歧视性的报纸论述：关于大陆女性赴港生育的文本分析

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摘要：香港是一个移民城市，其人口主要由中国籍移民组成。然而，近年来香港社会对于来自中国内地的移民及其它来港的内地人的排斥态度和歧视行为愈演愈烈。考虑到 1997 年香港回归中国之后因各种原因来港的大陆人越来越多，此种状况令人忧虑。在各类来港内地人中，持双程证来港产子的内地孕妇（"双非"孕妇）首当其冲地受到了污名化的遭遇，以及个人层面和制度层面的歧视。本研究旨在探究"论述"作为一种基本由主导群体（本地人）所控制的社会资源在上述污名化过程中所起的作用。论述分析显示了社会中的权力分配不均，这种不平等使得主导群体能够利用论述结构和论述策略建构对于被污名化群体不利的社会反应，而被建构的态度、意识形态、社会规范和价值进一步合理化、强化及复制了压迫关系。本文对四份香港主要报纸在 2001-2013 年期间关于内地来港产子孕妇的所有报道进行文本分析，以期了解报纸论述对其进行污名化的具体机制。以往文献曾经提出的多种歧视性论述策略在本研究中均得到证实。另外，在香港背景下研究者发现了三种独特的论述策略：首先，各家报纸采取的歧视性论述策略随社会形势而变化；其次，报纸论述不仅成功构建了污名和歧视，即使在引起污名化和歧视行为的事件在政策层面上得到解决后，各种报道仍然继续强化着污名和歧视；最后，被污名化的群体在非其责任的负面事件上亦会被指责。本文结尾进一步探讨了这种公共论述分析的政策意义。

关键词：歧视性论述；污名化；报纸文本分析

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1. Background

Majority of migrants/immigrants in Hong Kong have Chinese ethnic origins. However, Hong Kong poses a peculiar case on its exclusionary attitudes and discriminatory actions toward not only new mainland migrants but also other groups of Chinese people they are exposed to. The number and types of the latter, such as mainland travelers and mainland pregnant women, have increased sharply since Hong Kong's reunification with China in 1997. In the past three years, the intra-ethnic conflicts have become so severe that various radical expressions include marches and demonstrations, hostile advertisements and insults in public places appear.   Even the media in Hong Kong tends to use biased statistics and emotional words to report relevant news. This study aims to explore the social mechanisms of the discriminative discourse in Hong Kong mass media using the case of mainland non-citizen (later known as "double-not") pregnant women who chose to give birth in HK and obtain a HK permanent residence for their new-born.

On July 20th, 2001, Hong Kong Supreme Court ruled in the case [2001] 2 HKLRD 533 Director of Immigration v. Chong Fung Yuen (known as the 庄丰源案) in favor of Chong, a boy born in HK during his non HK-citizen parents were visiting HK with two-way permits. The Supreme Court decision grants Chinese citizens right of abode in HK regardless of the HK immigration status of their parents. Despite the Central government and the public concern on the increasing number of mainland migrants, the Supreme Court insisted to defend its rights in interpreting the Basic Law and refused to seek an interpretation from the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) . Though considered to be a hallmark in upholding judicial independence in the process of elaboration and consolidation of the regime of rights in the HKSAR (Chen 2011),

the influence of the case gradually slipped out of control when more and more mainland pregnant women chose to give birth in HK after the open-up of Individual Visit Scheme (自由行) in later 2003. HK citizens found their medical system not sufficiently prepared for the business expansion, rendering fewer choices and poorer service for local pregnant women. Together with magnified effects of mainland pregnant women seeking less expensive service at public hospitals through illegal means, the discontent rose up to an outburst of rage accompanied by discriminatory actions during these recent years and pressured the HKSAR government to mandate a 0-quota for mainland non-citizen pregnant women in not only public hospitals but also private ones since January 2013.

Thousands of news articles from various HK newspapers witnessed the process where non-citizen Chinese were degraded from law-protected parents of new HK citizens, reenergizing the medical industry as well as preventing aging of society, to burdens and problem of HK society, greedy and lawless deviants who unscrupulously dispossessed HK citizens of their resource. The newspaper attention continues even half a year later now that 0-quota policy is enforced. Some suggest that some of the articles were far from objectively depicting the real situation, but "wickedly inciting conflicts between mainland and HK compatriots" (Ming Pao, Mar.10, 2012). Does this accuse bear any truth? What role do newspapers play in the problematization and delegitimation process of mainland non-citizen pregnant women?

2. Literature Review

It would be fruitless to study the problematization and delegitimation of mainland non-citizen pregnant women as an isolated incident from the whole situation of HK-China relationship. However, this issue does provide for an insight into the mechanisms on how categories of deviance are constructed by the dominant group during a time of intra-ethnic group conflict. The fact that the practice for mainland non-citizen pregnant women to give birth in HK lasted at least a decade before the gradual delegitimation suggests that the deviance cannot be solely attributed to the acts of the pregnant women; instead, attention should be turned to the creation and application of rules, the infraction of which constitutes deviance (Becker 1963).

Deviant typification of others arises in social interactions. When a subordinate group comes forward to a dominant group as competitors of valued social resources, conflicts are likely to arise; though both groups may negatively evaluate the other, the stigma attached to the subordinate group are more likely to prevail as the dominant group possesses access to key resource (Fiske 1993). Consequently, members of the subordinate group tend to be stereotyped, excluded, and discriminated against (Major & O'Brien 2005).

One kind of the key resource whose access is mostly possessed by the dominant group and which contributes to stigmatization and thus deviant typification is discourse (Van Dijk 1993; Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Wodak 1997). Text and talk carries significant social influence in producing and reproducing inequality (Fariclough & Wodak 1997: 258), because they are in nature social representations that cast effects on social recognition. On the subject of social stigma, discourse analysis can help reveal how power groups "construct" preferred social cognition on the stigmatized group using discourse structure and strategies, and the "constructed"

attitudes, ideologies, norms and values serve to legitimize, reinforce and reproduce domination (Van Dijk 1993: 280).

There are various works documenting the discourse structures and strategies that serve domination in the past two decades (Van Dijk 1988, 1991; Graumann & Wintermantel 1989; Bar-Tal 1989; Wodak 1997; Hovat et al. 1997; Teo 2000). In analyzing discourses adopted by a HK newspaper regarding another case on Chinese mainlanders claiming the right-of-abode, Flowerdew et al. (2002) developed a composite taxonomy of discriminatory discourse practices. They found that among the different terms documented in previous works emerge four main categories, which they called negative other presentation, scare tactics, blaming the victim, and delegitimation (ibid, pp. 324-330). The taxonomy, together with their findings in the HK case, is summarized in table 1.

Category of Discourse Strategies	Specific Strategies	Description	Example of News Discourses on Right-of-Abode Case and Subsequent Chinese Migrants
Negative Other Presentation	Negatively Connoted Metaphors	Using metaphors that convey negative implications of the target group	Influx; Flood
	Negative Attributions	Negative characteristics attributed to the target group	Poor, dirty, picky, stingy; Uneducated, ignorant, unemployable mainlanders;
	Labeling	Collocating and repeating a group of labels for the target groups	overstayers; claimants
Scare Tactics	Threats to Interests of Dominant Group	Inciting fear and resentment against target group by predicting threats to public interest	Serious and adverse impact on education; Cause rapid increase in unemployment rate and more crowded living environment
	Threats to Stability	Predicting threats to public order and political stability	Encourage activities of snakeheads; Organized smuggling and illegal migration wave
	Use of Quasi-Objective Figures	Citing exaggerated estimates and statistics	Court gives 1.67 million right of abode; May send jobless rate spiraling to 25%
Blaming the Victim	Scapegoating	Accusing the target group for creating burden of social resources so as to justify discrimination	Influx of migrants could prompt a brain drain. More people would emigrate if socio-economic conditions deteriorated after arrival of migrants
	Distortion	Presenting distorted picture/ highly unlikely scenarios on influence of target group	Negative effect on men's fidelity…acknowledging HK people taking second wives
Delegitimation	Pointing to Illegal Activities of Target Group	Pointing to illegitimate status and illegal activities associated with target group	Enter HK illegally; Illegitimate children
	Mediating and Magnifying Voices Opposed to Target Group	Using officials or unidentified dominant group members' voice, to some extent magnified	Most people support blocking the mass influx; Mainland official said ruling was a mistake

Table 1: Taxonomy of discriminatory news discourse strategies

In Flowerdew et al.'s case (Ng Ka Ling v. Director of Immigration), the ruling of Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal was overthrown by a later NPCSC interpretation, and the predicted negative consequence of massive mainland migration did not take place. Comparatively, the issue this article examines never concludes legally – after more than a decade's mainlander migration through giving birth in HK, the government implements the 0-quota policy. Therefore, the discriminatory discourse as examined in Flowerdew et al. (2002) was in context of social fear of the future, while the texts this study were a mixture of prediction of the future and response to the present situation. Do the discursive strategies found in previous case also present in the issue at hand? To what extent the strategies differ, and why?

3. Research Methods

Four major HK newspapers are chosen for content analysis focusing on stigmatizing discourse against the mainland non-citizen pregnant women. The four papers are Apple Daily (苹果日报), Ming Pao (明报), Sing Tao Daily (星岛日报), and Wen Wei Po (文汇报). Significant variation among the chosen newspapers in aspects of political stance and targeted audience is generally accepted and supported by survey among the press employees (Su 2001; Boxun.com 2003). In respect to extent of pro-CPC, Wen Wei Po ranks highest among the highest of all HK newspapers and Apple Daily the lowest, Sing Tao Daily and Ming Pao are intermediate, with Sing Tao Daily slightly more pro-CPC. In respect to targeted audience, Apple Daily is to a great extent vulgarized, Wen Wei Po and Ming Pao relatively more appealing to elites, and Sing Tao Daily at medium. The newspapers are thus chosen so as to more accurately represent the general discursive strategies adopted by HK newspapers and avoid serious bias due to divergence of a single newspaper based on its political stance or marketing orientation.

The study examines news reports during the 12 years between the ruling of Chong's case (July 20, 2001) and first half year of 2013. The time under investigation is divided into 24 periods of half a year; the only exception is the first period from July 20 to the end of 2001, which is 20 days shorter than the other. Keyword search among articles from the four newspapers within the time frame is conducted in the electronic platform for Chinese newspapers, Wisenews.com. Articles that contain the keyword "pregnant women and (double-not or ((mainland or Chinese or non-local) and entering HK)"，or in original search in Chinese language, 孕妇 and (双非 or ((内地 or 大陆 or 非本地) and 来港)) were retrieved. A total of 4396 articles suffice the keyword search, and a manual screening eliminates 373 irrelevant articles, leaving 4023 articles as the sample. Articles are recorded on the newspaper they appeared on, the sections they belonged, and their entire content of head and lead.

Content analysis is conducted in two ways. Firstly, an overview of articles' themes (i.e. government and policy making, law, social resources, enforcement of law and policy, individual incidents, health, and opposition between HK and mainland) is examined by coding each half year's top twenty words with highest frequency into categories. Then a detailed content analysis on the articles' headlines and leads is performed following the discriminatory discourse analysis tradition. The second part focuses on heads and leads only, because these two are most salient parts of a newspaper article (Bell 1991). The headlines are the "identification tag" (Van Dijk & Smitherman-Donaldson 1988: 226) that set the semantic, schematic and organizational tone for

the news, and the leads as micro stories directionally summarize the news and help readers focus attention on the most important message that the news stories wish to convey.

4. Findings

4.1 Descriptive statistics of the sample

An overview of the sample is shown in Table 2 and Chart 1. The second half of 2006 to first half of 2007, and year 2011 to 2012 see booming of news reports and the second booming is especially rich in numbers, accounting for more than half of all the news reports in the whole 12 years. This is also the time of frequent discriminative actions towards mainland pregnant women that ultimately leads to delegitimation of mainland pregnant women, and the theme of these news reports will be explored in next section. The intensity of reports lowered after the 0-quota policy is enforced at the start of 2013, but there are still a considerable number of articles on this issue. It is of interest to explore the theme of these follow-up reports and whether they are still reinforcing the negative stereotypes of mainland pregnant women.

Time	NO.OF ARTICLES	Apple Daily	Ming Pao	Sing Tao Daily	Wen Wei Po
2001_2	56	17	17	13	9
2002_1	9	0	2	5	2
2002_2	3	0	1	1	1
2003_1	7	2	2	2	1
2003_2	6	2	1	3	0
2004_1	3	0	2	0	1
2004_2	62	13	20	15	14
2005_1	45	11	16	9	9
2005_2	8	2	1	4	1
2006_1	30	6	6	9	9
2006_2	302	62	93	74	73
2007_1	352	79	96	94	83
2007_2	70	14	22	19	15
2008_1	29	3	15	4	7
2008_2	38	8	7	16	7
2009_1	23	4	5	5	9
2009_2	60	14	17	16	13
2010_1	43	6	9	16	12
2010_2	28	5	7	6	10
2011_1	415	79	126	117	93
2011_2	340	75	92	99	74
2012_1	1451	327	344	345	435
2012_2	341	91	79	74	97
2013_1	303	67	56	91	89

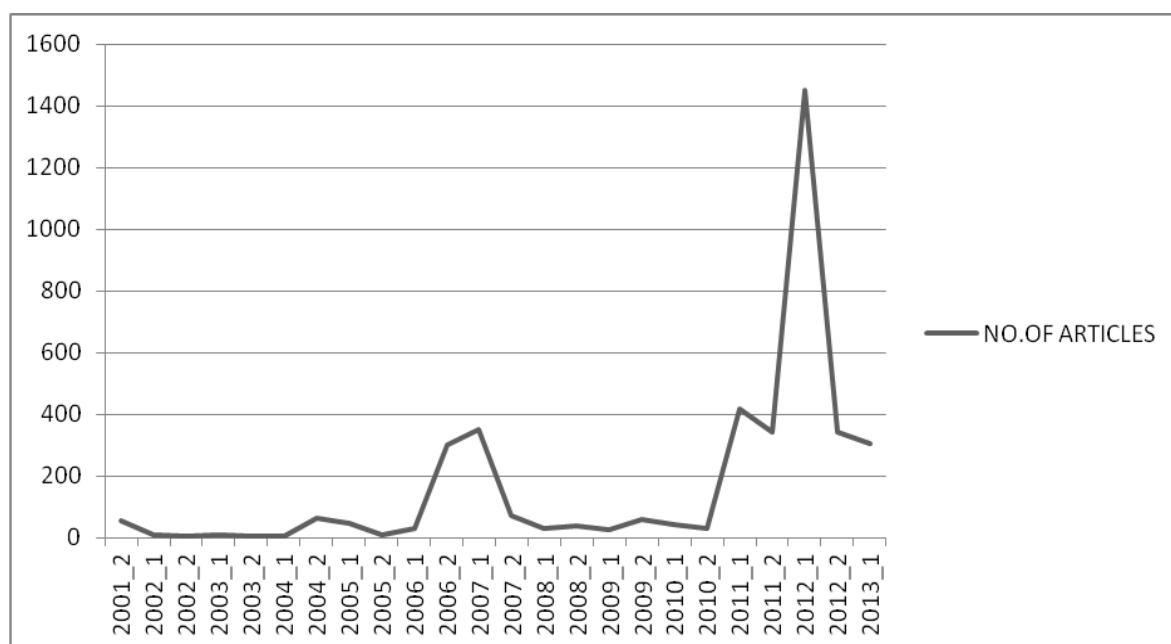Table 2: Overview of articles in total and per newspaper

Chart 1: Overview of trends of number of news reports in each time period

Through time, the articles on the issue not only increased in number, but also take up more sections on the newspaper - the issue appears to public attention not only as news release (generally in section A), but also attracts more comments from news analysts as well as the public (as shown in section E), and intriguingly shows up in sections related to home education/ parents' information (section F), entertainment (section C and D), celebrities (section Z), and lifestyle (section P). Chart 2 present the trends of the issue on varies sections of newspapers.
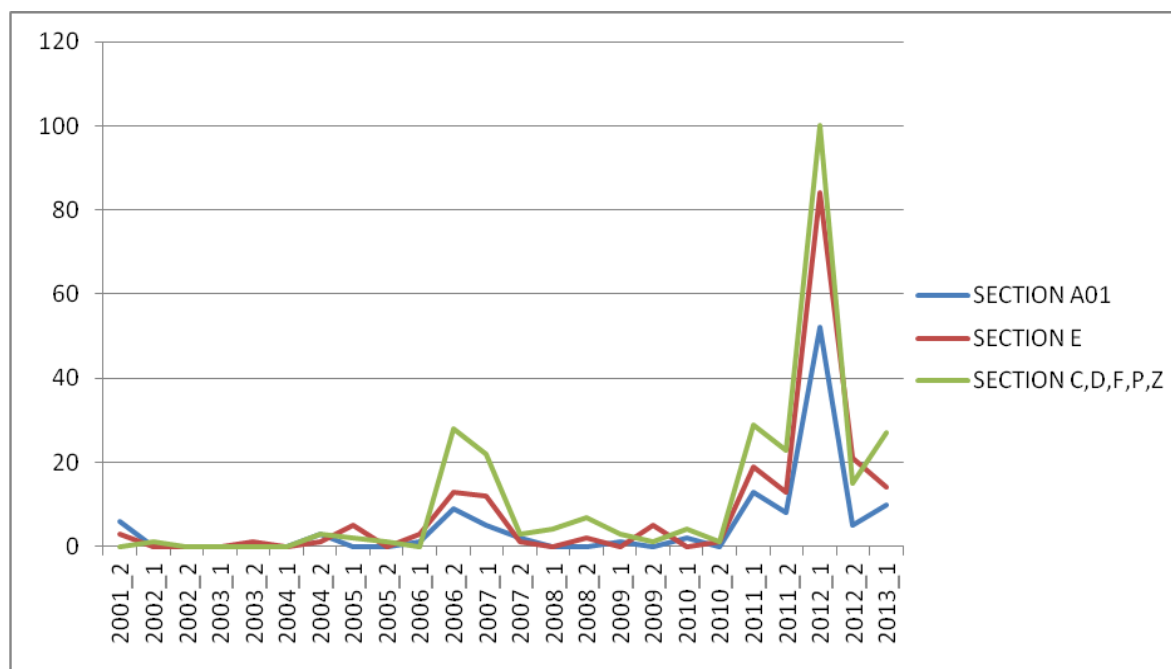

Chart 2: Number of articles on front page, commentary section, and other non-news sections

The numbers of articles in each of the three types of captured sections show similar trends, which

also corresponds to the total number of articles on newspapers. The only exception is the increasing trend for articles on front page and non-news sections, while the whole trend is decreasing (as shown in Chart 1). While the slightly increase in front page articles can be mostly attributed to the discussion of the release of the new 0-quota policy, the more apparent increase in the frequency in non-news section seems to suggest this issue has become an disgraced symbol that is integrated into everyday language.

4.2 Content analysis on the trends of theme

In order to examine the general themes of the articles over time, this study first generates each period's top 20 words of highest frequency and codes the high-frequency words' categories. The periods that contain less than 50 articles and are hence insufficient for high-frequency words generation are omitted in this phase of analysis. These periods include:

1) 2002 to first half of 2004
2) 2005 to first half of 2006
3) 2008 to first half of 2009
4) 2010

The high-frequency words in other periods are coded into seven categories, which are:

1) Government and policy-making
2) Rule of law
3) Social resources (including medical resources)
4) Enforcement of policy and law
5) Individual cases
6) Health
7) Opposition between HK and mainland China

Chart 3 shows the trends of the seven categories. Government and policy-making is consistently discussed with heat over the years. Law-related discussion were major in the early and late periods, with the first period mostly discussing the significance of upholding the HK's rule of law and the second debating the choice of appealing to re-interpretation from NPCSC to prevent mainland women to give birth in HK. Enforcement of laws and policy was of great concern in 2001, when many predicted that organized illegal migration and snakeheads activities might grew out of control after the court ruling. However, facts did not correspond to fears, and in subsequent years law and policy enforcement was not of great importance. Opposition between HK and mainland Chinese is constantly touched with medium frequency, the peak of which appears in the first half of 2011, immediately before heated demonstration and discriminatory actions took place in society. A sharp decrease appears in the category of health. Before 2011, articles discussed the illegal action of women already in labor rushing through customs to get into public hospitals in relation to the danger that is faced by the pregnant women and the babies, not as much were discussed in the late three years.
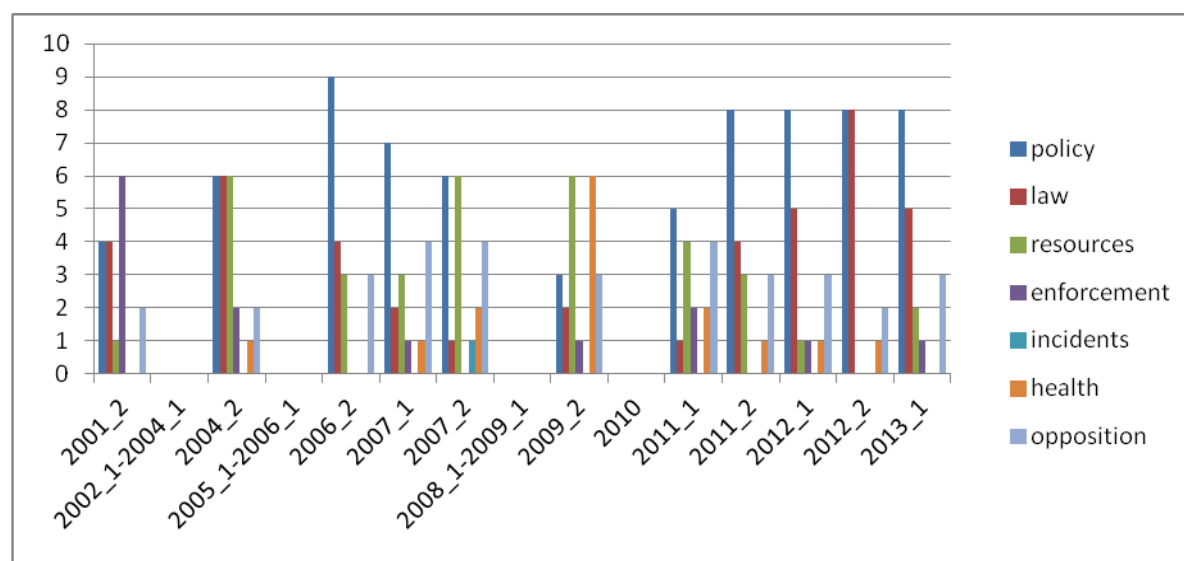
Chart 3: Themes of the articles extracted by 20 high-frequency words

4.3 Content analysis on discriminatory discursive strategies

Three periods are chosen for detailed analysis on discriminatory discursive strategies as appeared in headlines and leads. The first period is the second half of 2001, immediately after the ruling of right-of-abode case, documenting the initial reaction of HK people in regards to the issue at hand. The second is the first half of 2011, the immediate proceeding of which is the heated demonstration and discrimination. The last period examined is the first half of 2013, a time after the 0-quota policy.

Articles appearing in these three periods are firstly been screened on whether the mainland non-pregnant women issue is the major topic. Those only mentioning the issue as an example of other arguments are excluded from analysis. The remaining are 49 articles in 2001, 250 in 2011 and 131 in 2013. The headlines and leads of the remaining articles are coded based on Flowerdew et al.'s (2002) scheme of discriminatory discourse strategies. Results are shown in Table 3.

	2001_2	2011_1	2013_1
negative connoted metophors	8	22	6
Negative attributes	0	0	0
labeling	0	1	67
threats to interests	0	13	7
threats to stability	3	4	5
sensational figures and estimations	2	25	9
blaming the victim	1	11	13
distortion	0	0	0
illegitimate/unethical activities	19	18	47
mediating opposing voices	0	22	1

Table 3: discriminatory discourse strategies in the periods examined

On the issue of mainland pregnant women in the investigated periods, no examples of negative attributes and distortion strategies are identified. The seemingly lack of negative attributes is probably due to the analysis is carried out only on contents of headlines and leads but not the body, which in Flowerdew et al.'s (2002) sample is also the most likely part that negative attribute is found. Distortion, on the other hand, is also very rare in Flowerdew et al.'s (2002) study. This strategy's absence in HK case as compared to the western literature provides for future studies.

The difference in strategies in the current study as compared to Flowerdew et al. (2002) is also found in three other strategies – use of quasi-objective figures, pointing to illegal activities associated with the target group, and Scapegoating.

1) In our sample, it is found that not only exaggerated figures, but also and more frequently exaggerated estimation of social situations is adopted to achieve the effect of scaring. In this study this strategy is hence incorporated as sensational figures and estimations.

2) Not only do newspapers frequently point to illegal activities, they also emphasize on other nominal aspects that the mainland pregnant women are deemed to violate, mostly the actions that are considered unethical but do not necessarily violate the laws

3) Whereas Scapegoating is traditionally used to refer to blaming the discriminated group for the burdens they create for the dominant group and is present and future oriented, in the current sample we find the newspapers continue to blame the mainland pregnant women even after the 0-quota policy, because with the withdraw of mainland pregnant women as customers, the private hospitals chose to higher the price to compensate the business loss and HK local pregnant women have to pay significantly more, extending this strategy to a past dimension.

The trend of different usage of discriminatory discourse strategies (presented by the frequency of recorded usage weighted by the total number of news articles in the specific period) is shown in Chart 4.
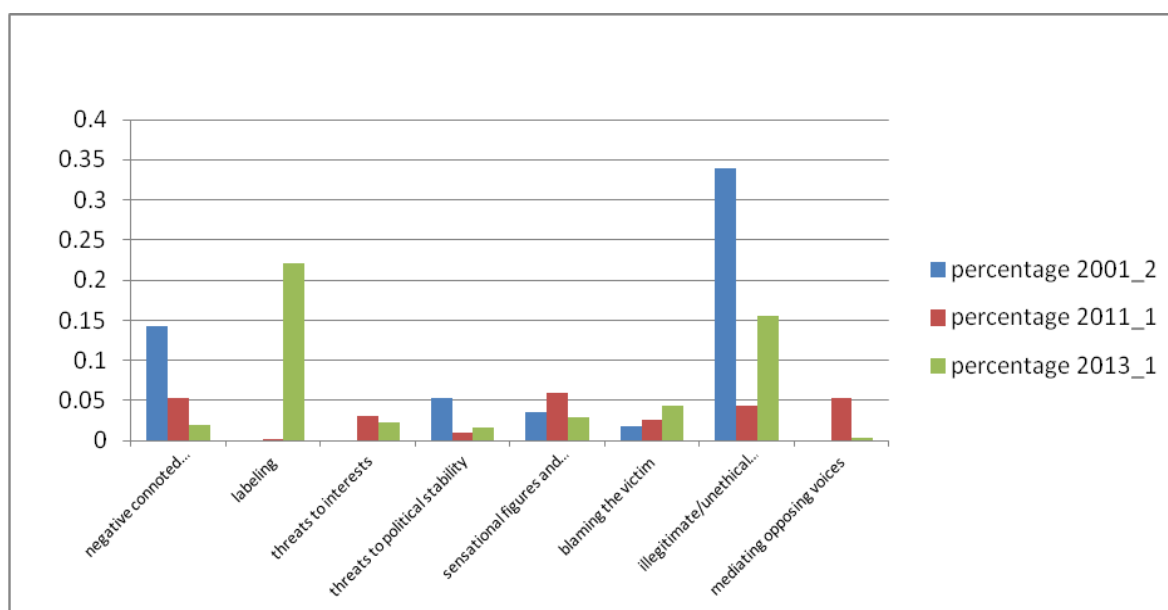

Chart 4: trends of discourse strategies recorded in the three periods

Some intriguing features are presented by the bar chart and are explained more fully below:

1) After the court ruling, newspaper articles talked about the coming mainland non-citizen pregnant women in very negative ways, mostly focusing on the predicted illegal actions they may commit and used many negatively connotated metaphors. The drop in percentage of these two strategies in the later two periods seems to suggest they don't sell, very likely due to inconsistency with facts.

2) Though all strategies mostly equally distributed in the early half of 2011, it is slightly higher in usage of sensational figures and estimations. More than one in every 20 articles contains exaggerated claims in their headlines and leads during this period, which is very inflammatory and to a certain extent confirms the Chinese governor's accuse of some newspapers "wickedly incite conflicts". The prevalence of strategy mediating and magnifying opposing voices is also the highest among the three periods examined. By citing industry figures' and anonymous local citizens' exclusive attitudes towards the mainland pregnant women, the newspapers may have helped construct a "consensus" among the audience that justifies and reinforces discrimination towards the mainland non-citizen pregnant women.

3) Labeling of the mainland non-citizen pregnant women as "double-not" (双非) is very common in 2013, the use of which did not appear once in previous two periods. Though the 0-quota policy has effectively stopped mainland women to give birth in HK through normal means, the newspapers continue to practice discriminatory strategies towards them, and now with a stigmatized label.

5. Discussion

This study investigates articles from four major HK newspapers in order to understand the mechanisms of delegitimization of Chinese mainland non-citizen pregnant women using discourse analysis. While the number of newspaper articles largely corresponds to the later problematization of the issue and our examinations on news reports' themes yield no significant agitation, detailed discourse analysis on discriminatory strategies bring some power-driven stigmatization to light.

Firstly, in different time periods, newspapers' discriminatory discourse strategies vary in response to changing social situations.   The dominant group constantly adjusts the strategies against the subordinate group, choosing the ones that are not far away from truth (i.e. to provide an incomplete picture of social statistics) or not easily detected to incite resentment and fears (i.e. to discuss the issue using higher moral-salience terms like "law").   Secondly, even after the issue directly incited discrimination is solved, the discriminatory discourse continues to reinforce the negative attitudes toward the subordinate group. Finally, in the extreme discriminatory case of scapegoating, victim is blamed not only for what they may have done, but also for what they have not done. In the current issue, the mainland pregnant women are held responsible for competing with local citizens on medical resources, and when they are excluded from the medical system, they are still blamed for the rise of price in private hospitals, which is a natural result of market.

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