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## **Abstract**

This research investigates the discursive construction of Hong Kong identity in mediated political communication, in order to understand the relationship between media discourse and the political economy of the media in Hong Kong, as well as the political and economic context in Hong Kong, and thereby reveal the dynamic of the involvement of the media in the politics of Hong Kong identity. It is argued that the Hong Kong identity has changed substantially over the past few decades, and that these changes have been shaped by broader political changes, economic developments and cultural shifts, all of which have been filtered through the Hong Kong media system. To demonstrate this, the thesis employs a novel combination of textual and contextual analysis, drawing on analytical techniques and concepts from corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, the political economy of the media, and sociological theories of identity. To be able to assess the relative role of the media system factors and the broader contextual elements in shaping the mediated representations of Hong Kong, the research encompasses two case studies, one focusing on the media coverage of the 2004 interpretation of the Basic Law regarding universal suffrage, the other on the coverage of the Chief Executive Election in 2005. The analysis reveals that the mediated construction of Hong Kong identity is closely related to the political economy of individual newspapers – the newspaper type, its readership, ownership, political affiliation and commercial orientation. The comparison between the two case studies also shows that the media representations of identity are also inflected by the characteristics of the broader society of Hong Kong, its politics and economy at the chosen points of time. The results of the study contribute to a better understanding of Hong Kong, its identity, political culture, and its media system. These results also suggest that the analytical approach used, based on a parallel examination of the political economy of the media and the discursive constructions of identity in the media, has a lot to offer and could be fruitfully applied to other cases around the world.

**Keywords:** Press, Politics, elections, identity, Hong Kong, commercialisation

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## Abbreviations

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ADPL	Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood
BNC	British National Corpus
CCP	Communist Party of China
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CE	Chief Executive (of HKSAR)
CEEEO	The Chief Executive Election Ordinance
CEPA	The Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement
CL	Corpus Linguistics
DBA	Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong
DP	Democratic Party (of Hong Kong)
EC	Election Committee (of Chief Executive of HKSAR)
FC	Functional Constituencies
FTU	Federation of Trade Union (of Hong Kong)
GC	Geographical constituencies
HKAS	Hong Kong Affairs Society
HKBU	Hong Kong Baptist University
HKCU	The Chinese University of Hong Kong
HKEJ	Hong Kong Economic Journal
HKHRM	Hong Kong Human Right Monitor
HKIFJ	Hong Kong Federation of Journalists
HKNEA	Hong Kong News Executives' Association
HKPA	Hong Kong Progressive Alliance
HKPC	Hong Kong Preparatory Committee
HKPPA	Hong Kong Press Photographers Association
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administration Region
HKU	The University of Hong Kong
LDF	Liberal Democratic Federation (of Hong Kong)
LegCo	Legislation Committee (of Hong Kong)
LP	Liberal Party (of Hong Kong)
MP	Meeting Point
NPC	National People's Congress
NPCSC	Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

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PRC	People's Republic of China
PWC	Preliminary Working Committee
RTHK	Radio Television Hong Kong
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SC	Selection Committee (of CE and LegCo)
SCMP	South China Morning Post
TKP	Ta Kong Po
UDHK	United Democrats of Hong Kong
WWP	Wen Wei Po

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