is a form of political revolution that uses a combination of non-violent tactics to bring about political change. It is a term that was first used to describe the series of democratic revolutions that took place in the former Soviet Union during the 1990s. The color revolution is characterized by the use of peaceful protests, social media, and other non-violent tactics to bring about political change. It is a term that is often used to describe political movements that are aimed at bringing about democratic reforms.