

Article

Abode: Ideologies of Gender and Ideologies of Border in Hong Kong

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Julie Abbou
LLF, Université de Paris 1.



Abstract

Hong Kong is an inter-colonial space. The complete return of the former British colony to the People's Republic of China, scheduled for 2047, has given rise to a complex blurring of identity, interspersed with numerous social movements. In this context, the question of the symbolic and material border with China represents a crucial political issue, defining the very identity of Hong Kong. The crossing of the border by Chinese women who come to give birth in Hong Kong will trigger extremely virulent reactions, revealing the relationship between identity, border and gender in Hong Kong. This contribution attempts to describe how gender participates in the "bordering" of the city, and consequently in its political identity.

With a rhetorical approach to grasp the heterogeneity of the discourses at stake, I will first present a media controversy that took place in 2012 around Chinese women giving birth in Hong Kong. A corpus of press will be analyzed to draw out a topology of the topics in presence, the common ground where the different discourses of identity, border and gender intersect in Hong Kong. These topics will serve as a basis for depicting the macro-discourses of hongkongness, Hong Kong identity, and their relationship to gender, as fundamentally political and civilizational discourses. In the light of post-colonial gender analyses, we will see that these dimensions contribute to define both women and boundaries. A re-reading of the controversy of Chinese women giving birth in Hong Kong will reveal the identity of Hong Kong as a colonized empire, which divides masculine

and feminine through a re-use of colonial dichotomies as a strategy of political resistance. But let's start by putting it in context.

Keywords: xxxxxxxx, xxxx, xxxx

Introduction

Hong Kong is an inter-colonial space. The complete return of the former British colony to the People's Republic of China, scheduled for 2047, has given rise to a complex blurring of identity, interspersed with numerous social movements. In this context, the question of the symbolic and material border with China represents a crucial political issue, defining the very identity of Hong Kong. The crossing of the border by Chinese women who come to give birth in Hong Kong will trigger extremely virulent reactions, revealing the relationship between identity, border and gender in Hong Kong. This contribution attempts to describe how gender participates in the "bordering" of the city, and consequently in its political identity.

With a rhetorical approach to grasp the heterogeneity of the discourses at stake, I will first present a media controversy that took place in 2012 around Chinese women giving birth in Hong Kong. A corpus of press will be analyzed to draw out a topology of the topics in presence, the common ground where the different discourses of identity, border and gender intersect in Hong Kong. These topics will serve as a basis for depicting the macro-discourses of hongkongness, Hong Kong identity, and their relationship to gender, as fundamentally political and civilizational discourses. In the light of post-colonial gender analyses, we will see that these dimensions contribute to define both women and boundaries. A re-reading of the controversy of Chinese women giving birth in Hong Kong will reveal the identity of Hong Kong as a colonized empire, which divides masculine and feminine through a re-use of colonial dichotomies as a strategy of political resistance. But let's start by putting it in context.

1.1 Making Hong Kong

Following the Western irruption in China, the present territory of Hong Kong was ceded to the United Kingdom in 1898 for a period of 99 years by a Chinese Empire on the verge of collapse. At that time, Hong Kong was a very sparsely populated village¹¹ whose strategic interest was mainly military. The city of Hong Kong thus grew in a British colonial context without sharing the Maoist history of China. On July 1, 1997, the "handover" to what had meanwhile become the People's Republic of China (PRC) began with a 50-year transition period, the territory becoming a Special Administrative Region of the PRC. The transition period was named by Deng Xiaoping "one country, two systems", with a full "return" of Hong Kong to the PRC scheduled for 2047.

This 50-year window of political exercise makes Hong Kong an ephemeral political space, in transition between two empires, with its own history of almost a century. As such, Hong Kong is both an inter-imperial and inter-colonial space. Interimperial because it is situated in a temporal interstice between the domination of the British empire and the domination of the Chinese empire. Intercolonial because these two empires used "colonial methods, both in their aims and institutional forms" (Elliott 2006 : 58). While the colonial nature of the

Chinese imperial regime is less documented than that of the British Empire, colonization has nonetheless been a tool for expansion in the mainland's peripheries of the Chinese Empire (Bruneau 2011, Di Cosmo 1998).²

But in discourse, the colonial nature of these two empires remains subject to discussion. If the colonial dimension of the British presence is explicit, woven around an account of the absence of anti-colonial struggles, the colonial dimension of the return to China is more controversial and is accompanied by important political struggles: is the PRC a new colonist for Hong Kong, or is Hong Kong returning to its original belonging? We are thus in the presence of a heterogeneous discursive landscape in which diverse positions on questions of sovereignty, legitimacy and identity coexist, as well as on the relationship between Hong Kong and China, and which can be read along an axis of values that goes from otherness (the refusal of China) to identification, in the sense of similarity (attachment to China). This identity/otherness axis makes the city a borderland: Hong Kong is not a country or a colony strictly speaking, it is no longer the UK but not yet quite China, it is a transitional territory where the question of belonging is necessarily blurred. The delimitation of the territory, in terms of material boundaries as well as in terms of identity, is therefore particularly delicate.

1 1.2. Lines of approach

In order to observe the different discourses in circulation and the ideological tensions, I propose to work at a double level, micro and macro-discursive, to try to grasp the values convoked both from the point of view of their linguistic materiality and from the point of view of the ideological formations in circulation (Angenot 1982). It should perhaps be made clear right away that, in Rastier's footsteps, I do not mean ideology in the sense of an "explanatory principle that stands below discourses and other practices generally related to social classes or categories", but in the sense of transdiscursive norms and axiological systems (Rastier 2004: s.p.). It is thus a question of working simultaneously on a particular corpus of texts and on the macro-narratives (Lyotard 1992) in circulation, with a rhetorical viewpoint. This articulation seems necessary in order to understand discourses in their heterogeneity, in the power relations they maintain with respect to each other, but also in that they are acting speech. Indeed, rhetoric seeks to think of discourses as situations with three terms, two subjects and the world, in which the two subjects confront their representations, their categorizations of the world (Douay-Soublin 1994: 21), and negotiate the inadequacy of these different categorizations in sets of qualifications. As such, it is a question of observing how actors act, or attempt to act, by qualifying the world on other actors, in the manner of what Foucault calls behaviors of behaviors (1984: 312). Concretely, this implies observing how the different values at stake are distributed and articulated, in order to draw a complex ideological landscape. In other words, it involves grasping the axiologies at play.

In order to grasp these heterogeneous axiologies and the relationships between them, I will focus on one controversy, which will provide a first illustration of the tensions between identity, gender and boundaries. Indeed, this controversy allows us to grasp agreements and disagreements, to see how "different positioning and situated partisan affiliations" (Rennes 2007: 91-92) are articulated, how they confront, ally, aggregate or disaggregate, and the common space they define. In a second step, this analysis will be placed in the broader context of the ideological landscape of Hong Kong identity.

2. The Mothers-to-be controversy

2.1. Elements of the controversy

In 2012, the increase in the number of Chinese women crossing the border, legally or illegally, to give birth in Hong Kong triggers a very strong controversy. These women, whether married to HongKongese men or not, come from mainland China for a multitude of reasons: to circumvent the one-child policy or to obtain Hong Kong residency for their child(ren) or themselves, for family reunification, for potential social and economic advancement (through hypergamy or work), for the quality of maieutic care in Hong Kong, for a potential better education for their child(ren), for the quality of food (especially powdered milk), etc. But "the presence of these women and their illegal children within the borders of Hong Kong has been perceived by Hong Kong women as a threat" (Newendorp 2008: 72), and leads to competition between Chinese and Hong Kong women. Le Bail (2012) then points to the tension, for these immigrant women, between emancipation from the society of origin and the loss of autonomy in the host society. However, other contextual elements also explain the controversy generated by their arrival. First of all, Beijing's increasingly strong and visible influence in the political management of the city raises fears of "continentalization" (Kan 2012: 69). In addition, the question of land rights for people born and/or working in Hong Kong for more than 7 years has been under discussion since 1997. This mainly concerns the children of mainland Chinese parents born in Hong Kong since the handover and domestic workers, mostly Filipino and Indonesian. For children born in Hong Kong of Chinese parents, the law provides that they have the right of abode, but this right takes years to be applicable. As a result, many children are stateless and without any rights to education, health care, etc.. They are therefore illegal in Hong Kong, and lose the possibility of obtaining the right of abode if they leave the territory (Ma 2008: 170). The issue of managing migratory traffic at the border is also regularly debated, as is the rapid increase in rents due to the arrival of a new Chinese bourgeoisie and real estate speculation by mainland Chinese. The city's demographic decline is also frequently discussed, as is the economic competition from major Chinese cities, especially Shanghai. Finally, the authoritarian dimension of the Chinese regime is widely evoked in discussions about the opening or crossing of the border. The relationship to China and the Chinese therefore involves political, legal, economic, migratory, demographic and ideological issues.

The year 2012 alone is enamelled with several scandals that reflect the different dimensions of these tensions.

- The milk powder affair: in the course of 2012, more and more Hong Kongers, and in particular Hong Kong women, are complaining about stock-outs of infant milk powder and accusing Chinese "tourists", who are trying to avoid the adulterated milk sold in China, of robbing Hong Kong stores
- The Dolce & Gabbana affair: at the beginning of January, a security guard of a Dolce & Gabbana store threatened a Hong Kong man who took a photo of the store front, while he is allowing mainlanders to do so, provoking the anger of many Hong Kongers and triggering major demonstrations.
- The subway affair: also in January, a Chinese mother feeds her little girl in the Hong Kong subway, despite the ban on eating in the subway. Hong Kong passengers stopped her and an altercation took place, which was filmed and widely broadcast on the Internet.
- The Kong Qingdong affair: A few days later, Professor Kong Qingdong of the University of Peking (PRC), invited on an online talk show, called Hong Kong people British settlers' "dogs".
- The National Education Affair: In July, huge demonstrations took place against the announced introduction in the school curriculum of a patriotic course designed to promote "the cordial return of people to the motherland" (Kan 2012: 70), described by protesters as « brainwashing".
- Last, the case of Chinese mothers giving birth in Hong Kong, which I focus on here.

In this case, the first argument of the controversy concerns the lack of beds in maternity wards. But behind this argument, the question of the right of abode quickly emerges. The nature of the border between Hong Kong and the PRC will thus be, more or less explicitly, at the center of the debates. Videos, online texts, full-page advertisements, newspaper articles and even emoticons will be devoted to the issue. From December 2011 to July 2012, the South China Morning Post, the main English-language newspaper in the territory, publishes no fewer than 130 articles and letters from readers on the subject. At the end of January, the subject is instituted and future Chinese mothers are frozen in the expression mainland-mums. Women or entire families demonstrate in protests that gather several hundred people several times a month, banners are regularly unfurled at subway exits, T-shirts are printed, associations and Facebook groups are created to support or denounce them. Soon, the subject also becomes a legislative issue. While the new Chief Executive C.Y. Leung is regularly blamed for being pro-Chinese, regular interviews with Beijing are held on the subject and the Legislative Council studies possible changes to the constitution.

Although this is not a recent phenomenon, 2012 is also the year when is introduced a "zero quota" policy for Chinese women in Hong Kong hospitals in the middle of the election period, and smugglers begin to be imprisoned. After much debate, women married to Hong Kong men will still be able to give birth in Hong Kong.

Before going into the details of the corpus, two remarks are necessary. On the one hand, my work is based on English-speaking discourses, which constitutes a limit, leaving out the Chinese-speaking production on the subject, which is important. It should be noted, however, that the choice of English to hold these discourses carries a significant symbolic indexicality: it is simultaneously the former colonial language, a lingua franca of primary importance in the "world city of Asia", a resistance, or at least an alternative to Mandarin, the political language of the People's Republic of China, and a definite investment in terms of the language market. What is said in this language thus takes on a political role in a context of distinction from China, and places Hong Kong on a world stage.

Second remark: although Chinese women are at the heart of the controversy, they are remarkably silent in the English-speaking corpus, massified and depersonalized. They exceptionally take the floor in three articles out of the 130 analyzed, to relate personal trajectories. It is thus extremely difficult to bring their discourse into resonance with Hong Kong discourse. This work therefore sticks to the discourses in circulation in English-speaking Hong Kong and will propose an interpretation of this silence in these discourses.

2.2. Discursive analysis of the controversy

The analysis was conducted on a corpus of 130 articles from the South China Morning Post, published between December 2011 and July 2012. It is a qualitative analysis, coupled with quantitative insights conducted with TXM software (Heiden et al. 2014) and Voyant Tools (Sinclair & Rockwell 2012). The article titles taking a stance are relatively balanced in the corpus. Out of all the texts, 41 (35%) show or report support for Chinese mothers, and 35 (28%) report opposition, whether or not the author claims it, with no significant change in distribution over time.

2.2.1. Semantic networks of the border

The semantic networks of the boundary show how the border materially and symbolically distributes the actors in presence. The articulation of its material and symbolic dimensions thus reflects what the crossing of the border means.

- The border as a definition of actors The actors mentioned in the corpus are massively qualified according to their situation vis-à-vis the border, with nearly 1200 occurrences of the term border (out of 73,000 words). In most cases, the Chinese (as citizens of the People's Republic of China) are not referred to as such (Chinese), but rather as: non-local, immigrants, migrants, non-resident, terms which are reserved for them. In contrast, other "non-Hongkongese" are referred to as foreigners, as can be seen, for example, in the following excerpt which distinguishes between two types of foreigners:

foreigners and visitors from the mainland

Although the term foreigners usually refers mostly to Westerners, the terms Western and Westerners, although in circulation in Hong Kong, are remarkably absent from the corpus.

A third category of others appears: the domestic helpers, who are in majority Indonesian or Filipino women. They are referred to as: migrant domestic helpers, foreign helpers, etc.

We see here a classification, a typology of the foreigner being set up. But above all, we see a definition by the absence of status: non-permanent resident, non-resident, illegal immigrants, non-local.

What characterizes the Chinese is therefore the absence of citizenship. It is a definition from within the territory of Hong Kong, but also a definition by the attribution of absence, as described by Butler in his work on stateless persons (Butler & Spivak 2009 : 15; 23), in which she shows that it is not a question of an absence of status, but rather of the attribution of a status "in default", in a hollow that limits the rights and even the subjectivity of the actors, here in the case of actresses, who are then made subjects limited by the authority of the voices that qualify them as "non-X".

This appears all the more clearly in comparison with the naming of the Hongkongese who are : Hong Kongers, permanent, residents, citizens

Finally, it should be noted that there are only 4 occurrences of the term indigenous in all the corpus. We are there clearly in the semantic network of the legislative and political, rather than in that of the origins.

- *Crossing the border*

Two thirds of the verbs used to describe border crossing are relatively neutral: travel, visit, arrive. But the last third is violently pejorative with incessant metaphors of infiltration (of what is out of control) and of the animal:

hide, sneak, flock, invade, flee, swell, swarm, escape

- *The materiality of the border*

Beyond the crossing of the border, the border itself as a passage, in the sense of the place one passes through, is frequently mentioned, as a symbolic place and an institutional dividing line, but also in its materiality. It is a highly territorialized border, geographically described, with the Shenzhen River, the outside (mainland China), its bridges, channels, checkpoints, counters and all the documents necessary to cross it (visa, document, cards, certificate, etc.).

- *The consequences of the border*

This materiality is directly linked to political issues, notably questions of migration policy (quota, influx), civilizational identity (identity, uncivilized, locust, nation), citizenship (abode, law, right of abode, citizenship), legislative (crime, illegal) and economic (property, housing), echoing the different dimensions of the Hong Kong-China relationship and thus embodying this relationship in the materiality of this border.

2.2.2. Semantic networks of gender

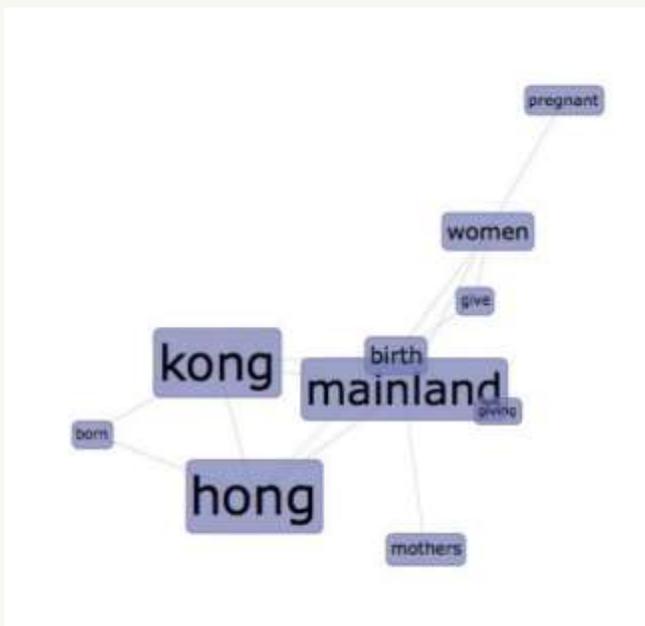
Observation of the semantic networks of gender reveals a very territorialized reading of gender, a defining maternity of femininity, an absence of masculinity and a legislative apprehension of maternity.

- *The territorialization of gender*

Of the 368 occurrences of women/woman, only 40 occurrences are not territorialized. This means that in 88% of the cases, women are qualified by their origin/status (mainland, local, non-local) or by their border crossing. The term women used without a qualifier is exceptionally rare. It is therefore not a question of discussing their status as women, but of their origin, and their social and geographical situation.

In addition, there are 732 occurrences of mainland and 891 occurrences of Hong Kong, as a constant reminder of the partition of spaces.

Once the corpus has been "cleaned" of grammatical words, a reticular representation can be given which articulates the most frequent words in the corpus according to their collocation³³. We can then see that the 3gender/space articulation constitutes the heart of the corpus:



- *Mothers more than women, Chinese more than mothers*

Like the feature /woman/, the characteristic /pregnant/ (pregnant or expectant) is closely linked with territorialization, but unlike /woman/, /pregnant/ mainly indexes otherness: 78% of the uses of pregnant concern

future Chinese mothers (pregnant mainland women), whereas future Hong Kong mothers are among the important collective figures that can be identified, who are hostile to the arrival of Chinese women. One might therefore have expected a lexical presence of Hong Kong mothers/pregnant women. In fact, they are rarely named in the corpus (13%), among other things because they are in charge of enunciation (those who say “I”).

Moreover, more than the category /women/, it is the category /pregnant women/ that will be contrastive and specific to Chinese women crossing the border, thus subordinating the characteristic /woman/ to the characteristic /pregnant/.

So we have a hierarchized imbrication Chinese > pregnant > women, in which we go from the most significant to the least significant. It is the association of the three terms that constructs the identity of the object of the controversy, with the possibility of ellipses for one of the two characters /woman/ or /pregnant/, as can be seen with the recurrent use of the expression pregnant mainlanders (31% of the occurrences of pregnant) where the gender information is signified in a secondary way (pregnancy involving mother), or mainland women (40% of the occurrences of women). In contrast, only 14% of the corpus designates Chinese women as pregnant women, without explicitly referring to their territorial origin. The observation of /mothers/ goes in the same direction. Out of 345 occurrences of mother(s) or mum(s), 72% are dedicated to Chinese mothers.

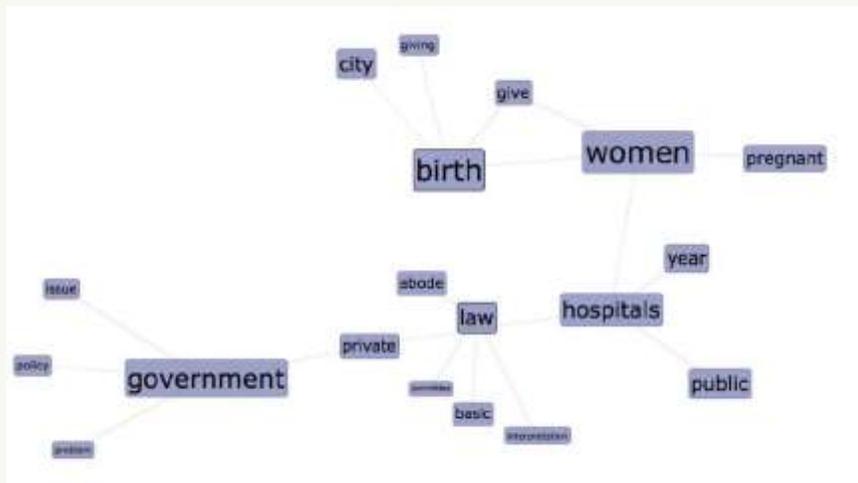
It is therefore the Chinese women in that they are reproducers that we are talking about here. This will contribute to the avoidance of the question of gender as such in this controversy, in order to move it towards the question of filiation. For it is not a question of describing a certain femininity, but rather of focusing on a characteristic of women, their actualized reproductive function, which then becomes the defining characteristic of the foreign woman.

- *Absence of masculinity*

Alongside an evocation of the feminine reduced to maternity, there is an absence of the masculine. There are 93 occurrences in all the corpus of terms such as father, husband, male, man, or men (for 713 occurrences referring to femininity). If grammatical words are excluded, women thus represent a lexical weight of 1.7% of the corpus, compared to 0.2% for men. Even more strikingly, if Hong Kong men are mentioned, there are absolutely no occurrences of Chinese men. There are certainly smugglers, and a few tourists mentioned, but the generalization of all Chinese on the continent is done by women. However, as seen in section 2.1, the difference in status accorded to Chinese women with Hong Kong husbands compared to those with Chinese husbands reveals the place of men as defining, through marriage, the status of women. Although they are never mentioned as actors or subjects of discourse, they are the agents of partition between women. In other words, if Chinese women are made women-objects of discourse, it is men who are implicitly the acting subjects. Women are in charge of filiation, but they are not the authors, in charge.

What is then revealed is a double distribution of pairs, Hong Kong / Mainland and man / woman, in which different areas of tension are established between Chinese women and Hong Kong women, Hong Kong and Chinese (generic ? male ?), but also, implicitly, between Chinese women and Hong Kong men, with Chinese men being offside. Finally, the term gender appears only 4 times in the corpus, including three times in the same text: gender imbalance, (incomplete) gender revolution, gender relations.

This is clearly not an explicit discourse on gender relations, although women are omnipresent in it, reinforcing the importance of the issue of filiation rather than the issue of gender “per se”.



- *Motherhood, a legislative issue*

Once the terms mainland and Hong Kong have been removed from the corpus, an eminently political and legislative understanding of the question of Chinese mothers giving birth in Hong Kong emerges, in terms of law, government, issue, policy, abode, etc.

This again contributes to an evacuation of the gendered dimension of the controversy, or more precisely to a shift of the gender issue from the social to the legislative. The implication is that the question of filiation must be legislated, but also that protection against "mainlandisation" requires political tools.

2.2.3. *Semantic networks of racism and discrimination*

The qualification of otherness will be bitterly discussed in the corpus. Depending on whether this otherness is racialized or not, it will be either discrimination or a cultural/political choice. Indeed, the term discrimination is always used in reference to Hongkongers discriminating against mainland Chinese, but never in reference to gender discrimination, even if the discriminated persons are women, as we can see in the third excerpt below, who use the epicene term spouses :

A Beijing academic renowned for left-leaning opinions escalated matters by (...) accusing Hong Kong people of discrimination

Some [mainlanders] have complained of discrimination

The policy discriminates against the [mainland] spouses of residents

Please stop circulating posters and comments which are obviously racially discriminative and insulting to new immigrants and mainland compatriots

Hong Kong is a signatory to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racism, which defines racial discrimination as being based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin. To exclude mainland people from laws against discrimination on technical grounds was wrong.

In the face of which, challenges to this accusation are being heard. The challenge for these voices is to separate distinction from discrimination, and to shift discrimination from a racial dimension to a social or cultural dimension:

It is easy to stay on the moral high ground and criticise people for discrimination against mainland mothers.

It has nothing to do with racism or discrimination [it's about social manners]

This is not racism

It's not xenophobia

The people of Hong Kong, who are the victims

This last excerpt is interesting because it produces a discursive reversal: "some people say that we are the perpetrators of discrimination, when in reality we are the victims". This is an antagonistic qualification (Douay 2012): according to the points of view, the same group is going to be taxed with two opposing qualifications: /perpetrator of discrimination/ vs. /victim/, a process at the heart of the functioning of the controversy.

In cases where the dominant discrimination/alterization is conceded, it will therefore be requalified to distinguish it from racism, with the idea that a discrimination not based on race is acceptable:

There is animosity towards mainlanders but it is hardly racism. Racism is a lot more serious. Mainlanders and Hongkongers are the same race. How can we have racism?

It has nothing to do with racism or discrimination. [It's about social manners]

This distinction between discrimination and racism reveals an identity strategy that looks for other ontologies than racialist ontology, which is not available in this context⁴⁴. The question of racialization thus remains a central issue, articulated with political identity, whether to challenge or affirm it. There is not enough space here to show that it is also articulated with cultural and economic dimensions. It is in fact a "political-racialized-economic-cultural" yoke that is at the heart of the relations of identification/alterization between Hong Kong and China and, consequently, at the foundation of Hong Kong identity. But we will see later on that this racial dimension is complexified by the role of filiation in China and Hong Kong.

2.3. Double discourses

In each of the arguments of the corpus, two discourses are then potentially held: one on Chinese mothers, the other on China.

Opponents of the arrival of Chinese women establish this double level of their discourse, in which women materially and symbolically embody the arrival of China in Hong Kong, and the "mainlandisation" of the city. It is therefore a matter of identity and economic protectionism, but also of affirming a pro-democratic stance in the face of a totalitarian or authoritarian China. But it is never clear to what extent this totalitarianism has rubbed off on the Chinese citizens who have become its standard bearers, sometimes in spite of themselves.

On the contrary, the partisans of their coming establish a discourse based on the human dimension of the situation, calling for the free movement of people, their right to better living conditions, family reunification, peace between peoples, etc. (which can easily be connected to the critical discourse of migration policies in

Europe, for example). But behind this argumentation, there is always a potential pro-Chinese posture, to be read in the light of the retrocession, which calls for ethnicity and common culture.

These double discourses in fact support three terms: the Chinese, the symbolic entity of China, and the Chinese Communist Party in government, echoing the principle of "one country, two systems" (Kan 2012: 73-74). The continued indistinction on both sides between the Chinese government and the Chinese people (women) allows this polysemy of China (from "Chinese, get out of China" to the pro-Beijing accusations of Hong Kong's "de-sinization" (Kan 2012: 74)). "China" is then summoned sometimes to be brought back to the Chinese, sometimes to the government.

Paradoxically, one of the only actors to make this distinction between population and China/state is the Hong Kong government, which, to avoid popular discontent, negotiated with Beijing to help stop Chinese women coming to Hong Kong, so that Beijing could take a stand against Chinese women giving birth, while at the same time encouraging the blurring of the border. With this exception, this controversy thus reveals the making of the "political Other" based on the indistinction between government and population, with women crossing the border coming to symbolize the entire People's Republic of China in a metonymic dynamics. These semantic networks make it possible to draw up a topology of the Chinese women's controversy in Hong Kong, which revolves around the status of women and the material and symbolic nature of the border as a partition of identities. The otherness of Chinese women takes place in a multidimensional identity making, between politics, culture, filiation, and economy. This micro-analysis allows us to identify the terms of the debate, the premises on which it is based, that is, the common ground on which arguments can be opposed, as well as the places (in the sense of a store of arguments) of the discourses. Macroanalysis of identity narratives will now allow us to see the different dimensions that are at play in this discursive space.

3. Discursive formations of the Hong Kong identity

3.1 *Ideological sets in circulation*

In order to study the axiological formations of identity circulating in Hong Kong in tension with each other, it may be necessary to begin by glimpsing the major ideological groupings that nurtured relations between Hong Kong and China in the 20th century. These are Confucianism and Chinese imperialism, Western imperialism, communism/Maoism, democracy/liberalism and the axis of conservatism-tradition/modernity⁵⁵. In China, this last axis can refer to two discourses: tradition evokes both the imperial period in the face of Maoism and the Maoist period in the face of the economic liberalization of the 1990s and 2000s (Angeloff and Lieber 2012). In Hong Kong, tradition refers to historical (imperial) China and modernity to capitalism, Maoism being referred to a Chinese otherness from which the supporters of hongkongness stand out. In this case, the Chinese nation as tradition is valued, while the Chinese nation as a state is rejected (Ma 2008).

The patriarchal tradition in pre-republican China was based on the four great Confucianist pillars, which are the perpetuation of the family line, the transmission of family patrimony, economic resources and filial piety (Attané 2012). With Maoism, the discourse on women has changed to an egalitarian discourse, which is summarized in the slogan "women are workers like any other", supporting an ideology of the indistinction of the sexes (Angeloff and Lieber id.): "Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too". The liberalization of the 1990s will in turn modify the dominant discourse to affirm a radical difference between men and women (Angeloff and Lieber *ibid.*), sexuation being perceived as an indication of modernity.

Today, the consequences of the one-child policy are leading to a shortage of wives on the marriage market (Attané 2012). However, the ever-present Confucianist traditions push to value the continuation of the family lineage through the production of descendants. (Attané id.). The question of marriage thus becomes an important issue. Thus, "for women, geographical mobility also constitutes a strategy of social ascension through marriage" (Angeloff and Lieber *ibid.*). Women will migrate to marry, intra-nationally, but also transnationally, to Vietnam, Japan, or Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong, on the other hand, filiation, lineage and family - and their articulation with the notion of sovereignty - are also important pivots of gender relations. Pearson and Leung (1995) identify three distinctive features shaping gender in Hong Kong:

- a predominantly Chinese society
- a British colony
- a capitalist economy

According to them, these three elements help us understand how, in this experience of gender they describe as postcolonial (and which I will describe as inter-colonial), the patriarchal tradition of Chinese society has been maintained and modified in the capitalist and colonial context of Hong Kong. Definitions of gender are then torn between apparently contradictory ideologies: the Confucian discourse implying obedience to father, husband or son, promoting family centrality and harmony; the capitalist discourse narrating individualism, success and equality of opportunity, including between men and women; and the Western discourse draped in the values of modernity and universalism extolling an overcoming of traditional patriarchal values. To this must be added the government's injunction to revive the territory's declining demography. Gender is thus caught in the crossfire of utilitarian, capitalist, 'familianist' (Kang 2008: 97) colonialist and governmental discourse. The gender order is claimed by traditionalism, invisible and denied by capitalism, and blamed by colonial society. "These complex interactions thus summon not only the political but also the cultural between East and West, colonizers and colonized, right and left, and colonial and postcolonial identity" (Tam 2003: 518).

3.2. *A society of migrants*

It should then be remembered that Hong Kong was built as a society of migrants rather than a colony. Most of its inhabitants arrived fleeing the political unrest on the Mainland.

This migratory dimension helps explain why, despite the political turmoil, there has been no strong anti-colonial mobilization and no demand for independence (Lui 2008). It also explains the distinction between nationalism and anti-colonialism (and the absence of the former), as anti-colonial uprisings could not quickly claim to be part of the Maoist agenda, coming from China, from which many migrants were fleeing. This dynamic was obviously supported by a colonial power that sought to depoliticize the movements by responding to them with a managerial and administrative policy: fighting crime, making the city clean, conducting anti-corruption campaigns, etc., in a desire to "de-ideologize" so as not to leave room for political counter-discourse.

3.3. *A will of the colonial government to report*

Finally, we must add the recent character of the Hong Kong identity. Most authors agree that it emerged in the 1970s (Mathews 2008, Ku 2004), with the first generation massively born in Hong Kong and the economic

boom. Until the late 1960s, Hongkongers cohabited with new waves of migrants, but there is still no local/immigrant dichotomy, nor a sense of national belonging: Britain is a distant settler more than a homeland, China - which could be seen as a country from a cultural and ethnic point of view - is a dictatorship that many Hongkongers fled, and Hong Kong itself does not have the characteristics of a country (Mathews, Ma & Lui 2008). So what has Hong Kong's identity been built on? How was it delineated?

The emergence of a Hong Kong identity is in fact constitutive of a will of the colonial government to make city-state, in a process of nationalization that implies :

- a change in migration policies
- the regulation of the territory's borders by political and legal mechanisms
- the invention of an official identity and immigration categories that define belonging
- the assimilation of a state language
- the continuation of the ideological formation of liberalism vs. communism (Ku 2004: 328)

A quick history of the border between China and Hong Kong shows this making. Until 1950, the borders between Hong Kong and China were open. This freedom of movement was essential for economic movement and responded to family, social and cultural ties on both sides of the border. A territorial fluidity responded to a cultural continuity. It was not until 1949 (when Mao came to power) that identity documents appeared with border control (Mathews 2008, Lui 2008, Ku 2004). In the 1950s, a double definition of the border was put in place: inclusive (welcoming political refugees) and exclusive (China's political distinction). The border is both a political refuge and a sense of political distinction vis-à-vis China (Ku 2004: 334). Control tightened at the border in the 1960s. The migratory flow is regulated, but immigrants are still accepted and receive papers. The state then problematizes immigration not as a demographic problem, but as a policing problem. Hong Kong residence was based on legalistic and moral criteria (no criminal record, honest life, etc.), and the discourse of the Red invasion began to emerge. If the government wants the border to be dismissing, the border is not yet completely dismissing for the Hong Kong people.

The legal category of "Hong Kong belonging" to define those who have the right of abode appeared in 1971. Immigrants are now associated with communism, and immigration is a constitutive domain of [their] identity (Ku id.: 330). Moreover, "the claim of belonging [is] now based on 'ethnic affinity' (total or partial affinity with the Chinese vs. Western race) and long-term residence [more than 7 years]" (Ku ibid: 345).

From 1974 to 1980, the state pursued a policy of presence: the borders were controlled, but those who reached Hong Kong were allowed to stay. In 1980, for the first time, Hong Kong closed its borders.

The arrival of the 1990s, and the prospect of handover to China, will see the struggle for democracy become a major issue (Chiu & Liu 2000), in a context of the birth of the Hong Kong government.

Before withdrawing, the British government promised the introduction of universal suffrage, scheduled for 2012, in a last thumbscrew to China. However, after having been constantly pushed back, universal suffrage has now been postponed, giving rise to huge mobilizations in the fall of 2014, and until 2020, with massive social movements intensifying. Universal suffrage, beyond its political scope, is perceived as a strong potential tool of resistance to Chinese authoritarianism. The new transitional state must now maintain a border vis-à-vis its internal politics to avoid social anger, a border that is not politically a border vis-à-vis China. Everything happens as if the border had only one side.

So what about these identity issues today, under the transitional government and its mini-constitution? The government, increasingly pro-Chinese, is no longer working to nourish a sense of belonging to Hong Kong. Moreover, surveys conducted by the University of Hong Kong show that in 25 years self-identification has evolved⁶⁶:

	Hongkongese	Hong Kong Chinese or Chinese Hongkongese	Chinese
1985	59,2%	–	36,2%
1995	50,2%	15,4%	30,9%
2001	45%	26%	22%
2005	39%	27%	29%
2011	46%	34%	18%

The progression of the "Hong Kong Chinese" identity shows a fluctuating identity and its negotiations, through the hybrid character of the "Hong Kong Chinese" formula. But despite these fluctuations, immigration management remains one of the areas in which identity is constituted in a society. As we have seen through the analysis of the controversy, there is a great deal at stake in dealing with this issue from a political and legislative point of view. There is, however, a class dimension in the distribution of contemporary identities: people who identify themselves as Hongkongese are generally better educated, middle class, younger and mostly women. Conversely, those who identify themselves as Chinese are less educated, working-class, older, and more generally men. This creates a "citizenship from above" (Chiu & Liu 2000). At the same time, the need for a Chinese national identity is taught by the state through educational and media control (Mathews 2008: 58).

Thus, the border is slowly eroded and (re)becomes porous, creating hybrid spaces on/in the border. The border becomes diluted without being able to completely disappear. The barbed wire remains, but the territories interpenetrate.

3.4. A nebulous self-narrative

It would be simplistic, however, to limit identity dynamics to a State will, without taking into account the identity implications in the making of subjectivities, and a reading of identity in terms of possible acts and choices:

Unlike China, but also other typical developments in postcolonial scenarios, the presumed "end" of colonialism in Hong Kong did not lead to national independence, but rather to a retrocession from one power to another, without a process of self-determination for the people most directly concerned. The retrocession is justified by a nationalist discourse of return that leaves little room for questioning or dissent. (...) The challenge for Hong Kong society to remain as it is implies a struggle for intelligibility in a discursive regime that gives credit to difference only on condition that it does not disturb "harmony". This sense of "difference" can never develop as a counter-discourse to nationalism (as Tibetan or Taiwanese nationalism has controversially attempted to do). Devoid of the political possibility of a nationalist alternative, the Hong Kong narrative of difference is much more nebulous: it is often only perceived as a counter-current of malaise that refuses the calm of the surface.

(Leung 2008: 5).

In this excerpt from his book on queer culture in postcolonial Hong Kong, Leung identifies a number of articulations that shape the place of gender and that intersect closely with the dimensions of Hong Kong political identity :

- the postcolonial experience
- the absence of a political dimension (which the history of social movements in Hong Kong, however, puts into perspective)
- the notion of difference subordinated to the notion of harmony
- lack of self-determination and the struggle for intelligibility
- the aspiration to autonomy
- a nebulous self-tale.

Here appears the articulation between identity, postcoloniality and gender, in which different ideological sets cohabit or confront each other. The solidity of gender categories echoes here the affirmation of the solidity of the border, and consequently the homogenization of identity. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) notion of acts of identity constitutes a useful category of analysis here. They define acts of identity as the operations by which each individual identifies himself, a projection of identity traits that can crystallize into norms or symbols, to which one will cling to his identity. There are therefore no a priori identity categories in this reading. This definition has the merit of grasping together the individual and collective dynamics. Tabouret Keller and Le Page postulate that in societies in the process of becoming or societies in flux, individual choice plays a leading role: one could say that there is greater freedom to choose what one wants to be, what one wants to identify with. Conversely, highly focused and polarized contexts such as Europe, China, or India at the same time make such freedom more constrained and put pressure on the individual to conform (id.). This fluidity is illustrated in the self-identifications mentioned above, but also in the nebulous self-story described by Leung and its tension with a homogenization, an identity harmonization. The tension with China and uncertainty about the near future leads to a tendency to tell a hongkongness, which can transcend other categories, including gender. Paradoxically, hongkongness also implies a narrative of gender equality as constitutive, as opposed to China. But in this play between tensions within the border and tensions across borders, China remains the cursor, the limit point in relation to which the actors will situate themselves or be situated, whether as Hong Kongers, as women or as migrants.

There is thus simultaneously a desire to freeze borders and identities, but also, in the nebulous self-story and the movement of acts of identity, a margin of maneuver among the different ideologies of gender in circulation, that allows to speak about gender in order to speak about intercolonialism. Gender then functions as one of the projections of Hong Kong identity.

By inheriting a blurred, multidimensional identity, the proponents of a Hong Kong identity participate in constructing an otherness that is also troubled. This section has allowed us to see how the Hong Kong / 11 China border has shifted from a border that is inclusive for the population and exclusive for the Chinese government to an exclusive but porous border where the government/population distinction is weakening, re-qualifying the dynamics of otherness and identity. Several games of qualification of this identity/otherness tension are then overlaying. Ngo (1999: 1-2) proposes two post-colonial discourse sets circulating on this triangular colonial relationship between Hong Kong, China and the United Kingdom:

- colonialist vs. nationalist / anti-colonial discourse :
 - Hong Kong as apart from China: the rock-desert-desert-capitalist paradise
 - Hong Kong as part of modern Chinese history: Hong Kong is characterized by invasion and humiliation perpetrated by Western powers.
- the discourse of autonomy vs. the discourse of subordination :
 - Hong Kong does not have the conventional attributes of a colony: a weak colonial presence, indirect government, quite a lot of autonomy
 - Hong Kong, the concubine of two masters, torn between the United Kingdom and China.

In addition to these discursive formations, there are discourses that can be qualified as pre-colonial, applying to the Hong Kong-China dual relationship, and which show a continuum of values on the similar/dissimilar axis that runs from ethnic to political:

- Valuation of positive uniqueness: we are the same, we Chinese (ethnic criterion)
- Valuing diversity: we are different, but we can live together (similar but not identical)
- Devaluation of diversity: we are irreconcilable
- Devaluation of uniqueness: we are going to disappear under the uniqueness of Chinese totalitarianism (political criterion).

Here we see the contradictory characteristics of a civic identity and an ethnic identity emerging (Tsang Wing-kwong, quoted by Kan 2012: 73).

4. Migration and filiation in the colonized empire

Without nationalism as an ideological means of passing off the recognition of an authority as an identity trait, with a distinct history of China too short to serve as an identity sediment (lot of Hongkongers having grandparents from or in mainland China) and an uncertain future (especially with regard to the question of universal suffrage), without the racialized otherness of the Chinese (cf. Mainlanders and Hongkongers are the same race: How can we have racism?), the lines of partition of the self and the other will be based on other

axiologies: political, legislative, economic. However, the gendered dimension of the Chinese mothers' scandal also reveals a civilizational axiology in the manufacture of Hong Kong identity. This civilizational dimension, an extension of a cultural and civic dimension, is based on two elements: the place of filiation and the subverted reuse of colonial dichotomies. The combination of these two elements then allows for a non-racialized otherness that will provide a deep cultural foundation for the political argument.

4.1. *Filiation: from blood to sex*

The presence of sex in public discourse, via childbirth, implies the presence of blood⁷⁷. Haraway postulates Trace as "the definition of the relations of lineage and filiation. In 19th and 20th century Europe and the United States, she writes, the terms filiation and race did little to maintain much distinction between the linguistic, national, familial, and physical extensions they implied" (2007: 246). But in Hong Kong, vis-à-vis the PRC, the racial argument is an argument of unification, not of otherness. It is therefore not racialization that will serve as an identity factor. On the contrary, filiation will replace racialization, rather than reinforce it, via a Confucianist reading, thus allowing a non-racialized but "filiationized" identity, which must then be reinforced by values, in this case political values (we who share the same ideal of freedom, the sense of family, the value of work, etc.) that weave a geographical entity.

The axis communism-totalitarianism vs. democracy-liberalism then shows an ideological persistence of the British colonization, and the role of women becomes major as material responsible of filiation. The stakes of the controversy presented above are thus shed a new light: these Chinese women who migrate to Hong Kong to give birth are not only the symbol of the PRC, but they materially disturb the Hong Kong identity, whose solidification is no longer ensured by the state order. Women who break the border are a threat in that they are the bearers of external lineages, in a kind of re-biologized but non-racial reading, while being completely reified (without speech), or animated (represented as locusts), almost without will of their own. Here, the Confucian argument is combined with the Western argument and uses the lineage and the importance of marriage in the service of a hongkongness.

The discourses that support the arrival of Chinese women will, in mirror of this blood-sex migration, resort to the image of the fertile woman, of the crossbreeding that works, like a happy marriage between Hong Kong and China (we remember the discursive formation "Hong Kong the concubine of two masters"). It is a question of appealing to the harmony of the couple, by evacuating the mentions of otherness. Filiation comes here in the same way to reinforce a common ethnicity. However, although it is the women who carry out this action of crossing the border, and who, in doing so, make it malleable, it is always a question of reconciliation with one's "brothers". The corpus of the press, moreover, shows occurrences of brother but no sister:

*Next time you want to shout at a brother from the north, give him a hug instead
our northern big brothers to help stem the invading horde with big bellies.*

Brothers in arms

We see with the second excerpt that these brothers must contain the invading females, to take back in hand the logic of filiation escaping the control of the government. We see here a will to legislate on filiation, notably on the status of the father, leading to a political reading of the lineage that is embodied in the question of the right of land (jus soli) and the right of blood (jus sanguinis)

4.2. *The colonized empire*

"And where there were blood and sex [were also] problems of hygiene, of decadence." (Haraway 2007: 246.). The civilizational reinforcement through lineage calls indeed, for the most extreme discourses of opposition to China, for the civilized/barbaric axiology. Yet this dichotomy is highly polysemic. The barbarian will be so by the yardstick of its Chinese definition, but also by its Western definition. Anne Cheng (2014, s.p.) has shown that the civilized/barbaric opposition in China historically functions on the mastery or non-mastery of rituals. It is therefore possible to change categories through cultural learning, by becoming civilized. In its western version, the categories are more essentialized.

The figure of the barbarian underlies most colonial dichotomies, which culturally delineate colonisers from colonized to draw the framework of civilization. Singh speaks of an "ontological distinction between West and East, which defines the East in terms of everything the West is not: decadent, weak, barbaric, feminine" (1996: 59).

In Hong Kong, as in other places, "immigrants and ethnic minorities are seen as 'undisciplined, outlawed, unrestrained and uncivilized'" (Ma 2008: 64). Videos and websites, letters from readers often points the Chinese as frivolous, dirty, noisy, thieving, lazy, they invade and threaten to impoverish "us", plunder resources. They are sneaky, slip through the immigration net, double in line, force the borders, force acculturation through Mandarin, etc. An anti-Chinese music video ends with the following sentence: "Built by sweat and blood, the prosperous past of British Hong Kong shines no more". These performances are not recent. In the TV series of the 1980s, the mainland Chinese were already portrayed as ignorant of social norms, lazy, tasteless, dirty, thieves, etc. In the 1980s, they were also portrayed in the same way. For a long time, the Hong Kong media have portrayed them as "authoritarian, mysterious, evil, violent and contaminated [evoking dirt but also adulterated food and H1N1 viruses]" (Ma 2008: 72). Here too we find the internal vs. external opposition at work, with the forced crossing of the border and - with Chinese women represented as big-bellied locusts coming to nest in Hong Kong - the idea of an invasion by women, which links the gender dimension to that of animality. In the verbal and visual representations of the corpus, these women are bodies without spirit and without words, without faces.

But it is not the hysteria and irrationality of femininity that is resorted to, rather the strategies of invasion for the reproduction of the lineage. The hysterical woman is already an actress when the mother-to-be is only the object of discord. This is corroborated by another scandal: that of the Chinese who come to rob stocks of milk powder to avoid adulterated products, awakening a real fear of the plundering of resources in certain Hong Kong discourses, again related to (production and) reproduction. Everything happens as if the (female) one who reproduces becomes the (male) one who occupies the territory.

In fact, we find all the elements of the Western barbaric/civilized relationship, coupled with Chinese non-essentialism, which shifts the figure of the barbarian not on the side of race, but on the side of social behavior (remember the excerpt it's not about racism, it's about social manners), then reinforced by filiation. The importance given to the father's nationality in debates on the right to give birth in Hong Kong contributes to this anchoring of filiation, and draws a homology between sexual and political domination (Nandy 2009, cited by Pennycook 1998: 62). Childbirth constitutes a kind of pointer to the foreigner's sexual act which, by transposition, that is, by the media of the women's bodies, comes to materialize a political domination.

The transversals of colonial discourse can thus be reused by former colonized people with an emerging identity to define the "future colonizer" as barbaric, by feminizing it. This is a reversal of the colonial dichotomy. By defining the other, and more particularly foreign women, as the colonized, these Hong Kong discourses reject the colonizer to come by confining it to its role as colonized-feminized as a bulwark, even though these dichotomies were at work in the colonial relationship of the United Kingdom, albeit perhaps more implicitly. The relations of domination then intersected with a high cultural and ideological position for Hong Kong (a democratic ideal, a space of freedom, backed by Western axiology) and a dominant political and economic position for China, blurring the division between center and periphery. In the face of political and economic domination, the discourse of cultural, and even civilizational, superiority is asserted, of which the border is the guarantor and of which Chinese women, crossing borders reduced to animated barbarity, are the threat. It is for this reason that Lii Ding-Tzann describes Hong Kong as a "colonized empire" (1998), diffusing a marginal (cultural) imperialism. In this colonized empire, the figure of the foreign woman carries the triple sign of otherness in motion: gender, civilizational and political. She becomes the bearer of transmission, be it dangerous contagion, beneficial crossbreeding or symbol of reunification.

Conclusion

All these elements form a fundamentally political, even legislative, identity, in a context of Beijing's ever-growing presence. Moreover, Chinese immigration has changed. The new bourgeoisie has replaced political refugees, and is coming to the city to do luxury shopping and real estate speculation, triggering fear among the Hong Kong middle classes. It is still the shadow of the handover that is seen in the arrival of these new migrants, rich and poor alike. The border between Chinese and Hong Kong then consists of a political, moral, economic and cultural yoke that is at the heart of the relations of identification/alterization. Belonging to Hong Kong is about lineage and behavior, rather than people. If the 1950s saw the establishment of a border that was simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, with a distinction between the Chinese population and the Chinese government, the fear of the handover to come would sweep away the flexibility of this double definition in favor of a political border that was increasingly crumbling.

In this context, the qualification of Chinese women will echo in a disturbing way the qualification of the border, the case of the mothers crossing the border is particularly revealing. For these women embody materially and symbolically the arrival of China in Hong Kong. In response to the alarm about the economic management of the "problem" of the mainland mothers, the government then responded with a women's management, differentiating between foreign and Hong Kong women, or even by the nationality of their husbands. It is thus the nationality of the men that will decide the fate of these women, confining them to the role of mothers, that is to say, as bearers of a filiation of which they are not the authors, and over which they have an extremely relative authority, in any case subject to the law. The sexual act and its reproductive outcome then implicitly become the symbol of political domination, and perhaps of a mixing of blood, the 14 symbol of political invasion. Women are thus simultaneously the main actors and the notable absentees of this controversy.

This intertwining of political and gender issues thus reveals a civilizational foundation of Hong Kong identity that is based, on the one hand, on filiation and, on the other hand, on a reuse of colonial dichotomies, which will then make it possible to define the Chinese as barbarians, and consequently feminized, in a homology between sexual and political domination. By putting itself in the position of a colonized empire, Hong Kong identity reappropriates the colonial canons, including those calling for gender, as a political defense mechanism,

to the detriment of foreign women. To the intercolonial and interimperial situation of Hong Kong is then added the tension between the evidence of colonial empires and the turmoil of a colonized empire. Not here in the sense of a transition, but in the sense of a crossing of power relations: in the negotiation of the attributes of colonization, China granted itself economic and political domination, while Hong Kong claimed civilizational superiority.

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¹ Lui (2008) mentions 7500 inhabitants in 1844.

² Nicola Di Cosmo (1998) [quoted in Elliott 2006] uses the term « colonial empire » to describe the Qing in Tibet and 2 Xinjiang, at least until the mid-nineteenth century. Bruneau speaks of a "policy of 'colonization'

organizing or encouraging immigration and the settlement of Han populations in [regions] that are very sparsely populated compared to China proper. » (2011, §24).

³ In corpus linguistics, collocations refer to the repeated proximity (in a close or immediate context) of two terms. Collocation searches are based on the idea that "lexical items acquire meaning not in isolation but only taken in context. Their meaning depends largely on their collocates, the relevant units (...) that surround them. The constitution of meaning is the result of a collocation, of a sequence of words in a given context, repeating the sequences that have been formed again and again in the discourse, and therefore, in the corpus." (Teubert 2009, §1). The graph above shows the frequency (lexeme size) and the proximity (link length) of the terms most present in the corpus, excluding grammatical words (such as the, of, that, etc.).

⁴ These reconfigurations of identity, which move from the racial question to the cultural question, echo the European reconfigurations of racism, particularly in its "clash of civilizations" formula.

⁵ The tradition/modernity dichotomy is a commonplace in the discourse on China, whether in scientific, political, governmental, etc. literature (see Cheng's work on the manufacture of tradition in Chinese intellectual space, for example Cheng 2002). I would specify, if need be, that my use of the terms tradition and modernity in the rest of the text refers to their axiological use in the Chinese debate, whatever the content they are charged with. I also use the terms traditionalism and modernism in the following text to recall their ideological dimensions.

⁶ <http://hkupop.hku.hk/english/popexpress/ethnic/eidentity/poll/datatables.html> The poll results presented here are from 2014.

⁷ "The presence of blood involved the presence of sex," wrote Haraway (2007: 246).