DISCOURSE, SOCIAL SCALES, AND EPIPHENOMENALITY OF LANGUAGE POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF A LOCAL, HONG KONG NGO

by

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Elizabeth Tso, titled Discourse, Social Scales, and Epiphenomenality of Language Policy: A Case Study of a Local, Hong Kong NGO, and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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“Speak up for those who have no voice, for the justice of all who are dispossessed. Speak up, judge righteously, and defend the cause of the oppressed and needy” (Proverbs 31:8-9 New Living Translation).

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ABSTRACT

In this multi-methodological (Gee, 2011; Hult & D. Johnson, 2015) study, I examine Richard Ruiz’s (2014) original concept of the epiphenomenal nature of language in language policy and planning (LPP) across social scales (Hult, 2013) in Hong Kong. While research in Hong Kong has focused on interactions between schools, teachers, students, parents, business, and the government, the work on non-profits and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) remains a neglected social scale. Addressing this gap, I examine the role of a local NGO, Hong Kong Unison (Unison), as a social actor involved in the negotiation of language-in-education policies for the city’s ethnic minority students. Through the collection of one decade of publically accessible documents, I created a corpus of Unison’s work. Corpus linguistics approaches and a wider-angle perspective to critical discourse analysis (cf. Tian, 2006, 2008) were combined in order to highlight salient patterns and discourses within the data (cf. Baker, 2016). Corpus and discursive analyses indicate that Unison is primarily involved in transforming language policies through their active role in increasing public awareness about the social, political, and educational difficulties ethnic minority students encounter in Hong Kong. Furthermore, the NGO’s ideologies reveal the epiphenomenal nature of LPP. Epiphenomenality reflects how decisions made about language are influenced and shaped by non-linguistic phenomena. Unison’s negotiation of LPP demonstrates how their decisions about language are connected to issues of equality, justice, economic opportunity, educational attainment, and social advancement. These ideologies manifest themselves in dialogue across social scales, demonstrating Unison’s impact in negotiating LPP in Hong Kong. This study, while providing more insight into LPP research by examining the role of a local NGO, continues to raise
questions on how to best understand how multiple scales intersect in the policymaking process, and how the epiphenomenal nature of language shapes decision-making.
CHAPTER 1
A Tale of Hong Kong: Introduction

After his first visit to Hong Kong, American novelist Paul Theroux expressed his enchantment with the city: “I knew at once I wanted to write a story set there [Hong Kong]” (2007). In a similar manner, after my first experience in Hong Kong, I also wanted to write a story about the city. Heralded in tourism advertisements as “Asia’s World City” (Hong Kong Tourism Bureau [HKTB], 2016), Hong Kong is described as a place that embraces a unique Chinese and British history and promotes its diversity of cultures and languages. As I began to explore the city, the divisions of poverty, language, and ethnicity that clearly contradicted the claims of multiculturalism intrigued me. The main tourist areas in central Hong Kong, boasting ocean views of Victoria Harbor, were filled with lavish shopping malls with over 230 stores¹, luxurious products², expensive cuisines, and multilingual signs in Chinese (both traditional and simplified characters) and English. Sales assistants would easily switch between English, Mandarin, and Cantonese to engage with potential customers and entice them to purchase their designer products. Strolling outside of the main tourist areas, approaching the central public library, I saw many South East Asian women sitting on towels on the steps fanning themselves in the humid heat of the summer. Unlike the sights of businessmen enjoying fine dining in the harbor, these women, comfortably dressed in T-shirts, shorts, and sandals, ate small packed lunches. All of them spoke languages I was less familiar with, although I was able to pick out various words in Thai or Tagalog. As many Chinese quickly rushed past the steps of women, I realized that this scene, starkly contrasting with the opulence of the shopping centers, revealed the stories in Hong Kong that are often overlooked—the stories of ethnic minority residents.

¹ Shopping centers in Hong Kong, such as Times Square or SOGO, boast over 200 stores and restaurants (HKTB, 2016).
² The Hong Kong Tourism Bureau (2016) describes the central area in Hong Kong as the city’s major concentration of luxury goods, high fashion, and chic boutiques.
This dissertation, inspired by my encounter with the expansive divides of social class, ethnicity, and poverty in Hong Kong, tells part of the story of the ethnic minority peoples in the city through an exploration of language and education policy, the effects of these policies, and the role of non-governmental organizations in promoting advocacy for these people groups.

1.1 Language and Education Policy for Ethnic Minorities

Educational opportunities for ethnic minority (EM) students in Hong Kong are consistently plagued by limited opportunities and inferior standards as they battle poverty and discrimination, and suffer from low educational attainment (E. Cheung, 2015; Gao, 2012a, 2012b; Hong Kong Council of Social Services [HKCSS], 2014; Hue & Kennedy, 2011, 2012; Kennedy, 2012; Lau, 2015; Lhatoo, 2015; Ngo, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2014; Zhao, 2015). Although these issues have resulted in increased media attention, in particular through coverage in Hong Kong’s prominent, international English newspaper, The South China Morning Post (E. Cheung, 2015; Ip, 2015; Lhatoo, 2015; Lin & Pérez-Milans, 2012; Ngo, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; Pérez-Milans, 2014; Zhao, 2015), and the popular independent press and blog, Hong Kong Free Press (Zeng, 2015a, 2015b), the government’s responses to the plight of EM students have been minimal. While the Hong Kong Chief Executive’s policy addresses from 2014 onward have promised to devote more attention to the situation of EM students, little work has been done, and other governmental officials, including the director of education, have maintained that the status quo of language and educational policies in Hong Kong are sufficient to address the needs of all students and shall remain unchanged (cf. Ip, 2015).

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3 During Fall 2015, ethnic minority populations consistently made headlines after an incident of gang violence in the Hong Kong subway in September. After this event, news articles increasingly covered stories about the difficulties in EM communities. In particular, poverty and poor education are pinpointed as possible causes for recent violence and cultural misunderstandings (cf. Lhatoo, 2015; Ngo, 2015; Ye, 2016; Zeng, 2015; Zhao, 2015).

4 In the most recent elections in September 2016, the Hong Kong Legislative Council (LegCo) has, for the first time, created a subcommittee on the rights of ethnic minorities. This subcommittee participated in its first LegCo meeting on 12 October 2016 (LegCo, 2016). The role of this committee in developing changes for ethnic minorities remains a topic for future research.
Consequently, educational programs in government-funded public schools have perpetuated exclusionary policies and practices (cf. HKCSS, 2014; Lau, 2015).

Current trends in the study of language planning and policy (LPP) suggest that in order to paint a more comprehensive picture of a policy’s context, researchers and planners must critically understand the multifaceted relationships and connections between multiple social actors and their ideologies involved in the negotiation and planning process (cf. Grin, 2016; Hult & D. Johnson, 2015; Huss, 2016; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013, 2015; Wee, 2016). In the current research on language-in-education policies in Hong Kong, leading scholars (Kennedy & Hue, 2012; Lau, 2014; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2014) suggest that community groups and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a key role in promoting equal rights and opportunities for EM students. Despite their mention in the research, scholarship has not addressed the role of local NGOs in policy development and advocacy. In the city, one local NGO, Hong Kong Unison 香港融樂會⁵, was specifically founded to work with EM students and respond to government policies in language and education. To date, no research has explored the role of Hong Kong Unison. It is difficult to paint a complete picture of the policy situation for EM students in Hong Kong, since this key social organization and their ideologies and role in LPP are absent. Subsequently, this dissertation offers an examination of the role of Hong Kong Unison. This study examines the role of Hong Kong Unison, as the only NGO in the city dedicated to work exclusively with ethnic minorities. The following discussion will explore their positionality and ideologies, how they interact with the government, what resources they provide to students and teachers, and what their role is in the development and promotion of change in educational language policies for EM students in Hong Kong. In particular, this study aims to

⁵ All Chinese characters used in this dissertation are traditional characters, unless they are directly cited from a source that used simplified characters.
put forth a multidimensional investigation of how a local NGO’s role contributes to a greater understanding, not only of the language-in-education policy context in Hong Kong, but also the increasingly complex dimensions of actors and organizations involved in planning and negotiation processes (cf. McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013; Wee, 2016).

1.2 Research Questions

In order to gain a clearer picture of the Hong Kong policy context for ethnic minority students, the present study combines corpus linguistics approaches (cf. Baker, 2006, 2010, 2012) with a wider-angle perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (cf. Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) to thoroughly investigate collected documents from the NGO. Corpus linguistics highlights patterns and ideologies; the wider-angle approach, a softening of the problem-solving nature of CDA (for a larger discussion, see Chapter 4), reflects dialogue between discourses and social relationships. Examining Hong Kong Unison’s discourses and ideologies within these documents provides insight into how this NGO negotiates language policy and advocates on behalf of EM students. This study is guided by the following questions:

1. How does the local non-governmental organization (NGO), Hong Kong Unison (Unison), participate within social scales in language planning and policy in Hong Kong?
   
   a. What is their role within language policy scales?
   
   b. How does Unison affect the development of LPP in Hong Kong? How do they negotiate and change policy?
   
   c. How is Unison involved with language policy?

2. What is Unison’s positionality? How is their identity created discursively?

   a. How does this organization identity and define itself? How is their identity created discursively? How do these discourses define their ideologies?
b. How does their organization positionality (through their identity and ideologies) affect their role and participation in language policy?

c. How do their ideologies demonstrate the epiphenomenal nature of LPP?

3. Through Unison’s documents and publications, what do we learn about how this NGO interacts with other levels of LPP?

   a. How do Unison’s discourses reflect or conflict with the government’s policies?
   
   b. How do documents from Unison reflect their interactions with EM students? How does their positionality affect their involvement with EM students?
   
   c. How does this NGO’s involvement in LPP create interactions with other social actors? In other words, how does Unison’s work in LPP demonstrate the multiple levels of social scales involved in the planning, negotiation, and implementation processes?

In summary, the heart of this dissertation aims to achieve a multidimensional understanding of the current educational language policies in Hong Kong for ethnic minority students by analyzing the role of a local NGO and how this provides a more holistic perspective of the planning and negotiation process. Corpus and discursive methodological approaches are used to provide answers to how these research questions reveal the relationships between multiple social actors involved in language planning in Hong Kong. Furthermore, these questions highlight the epiphenomenal nature of LPP by discussing how Unison’s discourses about language decisions are associated with non-linguistic factors.

1.3 Chapter Overviews

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters that begin to narrate the story of ethnic minority education in Hong Kong and the role of Unison’s involvement in policy negotiation. Chapter 2, *The Epiphenomenal Nature of Language Planning and Policy*, sets forth the conceptual orientation that underpins the present research. In this chapter, I start by tracing the
historical development of the field of LPP. I then define language policy and language planning in light of the development of the field and how these definitions are used in the current study. The second half of the chapter goes on to introduce Ruiz’s (2014) conceptual metaphor that shapes the understanding of language within this research—epiphenomenality (how language decisions are influenced by non-linguistic phenomena). In this section, I establish the basic premise of language as epiphenomenal by relating language decisions to our epidermis. Finally, I introduce the social scales of language planning and policy. In particular, I explain why Ruiz’s (2014) epiphenomenal approach to language is useful for investigating various social actors involved in LPP.

Chapter 3, *Multilingual Language Policies in Hong Kong*, sets the contextual stage for our story. The chapter begins by describing the Hong Kong context through demographic information, geography, and its unique political history. This is followed by a discussion and synthesis of the historical development of language planning and policy in the territory. I divide this discussion into two main sections: a historical overview of the language-in-education policies under the British, and the policies after Hong Kong’s reunification with China. The historical discussions of language policies integrate both academic literature and primary sources from policy documents in order to create a synthesis with multiple perspectives and descriptions of the policies. Next, I introduce the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. After describing the population and their experiences in the city, I present another synthesis of the language policies specifically created for ethnic minority peoples. I conclude the chapter by briefly describing the current research on policies for ethnic minority students, and the lack of attention towards the role of Hong Kong Unison.

Chapter 4, *Multi-methodological Approach to Language Planning and Policy,*
demonstrates that based on the interdisciplinarity of the field of language planning and policy and its epiphenomenal nature, a constellation of methods for data collection and analysis should be used for research. As a result, this chapter provides a detailed description of the methodological tool kit used to examine data from Hong Kong Unison. I describe the two “tools” utilized in this dissertation: critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL). After defining key terms and describing the major components of CDA, I suggest the limitations of this theoretical methodology. As an answer to these limitations, I introduce the wider-angle approach to CDA, explaining its utility in the Hong Kong context. I also define and describe key aspects of CL, suggesting how its intersection with CDA is beneficial to answering the questions that drive this study.

In Chapter 5, Data Collection and Analysis Procedures, I turn to a discussion of how the multi-methodological tool kit was implemented. This chapter describes the procedures used during the data collection and analysis. I introduce the NGO, Hong Kong Unison, by providing background information and reasoning for selecting this organization. Next, I briefly discuss my positionality as a researcher. This is followed by an explication of the specific ways in which corpus linguistics approaches were used, and how Wodak’s (2000, 2006) approach to critical discourse analysis through a wider-angle perspective was applied to the data.

Next, Chapter 6, Hong Kong Unison: Policy Makers, brings the data analyses together through a discussion of how the data answer the research questions. The discussion is divided into three main themes derived from the research questions: (a) Unison’s identity and beliefs and how this shapes their role in LPP, (b) Unison’s interactions with social scales and other social actors in the planning and negotiation process, and (c) Unison’s overall role and involvement in language policy in Hong Kong. These sections weave together both corpus data and examples
from the application of critical discourse analysis in order to provide insight into Unison’s role in planning and policy.

Finally, Chapter 7 *Discourse, Social Scales, and Epiphenomenality in Hong Kong.* summarizes the overall significance of this dissertation by describing how the study of Unison builds upon social scales and the epiphenomenal approach to language within LPP. I indicate the limitations of this study, and propose further directions for research.
CHAPTER 2
The Epiphenomenal Nature of Language Planning and Policy
The core of this dissertation is language planning and policy. This chapter briefly describes the emergence and development of language planning and policy (LPP). I explicitly focus on the relationship of language and complex social environments through the introduction of the epiphenomenal metaphor to LPP. Finally, I discuss the role of social scales as a useful tool in studying the various social actors involved in decision-making and negotiation within an epiphenomenal conceptualization of language.

2.1 Language Planning and Policy
Spolsky (2012) describes language planning and policy (LPP) as a field that provides a model example of applied linguistics at work (cf. Linguistics Society of America [LSA], 2016). As a field, LPP can combine various theoretical components (e.g. language ideologies, neoliberalism), detailed linguistic description of language varieties, and sociopolitical discussions of the actual language practices in specific communities (Spolsky, 2012). Thus, language planning and policy represent a quintessential example of applied linguistics by taking interdisciplinary language-related research and offering solutions and insight on real life situations (cf. LSA, 2016; Spolsky). Due to the interdisciplinarity and breadth of this field, I briefly trace the historical development of LPP in order to contextualize and define key concepts.

2.1a The Emergence of Language Planning and Policy
It can be argued that the field of language planning and policy has been historically present since the period of classical antiquity as various allusions to language management are made in ancient, religious texts, including the Hebrew Pentateuch (Ruiz, 2013). Despite its historical presence in the world, LPP has only been an established, academic discipline since the

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6 In the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures), the Tower of Babel (in the book of Genesis) and the language Shibboleth test (in the book of Judges) are considered ancient examples of language planning in multilingual contexts (cf. Ruiz, 2013).
conclusion of the Second World War and the collapse of the international colonial system (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012; Ricento, 2000; Spolsky, 2012). The close of World War II began a process of nation development as new countries were formed and previous colonizing European countries, including France, England, Germany, and The Netherlands, began to leave their colonies due to financial strain and political reconstruction (cf. Fishman, 1968; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012; D. Johnson, 2013a; Ricento, 2000). As Fishman (1968) asserts, the creation of new nations generated a breeding ground for the development of new types of sociolinguistics, leading to the formation of LPP. The development of new countries led to concerns about what languages to utilize—the former colonial language or the local one? These questions resulted in bilingual language policies and research focused on diglossic situations in newly developed countries. Early language planning also concentrated on developing literacy in new countries as a way to promote modernization and internationalization. Literacy efforts were often devoted to teaching the former colonial language (Ricento, 2000). Quickly after the field began to develop and ask various practical and theoretical questions, scholars (cf. D. Johnson, 2013a; Ricento, 2000) realized that new countries, such as India, Pakistan, and multiple African countries, could not be characterized by diglossic situations due to the multiple Indigenous languages in these countries. It became difficult to make decisions about which languages to teach and declare as official languages. As a result, Kloss (1968) devised language taxonomies that described language values according to their suitability for national development. Haugen (1966) also proposed three criteria for making language based decisions: efficiency, adequacy, and acceptability. These early efforts in the development of LPP, however, continued to perpetuate colonization in many new nations through the use of colonial and European languages (as a

Although nation development continued in the 1970s and 1980s, modernization rapidly became a force that shaped the field of LPP. This period, heavily saturated with neoliberalism and trickle down (Thatcherian) economics (cf. Harvey, 2007), caused language planners to turn their concern towards social, economic, and political inequalities (Cobarrubias, 1983a, 1983b; Wolfson & Manes, 1985). Theories surrounding LPP began to expand in order to consider the large number of variables relevant for language planning. Furthermore, the continual development of critical linguistics (Cooper, 1989; Hymes, 1973; Rubin, 1971; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971) and the notion that languages were not neutral (Cobarrubias 1983a, 1983b; Weinstein, 1983) created awareness that the original efforts of LPP after decolonization had created de facto privileging of certain groups (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). These two decades of development in LPP were thus characterized by emphasizing the contextual features surrounding planning and the underlying ideologies behind language decisions (cf. D. Johnson, 2013a; Ricento, 2000).

From the 1990s through the present, LPP has continued to be influenced by social and political transformations such as the spread of technology, neoliberalism, and globalization (cf. Dupré, 2014; Fang, 2011; Hornberger, 2014; Hult, 2013, 2015; Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; McCarty, 2015; McGroarty, 2013; Phillipson, 1992; Ricento, 2000, 2006). For example, globalization has resulted in changing demographics that affect how people teach languages and perceive of language as an instrument of socialization (cf. Ferguson, 2006; Tollefson, 2013). The movement of people has also created increasingly multilingual and multicultural societies (cf. Dupré, 2014; Fang, 2011; Ferguson, 2006; Grin, 2016; May, 2014; Tollefson, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014), making language rights and educational issues a
central debate in language planning and policy (cf. Cummins, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 1991, 1995; Wiley, 1996, 1998). Globalization has additionally increased the spread of neoliberal and democratic values (cf. Dupré, 2014; Harvey, 2007; Heller, 2010; McGroarty, 2013; Morrison & Liu, 2000; Piller & Cho, 2013; Tollefson, 2013). Neoliberalism promotes competition in the world market, increasing the value of global languages, such as Chinese and English (cf. Heller, 2010; May, 2014; Piller & Cho, 2013; Tollefson, 2013). The right to learn global languages and have access to economic resources results in an increase of global inequality and disparities in wealth (cf. Harvey, 2007). The spread of technology, due to increasing innovation, furthers economic disparities as certain members of society have limited access and resources. Furthermore, the repatriation of territories such as Macau and Hong Kong has reflected that language planning and policy is still affected by the remnants of colonialism (and neocolonialism) (cf. Fang, 2011). Resulting from these global movements and changes at the close of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, LPP has increasingly focused on the link between multilingual education, linguistic human rights, democratic governance, and multiculturalism (cf. Dupré, 2014; Hult, 2013, 2015; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013; Wiley, 2013). The field of LPP has thus been shaped since its inception by its interdisciplinarity and its intimate connections with macro-sociopolitical and economic forces (Coulmas, 1997; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Ricento, 2000; Ruiz, 1988, 1990).

2.1b Definitions

Much like the historical developments of the field, definitions of what constitutes policy and planning have also changed over time. The formulations of policy and planning, however, are more opaque and contested throughout their development than the historical description of the field. For example, Hornberger (2006) prefers to combine language planning and policy into the common abbreviation LPP (cf. Bright, 1992; Chung, 2003; Kaplan & Baldauf 1997), while
Spolsky (2004, 2005, 2009, 2012) defines each of these terms separately. In this section, I discuss the various definitions of language planning and policy in light of the field’s historical development, and conclude by presenting the definitions I adopt in this dissertation.

In its earliest formation, the definition of language planning centered on the pragmatic solving of language problems (Fishman, 1967, 1968, 1974; Garvin 1974; Haugen, 1966; Hornberger, 2006; Hult, 2013, 2015; Hult & Hornberger, 2016; Jahr, 1992; D. Johnson, 2013a; Karam, 1974; Kloss, 1968; Ricento, 2000; Rubin, 1971). Kloss’s (1968) taxonomies and Haugen’s (1966) decision-making criteria demonstrated the reality of this definition, as planners attempted to abstract languages from their socio-historical contexts and simply concentrate on how to solve a problem regarding language. In fact, Karam (1974) went so far as to propose that solving language problems was a necessary and important ingredient in language planning. Two types of language planning (cf. Kloss, 1969) came to be accepted through this outlook: status and corpus planning (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012; Ricento, 2000). Status planning, closely tied with questions in new nations about what languages to use in what arenas of society, is defined as the allocation of appropriate uses of languages in society. Linked with the promotion of literacy in new countries, corpus planning came to be defined as the choices made about linguistic elements of whatever language is used. These linguistic elements include script development, language standardization, and language modernization (cf. Cooper, 1989; Kloss, 1969; Spolsky, 2004). Consequently, language planning, based on these early ideas, came to be defined as the deliberate, systemic, and theory-based attempt to solve communication problems in communities through the study of languages and dialects (Bright, 1992; Jahr, 1992).

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7 Haarmann (1984) explains another type of planning which he puts forth as prestige planning. Prestige planning, considered a factor in holistic language planning, implies that issues of prestige of a language must be addressed in order for issues of corpus and status planning to be considered (Haarmann, 1984). Prestige planning, however, has been argued as resulting from ideologies about languages and can simply be considered an element of status, corpus, and acquisition planning (cf. Tollefson, 2002).

With the addition of acquisition planning, along with more critical views in the development of LPP in the late 1980s and early 1990s (cf. Phillipson, 1992; Ruiz, 1984, 1990; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Tollefson, 1991, 1995; Wiley, 1996, 1998), the definition of language planning transformed. Ruiz (1984, 1990) noted that non-linguistic factors inevitably have an influence on how languages are planned, and thus ideologies (or orientations) must be considered in the definition of what constitutes language planning. Developing work on discourse and the “language problem” (Hymes, 1973 p. 61), Ruiz (1984) expanded upon

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8 Ruiz (1984) describes an orientation as “what is thinkable about language” (p. 14). In this dissertation, I use orientations and ideologies somewhat interchangeably to describe both attitudes and ideas, or what is thinkable, about language in a specific context.

9 In his work on the origins and foundations of inequality among language speakers, Hymes (1973) demonstrates how language is considered something to be overcome, or a problem. Hymes (1973) includes a discussion on how language diversity, language structure and function, and the medium of language are all potentially viewed as problems.
language orientations, suggesting that language planning involves three evaluative orientations: language as a right, language as a problem, and language as a resource. The language as problem orientation had previously been common in LPP literature, describing how planners focus on language as something that must be solved or fixed (cf. Fishman, 1967, 1968, 1974, 1975; Garvin 1974; Haugen, 1966; Jahr, 1992; Karam, 1974; Kloss, 1968; Rubin & Shuy, 1973). The language as a right approach, coming in alignment with work on critical linguistics and discussions on language inequality\(^{10}\) (cf. Hymes, 1973), explained that planning efforts are shaped by the belief that language is a basic human right that significantly permeates into our lives, cultures, and identities (cf. Ruiz, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). The language as a resource orientation explains that planning is shaped by language value. Value is not only portrayed only as economic and instrumental (cf. Ruiz, 1984, 2010), but also as describing the value of connecting with language as part of cultural and linguistic heritage. Ruiz’s (1984, 1988, 1990, 2010) focus on language orientations expanded the definition of language planning to move beyond a problem-solving approach, as other reasons were described and identified for the motivations behind why planning occurs (cf. Hult & Hornberger, 2016). Furthermore, Hymes (1973) and Ruiz (1990) argued that determining what constitutes a language problem is difficult, asking how the problem became one in the first place. The concept of problem was therefore too ambiguous. As a result, the previous definitions of language planning were limited and insufficient due to their emphasis on problems.

Moving beyond the limitations of the problem-solving approach, Spolsky (2004, 2009) utilizes the term language management in lieu of language planning. He states that language

\(^{10}\) Hymes (1973) also discussed how the arguments about language as a problem tended to result in various viewpoints about how not all languages were equal. In disagreement, Hymes (1973) noted that languages are only “unequal” in the sense that their functions and formation are different. Aside from these descriptive differences, Hymes (1973) stated that all humans had the right to their language.
management refers to the all decisions made about language practices (cf. Spolsky, 2004, 2009). In this dissertation, I adapt Spolsky’s (2004, 2009, 2012) definition of management to describe language planning as the formulation, management, intervention, development, or modification efforts that take shape in various ways (not only by an authoritative body) to influence the surrounding communities’ language practices. In a more succinct definition, language planning is an activity that centers on decision-making about language and how it relates to both linguistic and nonlinguistic variables (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; Hult & Hornberger, 2016; Hult & D. Johnson, 2015; Ruiz, 1984, 2013; Spolsky, 2004, 2009; Wolff, 2000). This definition builds upon the historical development of the term language planning, as it includes the notion that planning can occur as a result of perceived problems, but is not limited to this viewpoint. The definition also includes the three accepted types of language planning (corpus, status, and acquisition). Finally, this formulation of language planning draws upon Ruiz’s (1984, 2010) language orientations, suggesting that these orientations play a key role in the decision-making process by delimiting how languages relate to various linguistic and non-linguistic variables.

Moving from a definition of language planning to language policy, the latter is often seen to derive from planning (Bright, 1992; Chung, 2003; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). A language policy, in other words, is the actual proclamation, practices, or implementation efforts that officially or unofficially influence (both positively and negatively) the practices of the surrounding community (Bright, 1992; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012; Tollefson, 1991). Language policies manifest the language orientations and choices made in the multidimensional planning process, and have both direct and indirect impacts on communities (Bright, 1992; Chung, 2003; Grin, 2016; Hult, 2013; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Poon, 2004, 2010; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012; Tollefson, 1991, 1995, 2013; Wiley, 1996). There are two broad descriptions to characterize
language policies: *de facto* and *de jure* policies (cf. D. Johnson, 2013a). *De facto* policies\(^{11}\) reflect actual practices from daily life and have been referred to as ‘everyday language policies’ (cf. Gilmore, 2011; D. Johnson, 2013a; McCarty, 2011; Snellman, 2015). These everyday policies can occur in individual families as a mother instructs her child not to say certain words (cf. Caldas 2012). They also reflect language decisions for what variety to speak with different groups of people (cf. Duchêne & Heller, 2012). On the other hand, *de jure* policies describe mandates or proclamations from authoritative bodies or institutions. Laws about official languages and decisions about mediums of instruction in education provide examples of *de jure* policies (cf. D. Johnson, 2013a).

In current scholarship, language-in-education (LiE) policies are also considered as a third type of language policy (cf. Paulston & Heidemann, 2006; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013). Spolsky (2009) argues, “Language policy adopted by an educational system is without a doubt one of the most powerful forces in language management […] Schooling is by its very nature a domain committed to language management” (p. 90-91). Language-in-education policies, both *de jure* and *de facto*, primarily focus on the medium of instruction (Ferguson, 2006; Gándara & Gómez, 2008; Hult 2010, 2013; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson 2013). Decisions about the medium of instruction (MoI) reflect interconnections between status, corpus, and acquisition planning (cf. Cooper, 1989). Schools, governments, or teachers decide how to designate languages, what form or standard should be taught, and what additional languages should be acquired. As a result, decisions about the MoI are complex, and planners, policymakers, teachers, and schools adopt orientations that shape their responses towards different societal issues (cf. Ferguson, 2006; Gándara & Gómez, 2008; Ruiz, 1984, 2010; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013). LiE policies,

\(^{11}\) In Grin’s (2016) discussion on language typologies in planning and policy, he argues that there is no such thing as having no language policy. The decision to have no explicit language policy creates a *de facto* language policy that the lack of policy is in fact a policy.
therefore, are not only about education or language (Hult, 2013), but are deeply contextual and related to social, economic, and political factors (Ferguson, 2006; Gándara & Gómez, 2008; Hult, 2010, 2013; May, 2014; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014; Wiley et al., 2014). Ferguson (2006) remarks on the significance of wider-out-of-school socio-political contexts, emphasizing that the context of education must be taken into account in order to understand and research LiE policies (May, 2014; Spolsky, 2009). While exclusive research on LiE policies has developed in order to focus on the fundamental debates about the role of school in society (cf. Alidou, 2004; Hult, 2013; McGroarty, 2013; McKay, 2008; Tollefson, 2013), educational language policies cannot be understood in isolation, and must be understood within the context of theoretical development in LPP and within their larger socio-political context.

Although this dissertation primarily focuses on language policies within education, I continue to use the term language policy in a broad sense, acknowledging the importance of decision-making in the planning process and its effects in a particular social context. In order to understand the complex relationships surrounding decision making in policy and planning, the following section introduces the epiphenomenal approach to language (Ruiz, 2014).

### 2.2 Epiphenomenal Approach to Language Planning and Policy

When reviewing the historical development of LPP, McGroarty (2013) notes that recent decades have resulted in scholars identifying increasingly more actors and environments relevant to the planning process than first conceived when the field began in the 1950s. As a result, the current understanding of LPP is complex and dynamic, and scholarship seeks to describe the multifaceted relationships surrounding language and decision-making (cf. Lo Bianco, 2010; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2015; Wee, 2016). In order to describe the complexities of decision-making within LPP, I develop and draw upon Ruiz’s (2014) description of epiphenomenality.
A passionate educator, grounded in advocacy for equity and commitment to effecting positive change for bilingual and minoritized students, Richard Ruiz taught courses on social justice and critical pedagogy at the University of Arizona. Before his untimely death in 2015, I had the privilege to take his courses on social justice and education, language policy and planning, and education for minority students. In a lecture in his social justice class, Ruiz (2014) briefly mentioned his thoughts that language, in relation to policy and planning, is epiphenomenal. The word epiphenomenal, with the prefix ‘epi,’ describes something that is in addition to another object. An epiphenomenon, then, refers to a secondary, outside, or additional phenomenon that is a by-product or result of another phenomenon. Although Ruiz (2014) only mentioned this idea on one PowerPoint slide of a class lecture, I was intrigued and continued to discuss with him in office hours how to further describe and define the epiphenomenality of language. In the following exploration of the epiphenomenal metaphor of language, I draw upon our conversations during office hours, engage in an on-going dialogue with his thoughts and scholarship, and continue to celebrate his legacy in the field of LPP.

When discussing his thoughts on the epiphenomenal nature of language, Ruiz (personal communication) proposed an illustration between language and our skin, or epidermis, as an example of another by-product. Considering the layers and structures of the skin, there are various systems and cells below the outer layer (the epidermis). Underneath the epidermis can be found sebaceous glands, sweat glands, the stratum corneum, hair bulbs, veins, arteries, nerve

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12 Research on Korean students acquiring Chinese literacy discusses the term epilanguage (C. Lee, Simpson, Kim, & P. Li, 2009). This term refers to how children restructure their internal representations of language when acquiring another language. In other words, epilanguage describes a more subconscious version of metalanguage in the second language learning process. Epilanguage, reflecting a cognitive process of language acquisition, should not be confused with the epiphenomenal nature of language described in this dissertation.

13 Delpit (2002) also used a metaphor for language and skin in her edited volume on language and culture in the classroom. Her metaphor saw language “skin” to have a similar role as skin color in racial differences. “Language skin” becomes a status marker during our interactions in the world. Just as skin color has been used to define and mark people, Delpit (2002) suggests that language can also function in the same way. While language skin has been a useful description of discrimination and relationships of language in the classroom, the epiphenomenal metaphor here is different in its approach to language.
fibers, and subcutaneous tissue (Amirlak, 2015). The network of various systems, cells, and tissues below the epidermis demonstrate that the top layer is only the outside of a number of underlying complexities. Furthermore, the epidermis is entirely dependent on the layers beneath it for nutrients and waste disposal (Amirlak, 2015; M. Ruiz, personal communication, December 4, 2015). The nature of the epidermis reflects how various phenomena below the surface result in the outer layer of skin. Similar to the epidermis, the nature of language, in relationship to decision-making, is also epiphenomenal.

A decision about language (imagined as our skin) sits on the surface of multiple domains of society (imagined as various networks, cells, and tissues that are embedded within our epidermis). As a result, when looking underneath the epidermis, language planners discover that decisions made about language are the result of multiple factors, including social contexts, language ideologies (Pennycook, 2013), economic and political theory, such as neoliberalism (cf. Heller, 2010, 2011), history (cf. Wodak, 2006), symbolic and social capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1986), and a multitude of other factors. Ruiz’s (2014) epiphenomenal metaphor suggests that while language policies on the surface appear to focus on decisions made about language (or even orientations towards language), they are actually about a whole system of complex, social, political, historical, and economic relationships between institutions, nations, states, and individuals. Work in language revitalization of minority languages further confirms the epiphenomenal nature of language, suggesting that revitalization processes are not only about language (cf. Huss, 2016); language revitalization is also a political act, a demonstration of empowerment, a site of decolonization, and a representation of policy negotiation (Huss, 2016). In other words, language planning and policy is not a phenomenon about language, but rather it is about how language is connected to other phenomena. Like the epidermis is formed by a
complex system of relationships, the planning of language is actually about planning multiple other factors. Ruiz’s (2014) notion that language is epiphenomenal thus provides a way to conceptualize the intricate levels of involvement, the multiple actors, and arenas in decision-making in LPP.

Furthermore, in developing an epiphenomenal metaphor, Ruiz (2014) states that when conducting language policy analysis there are three primary areas to focus on: the effects of the resulting decisions in the policy, the individuals and institutions involved in the planning process, and the identification of the beliefs embedded within the policies. These areas of analysis reflect that language policies are beyond decisions about language, but decisions that involve individual beliefs, social organization, institutional establishments, and historical processes. The field of LPP, therefore, is multidisciplinary and multidimensional, and the nature of language is similar to our epidermis. The levels of participation in LPP and the ideologies behind decisions may seem to be about the outer layer of language, yet are fundamentally the result of the underlying multifaceted and complex system of relationships below the surface of the skin (Ruiz, 2014).

2.3 Social Scales in Language Planning and Policy

As a result of the epiphenomenal nature of language (Ruiz, 2014), the complexities involved in the field of policy and planning become more salient (cf. Grin, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2010; McGroarty, 2013). Decisions seemingly made about language are intimately tied to the intricate relationships between education, changing world systems, ideologies, organizations and institutions, and individuals and groups involved in the planning process. It is thus natural for researchers in LPP to examine in more depth how various individuals and organizations\(^\text{14}\) (and their ideologies and participation in society) are involved in planning and decision-making (cf.

\(^{14}\) McGroarty (2013) and Spolsky (2009) suggest there are increasingly more actors involved in policy development- ranging from private to public groups and individuals.
In order to critically examine the various relationships within LPP, various models throughout the field’s history have aimed to categorize and define the people and groups involved in the planning process. Haugen’s (1972, 1983) binary matrix provides one of the earliest models of how to describe the complex relationships involved in LPP. The binary matrix (see Figure 2.1) emphasizes the connection between form and function—or how language and society relate to each other.

Despite making connections that language and its use are important features in LPP, Haugen’s (1972, 1983) matrix overly simplifies the planning process. Also, as described by Haugen (1972, 1983), the matrix primarily focuses on the manifestations of the goals of language planning within society, ignoring the role of various actors and their ideologies\textsuperscript{15}. As understandings of LPP grew, Hornberger & Ricento (1996) argued that the field had not successfully accounted for activity at multiple levels, and thus proposed the widely accepted onion metaphor as a way to reveal and pull apart the various layers that shape decision-making in LPP. The onion metaphor (cf. Hornberger & Ricento, 1996) provided a framework for imagining how agents and various

\textsuperscript{15} Hornberger (1994) presented an expansion of Haugen’s (1972, 1983) binary matrix, creating a model that takes form and function, looking at them through status, acquisition, and corpus planning.
processes take place at different levels in order to negotiate and create language policies. This metaphor reflects the intricacies of LPP as it suggests there are national, institutional, and interpersonal layers involved in planning. As a result, Hornberger & Ricento’s\textsuperscript{16} (1996) metaphor began to address the macro, meso, and micro levels of planning, as peeling back the onion moves from a larger layer to a smaller one. Despite its utility in explaining the various spaces and people involved in language planning, the onion metaphor continues to create a narrow focus on moving from a bigger layer to a smaller one, implicitly suggesting a hierarchy of involvement in policy. Peeling back layers of the onion becomes too clear cut for researchers involved in the increasingly complex global system filled with multiple domains of involvement that intersect in multiple ways, rather than simply moving from an outer layer to an inner one (cf. McGroarty, 2013; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013).

Most recently, Hult (2013, 2015), in alignment with Bloommaert’s (2003, 2010) discussions on scales in social theory\textsuperscript{17} (cf. Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015), introduced social scales\textsuperscript{18} of LPP. These scales create overarching categories and demonstrate how various individuals and organizations are interconnected and can travel between scales. The social scales of LPP (see Figure 2.2) do not represent hierarchies, nor do they suggest that movement happens from an outer to an inner layer like the onion metaphor (cf. Hornberger & D. Johnson, 2007; Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). Rather, the social scales include overarching

\textsuperscript{16}Hornberger & D. Johnson (2007) further characterized the onion metaphor by explaining how the layers relate to specific examples of language planning in education in both North and South American contexts. More specifically, their work focused on how ethnography serves as a tool for understanding how negotiation of policy occurs and is transformed at each layer.

\textsuperscript{17}Blommaert’s (2003, 2010) sociolinguistic scales have undergone transformation in their development. Initially, they grew out of concepts from world systems analysis as a metaphor to describe spatiotemporal, local, and global levels at which particular forms of normativity, language use, and expectations are organized (Blommaert, 2003, 2010). These scales were seen as a useful feature in understanding how people interact by bringing order to the semiotizations of the social and material world. More recently, Blommaert et al. (2015) more broadly characterized sociolinguistic scales as distinctions within context that affect meaning making at different orders.

\textsuperscript{18}The inclusion of the word ‘social’ in Hult’s (2013) scales addresses McGroarty (2013) and Tollefson (2013)’s concern with developing a critical understanding of the surrounding social environment in order to better comprehend how language policies are formed and who is involved with their development.
domains where language planning and policy implementation take place. The final box in Figure 2.2 contains an arrow followed by the word ‘individuals.’ Hult (2013) utilizes this arrow to demonstrate that individuals themselves are not their own layer, but are interconnected and involved within each scale. This notion means that individuals are not only considered a micro level, but are involved in organizations and institutions—they participate in all scales.

Furthermore, the social scales stress that various institutions are nested within different spheres of society. For example, decisions made by a teacher, can be connected to the design of school’s policy, influenced by a school district, and result from a larger state or national educational policy (cf. Hult, 2013; Spolsky, 2009). The social scales provide a way to discuss and identify how individual actors are involved both within and across scales (cf. Grin, 2016). Everyone is involved with language policies, “whether educators, language instructors, interlocutors, academics, customers, language school owners, or business owners” (Pennycook, 2013, p. 2).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supra-/international organizations and governments</th>
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<td>National/regional governments</td>
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<td>Special groups/organizations</td>
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<td>Corporations</td>
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<td>Social/religious institutions</td>
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<td>→ Individuals</td>
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*Figure 2.2. Social scales of LPP (Hult, 2013)*

In order to clarify the notion of social scales, Hult (2010) utilizes a microscope as an analogy. When examining a language policy, the scale a researcher is looking at is a question of the power of magnification. Once a researcher decides upon a power of magnification, they can focus their view on an object of study to see its different features, and more or less of the surrounding contexts, depending on the chosen focus. By changing the power of magnification, another perspective of the same object is visualized. In essence, the social scales of language policy describe how researchers should look at one particular policy, examining it from multiple
scales of magnification. Each level of magnification demonstrates a different perspective on how that policy is negotiated, and shows how all the scales permeate one another. Furthermore, the magnification at different levels reveals the constraints, goals, incentives, and ideologies of various social actors (cf. Grin, 2016). Therefore, social scales demonstrate that policies are multidimensional (D. Johnson, 2013; Tollefson, 2013, 2015), and the decisions made about languages at various levels and domains reflect local and global orientations about language (cf. Grin, 2016; Hornberger, 1998, 2006; Hult, 2013; Hult & Hornberger, 2016; Ruiz, 1984, 1990, 2010, 2014; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013, 2015).

In this dissertation, I employ Hult’s (2013) social scales as a framework for understanding the various actors involved in language planning and policy. First, the social scales reflect the epiphenomenal nature of LPP. Various levels of society are involved in language planning, and individuals are involved at each level (cf. Grin, 2016; Hult, 2013). All individuals and groups making decisions bring their ideologies towards language and other social phenomena with them. The social scales framework demonstrates the intricacies of language planning and policy (cf. Grin, 2016) by revealing that decisions at all levels are interwoven together and intermesh beliefs about social, historical, political, economic, and religious processes. Furthermore, Hult (2013) develops the idea of social scales from Blommaert’s work (2003, 2010), pointing out that language policy and planning has a spatiotemporal nature. In other words, policies and the planning-process occur in various spaces and are developed and changed over time. The spatiotemporal nature also builds upon epiphenomenality, as historical developments contribute to how perspectives on decisions made about language change and develop across time and space. In addition, social scales provide a framework that attempts to eliminate the implicit hierarchies within the onion metaphor (cf. Hornberger & Ricento, 1996).
While some scales are larger and may appear to move to smaller levels, Hult (2013) notes that individuals permeate every level and that policy does not necessarily move from an outer layer to an inner layer. As a result, social scales suggest flexibility in how policy development moves between scales. Finally, I adopt social scales as a framework due to the value of gaining various perspectives on the same policy. Examining multiple perspectives and social actors creates a more thorough picture of a specific language policy, and addresses how multiple individuals and organizations participate in the decision-making and implementation process (cf. Ferguson, 2006; Gándara & Gómez, 2008; Grin, 2016; Hult, 2010, 2013; McGroarty, 2013; Spolsky, 2004, 2009; Tollefson, 2013, 2015; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014; Wee, 2016; Wiley, 2013; Wiley et al., 2014).

Although the notion of social scales of LPP is recent (cf. Hult, 2013), various scales have been explored through research in order to examine how different perspectives present important nuances and contribute to a better understanding of a policy’s context and implications. The scope of this dissertation is not to detail the research done at every scale of language planning and policy, but rather examine one scale that has often been ignored in research. Table 2.1 highlights research at various scales to demonstrate how scholarship has examined different perspectives of the planning process. These research examples demonstrate how various magnifications reveal how different ideologies intersect and shape the decision-making process. All of these examples also suggest that the planning of language is epiphenomenal, as non-linguistic factors contribute to decisions made in the resulting policies.
Table 2.1 Research in Multiple Social Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Research example</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supranational entities and organizations</td>
<td>• European Union’s language policies for immigration (Wodak, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• UNESCO &amp; UNICEF(^{20}) working to develop Cambodian language policies (Christie, 2015)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• UNESCO’s support of Indigenous language broadcasts in Peru (Coronel-Molina, 2013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corporations</td>
<td>• Business expectations on language proficiency (Berg et al., 2001; Heller, 2011)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Private language companies and language policy (Price, 2014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special organizations</td>
<td>• Language management in language academies (Real Academia Española) (Paffey, 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National governments</td>
<td>• No Child Left Behind and English in the USA (Wiley, 2013; Wright &amp; D. Choi, 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• South Korean English language policies (Piller &amp; Cho, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional governments</td>
<td>• Tribal sovereignty and Arizona state policies (Combs &amp; Nicholas, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• State and local district policy negotiation in Philadelphia (D. Johnson, 2013b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>• Schools re-appropriating state language-in-education policies (Combs, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• University language policies (Källkvist &amp; Hult, 2014)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 2.1 suggests, multiple individuals and organizations are involved in LPP, ranging from international organizations to individual schools (cf. Berg, Hult, & King, 2001; Christie, 2015; Combs, 2012; Combs & Nicholas, 2012; Coronel-Molina, 2013; Heller, 2011; D. Johnson, 2013b; Källkvist & Hult, 2014; Paffey, 2007; Piller & Cho, 2013; Price, 2014; Wiley, 2013; Wright & D. Choi, 2006; Wodak, 2013). While Table 2.1 includes research examples

\(^{19}\) The role of individuals is discussed in some form at all scales of research.

from international non-governmental organizations\(^{21}\) (INGOs), such as UNESCO and UNICEF, current research does not address how local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) participate in language planning and policy. This lack of research is concerning, as multiple scholars (cf. Ghadar, 2007; Harvey, 2007; Heller, 2011; D. Lewis & Kanji, 2009; McArthur, 2008; McGroarty, 2013; Witt, 2008) argue that NGOs, at both international and local levels, are increasing in the world due to neoliberalism and globalization, and are beginning to play a valuable role in driving advocacy, policy-making, and societal transformation (cf. Grin, 2016; International Institute for Sustainable Development [IISD], 2013).

NGOs have also become important sources of the dissemination and creation of knowledge (IISD, 2013; D. Lewis & Kanji, 2009; McArthur, 2008; Witt, 2008). As a result, NGOs have “an essential node in the network that feeds the global knowledge society” (Witt, 2008, p. 7). Due to their increasing prominence in society, the role of NGOs should be researched as their perspectives and ideologies also shape decision-making within social scales (cf. McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013). An NGO’s work has direct and indirect impact on language policy, providing further insight into the role of planning and development. NGOs are also generally associated with a particular cause or focus, implying that they bring ideologies associated with their cause into their advocacy efforts. Work on categorizing the continually increasing complexities of social actors within language planning and policy (cf. Grin, 2016; Tollefson, 2013; Wee, 2016) also suggests that NGOs are relevant actors with their own goals, priorities, and contributions that cannot be ignored. Consequently, Tollefson (2013) and McGroarty (2013) call for more research to address how non-governmental agents play a role in LPP.

\(^{21}\) INGOs include organizations that are closely related to intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations (UN). UNESCO, associated with the UN, is thus an international non-governmental organization. While an INGO can operate as a non-profit group outside of the government, they have more international perspectives and authority in their work than local NGOs (Union of International Associations, 2015).
In the remainder of this dissertation, I turn to consider the context of language planning and policy in the Hong Kong context, focusing more specifically on the development of education policies for ethnic minority students. Chapter 3 creates a synthesis of historical policies in Hong Kong, demonstrating the epiphenomenal nature of language as non-linguistic factors have shaped the development of decision-making in the territory.
CHAPTER 3
Multilingual Language Policies in Hong Kong

“「國際城市」，香港這個名字，很酷。在這城市裡，有世界級設計的建築，有聞名全球的公園，有中西匯合的節日，有各地風味的美食，如果我們樂於擁抱這一切，對於不同膚色和輪廓，便不會感到半點錯愕” - 何嘉敏 (2012)22。

In this chapter, I situate my research in relation to the complex political and social milieu in Hong Kong. I begin by describing the Hong Kong context and the influence of its changing political state on social and linguistic identity. I then turn to a discussion on how the languages in Hong Kong are managed, reviewing first the history of the British colonial period on educational policies and then the recent initiatives under the Special Administrative Region’s government. I conclude with a discussion of the situation for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong by presenting dimensions of the in-place education and language policies for this group that are receiving increased attention in the Hong Kong media and academic literature.

3.1 Introduction to Hong Kong

Referred to as the Pearl of Asia, Hong Kong (HK) has been romanticized as an inimitable city where the East meets the West23 (Hong Kong Tourism Board [HKTB], 2016; White, 2002). Following the end of the First Opium War in 1842, HK became a British colony (英屬香港) when the British and Chinese governments signed the Treaty of Nanjing (南京條約) (Bacon-Shone & Bolton, 2008; Bolton, 2000, 2003; Chao, 2002; P. Chen, 2001; Flowerdew & Scollon, 1997; J. Ho, 2008; R. Johnson, 1997; D. Li, 2002; Lin, 2005; Pennycook, 1998; Poon, 2010; Tsui, 2008;...
During the period of British colonization, the political powers were concentrated in the hands of a governor appointed from England (cf. Chiu, 2011; Fairclough, 2006; M. Lai, 2011). In 1997\(^{24}\), the British returned the territory to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) (中華人民共和國), creating the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) (中華人民共和國香港特別行政區). As a special administrative region, HK was promised that it could maintain its own governance for a fifty-year period in order to preserve the city’s capitalist prosperity and global influence (cf. J. Ng, 2009). This promise, known as the ‘one country, two systems’ (一國兩制) experiment (cf. Government Hong Kong [GovHK], 2015a, 2015b; Lin, 2005; J. Ng, 2009), is presumed to give the territory a high degree of autonomy to make their own decisions\(^{25}\) in the government and education.

Hong Kong\(^{26}\) is geographically located south of the Guangdong (廣東省) province of China (near Shenzhen City 深圳市), north of the South China Sea, and east of Macau (澳門) (J. Flowerdew & Scollon, 1997; HKTB, 2013, 2016; Poon, 2010). Approximately 1,104 square kilometers in area, the territory is divided into three distinct regions: Hong Kong Island (香港島), Kowloon Peninsula (九龍半島), and the New Territories\(^{27}\) (新界). The area contains a variety of geographical features, including mountains regions, beaches, and volcanic rock expanses (GovHK, 2015a; HKTB, 2016). Despite the beauty of the landscape, Hong Kong is a developed urban center with a constantly growing population. During its early years as a British colonial city, Hong Kong Island was extremely narrow and had insufficient land along the coast for the

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\(^{24}\) The British remained in control of Hong Kong from 1842-1997 with the exception of the Japanese occupation from 1941-1945 during World War II. At this time, Hong Kong was known as the Imperial Japanese Occupied Hong Kong 香港日佔時期. This period lasted for approximately 3 years and 8 months. (三年零八個月, meaning three years and eight months, is a common metonym for the Japanese occupation in Hong Kong).

\(^{25}\) The HKSAR does not have the freedom to make decisions about foreign policy or be involved in diplomatic relations.

\(^{26}\) The name describes the city’s geographical location near the Pearl River Estuary and South China Sea where the seawater and fresh water create a distinct fragrance.

\(^{27}\) The New Territories include over 200 small off shore islands.
continually increasing urban development and growing population. As a result, land reclamation was carried out on Hong Kong Island. Reclamation efforts have persisted over the decades across the Hong Kong territories in order to allow for the expansion of the urban landscape (Yu, 2009).

Hong Kong is additionally divided into various districts, or smaller geographical areas. These districts include: North, Yuen Long, Tai Po, Tuen Mun, Tsuen Wan, Sai Kung, Sha Tin, Kwai Tsing, Wong Tai Sin, Sham Shui Po, Kowloon City, Yau Tsim Mong, Kwun Tong, Central and Western, Islands, Wan Chai, Eastern, and Southern (Home Affairs Bureau [HAB], 2005a). Established in 1982, each area has a district council and primarily serves as a way of establishing representatives for the Legislative Council and creating educational districts and boundaries (HAB, 2005a, 2005b). The population in each district is not distributed evenly, as there are less people living on the off shore islands and in the districts in the New Territories. Figure 3.1 provides a map to show the three main areas in the Hong Kong territory: The New Territories (including Lantau Island), Kowloon Peninsula, and the Hong Kong Island.

![Figure 3.1. Hong Kong Map (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013)](image-url)
3.1a Demographic and Economic Profile

According to the most recent census data (Census and Statistics Department [C&SD], 2011, 2012, 2015), there are approximately 7.24 million people residing in Hong Kong, making it one of the most densely populated areas in the world (GovHK, 2015a). Approximately 93% of the population is ethnically Chinese, and the remainder of the population is composed of various ethnic groups. In the most recent home language survey (C&SD, 2011), 90% of the population speak Cantonese (廣東話) as their home language (cf. Chu, 2016); the remaining speak several other Chinese languages (including Mandarin, or Pǔtōnghuà (普通話), Hakka, Shanghainese, Hokkien, Teochew, and Weitou), English, and South & South East Asian languages (C&SD, 2011, 2015; M. Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015; J. Wong, 2016). The two official languages in the government are English and Chinese.

As an urban center, Hong Kong’s economy is primarily built upon financial trade and business (C&SD, 2011; D. Li, 2008; Poon, 2010; Tsui, 2008; White, 2002). In fact, the city has been regarded as one of the most powerful financial centers in Asia for over three decades, and continues to have the largest concentration of banks and corporate headquarters in the Asia-Pacific region (Bromma, 2007; Louie, 2010; J. Ng, 2009). The majority of the population works in retail, real estate, business, and trade industries (C&SD, 2011, 2015; GovHK, 2015a; Poon, 2010). The most recent census in Hong Kong was conducted and reported in 2011. Thematic reports on the 2011 statistics have been published in subsequent years. In Hong Kong, censuses are conducted every decade (C&SD, 2011). As a result, I use the 2011 data as the most recent.

Over 50% of the population resides in the New Territories (C&SD, 2011). The term Pǔtōnghuà to refer to Mandarin remains problematic. Cultural historian John Wong (2016) remarks that the phrase Pǔtōnghuà, meaning common language, for many HongKongers would imply the Cantonese language as a shared and common language. Despite the difficulty with this phrase, I use Pǔtōnghuà (PTH) to indicate Mandarin Chinese.

Chinese has been left ambiguously as an official language of the territory. In practice, it generally means spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese using traditional characters. Due to the ambiguity of the term “Chinese,” however, the official language has become more contentious in recent years due to the influence of Mainland China. Furthermore, J. Wong (2016) and Chu (2016) comment on the continual contentions between languages and dialects under the term Chinese in both the Mainland and in Hong Kong.

In 2014, Hong Kong was the world’s 8th largest trading economy, with an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth of 3.7% (GovHK, 2015a).

Before Hong Kong became an international trade center, it was a historical maritime port for Chinese traders and a traditional fishing village (HKTB, 2016).
Public education and administration are becoming more popular jobs in the overall labor force (C&SD, 2011). The majority of households in Hong Kong earn between 10,000 HKD-60,000 HKD (approximately $1,300-$7,700 USD) per month. As determined by the government\(^{34}\) (C&SD, 2011, 2015) the poverty line is drawn for households making under 10,000HKD per month. The city’s most recent poverty rate is 14.3% of the population (Zeng, 2015b).

### 3.1b Political Climate and Identity

During the British colonization, the political powers were concentrated in the hands of a governor appointed from England, leaving behind a legacy of western values, such as civil rights, the rule of law, freedom of speech, and a capitalist market economy (cf. Chiu, 2011; Fairclough, 2006; M. Lai, 2011; Newendorp, 2011). After the conclusion of the Second World War, the creation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, and the British government’s decision to block the Chinese border in 1950, Hong Kong and the PRC began to develop markedly different systems of political thought and identity (Bolton, 2003; Chiu, 2011; M. Lai, 2010, 2011; D. Li, 2002; Newendorp, 2011). The newly established PRC denounced materialism, promoted communalism, and aimed to develop cultural harmony (cf. P. Chen, 1999; Dong, 2009; Dong & Blommaert, 2009; J. Flowerdew, 1997; M. Lai, 2011; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Leibold & Y. Chen, 2014; Zhou, 2000). Meanwhile, the British colonial administration envisioned the establishment of a Hong Kong democracy (Ortmann, 2015). The goal of promoting democracy in Hong Kong, however, was halted in 1952, when the British government received threats from the PRC to invade if the colony was democratized (Johannes Chan, 2014; Ortmann, 2015). While this initially seemed a setback, it did not stop Hong Kong from rapidly

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\(^{34}\) The government (C&SD, 2011, 2015) appears to have arbitrarily decided upon the minimum monthly salary for the poverty line. Based on the number of people in a household, the salary could be more and the family still experience poverty.
developing in the 1960s and 1970s, and transforming into one of the most economically successful cities in East Asia (Ortmann, 2015). Furthermore, the people in Hong Kong continued to pursue Western values, created a unique Hong Kong Chinese society, and developed the identity marker 香港人 (HongKonger) (Chu, 2016; M. Lai, 2011; Li, 2002; Newendorp, 2011; Ortmann, 2015). Eventually, due to their identity as HongKongers, and commitment to economic progress, the people of Hong Kong began to consider themselves not only as different, but also as superior to Mainland Chinese35 (Newendorp, 2011).

In 1984, the tensions between Hong Kong and China appeared to subside with the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration (Ortmann, 2015). The British government considered it a success that the Chinese government signed the declaration with the condition that Hong Kong could pursue eventual democratization and maintain the role of English as an official language and valuable resource in promoting international education (cf. J. Flowerdew, 1997). Moreover, the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and China’s Open Door policy created anticipation for the reunification in 1997 (Ortmann, 2015). The aversion to Chinese control was renewed, however, with the incidents of Tian ‘an Men Square (天安門廣場) in June 1989 (Bacon-Shone & Bolton, 2008; Bolton, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 1997; D. Li, 2002; Newendorp, 2011; Ortmann, 2015; Tsai, 2008). Tian ‘an Men Square led to unease in the preparation before the handover, with many HongKongers concerned about the unknown future and potential political control from the PRC (cf. Ortmann, 2015).

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35 Recently, the belief in the superiority of HongKongers over Mainlanders has taken form through debates about the usage of simplified and traditional characters (A. Wong, 2016). The use of simplified characters in the Mainland has begun to index defects of Mainlanders by HongKongers. Pointing to the haphazard manner of creating simplified characters and their defects when compared with the traditional language, HongKongers demonstrate their superiority in appreciation for historical Chinese cultural and family values compared with Mainlanders (A. Wong, 2016). The PRC government has also attempted to map defects onto Cantonese through its demonization as a non-standard dialect. The PRC’s educational media production have portrayed an angelic version of Pǔtōnghuà defeating the Cantonese monster (Chu, 2016). As a result, political pressure over language and identity has created increasing movements in Hong Kong on what it means to be a HongKonger and be distinguished from Mainlanders (cf. Chu, 2016).
In the remaining years before 1997, Hong Kong’s last British governor, Christopher Patten, progressively supported and promoted the process of democratization and neoliberalism in the territory (Chiu, 2011; J. Flowerdew, 1997; Ong, 1999). Patten’s policies introduced proactive social reforms designed to leave HK with British principles such as democracy, individual freedoms, and neoliberal free market values (cf. Fairclough, 2006; J. Flowerdew, 1997; Harvey, 2007; Heller, 2011; Newendorp, 2011; Ong, 1999; Ortmann, 2015). The democratic discourse in HK during the transition period emphasized individual freedom and liberty, and promoted economic markets and globalization (cf. J. Flowerdew, 1997, 2012a, 2012b; K. Law, & K. Lee, 2013; W. Law, 1997; Ong, 1999). Patten argued that globalization, built on international flows of people, knowledge, and goods (cf. Appadurai, 1990; Heller, 2011), had been an imperative political and economic goal since the inception of HK, when the British used the ports to develop a trade center (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2012a, 2012b). Patten highlighted how Hong Kong’s continual participation in the global economy after reunification with China would help the city maintain its position as one of Asia’s chief financial centers (J. Flowerdew, 2012a, 2012b). This final push for democracy led to a difficult transition for the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). Two processes began to compete with each other: a push towards democratization through globalization with the preservation of a unique Hong Kong identity, and the development of affinity towards the PRC through Chinese nationalism (cf. Johannes Chan, 2014; Chiu, 2011; Dong, 2009; Dong & Blommaert, 2009; J. Flowerdew, 2012a, 2012b; M. Lai, 2011; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012, 2013; W. Law, 1997; Leibold & Y. Chen, 2014; Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015).

The political landscape and identity conflicts between Hong Kong and the PRC have continued into the second decade after reunification. While the resistance to the post-colonial
system appeared to improve during the Beijing Olympics in 2008, conflict quickly escalated a few years later. By 2012, over 60% of the Hong Kong population identified themselves ethnically as HongKongers\(^{36}\) rather than Chinese, marking their distinct identity from the Mainland (cf. M. Gu, 2014; Veg, 2015). Discrimination towards Mainland immigrants also increased in the territory in multiple arenas. First, Hong Kong students indicate that Mainland immigrants are less polite and civilized, and often consider them as outsiders in schools due to their marked Cantonese\(^{37}\) accents (M. Gu, 2011, 2014; M. Lai, 2011). Secondly, police consistently stop Mainland immigrants requesting their identity cards and at times harassing them (Newendorp, 2011). In September 2014, political tensions climaxed with the mass occupation in Hong Kong known as the Umbrella Movement (雨傘運動) (Johannes Chan, 2014; Lim, 2015; Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015; S. Yeun, 2015). The Umbrella Movement, the result of the culmination of the protracted democratization process felt by many Hong Kong youth after reintegration with China, originally began as a university protest calling for the central government in Beijing to reaffirm the Basic Law (cf. GovHK, 2015b) and provide genuine universal suffrage (Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015; S. Yuen, 2015). When police used tear gas on the protestors, the movement received international attention as the world watched how Beijing would respond (Johannes Chan, 2014; Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015; S. Yuen, 2015). Although the

\(^{36}\) Ethnic minorities in the city also began to embrace the HongKonger identity during the 2014 protests (Iyengar, 2014; Lance-Castle, 2015). In an interview with *Time Magazine*, an Indian born HongKonger stated that the democratic protests represented how equality and suffrage were human rights and connected the diverse populations in the city (Iyengar, 2014).

\(^{37}\) Language marks a site of struggle by creating competition between cultural and national identity (J. Flowerdew, 2012; Chiu, 2011; P. Chen, 1999; Dong, 2009; Hue, 2008; Leibold & Y. Chen, 2014). HongKongers have a preference for their own vernacular and former colonial language over the new national language. In various language surveys, HongKongers felt that English and Cantonese represent their identity as people of Hong Kong and as international citizens (Boyle, 2000; P. Choi, 2003). Mainland immigrants encounter discrimination due to the marginalization of Pǔtìnghuà in public schools (M. Gu, 2011; Hue, 2008; Newendorp, 2011). In interviews, Mainland students stated that they were excluded when their Cantonese-speaking peers would make fun of their poor Cantonese and English abilities (M. Gu, 2011; Hue, 2008). Overall, HongKongers believe that English and Cantonese represent their identity as both Hong Kong people and as international citizens, while Mainland students do not fit into these ideologies (Boyle, 2000; P. Choi, 2003). Language struggles also exist in current battles over simplified and traditional Chinese characters. Historically, Hong Kong has utilized traditional characters, yet after its reunification with China, more and more simplified characters have appeared in common usage within the territory. Currently, the Education Bureau faces criticism for attempting to increase the usage of simplified characters in education (Cheng, 2016a).
event eventually died down and Beijing stated that the chief executive, or the head of the Hong Kong government (GovHK, 2015), could potentially be elected in 2017, the Umbrella Movement revealed the precarious sense of the Cantonese, Hong Kong identity in the post-British period.

The prodemocracy movement and increasing support towards an independent Hong Kong have continued after 2014 (cf. Cheng, 2016b). In early 2016, debates and commentaries have plagued the media and newspapers as professors and politicians discuss the continual conflict between the Mainland and Hong Kong (A. Chan, 2016; Kilpatrick, 2016; J. Lam, 2016; Liu, 2016; Pepper, 2016; Hermina Wong, 2016b; C. Yuen, 2016). In April 2016, leaders of the Umbrella Revolution announced the launch of the new political party, Demosisto (J. Lam, 2016; Liu, 2016). The establishment of this new political party has transformed the 2014 protests from a movement of street activism to an established political party, founded under academic scholarship (Liu, 2016). The prodemocracy and independence parties, however, have only prompted further tensions between Hong Kong and Beijing. Near the close of Spring 2016, the PRC stated that the recently established pro-independence national party in Hong Kong was a threat to national security, and the government would consider passing tighter security laws in the territory to protect the one-country two systems agreement (A. Chan, 2016; C. Yuen, 2016; Hermina Wong, 2016b). Political groups in Hong Kong, however, continue to argue that democratic and independence movements would seem less extreme if Beijing’s government

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38 One catalyst of the Umbrella Movement was the tightened control from the PRC government over democratization in Hong Kong. Starting in 2004, Beijing increasingly supported its own approved representatives in the Legislative Council (Veg, 2015). Also, the Central government opposed universal suffrage for the chief executive. In response to the Umbrella Movement, the government continued to press for a law to give HongKongers the right to vote for preselected candidates that satisfied the love of Hong Kong and love of country requirement 愛國愛港 (Ortmann, 2015; S. Yuen, 2015). The nomination process, however, was massively voted against in the summer of 2015 due to the fear by HongKongers that it was fake universal suffrage. Presently, the political situation remains in flux and constantly changing.

39 In September 2016, pro-democracy and independence parties won seats in the Legislative Council creating more opposition and uncertainty in the future of governance in Hong Kong (Cheng, 2016b).
decreased its dictatorship and allowed the special administrative region to elect officials accountable to the people rather than the Chinese national party (A. Chan, 2016; Kilpatrick, 2016; J. Lam, 2016; Liu, 2016; Pepper, 2016). Due to the recent polarization in the Hong Kong political context, Newendorp (2011) suggests in his research on Chinese governance, that this special administrative region has become a neo-colony of China where the people define themselves against the new invading Chinese government and the transition of powers not only regarding their sovereignty, but also their identity. The political situation in Hong Kong after reunification with China is thus characterized by contestation, insecurity, instability, and constant flux that inevitably influence advocacy efforts and decisions in education and language policy.

3.2 Hong Kong Language Planning and Policy

In this section, I present a historical synthesis of language and education policy in Hong Kong. Policy documents and government briefs were taken from the Hong Kong Education Bureau, the Curriculum Development Council, the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR), the Legislative Council, the former British Education Commission, and historical documents. I also included scholarship on the effects and historical development of these policies. Although I cannot include every policy change, this discussion provides a glimpse into the complex relationships between the social and political context and policy-making. I begin by reviewing the language and education policies during the period of British colonialism in Hong Kong, tracing their influence into the present day. Next, I describe the conflicting discourses and decision-making during the transition period before the territory’s return to China and the impact on language education. Finally, I outline the constantly changing policies in post-colonial Hong Kong, reflecting on the political tensions surrounding them.
3.2a British Colonialism: Education and Language Policies

The first schools in colonial Hong Kong included local Chinese schools and those founded by Christian missionary organizations, such as the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College and the Morrison Education Society School (named after the first Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison 馬禮遜). Initially, the missionary schools designed an Anglo-Chinese language curriculum by teaching predominantly in English while maintaining Chinese language and literature courses (Bolton, 2000; Eitel, 1891; Pennycook, 1998). Some of the teaching models in these early schools were progressive for their time. For example, the Government Central School (中央書院), established in 1862, taught for 4 hours each day in both English and Cantonese (Pennycook, 1998). Furthermore, despite his views to continue to push for English, Christian education, the first Inspector of Government Schools, Reverend W. Lobscheid (1858, 1859), commented that the government should content itself with giving local students a good knowledge of their native books and Chinese grammar.

Beginning in the 1860s, however, the establishment of more government schools created a sense of elitism when compared with the local Chinese schools (P. Lai & Byram, 2003; Pennycook, 1998). The new government-run schools quickly created a diglossic situation in Hong Kong, positioning English as the more prestigious and powerful language in colonial society. Despite the prominence of English in education, the second Inspector of Government schools, Frederick Stewart⁴⁰ (史釗域), progressively suggested in his reports in 1860 and 1865 that government schools increase their use of the Cantonese language in order to improve the quality of education (Kan & Adamson, 2010; Pennycook, 1998; Tsui, 2008). Stewart’s recommendations were ignored by the colonial government, making no changes to the in place

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⁴⁰ Frederick Stewart was fluent in Cantonese, and was described as a man who desired to establish mutual respect between cultures (Bickley, 1997). Stewart is also known as the father of Hong Kong education, and served as the first headmaster of the Government Central School (present day Queen’s College) (Bickley, 1997; Kan & Adamson, 2010; Pennycook, 1998; Tsui, 2008).
education policies. Finally, in 1878, the government acted upon a recommendation to expand English instruction in their schools in order to promote the trade and growth of the colony (P. Lai & Byram, 2003; Sweeting, 1997). As a result, Anglo-Chinese government schools expanded their English curriculum (at the expense of Cantonese instruction), and by start of the 20th century, out-numbered all the local Chinese schools.

As the 1900s continually developed Hong Kong’s position as a financial trading center, the demand for English began to gradually increase due to the growth of the economy (Irving, 1914). Consequently, the bureaucratic education system expanded, and missionary schools disappeared (cf. Irving, 1914). Furthermore, Hong Kong University (HKU), the first university in the territory, was established in 1911 in order to build an educated population (cf. Bolton, 2000; Chao, 2002; P. Chen, 2001; Lin, 1996, 2005). While the government continued a laissez faire education and language policy in primary and secondary schools, the use of English as the medium of instruction at HKU implicitly strengthened the prestige of English in the colony. Primary education continued to focus on developing Chinese, and the secondary schools promoted English instruction so as to prepare students for university studies (Evans, 2013). The increasing focus on English education, however, was criticized various times in education reports throughout the 20th century. First, Burney (1935), the colony’s education inspector, published a report on the status of schools, commenting on the neglect of Cantonese education in the school system (cf. Lin, 2005). Although the Burney Report (1935) resulted in the increase of schools teaching through Cantonese as the medium of instruction in the 1930s and 1940s, the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party in China and the isolation between Hong Kong and the Mainland halted this temporary focus on the local language (cf. Lin, 1997). By the
1960s, more evaluations\textsuperscript{41} critiqued the English-centric education in Hong Kong. In multiple reports, the Education Commission (1963, 1973, 1974) argued that the local language should be developed in schools because English was burdensome for the students and caused them to receive substandard education. In spite of the repeated suggestions to encourage Cantonese instruction, the government ignored the recommendations, and English education flourished in the territory (Sweeting, 1997). Two important reforms to the education system came in 1971 and 1978, when the British government respectively introduced free, public primary and secondary education (Bray, 1992, 1994). While these changes did not involve language, they did provide every student living in Hong Kong access to free and compulsory education for nine years.

3.2b Preparing for Transition

The last 17 years of the British presence in Hong Kong, or the “coming to grips” period, was characterized by policies designed to prepare the territory for its return to China (Bolton, 2003; Evans, 2013). During this time frame, the Education Commission considered and gradually promoted Chinese language courses in government schools. In 1982, an external panel published recommendations for Hong Kong schools (Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Llewellyn, Hancock, Kirst, & Roeloffs, 1982). This report outlined that the quality of English in schools was poor, and students in secondary courses struggled with writing skills in both languages (Llewellyn et al., 1982). In addition, the authors expressed concern with the deterioration of language skills in Hong Kong, discussing the problem with “Chinglish”\textsuperscript{42} (Llewellyn et al.,

\textsuperscript{41} In 1963, the Education Commission published an Education report suggesting schools teach more in Chinese. Similar recommendations were made in the Education Commission’s 1973 Green Paper on secondary education, and the 1974 White Paper on secondary education.

\textsuperscript{42} While numerous scholars (Blom & Gumperz, 2000; Gumperz, 1977; Heller, 1988; Poplack, 1980) have acknowledged the value of code-switching in language learning and education, the British colonial government, as well as the current government of Hong Kong, worry about the use of code-switching between English and Chinese in schools. Chris Patten encouraged the city during its transition to not give up its pursuit of developing proper bilingualism in English and Chinese without the use of ‘Chinglish’ (Lin, 1996). In more recent years, Chinglish refers to Hong Kong English. Hong Kong English has come to be widely used as a colloquial English variety in the territories, involving characteristics of language contact, such as
1982). Resulting from the panel’s concerns, the report provided a guide for policies during the transition period. First, Llewellyn et al. (1982) proposed that curriculum continue to emphasize English due to its economic value in trade and business. Rather than teach core subjects in a second language, the panel argued that students would better learn through their mother tongue during their years of compulsory education. Also, as the territory was to be united once again with China, recommendations were given to promote Pǔtōnghuà (PTH) as an elective subject (Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Llewellyn et al., 1982). Following the report, the Education Commission began to teach PTH as a non-compulsory course (Adamson & W. Lai, 1997; Bray, 1997). By 1997, however, PTH had not gained momentum in many schools, and only 40% of all primary and secondary institutions offered the language as an elective (Bray, 1997).

The most influential report before the transfer of powers came in 1996. In this report, the Education Commission (EC) outlined the territory’s plans for education in the upcoming years. First, the commission stated that beginning in 1998, the medium of instruction (MoI) for all government schools would be Chinese. The government reaffirmed the Llewellyn Report’s (1982) recommendation to implement mother tongue education after the handover (EC, 1996). In addition, English was to be maintained after 1998 as a core subject for all students. One major change came in the policies towards PTH, as the commission planned to make it a core language subject rather than an elective. Finally, the commission (EC, 1996) established the government advisory board, SCOLAR (Standing Committee on Language Education and code-switching, and the development of new words (Setter, C. Wong, & B. Chan, 2010). In Llewellyn’s (1982) report, and further reports from the current Education Bureau, Chinglish is considered as a deficit to learning and language development. The Sino-British Joint Declaration (LegCo, 1984) signed by Margaret Thatcher (British prime minister), Edward Youde (British governor of Hong Kong), and Den Xiaoping (the head of the People’s Republic of China), also stipulated that English was to remain an official language of Hong Kong after it was handed over to the PRC (cf. Bolton, 2003; P. Chen, 2001; Chiu, 1992; Dimmock & Walker, 1997; P. Lai & Byram, 2003; LegCo, 1997; Poon, 2010; Tsui, 2008). The Basic Law of the future Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was also drafted prior to 1997 and further outlined the official use of English in the territory (Bacon-Shone & Bolton, 2008; Bolton, 2003; Chao, 2002; P. Chen, 2001; Chung, 2003; GovHK, 2015b; LegCo, 1997). These two documents, along with the Education Commission’s plan to maintain English as a core subject, demonstrate the colonial legacy of English in Hong Kong and its continual importance in education today.
Research), to conduct and monitor future education and language policies in Hong Kong after the handover. As an advisory group to the legislative council (LegCo) and education commission, SCOLAR began to publish and advise the government on language education issues following the 1996 report.

3.2c Post-Colonial Hong Kong: General Policies on Language and Education from 1997-2016

Following its return to China, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government inherited the colonial education system of nine years of free compulsory public education (C. Lam, 2011; Morris & K. Chan, 1997). The government also implemented suggestions from the 1996 Education Commission Report. Although changes for education and language policies had been envisioned prior to 1997, they were solidified through official policies from the new HKSAR Education Bureau (EDB), Curriculum Development Council (CDC), Legislative Council (LegCo), and the newly established SCOLAR. The primary policy for the territory became the promotion of 母文三語 biliterate trilingualism (cf. Adamson & W. Lai, 1997; Evans, 2013; Fang, 2011; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013; Hoosain, 2005; Kan & Adamson, 2010) by the Education Bureau (EDB, 2005, 2009c) and SCOLAR (2003a, 2003b). The biliterate trilingualism policy aims to produce students with the capability of speaking fluent Cantonese, PTH, and English, and the ability to read and write in Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) and English44 (EDB, 2005, 2009c; SCOLAR, 2003a, 2003b). One of the long-term goals of the policy, as endorsed by both the CDC and EDB, is to eventually teach Chinese language and literature courses through PTH as the medium of instruction (MoI). The EDB believes students will gain a better appreciation for Chinese culture and their understanding of MSC will improve due to the greater correspondence between the written language and PTH. In alignment

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44 During the period of British colonization, Standard British English was taught in schools. After 1997, increasingly more English varieties are used in Hong Kong, including Standard American English.
with current political debates about the identity of Hong Kongers, the goal of teaching through PTH, however, has caused concern (cf. Chu, 2016). Teachers have rejected the idea of switching to PTH as the language of instruction, arguing that it is a second language for most Hong Kong students (Evans, 2013; Hoosain, 2005). Chu (2016)\(^{45}\) also argues that the recent promotion of PTH appears to be based more in the goals of promoting Beijing nationalism rather than improving language instruction. While debates remain concerning the status of teaching Chinese language and literature courses through PTH (as well as transitioning to teaching entirely through PTH), all government-run public schools presently offer the language as a core subject under the policy of biliterate trilingualism (Adamson & W. Lai, 1997; Evans, 2013).

Furthermore, SCOLAR (2003a, 2003b) has provided target competencies for language levels in schools and added PTH as a subject on secondary exit examinations.

Along with the promotion of biliterate trilingualism, the EDB published the Medium of Instruction Guidance in 1997, and implemented the mother tongue (MT) education policy \(\text{母語教學}\) in 1998 (Jenny Chan, 2014; Jim Chan, 2014; Erni & L. Leung, 2013; EDB, 1997, 2009a, 2009b; Fang, 2011; Information Services, 2013; Kan & Adamson, 2010). The guidance outlined that students learn better in their mother tongue and that the government did not want to promote code-switching, or Chinglish (EDB, 1997). When the guidance was implemented in 1998, it stipulated that all secondary schools, unless they met benchmark requirements for their teachers and students, would change their medium of instruction from English to Chinese. (Most primary schools had been teaching through Chinese for decades and the guidance was only directed to secondary schools).

\(^{45}\) Chu (2016) indicates that the decisions behind promoting PTH are politically influenced, and Hong Kong identity is primarily centered in Cantonese. He maintains that PTH should be taught and is valuable for students, but it should not replace their first language.
The mother-tongue guidance had dramatic effects on the Hong Kong education system as 90% of secondary schools in the territory taught their courses in English. Due to the difficulty in meeting the policy’s benchmarks for teachers and students, only 114 of over 400 public secondary schools were allowed to continue teaching in English following the Medium of Instruction Guidance (EDB, 2009c; E. Ho, 2010; M. Lai, 2010; P. Lai & Byram, 2003; Lao & Krashen, 1999; D. Li, 2008; Lu, 2003; Mee-Ling, 2008; So, 2000; B. Zhang & Yang, 2004). The secondary institutions that were allowed to maintain English instruction were required to continue to meet certain standards to keep their status, and the students would need to meet certain threshold levels to attend, ensuring that they were able to learn well in another language (EDB, 1997, 2009c). Schools that lost their ability to teach in English switched to MT instruction (meaning spoken Cantonese and written MSC), and maintained English as a core class (P. Lai & Byram, 2003). The MT education policy was further pushed in 2007 with the issuance of the Firm Guidance, making it compulsory for all primary schools to teach through Chinese as the medium of instruction (Fang, 2011).

The MT education policy, however, was considered a failure after its first decade of implementation. Schools were identified as Chinese Medium of Instruction (CMI) or English Medium of Instruction (EMI), creating bifurcation in the school system and fostering the sentiment that CMI schools were not as rigorous as EMI schools (Evans, 2013; Erni & L. Leung, 2013). Resulting from complaints, the former Secretary of Education, Michael Seun Ming-Yueng, proposed the Fine Tuning Policy in 2008. The fine-tuning arrangements increased schools’ professional flexibility to decide upon their own medium of instruction, and included measures to increase resources to teach English (EDB, 2009c, 2010, 2014c, 2015i). Furthermore, the Education Bureau would continue to publish school profiles each year in order to provide the
public with a list of schools and their languages of instruction (EDB, 2009c, 2010). The new
Fine Tuning arrangements only applied to secondary institutions, and all primary schools still fell
under the Firm Guidance utilizing MT instruction (EDB, 2014c). The Fine Tuning policy also
adopted an English enhancement grant scheme that provided the opportunity for primary schools
to apply for government grants for resources to improve the English learning of their students
(EDB, 2009a, 2009b). Although the fine tuning policy still categorizes schools, its emphasis on
English education and flexibility arrangement have been better received by parents and students
than the previous MT education policy (cf. Jim Chan, 2014).

Aside from language reforms, the Education Bureau also put into place two significant
general education reforms in the 2008-2009 school year (C. Lam, 2011). First, the previous
system of education under the British gave children in Hong Kong up to nine years of free public
education46. Senior secondary courses, however, were not free under this model. Beginning in
2009, the government also made senior secondary courses free (EDB, 2011b, 2015i; EOC, 2011,
2015). This reform did not make senior secondary school compulsory, as students are still given
the opportunity to attend vocational schools, but it created the chance for students to receive up
to 12 years of public school for free (EDB, 2011b, 2015i). The second reform came concurrently
with the restructuring of senior secondary school in the form of a new entrance assessment for
tertiary education. New exams were designed primarily due to pressure for Hong Kong to
compete in the globalized knowledge-based economy (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016). By
creating a new exam, the Education Bureau aimed to emphasize life-long learning and heighten
standards for university admissions. The new exam, the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary

46 The education system also includes pre-primary education, or kindergartens. The kindergartens serve children between the
ages of 3-6 and are privately run. While it is not compulsory to attend pre-primary education, they provide foundational skills for
primary school. Although they are privately run, the schools receive curriculum and inspection from the Education Bureau (EDB,
2015g; Home Affairs Bureau [HAB], 2005b).
Education\textsuperscript{47} (HKDSE) was implemented in 2009 (EDB, 2011b; Information Services, 2013: Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority [HKEAA], 2015). Upcoming changes for the weights of exam components for various subjects are due in 2017 and 2018 (HKEAA, 2015).

The examinations include four core subjects (Chinese, English, mathematics, and liberal studies) and multiple electives. Following these general changes, the most recent education system\textsuperscript{48} in Hong includes up to 12 years of free public education\textsuperscript{49}, followed by various options for post-secondary education. The complete structure of the education system can be seen in Figure 3.2.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{education_system.png}
\caption{Hong Kong Education System. The system begins at age three. Senior (upper) secondary school is free after recent reforms, although it is not compulsory.}
\end{figure}

### 3.3 Education for Hong Kong’s Ethnic Minorities

From the period of British colonization to the present day, government policies for ethnic minorities (EM) in Hong Kong have consistently been exclusionary and discriminatory (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Lan-Castle, 2015). While there have been reforms in recent years designed to

\textsuperscript{47} Prior to the new academic restructuring, the Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority had administered the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) since 1978. The HKCEE had been the most established and recognized exit examination in Hong Kong and was recognized locally and internationally (HKEAA, 2015).

\textsuperscript{48} There are over 62 schools in Hong Kong labeled as special schools. These schools include schools for the deaf and blind, schools for students with disabilities, and schools for maladjustment (HAB, 2003b). Also, private and international schools are found throughout the territory. These schools, however, run their own curriculum outside of governmental policies.

\textsuperscript{49} Entrance into primary level 1 and secondary level 1 are based on school allocation (EDB, 2016). All applicants must be residents of Hong Kong in order to apply for a placement into a primary or secondary school (EDB, 2016). Placement is based on both parental choice and random computer generated numbers. At the secondary level, random numbers, parental choice, and allocation bands (based on student assessment) are included into school placement allocation (EDB, 2016).
decrease racism in the city and make Hong Kong a more inclusive environment, assimilationist and deficit models prevail (cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b; EDB, 2005, 2008, 2014a, 2015a, 2015f; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; HAB, 2005). Inclusivity in Hong Kong policies is closely linked with minorities integrating into the community and assimilating into the dominant Chinese society (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014). In the following section, I describe the diverse characteristics of the ethnic minority (EM) population in Hong Kong, recount their history in the territory, and provide a detailed account of the current education and language policies for EM peoples.

3.3a Minority and Linguistic Minority Groups in Hong Kong

The term **ethnic minority** within sociolinguistics, and the Hong Kong context is laden with problems. In social science and linguistics, the term minority\(^{50}\) group or ethnic minority is used to refer both to certain cultural groups’ numbers in the overall population and to their disadvantages in socioeconomic status and power (cf. Burton, Nandi, & Platt, 2008; M. Ho, 1987; Rack, 1982). In Hong Kong, the generic term, ‘ethnic minorities’ conflates experiences and issues of vastly different ethnic groups (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Zubin Foundation, 2015), yet is repeatedly utilized in government policies, television programs, newspaper articles, school policies and programs, academic literature, and the work of NGOs. As a result, Hong Kong’s ethnic minority population is often clumped together and described in one essentialized category that assumes all the various individuals from different backgrounds have similar experiences (cf. Hiramoto, 2016). Furthermore, phrases for ethnic minorities used in the Hong Kong vernacular, such as 少數族裔 (ethnic minorities), refer specifically to underprivileged people (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014); this means that when mentioning ethnic minorities in Cantonese, it is implied that these people are in lower social classes and have less social mobility than Hong Kongers. The

\(^{50}\) As a result of the multiple meanings behind the concept of minority, scholars (Mukherjee, Mukherjee, & Godad, 2006; S. Lee, 2006; Personal Communication with R. Ruiz, 2013) often suggest the use of the term minoritized to describe the process of how groups, despite their population numbers, are treated as inferior and have low social and economic power.
Chinese term ethnic minority is never used in everyday speech to refer to Caucasian expatriates (外籍人士) living in the city. HongKongers also commonly use more specific phrases to discuss subgroups of the ethnic minority population. For example, the phrases 南亞裔 (South Asians) and 印巴裔 (Indo-Pakistani) are also commonly used; these terms however, continue to be problematic by compressing together various cultures and ethnic groups (cf. Hiramoto, 2016). In their work describing the minority groups in Hong Kong, Erni & L. Leung (2014) argue that the terms for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong have become expressions of racialization when compared with terms for local people and expatriates. They point to the character 人 (person), found in phrases for expatriate (外籍人士) and HongKonger (香港人), compared with the characters 族裔 (ethnicity) as and 裔 (descendant) used to differentiate and highlight the distinct racial characteristics of minority peoples (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014). The difficulty in terminology, therefore, points to a major problem in providing a description of the ethnic minority population: the term ‘ethnic minority’ in English and Chinese creates a collective bloc that attempts to reduce groups’ linguistic and cultural distinctions, assuming they all have similar experiences (cf. Blauner, 1987; Combs, Da Silva Iddings, & Moll, 2014; García, Bybee, & Urrieta, 2014; Hue & Kennedy, 2011, 2012; Kennedy, 2012). Despite the various problems and implicit meanings underlying the phrase ‘ethnic minority’, the census, legislation, and other policies in Hong Kong continue to employ this term. Due to the scope of this project focusing on the role and negotiation of policies by local NGOs, I acknowledge the need for addressing the problems with the lump phrase ‘ethnic minority,’ yet will utilize it in order to main consistency with what appears in Hong Kong policy documents.

According to Hong Kong’s most recent census data (C&SD, 2011, 2012, 2015), ethnic minorities (EM) compose approximately 7% of the overall population and continue to increase in

While the stereotype prevails that Hong Kong EM peoples are transient residents (cf. Kapai, 2015), over 66% of them have lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years (the time required for residency), and consider Hong Kong their permanent home (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD, 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Iyengar, 2014; RTHK, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). The EM student population includes both youth that were born in Hong Kong and are second or third generation immigrants, as well as an increasing number of foreign-born youth now residing in

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\(^{51}\) In particular, the Pakistani and Nepalese population increased from 2001 to 2011 due to a large number of refugees and asylum seekers from these countries (Connelly, Gube, & Thapa, 2013a; Erni & L. Leung, 2014).

\(^{52}\) The 2001 census was the first official record of the ethnic minority population. Prior to 2001, there was no public record of the number of people in the EM community (K. Law & K. Lee, 2012). After receiving pressure from the United Nations to collect data on this population, Hong Kong finally included a category for EM people in 2001 (K. Law & K. Lee 2012, 2013). Due to the lack of concrete demographic data before 2001, it is difficult to describe the EM population and their changes over time.

\(^{53}\) The most populous ethnic minority groups are Indonesians, Filipinos, and Caucasians (C&SD, 2011). The Census (2011, 2015) breaks down the Indonesian and Filipino populations further to indicate that the majority of these groups are employed as foreign domestic helpers, or maids. Considering this factor, it is often assumed that the Indonesian and Filipino population is transient and mostly composed of females (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2015). The continual increasing EM population, along with ethnographic school data (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016), reveal that over 7% of Filipinos are under 15 and enrolled in schools in the city. These discrepancies suggest that the EM population is growing rapidly, and the government needs to do a better job at documenting these groups.
the city (Connelly et al., 2013a, 2013b; Iyengar, 2014; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016). The diversity of the EM population includes multiple languages and a range of abilities in English and Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin) (Hue, 2010). In the most recent language surveys, the majority of EM people continue to maintain and speak their mother tongue at home (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD, 2012, 2015; M. Gu & Patkin). As a result, most ethnic minorities are also considered linguistic minorities as they speak a home language aside from the two official ones (cf. Carmichael, 2009).

While the Census and Statistics Department classifies any non-Chinese group as an ethnic minority, it is important to make a distinction between the overall numerical ethnic minorities in the territory and the minoritized groups. In the government policies, as well as work done by NGOs, the overarching term ethnic minority is used differently from its use in the census. Ethnic minority people in education policies do not refer to Hong Kong’s Caucasian population nor do they refer to the non-Chinese East Asian population (including Koreans and Japanese). These two groups in general have not experienced poverty or discrimination in Hong Kong (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; L. Chen & Feng, 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Heung, 2006; D. Lee & M. Li, 2011; Ye, 2016). In fact, according to the poverty report from the Census and Statistics Department (2015), the Caucasian, Korean, and Japanese populations have some of the highest incomes and educational attainment in Hong Kong. Additionally, the EM population does not include newly arrived immigrants (新移民) from Mainland China (Carmichael, 2009; Chong, 2012; Erni & L. Leung, 2014). Often, newly arrived immigrants

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54 In the educational report of the 2011 census, Japanese, Koreans, and the white population have the highest level of post-secondary educational attainment (C&SD, 2011). These three groups have 75% or higher levels of post-secondary education attainment. The second highest group, Indians, only reports 41% of the population as attending school after their secondary education. Other groups such as Thai, Indonesian, and Nepalese all have less than 10% post-secondary education attainment (C&SD, 2011, 2015). Due these discrepancies, Japanese, Koreans, and Caucasians are not considered to experience the impact of minoritization in Hong Kong. In other words, these three groups have not felt the same effects of policies as other minority groups.
experience discrimination (Gu, 2011; M. Lai, 2011) due to their language differences (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Lan-Castle, 2015; D. Lee & M. Li, 2011; Unison, 2016b) and the increasing tensions between Hong Kong and China (cf. Chong, 2012; Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015). Despite their difficulties with language and encounters with discrimination, the Education Bureau has adopted separate policies for immigrants from the Mainland. These policies outline support programs in schools for newly arrived children (NAC) to help with Cantonese learning and the differences between traditional and simplified Chinese characters (Chong, 2012). Although the in-place policies for NAC could be improved, they are not considered as pertaining to ethnic minorities (cf. K. Law & K. Lee, 2012) in the government policies or NGO work, and are separate issues. Therefore, when the term ‘ethnic minority’ in this dissertation is used, it refers to groups living in Hong Kong that are neither Caucasian, Korean, Japanese, nor ethnic Chinese immigrants or speakers of other Chinese languages; rather, the term ethnic minority is used predominantly to describe people from South and South-East Asia (see Figure 3.3) (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD 2015; L. Chen & Feng, 2015; Heung, 2006; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016).

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55 The current policy on traditional Chinese in Hong Kong is gradually changing due to increasing influence and pressure from the Mainland government. A. Wong (2016) discusses the tension in shifting from traditional to simplified characters in Hong Kong.

56 Mainland students and immigrants have experienced discrimination in Hong Kong due to linguistic differences and political tension (Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Newendorp, 2011). Due to the shared concept of ethnicity between Hong Kongers and Mainland Chinese, they are not considered ethnic minorities, despite some of them speaking a home language other than Cantonese (cf. J. Wong, 2016). The ethnic connection between Hong Kong and the Mainland has been historically present since the British period. J. Wong (2016) chronicles the history of multiple Chinese languages in Hong Kong, stating that despite linguistic diversity, people shared the common tie of being Chinese. Only in recent times, with the solidification of Hong Kongers as ethnically Chinese and speakers of Cantonese, have distinctions between Mainlanders grown (J. Wong, 2016). With political developments in the past three years, younger generations in Hong Kong are likely to ethnically identify as Hong Konger rather than Chinese (J. Wong, 2016). Despite these tensions, the government and legislation, such as the Race Discrimination Ordinance (2008), do not consider newly arrived children as a different ethnicity.

57 In her commentary on postcolonial Hong Kong, Hiramoto (2016) stated that her term of preference to describe the sociolinguistic situation was to use racial minorities over ethnic minorities. While there is no definitive difference between the overlap or distinction between race and ethnicity (cf. May, 2001), the term ethnic minority is used in this research to maintain consistency with the policies and general usage in Hong Kong. In addition, associations with the word ‘race’ in Chinese are often connected to the concept of racial discrimination and are generally used in this manner (W. Diao, personal communication).
Despite the myth of their transient residency status, most EM people consider Hong Kong their permanent home (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; L. Chen & Feng, 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016; Unison, 2016b). People from India, Pakistan, and Nepal, in particular, have historical associations with the territory, many coming shortly after the colony was formed in 1841 (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Iyengar, 2014; Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2013, 2016; Novianti, 2007; RTHK, 2015a, 2015c; Zubin, 2015). The Parsees from India were among the earliest groups to come to Hong Kong, arriving in 1841 (Plüss, 2005; Zubin, 2015). The Parsees primarily worked as merchants and traders, selling cotton, textiles and opium (K. Law & K. Lee, 2013; Lock & Detaramani, 2006; Plüss, 2005; Zubin, 2015). Sikhs also came from India in the 19th century working as police officers for the British government. These first groups from India earned a stable living, yet maintained their differences from the local Chinese population by creating their own
communities and speaking their native languages (Erni & L. Leung, 2014; K. Law & K. Lee, 2013; Plüss, 2005; Zubin, 2015). At the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Sindhi and Gujarati also came from India to Hong Kong, primarily working in trade and business (K. Law & K. Lee, 2013; Lock & Detaramani, 2006). After World War II, and the partition of India after its independence, new groups began to settle in Hong Kong, including a large number of Pakistanis (K. Law & K. Lee, 2013). In the 1950s and 1960s, the majority of Pakistanis were employed by the Hong Kong Civil Service, or by various factories in the territory. Nepalese also arrived following the Second World War. Recruited by the British government, Nepalese Gurkhas (or Gorkhas गोरखा) came to create an army and police unit in the city. Due to their work for the government, many Gurkhas and their families were given residency in Hong Kong (Connelly et al., 2013a; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; K. Law & K. Lee, 2013; RTHK, 2015c; Zubin, 2015). Most recently, starting from 1970 onwards, there has been an influx of immigrants from Thailand, Indonesia, and The Philippines (C&SD, 2015; Lock & Detaramani, 2006). Many of these newer groups are employed in the service sector, working as domestic helpers (maids), or in restaurants (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016; Hermina Wong, 2016a). Although the groups settling in Hong Kong have changed over time, the presence of diverse ethnicities is not a new phenomenon, and the stories of these residences are interwoven into the development of the territory’s history.

Each distinct ethnic group in Hong Kong has its own everyday practices, lived experiences, and cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds (cf. Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2013). Despite the diversity and unique experience of each group, there is a panoramic view that ethnic minorities occupy low social positions and encounter discrimination in Hong Kong (cf. Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2013, 2014). Currently, ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong find themselves in
the middle of the reconstruction of linguistic and ethnic identities following the territory’s return to China (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; D. Lee & M. Li, 2011; Lock & Detaramani, 2006; O’Connor, 2011). Well into the second decade after reunification with the PRC, Hong Kong remains a territory of social, political, linguistic, and ethnic realignment (Chong, 2012; Lock & Detaramani, 2006). In other words, ethnic minorities experience the clash of old British ideals with the establishment of a Chinese Cantonese culture, and the increasing pressure of developing nationalism and a love for China. Crabtree & Hung Wong (2013) comment that while newly arrived students from the Mainland often encounter resentment from HongKongers, ethnic minority people are treated with even more contempt and regarded as invisible within the larger society: “dominant Chinese culture largely ignores the position of resident minority ethnic groups by attempting to maintain an ethnically homogenized monoculture” (p. 945). The complex cultural environment in Hong Kong, therefore, results in a lack of racial harmony and discrimination. In addition, Bhowmik & Kennedy (2016) observe the difficulty in promoting rights for the ethnic minority population due to the political positioning of Hong Kong and its relationship with China. Ethnic minorities face internal struggles between their home culture, the local Hong Kong culture, and the expanding presence of culture and language from the PRC (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; D. Lee & M. Li, 2011; O’Connor, 2011; Pérez-Milans, 2015b). Increasingly, ethnic minorities identify themselves as HongKonger in addition to their ethnic background (e.g. a Pakistani HongKonger) (Iyengar, 2014; Lan-Castle, 2015; RTHK, 2015c; Unison, 2016b). This hyphenated identity, however, reflects the multiple cultural and linguistic challenges surrounding ethnic minority peoples in the city. Reunification with China has not simplified the situation for ethnic minorities in the city. Many EM people, despite holding Hong Kong residency and identity cards, have continued to be treated with disdain and viewed as only
‘partial’ HongKongers—they are neither Hong Kong Chinese nor Mainland Chinese (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; D. Lee & M. Li, 2011).

The atmosphere of negativity towards EM peoples was not created by the reunification with China, but has permeated Hong Kong since the period of British colonization (cf. K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013). The British created a racial dichotomization through their silent separation from the local Chinese population and other immigrants to the territory (Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Sautman & Kneehams, 2002). In addition, the colonial government never adopted legislation against racism, and maintained a mentality of differences between people despite their attempts to build a successful and distinct Hong Kong Chinese culture (Sautman & Kneehams, 2002). Colonial predispositions, however, have continued into the present under the Chinese rule, as groups, labeled as different (the other), are marginalized (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2012, 2016; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012, 2016). In a recent survey on racial harmony in the South China Morning Post, data revealed that 72% of HongKongers did not want to live next to a neighbor of a different racial background (cf. C. Choi & Ngo, 2013), and 66% of EM peoples further reported personally experiencing discrimination and racism in their daily lives (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016).

Discrimination is only the beginning of difficulties EM groups encounter in Hong Kong. Ranked as one of the most expensive cities in the world due to its high housing costs (Mullen, 2016; Novianti, 2007; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2013, 2014; Ye, 2016), ethnic minorities are often trapped in cycles of poverty and concentrated in some of the poorest and ghettoized districts in Hong Kong58 (Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Lhatoo, 2015; Ngo, 2016; Ye, 2016; Yuen Long Town Hall, 2010). While the Census and Statistics Department (2011) point out that the

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58 These districts include: Yuen long, Kwun Tong, Kwai Tsing, Yau Ma Tei, and Jordan (Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Lhatoo, 2015).
entire EM population has high post-secondary education attainment and high median salaries, their data includes the Caucasian, Korean, and Japanese populations (Kapai, 2015). When excluding these groups from the data, the EM people together have less than 30% post-secondary education attainment and more than 76% of the population hold elementary and unskilled occupations59 (非技術工人). There is also high unemployment in Pakistani, Nepalese, and Thai communities (Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Kapai, 2015; Yeung, 2013). Due to unemployment rates and low-income jobs, over 63% of the South Asian and South East Asian population in Hong Kong are considered as living in conditions of extreme poverty (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Kapai, 2015; Oxfam, 2015; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2013; Unison, 2016a; Ye, 2016). This situation has led to the recent upsurge in reported gang membership and drug usage in EM communities (cf. Chong, 2012; Lhatoo, 2015; Novianti, 2007).

In spite of the discrimination and poverty EM peoples encounter, the Hong Kong government has been reluctant to develop policies to assist them (Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013). The current Chief Executive’s team60 in Hong Kong has never had an ethnic minority as a member of staff (Carney, 2012, 2013). This means that all governmental decisions made about ethnic minorities do not include representation from those communities. In addition, the government’s primary goal has been to foster a culture of assimilation and integration (Carney, 2013; F. Cheung, B. Lai, Wu, & Ku, 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; C. Lai et al., 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015). For example, the Census and Statistics Department (2015) suggested in their reports on poverty and educational attainment that EM peoples are disadvantaged due to their

59 Unskilled and elementary occupations include: street vendors, domestic helpers and cleaners, watchmen and security guards, freight handlers, food preparation workers and hand packers, restaurant wait and cleaning staff, and fishery laborers (C&SD, 2011, 2015). Only 19% of the overall population work in unskilled occupations, making the proportion of EM peoples working these jobs extremely high.

60 The Chief Executive remarked in his 2013 policy address that the government would begin to focus efforts to help ethnic minorities born in Hong Kong (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016). This statement, along with a supportive team that has no ethnic minorities members, has garnered concern: why would he state that only EM peoples born in the city should receive support?
cultural differences and problems integrating into Hong Kong culture. As a result, the majority of education policies for EM students focus on promoting the Chinese culture in order to help students integrate more easily (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016).

The government’s policies on citizenship following reunification with China have also created burdens on EM communities. After the handover, the policy changed, causing many ethnic minorities to be refused Chinese citizenship and Chinese passports despite living in Hong Kong their entire lives (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; K. Cheung, 2016; K. Law & K. Lee, 2013; Sautman & Kneeheams, 2002). While they have been given permission to continue residing in Hong Kong, various EM people are not allowed to be Chinese nationals61 (K. Cheung, 2016; K. Law & K. Lee, 2013). The naturalization problems have become further complicated after the passage of the territory’s first legislation to eliminate racial discrimination in 2009. Passed by the Legislative Council in 2008 and enacted in 2009, the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) (LegCo, 2008) was considered an important first step towards social justice in Hong Kong (cf. L. Chen & Feng, 2015; Connelly et al., 2013a; Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Hubbs, 2015; Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012). Unfortunately, the law states that provisions for protection from racial discrimination are given on the basis of citizenship. This means that ethnic minorities without naturalization are exempt from the provisions of the RDO. The RDO also contains exemptions for the Education Bureau, stating that schools are not required to change their language of instruction based on a student’s ethnicity (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Kapai, 2015; LegCo, 2008). In a discussion on the lack of effort by the government to address discrimination, Dr. Kapai (2015), a law professor and third generation

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61 There are various examples of ethnic minorities becoming ‘stateless’ and not granted naturalization in Hong Kong. One documented example in the press, told the story of Faisal Abbasher, a Sudanese man living in Hong Kong for over three decades (Jiang, 2014). After giving up his Sudanese citizenship and achieving permanent residency in the city in 1997, he was rejected in his naturalization process in 2008. He describes Hong Kong as his home, yet remains trapped without a passport (Jiang, 2014).
Indian living in Hong Kong, described the RDO as “a toothless paper tiger with little meaning and a slew of unwarranted exemptions” (p. 3). Therefore, while not all ethnic minorities have the same experiences, and some find success in the city, the overwhelming atmosphere towards this population is one of marginalization, discrimination, and assimilation (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Hue, C. Leung, & Kennedy, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016; Ye, 2016).

3.3b Language Policies for Ethnic Minority Students

During the period of British governance in Hong Kong, the first mention of minority students appeared in the Llewellyn Report in 1982. Sir John Llewellyn and his visiting committee (1982) outlined the need to assist EM students and refugees in their educational progress. Their discussion, however, appeared in a chapter outlining suggestions for special education and students with disabilities. As a result, the Llewellyn Report implicitly linked ethnic minorities with special education (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Kan & Adamson, 2010; Llewellyn et al., 1982). After this brief mention, the British government did not include any further remarks on ethnic minority education, a problem that continued through the beginning of the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Prior to 2003, only seven public schools accepted ethnic minority enrollments, forcing parents to consider private schools as the only alternative for their students to obtain an education. The high tuition fees of private schools, however, were unaffordable for the majority of EM communities (Connelly et al., 2013a; Loper, 2004). Owing to the growing number of EM students from 2001 to 2006 (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD, 2011; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013;
and again from 2012 to 2013 (Connelly et al., 2013a), the Education Bureau was forced to
consider schooling options and policies for this population. In the following section, I detail the
development of education and language policies for EM students and discuss continual issues
these students encounter in the present Hong Kong educational system.

3.3b.i Mother Tongue Education, Biliterate Trilingualism, and Fine Tuning Policies

With the push towards mother tongue (MT) education from 1998 onwards, and the
issuance of the Firm Guidance for primary schools, over 80% of public schools in Hong Kong
teach predominantly through Cantonese as the medium of instruction (CDC, 2008a, 2008b; Jim
Chan, 2014; EDB, 1997; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Fang, 2011; HAB, 2005b; Kan & Adamson,
2010). From the onset, however, MT education assumed that the community spoke and shared
Cantonese as their first language (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2015; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013; Hau, 2010;
Information Services Department, 2013, 2014; Lan-Castle, 2015; SCOLAR, 2003a, 2003b;
Unison, 2016b). Furthermore, the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research
(2003a, 2003b) affirmed that the biliterate trilingualism policy was appropriate for all students
(cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b). Although the Fine Tuning policy in 2010 increased flexibility by
allowing schools to make more decisions about the medium of instruction in their schools, all the
arrangements continued to ignore the linguistic needs and first languages of ethnic minority
students, as the decisions focused on English, Cantonese, and PTH (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy,
2016; EDB, 2009c, 2010; Evans, 2013; Hue et al., 2015; Information Services Department, 2013;
Aside from the policies themselves, many teachers do not empathize with the plight of EM students in their classroom (Hue et al., 2015; Hue & Kennedy, 2013a; Ullah, 2012). Some teachers even suggest that the MT policy should not change or be adapted for only a few students. In teacher interview research, Hue & Kennedy (2013a) recorded teacher comments about current educational policies for EM students. One teacher described the situation: “They [EM Students] have language difficulties; they need to deal with those adaptive problems. It would be unrealistic if HK students who study abroad expected the overseas schools to use more Chinese and tailor the curriculum for just a few of them” (Hue & Kennedy, 2013a, p. 298). Teachers further suggested that ethnic minority students have more behavioral problems and attention difficulties than local Chinese students (Hue & Kennedy, 2013a). Combining the primary education policies with teacher attitudes, it is evident that EM students experience not only difficulties with language, but also with appropriate support in their learning (Heung, 2006; Hue & Kennedy, 2013b; Ngo, 2013, 2016; Sieh, 2013; Ullah, 2012; Yuen Long Town Hall, 2013). The biliterate trilingualism and mother tongue education policies ignore the heritage languages of EM students, and with little support from their teachers, students struggle to keep pace with their Chinese peers (Connelly et al., 2013a, 2014b; Crabtree & H, Wong, 2013; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013; Heung, 2006; Hue et al., 2015; C. Lai et al., 2015; S. Tse & Hui, 2012; Ullah, 2012). Ethnographic classroom research further highlights that teachers do not have sufficient knowledge or competency to teach Chinese as a second language (CSL) to their EM students (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Hue et al., 2015; Ullah, 2012). In many schools, teachers working with EM students do not have backgrounds or training in teaching CSL; curriculum has also not been developed for the learning needs of these students (Hue et al., 2015; Ullah, 2012). The effects of teacher attitudes and lack of training create disadvantages for EM students as they
struggle with the teaching methods and language barriers (Lan-Castle, 2015; Unison, 2016b). Recent statistics on Pakistani youth, for example, demonstrate that these students have difficulty coping with the language requirements in school, and over 70% of them report no ability to speak either Chinese or English (Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Heung, 2006).

Struggles with the language requirements under the current mother tongue and biliterate trilingualism policies begin with the kindergarten experience (Lan-Castle, 2015; Unison, 2016b, 2016c). Kindergartens in Hong Kong, in alignment with the pre-primary education policies and curriculum, use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction (EDB, 2011a). As kindergartens are run privately, they also have admissions requirements and interviews (Lan-Castle, 2015). In over 70% of Hong Kong’s kindergartens, interviews are conducted based on the mother tongue (Cantonese) policies (Ngo, 2015a; Sieh, 2013). Due to the Chinese language requirements, Chinese application forms, and instances of overt discrimination (F. Cheung, B. Lai, Wu, & Ku, 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Kapai, 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015; Ngo, 2015a; Sieh, 2013), EM students cannot easily gain admission into kindergartens. As a result, over 14% of all EM students are not in kindergartens, and many that are able to attend, enroll in schools with no Chinese students (Kapai, 2015; Sieh, 2013). Although kindergartens may seem a relatively minor component of the overall education system, they provide foundational building blocks to

64 Pakistani youth, in particular, face religious and cultural discrimination in schools. Many Pakistani students, coming from a Muslim background, encounter problems in school and other public spaces due to their religious practices (O’Connor, 2011). Within the diverse EM student population, Pakistanis are cited as the lowest performing group, experiencing difficulty navigating language, culture, and religion in Hong Kong (Heung, 2006; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016; O’Connor, 2011). Conducting in-depth interviews with Pakistani, Indian, and Nepalese communities, K. Law & K. Lee (2016) suggest that while each group has different experiences, programs do not address their home cultural and linguistic needs, creating barriers in their academic success.

65 In some applications for pre-primary education, ethnic minority students are denied interviews based on their ethnicity rather than language ability. The South China Morning Post reported on various instances in 2015 where parents and children were told by kindergarten administrators that ethnic minorities were not allowed in their schools (Ngo, 2015c). Also, the Education Bureau announced that parents have the responsibility to understand all interview and admission processes for kindergartens (EDB, 2011b; Ngo, 2015a). These instances of overt and implicit discrimination contradict Section 26 of the Race Discrimination Ordinance that states no educational establishment can refuse students for any reason (LegCo, 2008). Unfortunately, Section 26 (LegCo, 2008) of the law also states that there are no requirements to modify the medium of instruction for any racial or ethnic group. As a result, kindergartens can use language as an excuse to discriminate against minority groups.
primary education, helping students learn basic character strokes and language skills. They also provide an example of how the language policies from the commencement of schooling fail to provide support for EM students’ language learning (Kapai, 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015; Unison, 2016b, 2016c).

3.3b.ii Designated Schools, Mainstreaming, and Segregation

In the early 2000s, the Education Bureau, drawing from the design of their special education programs, designated a set number of public schools for ethnic minority students (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Lan-Castle, 2015; C. Tse, 2013; Unison, 2016b). Before 2006, there were 7 designated66 public schools, a number that increased to 15 by the 2006-2007 school year (Erni & L. Leung, 2014; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013). By 2005, the Education Bureau, under pressure from the government to integrate students and have them assimilate faster, began to consider a policy to mainstream EM students into public schools. Due to problems with the curriculum and resistance from EM parents (primarily due to fear of discrimination), mainstreaming policies were pushed aside for a few years. As a result, designated schools more than doubled to over 31 (21 primary and 10 secondary) schools by the 2012-2013 academic year (EDB, 2012; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Information Services Department, 2013; C. Tse, 2013). Despite their claim to help ethnic minority students, designated schools, primarily concentrated in districts with a large surrounding population of ethnic minority groups, exacerbated discrimination by creating racial segregation in Hong Kong schools (Carmichael, 2009; E. Cheung, 2015; Connelly et al., 2013a; Heung, 2006; Hue, 2010). EM students continue to remain separate from their Chinese peers, and receive watered down education in their designated schools. These designated schools continue to create marked distinction of EM communities, and go against the government’s goals of helping students.

66 Designated schools were designed to serve EM students with the aim of meeting their special and diverse needs.
assimilate into Hong Kong culture (Carmichael, 2009; E. Cheung, 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2016; Unison, 2016b).

Because of these problems, the Education Bureau began to mainstream schools in 2012, as well as created grants for designated schools (EDB, 2012). By opening up the public school central allocation system (EDB, 2016) to EM students, the Education Bureau claims students will integrate faster and have help from their Chinese peers (cf. EDB, 2012). Mainstreaming, however, has brought more problems. Although the allocation system considers parental choice\textsuperscript{67}, other factors such as language spoken at home and assessment scores make the system far from random. As a result, many ethnic minority students remain concentrated in the same schools\textsuperscript{68} (E. Cheung, 2015; Connelly et al., 2013a). Also, students in mainstream schools receive little language support and experience isolation from their peers. In a 2015 feature in the \textit{South China Morning Post}, Danilo Reyes, a Filipino parent, commented that his daughter in a mainstream school knew no Chinese and was given no support in her classes by the teachers or staff (E. Cheung, 2015). Reyes’s experience, similar to many other parents and students, reflects the challenges of the recent mainstreaming policies for EM groups. The lack of support in mainstream schools and the remaining designated schools perpetuate exclusion and cause students to continue encountering difficulties in acquiring spoken and written Chinese (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; E. Cheung, 2015; Connelly et al., 2013a, 2013b; Hue, 2010; Kapai, 2015; Ullah, 2012; Yeung, 2013; Zhao, 2013; Zubin, 2015).

\textsuperscript{67}Parental choice for EM families is also affected by the parents’ lack of language and understanding of the school system. In addition, parental choice in EM communities has been shaped by fear of discrimination. Some parents fear their child will suffer at a school with a large Chinese population, and their parental choice is further restricted.

\textsuperscript{68}Some mainstream schools have a population of up to 95% EM students. Segregation in mainstream schools occurs due to the school allocation system and Chinese parents refusing to have their children attend the same school as EM children (Heung, 2006). The amount of EM students in some schools makes the process of mainstreaming have the same effect as designated schools.
In order to help EM students cope with the strenuous curriculum and language requirements, the Education Bureau (2007b) asked public schools to implement the Curriculum Development Council’s (2008a, 2008b) Supplementary Guide to the Chinese Language Curriculum for NCS. The guideline utilizes the label NCS\(^69\) to collectively refer to ethnic minority speakers as “non-Chinese speaking”\(^70\) (Connelly et al., 2013a, 2013b), and provides principles and strategies for teachers to use alongside the regular curriculum (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; CDC, 2008a, 2008b; EDB, 2008, 2012; Erni & Leung, 2014; Information Services Department, 2013; Ullah, 2012; Unison, 2016b). The supplementary guideline, however, provides no new information, as it simply reaffirms the language-in-education policies of MT education and biliterate trilingualism (CDC, 2008a, 2008b). The guide emphasizes that both Chinese language and culture (cf. EDB, 2008) are core subjects in all local, public schools and that students are to “recognize the splendid Chinese culture and develop their affection towards their country and nationality” (CDC, 2008a, p. 14). Therefore, the guideline requires all students, regardless of their first language, to learn the approved curriculum\(^71\) from the Legislative Council and Education Bureau (CDC, 2008a, 2008b).

The primary feature of the supplementary guideline is a list of suggestions on how to adapt the general curriculum for NCS students (CDC, 2008a, 2008b; EDB, 2008). Four

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\(^69\) The Supplementary Guideline for NCS can also be used to teach immigrant children from the Mainland struggling with Cantonese, as they are also considered non-Chinese speaking. The main usage of the guideline, however, continues to be used with ethnic minority students. Separate programs are in place for NAC (newly arrived children from the Mainland). These programs include a summer program helping them adjust to Cantonese (EDB, 2005), a six-month full-time initiation program to help them transition before attending schools (LegCo Secretariat, 2011), and placement services by the Education Bureau (EDB, 2011b).

\(^70\) The term NCS effectively renders all linguistic and cultural heritage aside from Chinese as invisible. The policy goals are to build Chinese language and cultural knowledge for EM students (Connelly et al., 2013a, 2013b).

\(^71\) The approved curriculum includes math, science, and other basic school subjects. In the supplementary guideline, students are expected to take these subjects in the language of instruction. This hinders students, struggling without support in Chinese, as they fall behind in multiple school subjects (Lan-Castle, 2015; Unison, 2016b).
examples are given: language immersion (similar to a sink-or swim approach to be immersed in language), second language learning (defined as a focus on learning how to communicate), intensive bridge learning for older students (intensive Chinese learning for teenagers before taking other courses), and an integration approach (a combination of approaches) (CDC, 2008a, 2008b; EDB, 2008). None of these pedagogical approaches, however, involves the development of the various mother tongues of ethnic minority students. In addition, as demonstrated in ethnographic and interview research in EM classrooms (Hue & Kennedy, 2013a), the guidelines alone do not provide teachers with sufficient knowledge and training to effectively teach students.

The design of the supplementary guidelines provides teachers with options72 for how to supplement the existing curriculum73 (EDB, 2014b, 2015a, 2015f; Ullah, 2012; Zhao, 2014). As a result, the guidelines offer inadequate and illusive support for teachers through an organized discussion of methodological approaches (Lan-Castle, 2015; Ullah, 2012). The guidelines lack curriculum for second language learners and do not include assessment techniques for diverse students (cf. Hue et al., 2015; Ullah, 2012). Despite demonstrating that the government has started to respond to educational issues for EM students, the supplementary guidelines remain problematic. First, they continue to demand that Chinese be learned quickly in order for students to integrate into the school system (CDC, 2008a, 2008b). K. Law & K. Lee (2016) suggest in their interviews with Indian, Pakistani, and Nepalese groups, that more inclusive models and support for home languages and culture would help students integrate better. (Although, this does not mean creating stereotyped cultural appreciation courses). In their current state, the

72 The CDC and EDB also launched a professional enhancement grant scheme in the 2014/2015 school year to encourage teachers to apply for grants and attend professional development programs to better help NCS students (Jim Chan, 2014; EDB, 2015a, 2015f). All of the professional development sessions must be approved by SCOLAR and be aligned with the Hong Kong government’s educational program (Jim Chan, 2014; EDB, 2015f).

73 The Curriculum Development Council has been criticized as making a poor choice in the design of their supplementary guidelines. In particular, the Hong Kong Council of Social Services (2009) argues that the guidelines are not student centered, and cause the students to fend for themselves (cf. Ngo, 2013).
guidelines emphasize Chinese culture and language, imagining Hong Kong as an ethnically and linguistically homogeneous society. Furthermore, the guidelines promote intensive and communicative methods for Chinese language learning. The approaches do not emphasize writing and reading—a skill many EM students struggle with more than learning to speak Cantonese (cf. Kapai, 2015; Yeung, 2013; Zhao, 2014, 2015; Zubin, 2015).

Closely aligned with the CDC’s affirmation of the importance of the Chinese language and culture as core subjects, the government issued the Moral and National Education Scheme in 2011 (Chu, 2016; Erni & L. Leung, 2014). This policy emphasizes the need to continue to foster a patriotic identification with the Chinese nation by improving classes on Chinese history, art, culture, and literature within the current Chinese language curriculum. The Education Bureau (2015e) also stated that the Moral and National Education Scheme would help non-Chinese speaking students learn how to better appreciate Chinese culture. In their December 2015 statement on the Chinese education curriculum, the EDB commented: “語文教育的主要任務是提升學生運用語言的能力，要學生掌握規範的書面語，能說流利而得體的粵語和普通話，同時感受語言文字之美，培養語文學習的興趣” [The main mission of language education is to improve students’ ability to use language, to master standardized written language, be fluent in Cantonese and Mandarin, and feel the beauty of language, and have a cultured interest in language learning] (EDB, 2015i, p. 1). When combined with the existing biliterate trilingualism policy, mother tongue education, and supplementary guideline, the Moral and National Education Scheme creates further discrimination in the learning of minority students by suggesting that to be a proper HongKonger, one must neglect their own culture and background and learn to appreciate and have an interest in the various forms of the Chinese language and culture. The promotion of this scheme creates further difficulties for EM students struggling with identity (cf. Lan-Castle,
2015; Pérez-Milans, 2015b; RTHK, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). Conducting interviews with minority residents in Hong Kong, Lan-Castle (2015) reveals that many people encounter a partial identity due to discrimination with language and education in the city. Deepan Nebhwani, an Indian HongKonger, stated, “I identify as a HongKonger” (as quoted in Lan-Castle, 2015). He further describes his navigation of his identity as a HongKonger that is excluded from employment based on cultural and linguistic differences (cf. Lan-Castle, 2015). Other ethnic minorities recount their stories and describe similar situations. Bilai and Ahmed, two Pakistani HongKongers, also feel that they have homes in Hong Kong, but due to language and cultural differences experience sentiments of partial belonging (Unison, 2015, 2016). The new moral and national educational policy, promoting Chinese language and culture for all students, continues to perpetuate an environment of difficulty for the many ethnic minority residents navigating their identity in the city (cf. Lan-Castle, 2015; Pérez-Milans, 2014; Unison, 2015, 2016). Students continually encounter curriculum that fails to incorporate the multicultural and multilingual experiences of the Hong Kong population.

Finally, the Education Bureau (2012, 2015h, 2015i) has also developed summer bridge programs for ethnic minorities that do not speak Chinese. Designed for students in primary school, the courses provide 60 hours over the summer holiday to help students learn about the Chinese language and culture. The summer bridge programs began in 2004, and have continued, gradually adding new content (EDB, 2015c, 2015d). The aims of the summer bridge programs are similar to other policies and curriculum for EM students: the primary goal is to help children learn to be appreciative of the Chinese language and culture (EDB, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d). The summer bridge programs, while providing assistance before the school year, maintain an
assimilationist perspective towards EM students. The programs are also too short (60 contact hours) to benefit students and do not help with long-term language acquisition.

3.3b.iv Assessment System & Tertiary Education

A final area of policy affecting EM students is the assessment system. Most EM students, due to their language skills in Chinese, find it difficult to pass their final examinations upon the completion of senior secondary school (cf. EDB, 2007a, 2007c; Kapai, 2015; K. Law & Lee, 2012; Novianti, 2007; Zhao, 2014, 2015). In fact, due to the competitive nature of senior secondary school and the high level of competencies required in Chinese and English, the majority of EM students drop out before they are eligible to take the examinations74 (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Hue et al., 2015; Hue, 2010; Kapai, 2015; Ngo, 2015a; Zubin, 2015). The drop-out rates between primary and secondary education in Hong Kong for ethnic minority students is staggering. The government (C&SD, 2011) reported that while 95% of EM students attend primary school, the number drops to 60% attending secondary school. Furthermore, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), a statutory body in Hong Kong founded in 1996 to protect people from discrimination based on sex, disability, race, and family status, published a report titled “Education for All” (EOC, 2011), indicating that the participation of ethnic minority students was disproportionately low in secondary school and post-secondary levels compared to Chinese students (EOC, 2011). Based on the large drop-out rates, Bhowmik & Kennedy (2016) conducted interviews with out of school ethnic minorities, finding that the continual lack of adequate Chinese language learning provisions for EM students is the main reason for the high number of drop-outs and lower performance in secondary school. In addition, the Education

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74 Recent statistics indicate that in some communities, up to 20% of EM students are not in school (Ngo, 2015a).
Bureau (2007c) tracked non-Chinese speaking students in tertiary education75, and found that only 5 students were admitted to universities in 2007.

Based on the high drop-out rates and low participation of EM students in tertiary education, the Education Bureau introduced an alternative Applied Learning Chinese subject for senior secondary levels in the 2014/2015 school year (CDC, 2014; EDB, 2014b, 2015a, 2015e, 2015f, 2015j; Information Services, 2013). The Applied Chinese learning subject was introduced to provide additional channels for non-Chinese speaking students to obtain an alternative Chinese language qualification and have more opportunities for further studies and employability (EDB, 2014a, 2015a, 2015j). The alternative Chinese course prepares late learners of Chinese (generally students with less than six years of Chinese language learning) to take alternative examinations, such as the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) or the General Certification of Education (GCE) (EDB, 2008, 2012, 2014b, 2015a, 2015f, 2015j; Information Services, 2014; LegCo Secretariat, 2011). The content of the Applied Learning Chinese subject, or ApL(C), focuses on three main language skills: oral Cantonese communication and reading and writing in Chinese (EDB, 2015j). The ApL(C) includes three different levels, with a total of 270 contact hours in Chinese. The majority of the course focuses on communication and reading skills, with the least hours dedicated to writing (EDB, 2015j). The curriculum aims for students to take the ApL(C) exam as meeting their minimum Chinese language proficiency requirements. Universities and employers, however, doubt the rigor of the alternative examinations, considering the ApL(C) requirements as a lower standard than regular subjects (Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012; Zhao, 2014). Furthermore, the written

75 The Census and Statistics Department indicates a high number of ethnic minority students are enrolled in tertiary education. Examining these statistics reveals that there are a high percentage of Caucasians, Japanese, and Koreans in tertiary education. Less than 1% of South and South East Asian students attend university (C&SD, 2015; F. Cheung et al., 2015; EDB, 2012; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Ngo, 2015c).
component of the ApL(C) teaches students how to write e-mails, notices, letters, and notes (CDC, 2014; EDB, 2015j). The writing standard is thus viewed as subpar, and the emphasis on conversation and reading needs to be balanced with writing skills required for jobs and university entrance exams (cf. Kapai, 2015; Unison, 2016c). While the long-term effects of the ApL(C) courses and examination schemes have yet to be seen, as the Education Bureau aims to promote gradual changes between 2014-2017, the current alternative qualification scheme continues to uphold the status quo: there are continually low numbers of EM students in post-secondary education, perpetuating their low socio-economic status.

3.4 Researching Ethnic Minority Language and Education Policies

Clearly, there are multiple difficulties ethnic minorities encounter in Hong Kong, and the current language and educational policies are only one of these problems. Ostensibly, the purpose of most education and language policies directed towards ethnic minority students is to teach them both the Chinese language and culture in order to assimilate them into the larger Hong Kong community, effectively ignoring the value of their home cultures and languages (Carney, 2013; F. Cheung et al., 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; C. Lai et al., 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015). In Section 3.4, I reviewed the language-in-education policies for EM students, interweaving evidence from current events and academic research to describe the effects of these policies on the community. In both the media (Lhatoo, 2015; Ngo, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; Zhao, 2015) and classroom ethnographic, interview, and policy research (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Hubbs, 2015; Hue et al., 2015; Hue & Kennedy, 2013a, 2013b; Kennedy & Hue, 2012; Pérez-Milans, 2015b; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2014), the local non-governmental organization (NGO), Hong Kong Unison (Unison, n.d., 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c), is cited as an authoritative and knowledgeable source and advocate for issues ethnic minorities face in Hong Kong. For example, in interview studies examining how the social practices, everyday experiences, and
identity construction of EM youth affect their linguistic and educational achievement, Pérez-Milans (2015) and Pérez-Milans & Soto (2014), suggest that local NGOs, such as Hong Kong Unison, play a key role in promoting equal rights and opportunities for these students. Moreover, Bhowmik & Kennedy’s (2016) ethnographic classroom and interview research on EM drop-out rates consistently cites Hong Kong Unison as a reliable source to describe the background experiences of the minority population. Hong Kong newspapers and television also reference Unison as an expert on ethnic minority affairs and educational policy advocacy (Lhatoo, 2015; Ngo, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; Zhao, 2015). Despite recognizing Unison as a reliable source of knowledge on ethnic minority students and education policies, no study has explored the role of this NGO. As a result, it is difficult to determine the extent of their participation with educational language policies in Hong Kong and their work as advocates for EM students. The present dissertation examines the involvement of Hong Kong Unison, as the only NGO in the city dedicated to work exclusively with ethnic minorities, by exploring their positionality and ideologies, how they work with and against the government, and what resources they provide to students, teachers, and the public.

Due to the lack of research on the role of the local NGO, Hong Kong Unison, there is an incomplete picture of how policies for EM students are negotiated and challenged in Hong Kong. Understanding the role of Hong Kong Unison is particularly relevant to the study of language planning and policy, as this local NGO is a special organization within the various social scales (as discussed in Chapter 2). By exploring Unison’s involvement in the planning process through negotiation and advocacy, our picture of the social scales in the Hong Kong context becomes clearer. Furthermore, studying Unison’s role demonstrates the epiphenomenal nature of language in planning and policy. NGOs are generally organizations that support or advocate for
a particular cause, and have their own political perspectives and ideologies (cf. Witt, 2008). These organizations also interact with communities, schools, governments, and individuals in order to create change, raise awareness, and promote their cause. In the Hong Kong education and language policy context, Unison, provides an example of how NGOs participate in social scales, as their organization interacts with the government, media, researchers, and the EM population. Studying Unison increases our understanding of the complex systems, underlying beliefs, interwoven relationships, and phenomena that result in the epiphenomenon of language being planned in educational policies for EM students in Hong Kong. In order to examine Unison’s involvement and role in shaping language-in-education policies for EM students, the methodology and data analyses are presented in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.
CHAPTER 4

Multi-Methodological Approach to Language Planning and Policy

The epiphenomenal nature of language within LPP provides a conceptual approach to studying the interactions and relationships involved in the planning process. Working from an epiphenomenal approach, researchers should synthesize various methodological tools of inquiry\(^{76}\) in order to collect and analyze data. Due to the interdisciplinarity of LPP, it is neither a simple, nor a clear process in determining the correct methodological tools (cf. Hult & D. Johnson, 2015; D. Johnson, 2013; Spolsky, 2005; Tollefson, 2006). As a result, education and language planner, James Tollefson (2006), suggests that the driving force behind decision-making about the most appropriate methods in LPP is linked to both the primary research goals and the resources available for the research project. Decisions require flexibility, creativity, and an understanding of theory. Moreover, as Hult & D. Johnson (2015) discuss in their introduction to the practice of LPP research, the interdisciplinary nature of the field “draws upon a broad constellation of research methods” (p. 1). This constellation of research methods, or a multi-methodological approach, combines more than one research method as a way to bring together several dimensions of the objects under investigation (cf. Hult & D. Johnson, 2015; Tollefson, 2006). In this study, I combine Wodak’s (2006, 2009) school of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with corpus linguistics (CL) under what has been termed a wider-angle perspective (Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008), in order to achieve a multi-methodological research approach (see Figure 4.1) to LPP and highlight multiple dimensions of the data (cf. Cao, 2014; Fitzimmons-Doolan, 2015; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

\(^{76}\) Various scholars (cf. Gee, 2011; Hornberger, 2014; Hult & D. Johnson, 2015) within applied linguistics and social science have utilized the term ‘methodological tool kit.’ I borrow and use the idea of a methodological tool kit based on its previous usage within work in LPP and discourse analysis.
In this chapter, I introduce the two methodological approaches I use in order to investigate the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. First, I present critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodology that provides a detailed description of language and discourse within a specific social context (Cao, 2014; Chilton & Tian, 2014; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Martin-Jones, 2015; Tian, 2009; Wodak, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I expound upon the definitions of discourse and then discuss the connections between LPP and discourse. I continue by describing the primary components and critiques of critical discourse analysis as a theoretical and analytic approach. Answering the criticisms of this approach, I introduce the wider-angle perspective and the specific school of CDA used to investigate the use of language in the Hong Kong policy context. Finally, I present some key features in the field of corpus linguistics (CL), addressing some of its criticisms, and highlighting its utility as a complementary methodological tool to CDA.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, I explain the theoretical methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and its relevance to an epiphenomenal study of language planning and policy. In order to do this, I begin by exploring the various concepts of discourse, arriving at a definition that creates an intersection between discourse and LPP. I then elaborate on CDA as a methodology to analyze
discourse within social contexts by discussing its main components and criticisms, and presenting my use of the wider-angle perspective.

4.1a Discourse

Due to its focus on language in society, discourse is of paramount importance when studying language planning and policy. Arriving at a concise definition of what constitutes discourse, however, is complicated as it is used in a variety of ways within linguistic, literary, social, and cultural theories (Fairclough, 2010; Gao, 2012; Gee & Handford, 2012; Lazaraton, 2009; Lê & Lê, 2009; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Mills, 2004; Schiffrin, 1994; Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005). At its most basic interpretation in linguistics, discourse is described as the use of language beyond the sentence or utterance (Baker, 2016; Boxer, 2002; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Gee, 2011; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Lê & Lê, 2009; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Schiffrin, 1994; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Based in a structural paradigm, this definition considers discourse purely as a suprasentential linguistic unit; language is built upon smaller units (phonemes, morphemes, etc.) that form hierarchical relationships and result in the creation of discourse (Schiffrin, 1994). Discourse, as a result, is language above the sentence (in a written or spoken text) and is described through an analysis of the content of language, lexicogrammatical meaning, semantics, or phonological expressions (Cameron & Panović, 2014; Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012). This basic conceptualization of discourse, however, ignores the complexity of context in the meaning making process due to its view that the sentence is the primary unit of linguistic analysis. Furthermore, this sense of discourse trivializes the role of society and culture in the process of understanding language, as it narrowly focuses on linguistic building blocks around the sentence.
Pioneering work in anthropology, cultural studies, and linguistics (cf. Goffman, 1959; Gumperz, 1971, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974) began to challenge the notion of discourse by suggesting that the role of language in society is multifaceted, and that discourses not only play a role of meaning making at a sentential level, but allow people to interpret and understand their social worlds (cf. Béland & Petersen, 2014). For example, in his seminal work exploring the notion of context, Hymes (1974) noted that language qua discourse meant more than a means of navigating the social world, but a way of constituting it. Additionally, Gumperz’s (1971, 1982) work on conversational strategies highlighted how discourses reflect sociocultural differences, create subtle boundaries of power and status, and develop from underlying assumptions about human perspectives on social life. In this vein, discourse describes language and semiotic activity as the key to how humans create and navigate their social worlds (Baker, 2016; Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011; Gee & Handford, 2012; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Lê & Lê, 2009; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Tian, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2005; Waugh, Catalano, Al Masaeed, Do, & Renigar, 2015; Wodak, 2006). Tian (2006) builds upon this notion, remarking, “现存的社会关系和社会结构不可避免地反映在话语之中” (Existing social relations and social structures are inevitably reflected through discourse) (p. x).

Furthermore, in their work on Native Alaskan narratives, Gilmore & D. Smith (2002) demonstrate that the languages we use ‘house’ discourses, and consequently create and shape our cultural knowledge, ideologies, and social worlds. Therefore, as Fairclough (1989) eloquently states, “the language activity which goes on in social contexts (as all language activity does) is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes and practices, it is a part of those processes and practices” (p. 23). In this study, I align with the social and anthropological view

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77 In her work on pedagogy and cultural practice, Brodkey (1996) also utilizes the phrase “language qua discourse” (p. 12) to refer to discourse as representing and distinguishing world views and ideologies. In Brodkey’s (1996) description, language through discourse has a desire to be, or to have a life of its own. This sense of discourse reveals the dynamic nature of language.
that defines discourse as the dynamic representation of how language (spoken, written, and multimodal) relates to social systems and explains how people interact with their surroundings (cf. Baker, 2016; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Cao, 2014; Gee, 2011; Hymes, 1974; Källkvist & Hult, 2014; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Mills, 2004; Schiffrin, 1994). Simply put, discourse is socially constituted and socially constitutive\(^7\) (cf. Waugh et al., 2015).

4.1b Discourse and Language Policy

In the field of LPP, decision-making, policy interpretation, and implementation are shaped by socio-ideological processes and discourse (cf. Lo Bianco, 2005; Pennycook, 2013; Spolsky, 2004). Language and education policies cannot be divorced from their social context and surrounding discursive environment (cf. Lo Bianco, 2005; Spolsky, 2004). Building upon the notion that language in the field of LPP is epiphenomenal and decisions are influenced by things under the surface, a language policy is not simply a text, but a representation of the belief systems, ideas, attitudes, and social and economic structures that are related to language (cf. Ruiz, 2014). Therefore, policies and the planning process must be analyzed in terms of their socially situated discourses, as they are created by discourse. An epiphenomenal conceptualization of language implores researchers to both understand the language policies themselves and look beyond the documents to understand the discourses and constructions within them. In order to understand the significance of discourse in the creation and negotiation of LPP, I employ CDA as a theoretical methodology that allows for an in depth examination of the surrounding relationship of the socio-political context. The following section describes the components of CDA and its utility in understanding the functions of discourse in understanding the epiphenomenal nature of language planning and policy.

\(^7\) It is worth noting that the socially constitutive nature of discourse does not mean it is void of human agency. People create and use language in order to understand and create their social worlds. Language and meaning making are closely related to the people that use them.
4.1c Components and Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a theoretical methodology involving a survey of various fields\(^{79}\) of inquiry in order to analyze and critique the use of language in society (Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2011; Hult, 2010; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Rampton, 1995; Tian, 2012, 2013; van Dijk, 2003, 2009; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This paradigm, traditionally considered to have originated from British and European scholarship (i.e. Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Paul Chilton, and Teun van Dijk) in the 1980s, has continued to expand as a transdisciplinary research approach (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011; Tian, 2012, 2013; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA has developed from discourse analytical approaches, such as conversation analysis, the ethnography of speaking, and the study of pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). As a result, CDA often builds its analyses upon previous work in discourse analysis in order to describe and examine the role of language in meaning making. In describing various methods of discourse analysis, Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) provide a continuum ranging from highly linguistic and analytic, to social and anthropological analyses. On this continuum, CDA situates itself in the social and anthropological side, providing its own distinct lens to approaching discourse analysis, distinguishing itself from other analytical approaches (cf. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Tian, 2008, 2009). Tian (2008, 2009) further describes the unique characteristic of CDA as a complete fusion of discourse analysis and a critical perspective that does not merely analyze language, but also includes meaning through social values and an intimate connection with contextualization. As a result, CDA is often viewed as a distinctive approach within the continuum of discourse analysis that brings a critical perspective to research not necessarily

\(^{79}\) Fields include: rhetoric, text, linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, cognitive science, literature, and sociolinguistics.
present in other parts of the spectrum of possible analyses (cf. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Schiffirin et al., 2001; Tian, 2008, 2009).

Despite the view that approaches to discourse analysis are on a continuum (cf. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), Gee (2011) and van Dijk (2003) argue that all discourse analysis is inherently critical. Discourse has an influential role in society, and even when examined in the most linguistic part of an analytical continuum, cannot be value free. All discourse analysis is critical because language itself is inherently political and social (cf. Gee, 2011). Furthermore, as van Dijk (2003) argues, language is always “socio-politically situated whether we like it or not” (p. 353). Within the burgeoning field of CDA, there are seven main theoretical claims about the nature of discourse: discourses can address social problems, power relations are discursive, discourses constitute society and culture, discourses are ideological, discourses are historical, texts and society are mediated through discourses, discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and discourses are forms of social action (van Dijk, 2003; Wodak, 1997). This means that CDA is the integration of linguistic analyses about discourse and social theories about power and ideologies as they manifest through the use of language in society (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Bourdieu, 1991; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Flowerdew, 2012; Gee, 2011; Gilmore & Smith, 2002; D. Johnson, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Maingueneau & O’regan, 2006; Mills, 2004; Tian, 2012, 2013; Tollefson, 2006; van Dijk, 1995, 2003, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). These claims further demonstrate that language cannot be divorced from its speakers and context, and as a result all discourse analysis is fundamentally critical. Although all discourse analysis can be described as critical, the research paradigm of CDA, as described by Blommaert (2005) in his examination of discourse, is composed of a broad range of methodologies and theories for how to analyze discourse within data. In the following sections, I
outline four main components that are seen to unite CDA programs together—power, ideology, context, and a problem-orientation.

First, CDA is shaped by the idea that language holds the potential to create and produce power. Bourdieu (1991) discusses in an analysis of symbolic power, that power is everywhere, and is often invisible. As a symbolic system of meaning, language designates various social functions and reveals struggles and relationships (Baker, 2016; Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Hult, 2010; D. Johnson, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Tian, 2009). Power itself does not derive from language, but language is a source of power production and reproduction (Cao, 2014; Wodak, 2012; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). A critical perspective encourages researchers to understand the effects of power, how it leads to the creation of inequality, and in particular, how discourses create power (Blommaert, 2005; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Closely related to the concept of power, are ideologies (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010). Ideologies characterize social and political systems and reveal how sites of power within discourses become embedded within society (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Combs et al., 2011; Fairclough, 2010; Gao, 2012; Gilmore, 2011; Hult, 2010; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In their overview of the interdisciplinarity of discourse analysis, Lê & Lê (2009) argue, “CDA is empty or meaningless if ideology is absent in it” (p. 12). In addition, Fairclough (2010) states that ideological analyses are not only important, but an essential and inherent component of CDA. Often, there is much terminological muddle surrounding the definition of an ideology. In his work on CDA, van Dijk (1995, 2003) dedicates a large discussion to the definition of ideologies within a critical perspective. His theory suggests that ideologies are an interface, or a link, between cognitive frameworks and socialization: “ideologies are localized between societal structures and the structures of the minds of social members” (van Dijk, 1995, p. 21). While
there are disagreements whether ideologies are ideational or material (Blommaert, 2005; van Dijk, 1995), an accepted perspective towards this term in CDA comes from Marxist theory (Blommaert, 2005; Cao, 2014). This perspective assumes ideologies are both ideational and material, because they include specific sets of symbolic thought representations, and are enacted and transformed by social practices, including the use of language. In his work on ideologies in the Chinese context, Tian (2015) states that within CDA, an exploration of ideologies is central as it allows the researcher to find underlying meanings of language: “将文本中隐藏的意识形态意义明朗化” (the ideologies hidden within a text become clearer) (p. 37). Therefore, CDA is built upon finding ideologies within discourse and describing them as the ‘lens’ from which people see and interpret their world ( Lê & Lê, 2009; van Dijk, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

A third unifying component of CDA mandates that language be empirically analyzed in context (cf. Auer, 1995; Auer & di Luzio, 1992; Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2011; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Gumperz, 1992, 2003; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Scollon, 2001). In a structural perspective (cf. Schiffrin, 1994) language is seen a formal and encapsulated system. CDA, however, views language as highly socialized and contextual (cf. Cameron & Panović, 2014; Cao, 2014; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hult, 2010; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Lazaraton, 2009; Tannen, 1993). In other words, “language is embedded within a context of situation” (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p. 14) and cannot make sense by itself. Context is closely linked to an epiphenomenal perspective, maintaining that dimensions underneath the surface of language decisions come together and allow us to have a more complete understanding of the relationships between discourse and the actions of social groups and individuals (cf. Johnson, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2011; Lê & Lê, 2009; A. Lee & Otsuji, 2009; van Dijk, 2003). Within CDA, a study of context allows a researcher to view how ideologies, power,
and language are shaped through and by historical and cultural processes (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Cao, 2014; Combs et al., 2011; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hult, 2010; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak, 2006, 2012; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For example, in Chapter 3, a discussion of the historical, political, and social development of Hong Kong’s language policies, provides a contextual background to help better understand the subsequent use of discourse analysis. While ideologies, power, and context can be studied individually, a critical perspective combines them in order to understand their intersections; these intersections reveal how discourses circulate and are shaped by multiple relationships (Blommaert, 2005; Hult, 2010). Context is crucial to CDA as it allows for power and ideologies within discourses and texts to be examined at various levels in society (or different social scales), and assumes that discourse is contextually embedded in sociocultural practices (Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Gee, 2011; Hult, 2010; van Dijk, 1995, 2003). Context provides a framework for interpreting discourses by revealing the dialogue between language and the surrounding environment (Gee, 2011; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Lazaraton, 2009; Tannen, 1993). Furthermore, context demonstrates that discourses are dynamic and in a constant state of flux (J. Flowerdew, 1997; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

While the inclusion of power, ideologies, and context (including historical context) unite the multiple paradigms of CDA and emphasize the epiphenomenal nature of language in building discourses around language planning and policy (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Cao, 2014; Fairclough, 2010; Tollefson, 2006; Waugh et al., 2015), the most distinctive and unifying characteristic of these programs is its focus on social problems (cf. van Dijk, 2003; Wodak, 1997), or as it is more commonly described, its problem-oriented nature. As a problem-oriented approach, CDA examines discourse and its relation to social and political contexts by taking a stance, and investigating areas of conflict, or problems, in order to expose hidden agendas or motivations (cf.
Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Gilmore & D. Smith, 2002; Tian, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Part of its problem-solving approach aims to critique discourse by taking a stance on what is considered right and wrong. Thus, CDA provides a normative research agenda that seeks to reveal and expose discriminatory practices, racism, sexism, hegemony, unfair hierarchies, institutional and educational power, the role of the media, economic injustices, and other social wrongs (Blommaert, 2005; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Fairclough, 2010; J. Flowerdew, 2012; Gao, 2012; Gilmore & D. Smith, 2002; Hult, 2010; D. Johnson, 2011; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Lê & Lê, 2009; Lo Bianco, 2009; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Maingueneau & O’regan, 2006; Mills, 2004; Tian, 2012, 2013, 2015; Tollefson, 2006; van Dijk, 2003; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA researchers not only critique problems in society, but also desire to be transformative agents that change society and provide recommendations for its improvement (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Lê & Lê, 2009; A. Lee & Otsuji, 2009; Lo Bianco, 2009; Maingueneau & O’regan, 2006; Tian, 2015; Tollefson, 2006; van Dijk, 2003; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Lo Bianco (2009) concludes his discussion on the agenda of CDA by declaring that it is ultimately defined as a productive, critical project: “The stated claim of CDA [is] to not only expose interested and ideologically biased language, but to contribute to social transformation” (p. 115). Hence, CDA, not only describes how language contextually operates within complex world systems by relating discourses to power, ideologies, and context, but also provides a normative agenda that addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and attempts to mitigate them (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010).

4.1d Criticisms of CDA

Due to its concern with the inherent ideological nature of discourse, CDA provides a way to examine language policies and understand the embedded epiphenomenal relationships of
decisions made about language. Despite its potential utility, there are three common criticisms of the application of CDA as a way to explore the discourse-policy connection. First, the theoretical and methodological development of CDA is argued to be historically and geographically closed due to its predominant use in Western, first world societies (cf. Blommaert, 2005). As a result, applying CDA in non-Western contexts can be problematic due to different cultural values and assumptions. Researchers must be careful when transferring a methodology from one context to another in order to avoid stereotyping another culture or creating biased analyses. Chilton & Tian (2014) and Cao (2014) echo Blommaert’s (2005) critique by pointing out that social transformations and socio-political changes in each country have their own characteristics, and that using a Western approach to CDA in other countries assumes all countries have the same features and landscapes. In other words, non-Western contexts are unique, and different approaches to CDA should be considered in order to prevent Western thought from simply being transposed upon another setting. Furthermore, this concern has been expanded upon in research in the Chinese context (cf. Cao, 2014; Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009), suggesting that the conceptualization of critical should be redefined in non-Western contexts, predominantly due to its strong political commissions (cf. Tian, 2015). In particular, Tian (2006, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2015) discusses that while discourse both reproduces social relationships and constructs power and ideologies, its analysis from a critical perspective has deficiencies. After China’s Cultural Revolution and the targeting of many intellectuals (cf. Kleinman & Kleinman, 1994; Phillips, 2016), along with a saving face culture (Q. Huang, Davison, & J. Gu, 2008), a perspective carrying political commissions creates the need to approach critique with sensitivity (cf. Chilton, Tian, & Wodak, 2009). As a result of the

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80 Tian (2009) confirms that discourses are socially constituted and socially constitutive and involved in the formation of power relationships and ideologies.
distinct history, culture, and Chinese perspectives, Tian (2015) states that one of the main deficiencies with the notion of critical is that it urges scholars to have a strong sense of responsibility in their academic research to solve social problems and promote social change. Therefore, CDA must reconcile how it can be adapted in non-Western contexts and expand upon the definition of critical to be less acute and driven by political commissions.

Secondly, Widdowson (1995, 2001a, 2001b) and Hammersley (1997) accuse CDA analysts of being ideologically biased, only selecting texts that confirm their own beliefs. The concern is that research decisions are left to the random choices of the analysts deciding what data supports their stance and social criticisms (Hammersley, 1997). Haig (2004) further confirms these concerns, stating that there are few critical discourse studies that display an interest in establishing the representativeness of samples for analysis. Haig (2004) comments that statistical measures, corpora, and other tools can be used to address representation in CDA, yet he finds that most studies do not explain where their texts came from, nor how they were chosen. The pessimistic views Hammersley (1997), Haig (2004), and Widdowson (1995, 2001a, 2001b) adopt suggest that critical discourse analysis is not legitimate as a professional field of study unless researchers address their biases and use methods that eliminate their own political agendas.

Finally, and most closely related to its application with LPP, Lo Bianco (2005, 2009), a prominent scholar on Australian language policy, argues that CDA and LPP are closely connected yet rarely applied together. Although he has worked for decades on language policy and education, Lo Bianco (2005, 2009) states that few policy texts have been subject to the deep usage of CDA. He suggests the primary reason for this is because the overt problem-solving

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81 This thought is adapted from Tian’s (2015) descriptions that scholars, within the political commissions of a critical perspective, often seek to promote and instigate social change.
agenda of CDA creates concerns for objective scholarship, and the program’s goals of societal change appear too optimistic. Chilton (2005) further doubts the commitment of CDA, calling it overly ambitious. He provides an example in a discussion of racial discrimination, stating that scholars analyzing an instance of racism would seek to eliminate this injustice through their work. The critique regarding the ambitious goals of CDA is a legitimate concern. Key scholars in CDA, Fairclough & Wodak (1997) and Scollon & Scollon (2003, 2004), clearly state that the aims of CDA include the intervention in social problems and the commitment to change society. Because of the political commitment of CDA, Lo Bianco (2005, 2009) finds it difficult to apply this explicit agenda to work on language planning and policy.

4.1e Wider-Angle Perspective

While it seems these critiques may invalidate the use of CDA, recent research and theoretical perspectives provide answers to predominant problems—particularly CDA’s expansion into non-Western contexts and its reduction of bias. In his theoretical work on CDA in China, Tian (2006, 2008, 2009) presents a metaphor for how to expand the definition of ‘critical’ through an awareness of the intensities of criticism. This metaphor, developed from geometric angles, discusses the dominant approach to CDA as an acute angle, centered on a strong definition of the notion of “critical” (Tian, 2009). The acute angle aims to sharply criticize wrong ideologies, points to undesired problems, desires to bring about social transformation and reforms, and usually holds a negative view towards the status quo. Tian (2006, 2008, 2009) finds this traditional view of CDA to be unabashed in its stance of right and wrong, and narrow and unpractical in its application. As an answer to the biased and overt perspectives of CDA, he suggests scholars begin to understand the various perspectives towards the meaning of critical, and instead utilize an obtuse, or wider-angle, as a way to approach their analyses (Tian, 2009). This obtuse, or wider-angle, (Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) approach to CDA
(further expanded in Chilton & Tian, 2014) is essentially a re-contextualization that does not follow the outright agenda of CDA, but rather aims to understand the functions of discourse and how it constructs our social realities, relationships, and ideologies. The wider-angle perspective builds upon the tenants of CDA, aiming to look at power, ideologies, and the social context, yet tones down the goal of bringing about social change through a difference in the intensity of its criticism (Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2009). Figure 4.2 demonstrates the wider-angle metaphor in its geometrical terms.

*Figure 4.2. A representation of the narrow and wider-angle perspectives of CDA*

The wide-angle perspective of CDA transforms the concept of critique to be less about a normative approach to what is right and wrong, and more about understanding how discourses function in society (Chilton & Tian, 2014; Chilton, Tian, & Wodak, 2012; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009). The conceptualization of the obtuse angle (see Figure 4.2) aims to focus on the dialectic relationship between discourse and society. Thus, the wider-angle perspective provides a research paradigm within CDA for examining how discourse represents and constructs social reforms, how discourse changes society, and how discourse manifests social meanings. The obtuse angle (see Figure 4.2) does not take a stance that CDA must intervene in social problems, but rather aims to discuss how discourse can reveal social inequalities and other socio-political relationships (cf. Tian, 2009).
In order to demonstrate the utility and application of the wider-angle perspective to CDA, Chilton & Tian (2014) provide an example of research in China about the case of Shang Xi Vinegar production (山西醋). The Shang Xi Vinegar incident involved two competing discourses presenting two differing arguments on the truth about the production of this brand of vinegar. As a result, consumers were faced with two competing representations about the truth and the quality of the vinegar. Chilton & Tian (2014) analyzed the discourses surrounding vinegar production and the beliefs regarding the vinegar’s authenticity. The analysis demonstrated that discourses around vinegar production became a social practice having an effect on consumers’ decisions. The quality of the vinegar (usually determined through taste) also became shaped through discourse. As a result, it is clear that discourses become dominant and represent the institutionalized powers behind them. Discourses represent prevailing ideologies, norms, and beliefs, and can demonstrate sources of conflict—even about vinegar quality. Chilton & Tian (2014) did not point out which discourse about vinegar was correct, but rather discussed the ideologies and power relationships in their context. The wider-angle perspective then maintains features of CDA by its understanding of discourse and how it shapes social realities and relationships, but refrains from taking a stance.

The wider-angle perspective, designed to expand the conceptualization of critical, is also beneficial in non-Western contexts (Chilton et al., 2009, 2012; Chilton & Tian, 2014; H. Huang, Leng, & Y. Gu, 2007; Tian, 2009; Xiong, 2001). The obtuse angle perspective to criticism in its emphasis of the understanding of discourse in social life, can allow researchers to understand how social phenomena occur and what patterns, behaviors, and ideologies emerge from discourses (Tian, 2009). In China, for instance, the wider-angle perspective is advantageous due to the political sensitivities in the country. In the past two decades, CDA is becoming more
Questions continually arise, however, about how to tailor and appropriate the theoretical methodology in the Chinese context (cf. Chilton et al., 2009; Chilton & Tian, 2014). After political movements of the 20th century, and the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976, the term ‘critical’ in China has been associated with negativity due to the pain and treatment of intellectuals during some of these movements. Despite its increasing popularity, the use of CDA in Chinese contexts has been a topic of discussion, as scholars (H. Huang et al., 2007; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009; Xiong, 2001) have grappled with how the word ‘critical’ could carry a less negative connotation. While the use of positive discourse analysis (cf. Martin & Rose, 2003) has been suggested as an option in China and other politically sensitive contexts, Chilton & Tian (2014) and Chilton et al. (2009) argue that positive discourse analysis (PDA) continues from a highly Western academic context. Also, rather than define critical in the Chinese context, the use of PDA simply throws out the chance to redefine the term by replacing it with ‘positive.’ The wider-angle perspective provides a way to tailor CDA to the Chinese context by continuing to look at social and political events and concerns, yet applying a transformation of the notion of ‘critical.’ The term ‘critical’ thus transforms from a narrower definition as expressing criticism about something and how to solve the problem, to a wider definition that uses careful and thorough explanations to understand both the good and bad components of discourses and their function in their specific social context.

Recent studies on political Chinese discourses demonstrate the utility of CDA through a wider-angle perspective. For example, Tong (2014) and Sandby-Thomas (2014) studied various discourses in Chinese politics, journalism, and government documents. Utilizing common

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82 In addition, Martin & Rose (2003) maintain that while PDA creates an expansion of CDA, it still aims to take a particular stance on social issues. Martin & Rose (2003) state that work within PDA should focus on texts that ‘do things right’ and focus on constructive social action. In this sense, PDA, continues to have bias as a research methodology by defining what is ‘right,’ ‘positive,’ or socially ‘constructive.’
methodologies within CDA, such as the discourse-historical approach (DHA), the dialectical-relational approach (DRA), and the incorporation of corpus linguistics (CL), these researchers highlight not only how CDA can be utilized in non-Western contexts, but also how critical language analysis provides a way to understand how power, authority, and ideologies are created and negotiated. For example, Sandby-Thomas (2014) utilized DHA to go through a corpus of government work reports in China. By investigating themes in these reports, the author revealed the communist party’s ideologies towards social change and the roles of government institutions in shaping these ideologies. His analysis demonstrated how the government maintains discursive authority despite constant forces of globalization and historical developments in China. Tong’s (2014) work examines authority in Chinese journalism. By focusing on the interplay between politics and the media, Tong (2014) argues that legitimacy is the primary factor in maintaining discursive authority of Chinese journalism. These two studies critically examine discourses historically and contextually to reveal how the Chinese government creates and maintains power and disseminates their ideologies. Furthermore, this work demonstrates how discourse represents our facts, realities, opinions, and social truths (or how discourses are socially constitutive). Coming out of China, these two studies (Sandby-Thomas, 2014; Tong, 2014), demonstrate how despite restraints due to the sensitivity of the government, CDA is a beneficial approach to unpacking ideologies and describing issues of power and social change.

These examples begin to address how CDA can be expanded beyond its agenda-taking program and expand its definition of critical. First, these scholars demonstrate that texts (written, spoken, and multimodal) each have particular functions (cf. Sandby-Thomas, 2014; Tong, 2014). These functions often include how power, hegemony, or legitimacy are created, and thus build upon the basic tenants of CDA. Furthermore, these studies do not shy away from discussing
ideologies within texts as they relate to the media or communist party. This scholarship demonstrates how discourses in China each have particular functions. Discourses may affirm the power of the party, create propaganda, or reveal the position of the media (cf. Sandby-Thomas, 2014; Schneider, 2014; Schneider & Hwang, 2014; Tong, 2014).

The concern remains, however, that the wider-angle approach may not be appropriate in Hong Kong, as scholars (J. Flowerdew, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2012; J. Flowerdew & Scollon, 1997; Scollon, 1995, 1997; A. Wong, 2002, 2005a, 2005b) have successfully applied western approaches to CDA for decades in this context. Scollon’s (1995, 1997) valuable work on CDA in Hong Kong, however, was primarily conducted before the 1997 handover to China when the territory was under British governance. Also, J. Flowerdew’s (1996, 1997, 1998, 2012) work includes pre-1997 analyses and early transition discourses following the handover. Finally, A. Wong’s (2002, 2005a, 2005b) research addressing the use of discourses in Hong Kong’s LGBTQ community, while conducted after the handover, is now outdated due to the consistently changing political context in the territory. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the most recent decade of the handover in Hong Kong has involved a unique sociopolitical context and climate. This is due to events such as the Umbrella Revolution (Lim, 2015; Ortmann, 2015; Veg, 2015), and the university protests in February 2016 about freedom of speech and resistance to Mandarin (PTH) education (Kuhn, 2016). With the constant changes in the political climate, tensions between Beijing and Hong Kong, and the increasing need for sensitivity in the territory due to these tensions, western approaches to CDA may no longer be appropriate. The wider-angle approach, therefore, is increasingly appropriate in the Hong Kong context.

Therefore, in order to address the concerns of applying critical discourse analysis to the study of LPP due to its overt political agenda, biased commission, and predominant usage in
non-Western contexts, I suggest that the wider-angle perspective (Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) to CDA provides one solution to these problems. The wider-angle perspective allows for research to investigate how discourses manifest themselves across various levels of social organization, time, and space (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015). As the development and negotiation of language policy occurs over various spaces and across social scales (including multiple individuals and institutions), discourses reflecting ideologies about language and the epiphenomenal nature of decision-making are also transmitted and shaped across social levels and spaces. These discourses are reflected in policy texts and implementation. The goals of the wider-angle perspective, to examine ideologies, power, context, and function of discourse, are useful to understand how language operates within social scales and shapes how people respond to the decision-making processes (Hult, 2013; Lo Bianco, 2005, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Furthermore, the wider-angle approach demonstrates that while all discourse analysis is critical, the definitions of what are considered as CDA methodologies have become narrow due to the problem-oriented approach. By using the wider-angle perspective in this dissertation, I argue that the notion of problem-orientation can be expanded in order to apply CDA in more sensitive contexts. For example, in Hong Kong, as special administrative region of China, the wider-angle perspective can pinpoint ideologies, explore power relationships, and be adapted to the specific and unique political context of the territory. This research, addressing the role of a local NGO in Hong Kong also maintains the sensitivity of this topic, as there are political and ethical concerns with the work of various organizations (cf. Lachler, 2016). This local NGO takes a position towards policies and racism in the Hong Kong context, thus demonstrating their political position outside of the government. As they critique the government and are involved in various types of advocacy, the wider-angle perspective allows for this investigation to examine the NGO’s
discourses and their role and identity in the negotiation of LPP across social scales. By
expanding on the notion of critical, the discourses of the NGO can be described and interpreted
in relation to the context and other social actors without pinpointing the problems within the
NGO. As a result, the wider-angle perspective provides a way to gain insight into how
discourses are transmitted and negotiated by this NGO and how these discourses reflect and
create their identity (cf. Ricento, 2006; Tollefson, 2013).

4.1 If Wodak’s School of CDA

In their presentation of the wider-angle approach to CDA, Chilton & Tian (2014) stress
that new methodologies do not need to be created in order to adopt this research perspective. For
example, Sandby-Thomas (2014) & Tong’s (2014) research in the Chinese context reflected how
in place methodologies within the CDA program are used in a wider-angle perspective to analyze
discourse in society. In this section, I briefly present a discussion of the three main goals of
CDA research as outlined by Fairclough (2001, 2010). I then conclude with a description of
Wodak’s school of CDA, explaining how it is in alignment with a wider-angle perspective and
provides a meaningful way to understand the discourses of Hong Kong Unison.

Following the unifying theoretical components of CDA, many methodologies of how to
carry out analyses have developed. Each methodology adheres to slightly different
conceptualizations of discourses, power, ideologies, and context, as well as different perspectives
and features of analysis. Despite these differences, most CDA methodologies have aligned with
three overarching analysis goals as proposed in the pioneering work of Norman Fairclough (1989,
2001, 2010). His three basic steps include: description, interpretation, and explanation (cf. Baker,
2016; Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Hubbs, 2015; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Waugh et
al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Description involves a detailed description of the chosen
texts including their vocabulary, grammar, textual structures, and other semiotic resources. In the interpretation stage, the genre of communication is described in order to expand upon the linguistic descriptions. Finally, the explanation stage incorporates a description of linguistic features by connecting them with a text’s contextual background in order to explain issues of domination, power struggles, or ideologies (Fairclough, 2001, 2010). Fairclough’s (2001, 2010) three-step process has become the foundation for many theories and methodologies in CDA, as it is essential to describe the textual data and make interpretations and explanations about their relationships with actual practices in society. 

In this dissertation, following the main goals of describing, interpreting, and explaining discourse (cf. Fairclough, 2001, 2010), I draw upon the school of CDA developed by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues (Meyer, 2001; Sandby-Thomas, 2014; Schneider & Hwang, 2014; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak, 2001a, 2006; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebgart, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Wodak, Pelikan, Nowak, Gruber, de Cillia, & Mitten, 1990; Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). This school developed from studies analyzing discourse constructions of anti-Semitic stereotypes in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign (Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak, 2001). The approach places an emphasis on context, and understands that contexts are constantly changing (cf. Meyer, 2001; Sandby-Thomas, 2014). Analysts applying Wodak’s school of CDA adhere to the notion that discourse has a dialectical relationship with the social practices and situations they are embedded in. As a result, Wodak’s school of CDA is based on the transdisciplinary analysis of the relationships between discourse and society, with a focus on the integration of

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83 The three basic steps to critical discourse analysis are not the same as Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach (DRA) (cf. Wodak & Meyer, 2009). DRA includes a grand theory about social relationships and discourse and borrows from Halliday’s (1985) systemic functional linguistics. These basic three steps can be found in most major CDA methodologies, as they are a simple description of how a researcher involves themselves with their data despite the more specific theory and methodology they employ.
contextual background information\(^{84}\) (Meyer, 2001; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). While this approach has been applied in various ways, it includes four main dimensions of analysis: finding a piece of discourse to analyze, investigating discursive strategies (such as argumentation) within the data, examining and describing the context (and linguistic) dependent realizations in the data, and critically deconstructing the implications of discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Based on these dimensions of analysis, Wodak’s school is often considered as the most linguistically oriented approach to CDA (Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Wodak’s school of CDA (also referred to as the discourse-historical approach or the Vienna school) adheres to the belief that discourse has the power to define truth in society, and these truths are shaped by various linguistic realizations (Schneider & Hwang, 2014; Wodak et al., 2009). The Vienna school’s approach to CDA has been applied in research coming from China in order to look at discourses involving different participants such as the media, powerful elites, politicians, government workers, and other social groups (cf. Cao, 2014; Sandby-Thomas, 2014; Schneider & Hwang, 2014). Sandby-Thomas’s (2014) analyses of the legitimating effect of the stability discourse in China since Tian’an Men Square in 1989 applied Wodak’s school of CDA by highlighting the discursive strategies used in texts to persuade the reader of the Communist Party’s viewpoint. Also, Schneider & Hwang (2014)’s study on the China Central Television (CCTV) documentary “Road to Revival” incorporated the Vienna School in order to examine how linguistic means created unification in the discourse of Chinese elites. The CCTV

\(^{84}\) Background information, as defined in this approach, includes a description of the historical and political contexts surrounding the texts to be analyzed. It can also include an intertextual history of how discourses have changed and transformed over time (Blommaert, 2005; Cao, 2014; Wodak, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). When incorporated into an analysis, background information emphasizes the interdisciplinary, critical, multi-theoretical, multi-methodological, dialogic, intertextual, inter-discursive, and historical features of CDA (Cao, 2014; Waugh et al., 2015).
documentary provided examples of how discourses knit together a particular version of how language creates social realities. The application of the Vienna School in Chinese contexts, demonstrates how the four main dimensions of analysis can be adapted and tailored to a specific context. Furthermore, these examples reveal how existing approaches to CDA can be taken under a wider-angle perspective. While the fourth dimension of analysis in western contexts generally implies that the researcher takes a problem-solving agenda to their work, in Chinese contexts through a wider-angle, the critical deconstruction of discourses can take another shape.

In Schneider & Hwang’s (2014) analysis, the Vienna school was used to deconstruct how discourse perpetuates the rule of the Chinese Communist party. While they critically examined and pointed out propaganda, Schneider & Hwang (2014) maintained a wider-angle approach that discussed social issues without clamoring for social change and pointing out problems within the party (cf. Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009). Wodak’s school provides a method of maintaining a wider-angle approach while carrying out discursive analyses and critically linking them to their social, political, and historical contexts.

In the study of language planning and policy, Wodak (2006) describes her approach to CDA as relevant to the study of the complexity of policy texts and relationships. The discourse-historical approach provides a methodology of examining the details of language policies and revealing how discourse is central to the creation of identity and ideologies (cf. Benke & Wodak, 2003; de Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Titscher, Wodak, Meyer, & Vetter, 2000; Waugh et al., 2015; Wodak, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Wodak (2006) further describes her school of CDA as a way to understand how context-dependent realizations of discourse shape relationships in policy-making and negotiation. Finally, in the context of looking at Hong Kong Unison, the Vienna school of CDA fits in with an epiphenomenal
understanding of language policy. As language decisions are connected to various components under the surface, the wider-angle perspective of Wodak’s approach to CDA can critically examine the contextual relationships of language in policy negotiation by describing ideologies as they manifest within the data. Ultimately, the Vienna school provides a platform for not only tailoring CDA through a wider-angle perspective, but also addressing the transdisciplinary field of LPP and the epiphenomenal nature of language.

4.2 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistic approaches (CL) present a reliable way to study the descriptive use of language and patterns (cf. Baker, 2016; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; McEnery, 2016; Qian & Tian, 2014). These approaches are commonly combined with other linguistic methodologies (including CDA and cognitive linguistics) in order to apply quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques together and answer multiple questions about the same data (cf. Cameron & Panović, 2014; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Qian & Tian, 2014). Furthermore, the use of CL provides a way of answering Widdowson (2001a, 2001b) & Haig’s (2004) critiques about the biased selection of texts in CDA. In the final section of this chapter, I define and discuss the components of a corpus linguistics approach, highlighting their usefulness when combined with CDA, and providing an answer to the concerns about the biased nature of text selection (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Haig, 2004; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Qian & Tian, 2014; Widdowson, 1999, 2001a, 2001b).

Corpus linguistics approaches (CL) have taken their modern form as the result of the increasing development of technology and computational software (Baker, 2006, 2010b, 2012, 2016; Baker et al., 2008; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science [CASS], 2013; L. Flowerdew, 2012; Hardaker, 2016; McCarthy & O’Keefe, 2010;
McEnery, 2016; McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006; Mulderrig, 2012; R. Zhang, 2014). Typically, CL involves a collection of methods for studying language through the creation of a corpus, or a large database of naturally occurring, authentic texts, stored on a computer (Bennett, 2010; Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Cameron & Panović, 2014; CASS, 2013; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; Qian & Tian, 2014; Sinclair, 1991; R. Zhang, 2014). Texts, including transcripts of speech and written language, are stored in electronic formats and analyzed through a concordancer, or corpus software package (Anthony, 2013a, 2013b; Baker, 2012; Baker & McEnery, 2015; Bennett, 2010; Cameron & Panović, 2014; CASS, 2013; Mulderrig, 2012).

At its most basic usage, CL aims to answer one broad overarching question: what are the patterns of language in this corpus (cf. Baker, 2006; Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Qian & Tian, 2014)? The prominence of patterns of language developed from the ideas of John Sinclair (1991), commonly considered as the father of corpus linguistics. Sinclair (1991) argues that a word cannot carry meaning on its own, but finds meaning through its context. As a result, the empirical analysis of patterns as a way to understand language and meaning provides the backbone of corpus approaches (cf. Baker & McEnery, 2015; Bennett, 2010; Biber et al., 1998; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; McEnery, 2016; Qian & Tian, 2014; Sinclair, 1991; R. Zhang, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012). In order to examine these patterns, various types of analyses are used. While I cannot describe every possible type of analysis within CL, I will discuss the most commonly used types of analysis in social science and policy research (cf. CASS, 2013; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; Qian & Tian, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012).

Based on its focus on patterns, word frequency is the most commonly used analysis in corpus approaches (Baker, 2006, 2012; Baker et al., 2008; Baker & McEnery, 2015; Bang, 2003;
Bennett, 2010; Cameron & Panović, 2014; CASS, 2013; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; Gries, 2008; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; McEnery, 2016; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; McEnery & Wilson, 2005; Mulderrig, 2012; O’Keefe & McCarthy, 2010; Qian & Tian, 2014; Stubbs, 1996; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012). Word frequency, usually analyzed in the form of a word frequency list, provides a straightforward analysis for a researcher to know all of the words used in a corpus and the ones that occur the most frequency. Word frequency lists are easily generated after creating a corpus, providing insight into the persistent lexical patterns. In many cases, function words are excluded from analysis in a word list, with the exception of corpora looking at second language learner data (cf. Bennett, 2010). While a word list analysis may seem simple, it provides a unique view on the salient words in a corpus, thus demonstrating ideologies in a particular data set (Baker & McEnery, 2015; Mulderrig, 2012). Secondly, keyword analyses are closely linked with word frequency lists. Keywords may correspond to the most frequent words, yet are slightly different as this analysis compares a selected corpus with another one to produce a list of the most unique words to the corpus under consideration. A keyword analysis describes the overall aboutness of a corpus (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; McEnery, 2016; Qian & Tian, 2014); in other words, keywords characterize a corpus by revealing topics and themes within the textual data (cf. Scott, 1997; van Dijk, 2009). In addition, collocation analyses are also frequently utilized in CL. Words collocate with one another when they occur in one another’s presence (CASS, 2013). Collocation analysis can also be described as the statistical tendency of words to co-occur. A researcher may start with the most frequent words, and then look at their collocations in order to develop a deeper understanding of patterns and meaning in the corpus (Bennett, 2010; Hardaker, 2016; Qian & Tian, 2014). Finally, concordance analyses are common (CASS, 2013). A concordance displays every instance of a word or collocation in a corpus with its surrounding
context. Concordance displays are helpful ways for the researcher to make interpretations about meaning in its context (Baker, 2016; Baker & McEnery, 2015; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; McEnery & Wilson, 2005; Qian & Tian, 2014). All of these common analyses are reproducible to anyone with the same corpus, making CL a quantitative and scientific approach (R. Zhang, 2014).

Despite the utility of these types of analyses, there are limitations to corpus approaches. First, CL cannot provide all the possible evidence of language. While technology allows storage of thousands of documents, it is impossible for any corpus to contain all instances of language. A corpus provides only a sample (Bennett, 2010; Mulderrig, 2012). Secondly, CL approaches do not provide negative data. The discussed types of analysis provide positive evidence based on the textual data. Corpus based research does not aim to look at what is not there, but what is within the data (Mulderrig, 2012). Thirdly, CL does not provide explanation by answering ‘why’ questions (Bennett, 2010). Quantitative analyses can be used as a starting point for a researcher to make interpretations about patterns, but the analyses and data themselves do not answer these questions (Bennett, 2010; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015). Finally, corpus approaches for languages with characters and lack of word separation great challenges in analysis (Personal Communication with D. Amano, January 2016; Goh et al., 2005; S. Smith & W. Li 2015; R. Zhang, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012). In Chinese texts, for example, word segmentation is difficult as characters occur in strings with no separate spaces (Kilgarriff, Keng, & S. Smith, 2015; S. Smith & W. Li, 2015; R. Zhang, 2014). [For example, looking up /天花/ meaning small pox in a concordance in Chinese, could be separated into /天/ meaning sky or /花/ meaning flower. The two characters could also be examined together as one ‘word.’] As a result, it becomes difficult to determine whether a word should be classified as one character or multiple
characters. Segmentation difficulties usually result in ambiguity, researcher discretion, and reliance upon the context to make decisions about what characters go together\(^85\) (cf. Goh et al., 2005; Kilgarriff et al., 2015; S. Smith & W. Li, 2015; R. Zhang, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012).

4.3 Merging Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

As an answer to these limitations, corpus linguistics approaches are being increasingly combined with critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Baker, 2006, 2012, 2016; Baker et al., 2008; Bang, 2003; Bennett, 2010; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Hard-Mautner, 1995; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Qian & Tian, 2014; Sinclair, 1991). The synergy between the two methodologies is about 25 years old and comes from Sinclair’s (1991) pioneering work on CL from the University of Birmingham. Despite this first combination of CDA and CL, the use of the two together began to take off in the past decade (Baker, 2016; Baker et al., 2008; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Qian & Tian, 2014). Work from Lancaster University has more clearly demonstrated the combination of these two methodologies. In particular, Baker et al. (2008) and Baker (2010a, 2012, 2016) conducted a large corpus study on the usage of the words Muslim and Islam in British newspapers. The numerical data in the corpus was combined with critical discourse analysis to reveal ideologies towards Muslims in the United Kingdom. This research demonstrated the importance of contextualizing statistical information from a corpus with the stance of CDA: “although CL and CDA can both be seen to have strengths and weaknesses, it is hoped that a combination of the two would help exploit their strong points while eliminating potential problems” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 283). In other words, as corpus based research cannot provide explanations nor take into account the social, political, historical, and cultural contexts,

\(^{85}\) In most corpus research in Chinese, words are classified as one or more combinations of characters (cf. Kilgarriff, et al., 2015; R. Zhang, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012). As R. Zhang (2014) described, despite ambiguities, word decisions in Chinese are often based on the context of a sentence.
its combination with CDA provides a helpful strategy of providing an understanding of background knowledge, going beyond the textual data, and answering the ‘why’ questions (Baker, 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2016; Baker et al., 2008). The combination expands the broad understanding of texts from CL and allows for a closer reading and analysis through CDA (cf. Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015; Qian & Tian, 2014). Also, the integration of these two methodologies allows for outside data and intertextuality (cf. Baker, 2016; Fairclough, 1992; J. Flowerdew, 2013; J. Flowerdew & Wan, 2006, 2010; Gee & Handford, 2012; Kristeva, 1980) to be considered alongside the corpus data, increasing the amount of evidence for interpreting language patterns and meaning. The use of these two approaches can also assist in eliminating ambiguity problems with Chinese characters in corpus linguistics. The deeper analysis of texts and their context through CDA help answer questions about character meaning and segmentation (cf. Qian & Tian, 2014).

The combination of these two approaches is also beneficial to answering critiques to the application of CDA. CL addresses the critique that CDA is not representative in its sampling and thus contains data tainted by researcher bias (cf. Bang, 2003; Widdowson, 2001a, 2001b). Corpus approaches and CDA involve authentic naturally occurring textual data (Cameron & Panović, 2014; Qian & Tian, 2014). The use of computer software, allows for a corpus to include a larger sample of data. This means that bias in text selection can be reduced through the incorporation of corpus linguistics (cf. Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a). In addition, corpus approaches find their strength in the quantitative analysis of examining repetitive patterns and frequency (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b). Statistical data of frequency and keyness in a corpus provide a quantitative addition to analyses of ideologies and patterns found through CDA (Cameron & Panović, 2014;
Mautner, 2009a). Frequency and keyness identify important themes and concepts within the data, and help gauge whether texts carry evidence of ideological patterns. After confirming a preoccupation of various patterns through a corpus, discourse analyses can then be used more reliably to look at language in its greater textual and social context (cf. Baker, 2006; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Mautner, 2009a; Qian & Tian, 2014). Furthermore, conducting analyses in a corpus can be reproduced if another researcher has access to the same corpus (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014). As a result, the pattern based, quantitative, and reproducible features of CL answer critiques in CDA that state its application is too subjective and biased.

Despite their combined utility, there is no standard for merging these two methodologies together (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b). Baker et al. (2008) suggest a corpus-driven approach to CDA as a facilitative way to combine the two together. After establishing the research questions and creating a corpus, Baker et al. (2008) suggest that corpus analyses are conducted first. By examining the keywords, frequencies, collocations, and concordances, a researcher can easily identify patterns to explore through CDA in more detail (cf. Baker et al., 2008; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Qian & Tian, 2014). Also, by performing the corpus analyses first, the data can be narrowed down, and the documents with the most concordances or frequencies can then be examined through CDA (Baker et al., 2008; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b). In the present study, I draw upon a corpus-driven approach (cf. Baker et al., 2008; Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Qian & Tian, 2014) in order to narrow down the data, arrive at key topics, and then conduct more in-depth analyses through critical discourse analysis. Chapter 5 details the data collection, specific procedure and combination of CL and CDA, and the data analyses.
CHAPTER 5  
Data Collection & Analysis Procedures  
Having established a methodological tool kit to investigate LPP through an epiphenomenal approach to language decisions in Chapter 4, this chapter turns to a description of how I used these tools in the present investigation. I begin by describing the data setting, followed by an explanation of the specific data gathering techniques. Then, I detail the analysis procedure, explaining how decisions were made during the application of CL. I also briefly present the keywords and word frequency lists that served as the basis for subsequent analyses. The chapter concludes by discussing the application of Wodak’s (2000, 2006) school of CDA and how I applied it to the data in order to understand the negotiation of Hong Kong Unison in the development of LPP for ethnic minority students in Hong Kong.

5.1 Data Setting and Source: Hong Kong Unison  
Data for this investigation were taken from the local Hong Kong non-governmental organization (NGO), Hong Kong Unison (Unison). Unison was founded in 2001 by Fermi Wong\(^\text{86}\) (Baccarat Hong Kong [Baccarat], 2015; A. Ng, 2014; Tsoi, 2012; Unison, n.d., 2016a). Originally established under the name Unison Hong Kong for Ethnic Equality, the NGO shortened their name to Hong Kong Unison. Founder Fermi Wong, a social worker, first began to work with ethnic minority children in 1998, taking note of the difficulties they experience in their daily life and education (Baccarat, 2015; A. Ng, 2014; Tsoi, 2012; Unison, n.d.). Her involvement began after a coincidental encounter working with an after school youth program at a soccer field in the Sham Shui Po district of the city. While working with the after school program, she noticed EM youth were playing off the soccer field, separate from the Chinese

\(^{86}\) Wong experienced discrimination herself when she immigrated to Hong Kong from Quanzhou, Fujian, China in the 1970s. She was scolded for her poor Cantonese when she initially came to the city. As she improved her Cantonese abilities and learned more about her new home, she states that she enjoyed the unique culture and freedom in Hong Kong. She enjoyed the freedom of speech and press that did not exist in China, and this prompted her to become a social worker in order to defend the freedoms of HongKongers (A. Ng, 2014, Tsoi, 2012).
youth (Tsoi, 2012). Upon asking them why they did not play on the field, the EM children explained that their Chinese peers forbade them from sharing the field. After witnessing this overt act of discrimination, Wong continued to take note of segregation and discrimination in Hong Kong and started using her position as a social worker to help EM youth (Baccarat, 2015; A. Ng, 2014; Tsoi, 2012). Gradually, Wong began to have disagreements with her co-workers about why she was helping outsiders, and as a result resigned from her position as a social worker in 2000, founding Unison in 2001 (Baccarat, 2015). Hong Kong Unison became the first NGO in the city to work with ethnic minorities. Although the first three years were financially unstable, as Unison had no permanent office and ran off donations, (A. Ng, 2014), by 2005 they were able to financially sustain their organization and obtain official recognition as a public non-governmental organization (Unison, 2016a).

Currently, Unison is composed of an executive director, an executive committee, an advocacy and policy sub-committee, and a finance and administration sub-committee that includes 13 members with various positions and responsibilities (Unison, n.d., 2014, 2016a). The executive committee includes positions such as treasurer, secretary, vice chairperson, and chairperson. This committee is ethnically diverse and is composed of Hong Kongers, Mainland Chinese, Eurasians, British, and Indian members (Unison, n.d., 2014, 2016a). Various members from the executive committee serve on the sub-committees (Unison, 2014). The new executive

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87 HK Unison gradually became financially sustained through private donations and project funding. Their primary donors include Oxfam Hong Kong (an international confederation working to reduce poverty and injustice), the South China Morning Post (a prominent English newspaper in the city), the Lee Hsyan Foundation (a private family foundation that supports impactful charity movements in Hong Kong, and the Kadoorie Charitable Foundation (a foundation started by British Gurkhas) (Unison 2014, 2016a). The NGO also raises money through annual fundraising drives and project work. The majority of the funding for the NGO comes from donations; a small amount of funding also comes from bank interest income and grants (Unison, 2014). The NGO receives no government funding.
director, Phyllis Cheung Fung-Mei, took over for Fermi Wong when she retired from her role in September 2014 (Baccarat, 2015; A. Ng, 2014; Ngo, 2014; Unison, n.d., 2016a).

Since their recognition in 2005, Hong Kong Unison describes their organization as one that believes all people are born equally and should not be excluded on the basis of differences in race, culture, language, or socio-economic status. The NGO specifically focuses its efforts on helping ethnic minority residents in Hong Kong (including youth and families). Their work does not help expatriates nor the Hong Kong refugee community due to the fact that other NGOs and government organizations exist to help these groups (Unison, 2016a). The primary effort of the NGO is policy and advocacy work. Their website and Facebook page describe their goals, “香港融樂會多年來，均會就社會上不同的議題，向政府各級官員、立法會、平等機會委員會、聯合國等遞交立場書，希望有關機關或人士關注香港少數族裔居民面對的困難” (In the past few years, Hong Kong Unison has been an organization that expresses its views by submitting opinion papers to government officials, the Legislative Council, Equal Opportunities Commission, and the United Nations on various social issues in Hong Kong, with the hopes that the relevant authorities and persons will have an increased awareness/concern of the difficulties EM residents experience in Hong Kong) (Unison, n.d.). Although the NGO also takes on case work (due to the founder’s experience as a social worker), promotes cultural sensitivity in schools, and hosts public events to build awareness about tolerance in the city, their primary focus, as revealed in their descriptions on their websites and Facebook page, centers on advocacy through policy work.

Much of their policy work involves efforts towards the promotion of better language education in

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88 Cheung, originally a hydraulic engineer, now serves as the executive director of HK Unison. She served internationally with water projects in developing countries, and saw how access to water often affects forgotten communities. Upon her return to Hong Kong, she began to work with community organizations to help EM peoples as Hong Kong’s forgotten communities. Cheung continues with Unison’s goals of focusing on education and policy in order to create an environment to sustain them in the city (Ngo, 2014). Cheung also experienced discrimination as an immigrant from Hong Kong to French speaking Canada during her youth. Due to her own difficulties learning French, she believes language skills and education are important in integrating into the community (Ngo, 2014).
order to increase post-secondary options for EM students and improve their overall access to education (Unison, n.d., 2016a).

Despite their goals of helping the EM community, Unison has been consistently condemned by Hong Kongers questioning why the organization helps ‘outsiders’ (A. Ng, 2014; Tsoi, 2012). The government also criticizes the organization, calling Unison the 小蚊子 (small mosquito) that continues to bother them about the existence of EM people (Tsoi, 2012). Despite these criticisms, the NGO has been successfully involved in various policy changes. First, Unison helped campaign for the enactment of the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) in 2008 (Baccarat, 2015). Although the resulting legislation was weak in its provisions to EM people (cf. Hubbs, 2015; Hue & Kennedy, 2011), the RDO became a symbolic victory for Unison as they saw it as the first small step towards helping the Hong Kong community learn about racial discrimination. The NGO also helped push the Education Bureau to introduce supplementary curriculum for non-Chinese speakers (A. Ng, 2014). Due to these small successes, and their increasing public presence, Unison has become the foremost NGO working with EM people in Hong Kong89 (A. Ng, 2014; Ngo, 2014).

While no organization is flawless, and Unison confronts various criticisms, the NGO has increasingly positioned itself as an imperative force in the advocacy and development of racial, education, and language policies for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong (A. Ng, 2014; Ngo, 2014; Tsoi, 2012; Unison, 2016a). Their role has been recognized by the government (cf. E. Cheung, 2015; Loper, 2004), media and news outlets (cf. Ngo, 2014, 2016), and academic scholarship (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Hue & Kennedy, 2011, 2012, 2013; Kennedy, 2012) as a reliable

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89 In September 2015, the new director, Phyllis Cheung, wrote an opinion article in the Hong Kong newspaper asking how the NGO became appointed as the primary NGO working with ethnic minority education (E. Cheung, 2015). Her article essentially asked how the NGO, without their own knowledge, came to be regarded by the media, newspapers, and even the government, as the primary authority on education and advocacy efforts for EM peoples in the city.
source for providing up-to-date information and research on EM students in the city. While other social service organizations and NGOs, including Hong Kong Christian Services (2015) and Yang Memorial Methodist Social Services\(^9\) (2015), attend to some EM cases, Unison is the only NGO dedicated to work exclusively with this community and focus specifically on policy efforts. Subsequently, it is necessary to understand Unison’s ideologies and advocacy efforts in order to better comprehend the larger picture of social scales (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015) and relationships in the Hong Kong education and language planning and policy context.

5.2 Gathering Techniques

Due to time constraints and staff availability, data from Hong Kong Unison were collected through documentation of their work rather than through in person interviews or observations. These documents were collected between May 2015-December 2015. I corresponded through e-mail to contact the NGO about how to obtain documents on their work for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Through this correspondence, I was directed to multiple sources to obtain publically accessible data on their work and advocacy efforts. There were three main sites used to access the data: the Unison website [containing pages on their work (我們的工作), basic organizational information (關於我們), public resources pages, and their Ethnic Minority Encyclopedia], their main Facebook page [including their basic mission statement and organization details], and their Electronic Library Database/資料庫 [an electronic library that includes their publications, position papers, research reports, media library, and legislative

\(^9\) Yang Memorial Methodist Social Service (YMSS), established in 1967 through sponsorship from the global Methodist Church, offers social services and programs as a non-profit, non-governmental organization in Hong Kong. While this group has worked with EM communities (YMSS, 2015), they work more broadly with social issues, such as services for senior citizens, developing youth centers, and offering rehabilitation programs. YMSS, with their connection to partnerships with the United Methodist Church, has a broad and global focus. Hong Kong Christian Service (HKCS), established in 1952, is a smaller branch of the Church World Service and the Lutheran World Federation (HKCS, 2015). Their work has also helped EM communities, yet also aims to promote child development, employee assistance, free health clinics, and assistance for senior citizens (HKCS, 2015). Both HKCS and YMSS contribute to the expansion of economic and social justice in Hong Kong. Due to their broad focus, and international connections, this dissertation acknowledges the important work of HKCS and YMSS in Hong Kong, yet maintains its focus on a smaller local NGO dedicated exclusively to the cause of EM groups in the city.
questions]. I was able to obtain, download, and save these publically accessible documents. Some of the documents in the libraries, included research, reports, and newspaper articles, and YouTube videos from outside sources that Unison posted for public access. The non-Unison sources were sorted and kept for providing background information in the literature and discussion sections, but were not included in the data analysis as they were not produced by the NGO. A few of the documents and articles were not available electronically, and had to be obtained through copies in the Hong Kong public library (copied during June 2015). Most of the documents were obtained while I was in Hong Kong between May-June 2015. I continued to collect documents until the end of the 2015 calendar year by checking their electronic library for updates through December91.

Documents taken from Hong Kong Unison consist of: the NGO’s annual activity reports, teacher, school, and student resources, student scholarship applications, published opinion articles in Hong Kong newspapers, positional statements and letters to Hong Kong government officials, submissions to the Hong Kong Legislative Council (LegCo), public mission statements, submissions to the United Nations, published resources for the Hong Kong public (including information leaflets, advertisements, and webpages), LegCo questions92, and research publications93. The collected documents94 address a variety of issues for EM people including housing issues, police discrimination and harassment, and employment discrimination. I organized the documents, narrowing them down to only include ones that deal with education,

91 One limitation of this data collection includes the fact that it is not possible to collect every document, book, PowerPoint, or other media produced by Unison. Also, the nature of work retrieved from the Internet means that some documents, files, and sources are added and removed constantly. Thus, the data here is a sample of Unison’s work.
92 LegCo Questions were eliminated from the final data set. While Hong Kong Unison has these questions in their library, they are not written by the NGO.
93 Consistency of data is a key concern in research related to corpus linguistic approaches and critical discourse analysis (cf. McEnery & Hardie, 2012; McEnery & Wilson, 2005; Widdowson, 2001a, 2001b). Reviewing concerns with data consistency and formatting, I only collected and utilized written data in order to maintain consistency with the use of a written corpus of data and written textual analysis through CDA.
94 For a complete list of all the analyzed data, see Appendix A.
language, or the Race Discrimination Ordinance as all of these topics directly involve language planning and policy. I recognize that the epiphenomenal nature of language planning implies other societal issues are relevant and related to decision-making about language. In order to make the amount of data more manageable, however, only documents directly mentioning language and education were included in analyses. Also, due to their official recognition as an NGO in 2005, I chose this as the start date for the data, further reducing the data by removing documents from before this date. The end date for the data was December 2015, creating one decade of documents related to language and education policies taken from Hong Kong Unison.

5.3 Researcher Positionality

Beyond formal data collection and research, this study is also informed by my experience with the East Asian context over the past decade. I lived with a family from Mainland China when I finished high school, and gradually began to learn the language and personal stories about the political conflicts in the country. This family\(^\text{95}\), from Guangzhou (Canton), China, introduced me to the language issues surrounding Cantonese, PTH, and other Chinese languages. After my high school graduation, I have been able to visit this family multiple times in Guangzhou, witnessing first hand some of the political and linguistic battles surrounding Cantonese and Putonghua. Aside from my initial introduction to China through my experiences with this family, I also moved to Taiwan in 2009 in order to learn more about languages and politics in East Asia. My curiosity continued to increase as I lived in a city in Taiwan with a large Hakka (客家) speaking population and discovered more about the treatment of minority language speakers. After living abroad, I continued to research areas of multilingualism and discrimination during both my master’s degree and doctoral studies. Furthermore, as a

\(^{95}\) The family I lived with spoke Chiuchow (潮州話) as their home language.
Caucasian American married to a native HongKonger, issues of multiculturalism and the freedom to express oneself in multiple languages have become both academic and personal issues for me. As a result, the curiosity about languages in politics that began one decade ago after living with a Chinese family, along with my firsthand experiences as a multilingual researcher and family member, afford me a unique insider/outsider perspective that informs my understanding in the analyses of the documents from Hong Kong Unison.

5.4 Corpus Linguistics (CL) Procedures

After collecting the data and removing the documents that did not pertain to language and education policy, 67 documents remained. All the documents were saved as both PDF and Microsoft Word files. In order to conduct the appropriate corpus analyses, all of the files were stored in both their original formats and converted into .txt files. The .txt files are a compatible with concordancer software. As there were also documents with Chinese text, the files were converted into .txt files with a Unicode 8 setting, allowing for all the languages to be read without conversion problems in the concordancer. After ensuring the texts were formatted appropriately, I uploaded all 67 files into the AntConc\textsuperscript{96} concordancer (Anthony, 2013a, 2013b, 2014) in order to create a unique corpus of data from Hong Kong Unison. After uploading the files, I recorded the total word count (or word tokens) in the entire corpus: 175,308 tokens. The number exceeded the minimum number of between 4,000-30,000 tokens for building a useful corpus of data (cf. Mautner, 2009b; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; McEnery & Wilson, 2005). I then examined the use of English and Chinese in each of the files. Only 3 of the 67 collected documents included copious amounts of Chinese. These three documents contained Chinese texts followed by an English translation. Other texts in the data set included the usage of

\textsuperscript{96} AntConc is a free concordancer software developed by Laurence Anthony (2013a, 2013b, 2014), a professor in engineering and technical English at Waseda University, Japan.
Chinese, but only minimally. (For example, most texts included a translation of the name Hong Kong Unison in Chinese with its address. Some documents also included bilingual headings such as “Education/教育”). As a result of the predominant use of English (still a relatively dominant language in government, media, and education in Hong Kong), I then conducted the subsequent corpus analyses through English, utilizing the Chinese translations and headings to confirm and supplement the analyses. By utilizing English to carry out analyses within the concordancer, I avoided potential problems of segmentation in Chinese corpus linguistics (cf. Goh et al., 2005; Kilgarriff et al., 2015; S. Smith & W. Li, 2015; R. Zhang, 2014; M. Zhang & Mihelj, 2012). I did not disregard the documents with English-Chinese texts. The English text was used as the main source, with the Chinese texts providing references and used for clarification in the analyses.

In order to further narrow down the possibilities of potential analyses in the corpus of Hong Kong Unison data, I first uploaded all 67 files into AntConc and conducted a basic word frequency list. The word frequency list is generated through the Word List tool in AntConc and creates a list of the most frequent words in the entire corpus of data. Figure 5.1 provides a screenshot of AntConc (Anthony, 2014) to demonstrate where the various tools and functions are located in the software platform.
I selected the option of having lemmas\(^{97}\) be considered as one word in the frequency list. (In other words, teacher or teachers count as one word type). Also, function words\(^{98}\) were excluded from the word frequency list (i.e. the, an, and). After conducting the word frequency analysis, I then found out which words were the most unique to the data. In order to do this, a reference corpus of written English (the British National Corpus of Written English [BNCWE]\(^{99}\)) was

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\(^{97}\) Lemmas did not include non-words. For example, ethnic and ethnics are not included as lemmas. Also, if a word has a lemma form, but it did not appear in the corpus, it was not included. For example, the lemma of system is systems, but the word systems does not appear in the data.

\(^{98}\) Gabrielatos & Dugurd (2015) caution that in some cases, it can be problematic to exclude function words from the word list. They provide examples such as conducting research in a corpus of second language learners of English or looking at ideologies between two different organizations. In the case of the Unison corpus, I am analyzing the organization’s ideologies and role. I understand that some of their English reflects traits of second language learners. Despite this caution, I find that Gabrielatos and Dugurd’s (2015) work confirms the value of utilizing corpus linguistics to downsize the amount of data for CDA analyses.

\(^{99}\) Keywords are found through comparisons with a reference corpus. While there is an Asian Corpus of English and a Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English [BNCWE], I decided upon the British National Corpus of Written English for four reasons. First, the BNCWE has been used in prior research studies (cf. Baker, 2006; Bang, 2003; Mautner, 2009a), and provides a norm for corpus-based research (cf. Anthony, 2014). Cameron & Panović (2014) note that the British National Corpus provides a representative sample of the whole English language with over 100 million words. Secondly, the Asian Corpus of English and Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English are based on spoken English and would be an inconsistent reference to written data, although they come from the same region of the world. Thirdly, British English remains the preferred variety of written English
uploaded into AntConc (Anthony, 2014). I then conducted a keyword analysis through the keyword tool, comparing the UNISON corpus with the BNCWE (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009b) in order to find the most unique and frequent words to the data. After running the keyword comparison in the software, I arrived at a list of the most frequent and unique words to the UNISON corpus. Table 5.1 shows the top 10 most frequent keywords that resulted from these analyses, marking both their frequency and keyness value (cf. Gabrielatos & Marchi, 2012; Rayson, 2016).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency/Keyness</th>
<th>Keyword</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2681/5739.455</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2299/4919.566</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2225/4760.745</td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2039/4361.557</td>
<td>School(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942/4153.384</td>
<td>Student(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826/3904.443</td>
<td>Minority(ies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1199/2559.044</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>941/2005.574</td>
<td>Language(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675/1435.106</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>623/1323.616</td>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency statistic in Table 5.1 provides a simple figure that counts how many times a word (and its lemmas) occurs in the entire corpus. The word, Chinese, for example, has a high frequency, occurring over 2,299 times in the corpus. The keyness statistic, appearing on the right of the frequency, is calculated in the AntConc software (Anthony, 2014) using the log-likelihood test. Log-likelihood is a well-established probability measure to describe the similarity of two or more datasets. Simply put, the higher the log-likelihood, the more unique the value of keyness in relation to another dataset (cf. Gabrielatos & Marchi, 2012; Rayson, 2016). The keyness statistic (see Table 5.1) reveals that when compared with the BNCWE, the

in Hong Kong, in particular in the government. Finally, while a reference corpus from Asia, China, or Hong Kong might seem appropriate, the use of the BNCWE provides a corpus to see the unique keywords in this data. For instance, the word ‘Chinese’ may not be unique in a corpus from China or Hong Kong. The BNCWE provided a reference that is able to easily highlight the distinct words used by Hong Kong Unison.
words from the Unison corpus are unique to the data. The calculated keyness values (see Table 5.1) are all in the 99.99th percentile (p<.0001), and are thus significant to studying the main ideas and concepts in the Unison corpus. As Baron, Rayson, & Archer (2009), Gabrielatos & Dugurd (2015), and Mautner (2009b) discuss, filtering mechanisms in CL approaches help the researcher pick out significant items prior to conducting a proper analysis. Therefore, I utilized the top 10 most frequent keywords100 as the starting point for conducting subsequent analyses (cf. Bang, 2003; Cameron & Panović, 2014; Mautner, 2009a). The following analyses are then centered on the frequent patterns (or themes) of the corpus data (cf. Qian & Tian, 2014).

After constraining the potential analyses through the keywords, I conducted collocation analyses. A collocate, coming from the Latin word, *collacare*, describes something that is placed together. Collocation analyses101 in a corpus allow for the connections between words to be explored closely, revealing relationships102 in word usage and ideologies within language use (cf. Hardaker, 2016). In order to maintain consistency, I examined in detail the top ten collocates of each of the keywords. The co-occurrence of words began to demonstrate Unison’s viewpoints and ideologies towards education and language policies. All function words were excluded from the collocation analyses. Tables 5.2-5.11 provide the results of the collocation analyses103 taken from AntConc (Anthony, 2014).

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100 In Mautner’s (2009a, 2009b) work on the synergy between CDA and corpus approaches, she states that cut-off points are largely arbitrary and dictated by the researcher, the research goals, and the need to have a manageable list for analysis. Other work in corpus linguistics also demonstrates the non-standard nature of deciding upon cut-off points (cf. Cameron & Panović, 2014). Orpin’s (1997) work on lexical items through a corpus focused on 8 items; Bang’s (2003) research on the Korean press used between 6-16 items depending on the analysis. While the 10 words as a cut-off point here is also arbitrary, it helps to focus the subsequent analyses and make the potential analyses more manageable. I also utilize 10 as a cut-off point consistently throughout the analyses within the corpus, and it is within a range used in previous research (cf. Bang, 2004; Mautner, 2009a, 2009b; Orpin, 1997).

101 Collocation analyses were done with the default setting in the AntConc software (5 words to the right and left of the word). Figures in this dissertation often include larger windows due to the clarity of the image. Some collocation networks are also displayed in various analyses. These collocation networks include the statistics utilized in creating the collocation network.

102 In his work on the relationships between words, Firth (1957) states that it is important to understand the company that words keep. This central idea provides the basis for collocation analyses as a way of uncovering meaning and discourses.

103 Lemmas remained in the collocation analyses for consistency. They are noted in the figures based on their collocation. Collocates with the same word are not include. For example, if education collocates with education, this is not included. Also, if
Table 5.2 Top 10 Collocates of Hong Kong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Unison</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>minority(ies)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ethnic</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>student(s)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>resident(s)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>society(ies)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Top 10 Collocates of Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>student(s)</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>language(s)</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>ethnic</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>learning</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>minority(ies)</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>speaking</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>curriculum(a)</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 Top 10 Collocates of Ethnic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>minority(ies)</td>
<td>1,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>student(s)</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>resident(s)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>school(s)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>support</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>language(s)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 Top 10 Collocates of School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>student(s)</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ethnic</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>minority(ies)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>designated</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>mainstream</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>child(ren)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>place(s)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6 Top 10 Collocates of Student

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ethnic</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>minority(ies)</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>speaking</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>student(s)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>school(s)</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>language(s)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Collocations between student and itself are excluded.

Table 5.7 Top 10 Collocates of Minority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ethnic</td>
<td>1,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>child(ren)</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A lemma does not collocate with a word, it is not included in the figure. For example, education collocates with language, but never collocates with languages.
Considering Tables 5.2-5.11, there are multiple overlaps in collocations. In other words, the keywords often collocate with each other. This overlap should not be a surprise, as it simply means that the keywords occur frequently in the corpus, are unique to the themes of the corpus, and as a result build upon ideas together.
Finally, concordance analyses of the collocations were conducted. The concordance format in AntConc (Anthony, 2014) shows the Key Word in Context (KWIC) in the software window. Using the KWIC feature, one of the top ten keywords and its collocations can be seen in context. Figure 5.2 demonstrates how the collocations between non and discrimination are seen through the KWIC feature.

The KWIC analysis was utilized to examine the context of each keyword and its collocations in order to add further dimensions of analysis.

Following the keyword, collocation, and concordance analyses, I then conducted subsequent analyses in order to create a data driven study and select key documents for applying critical discourse analysis. Building upon Baker (2006, 2012), Gabrielatos & Dugurd (2015), and Mautner’s (2009) research and discussions on combining CL approaches with critical discourse analysis (CDA), I performed the corpus analyses first, arriving at frequency and keyness statistical data, and then selected key documents for more in-depth analyses. To maintain consistency with previous decisions, I again utilized the most frequent keywords list in order to decide upon the documents that would undergo an application of Wodak’s (2000, 2006, 2009) school of critical discourse analysis through a wider-angle perspective (cf. Chilton & Tian,
2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009). The selected documents had to include all of the 10 most frequent keywords\textsuperscript{104}. All of the keywords had to appear in the selected documents in order to demonstrate that these data reflected the primary patterns and concepts found in the corpus analyses. In addition, I used documents with at least 8 of the 10 keywords occurring a minimum of 10 times in order to ensure that they would build upon corpus patterns\textsuperscript{105}. Five documents contained all of the unique keywords and had 9 of the 10 unique keywords occurring 10 times or more\textsuperscript{106}. These documents included one annual activity report (*Hong Kong Unison Limited Annual Activity Report for the year Ended 31 December 2014*), two different submissions to the Education Panel/ Legislative Council (*Submission to the Panel on Education Meeting on Monday, 8 January 2007 in the Chamber of the Legislative Council Building* and *Submission by Unison to the Education Panel of the Legislative Council*), one public mission statement and self-description of their work taken from their main website (*About Us, Hong Kong Unison Advocacy 倡議工作*), and one submission on the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government (*Hong Kong Unison’s Submissions on the Second Report of Hong Kong SAR on the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Part Two) for the Pre-sessional Hearing in May 2013*). These five documents also included a variety of years between 2005-2015\textsuperscript{107}. Furthermore, the five documents represent a variety of Unison’s work.

Therefore, driven by the corpus analysis as containing the most frequent keywords, I applied

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\textsuperscript{104} Keywords and most frequent words include their lemma forms. For example: school (schools). Research reports were excluded as potential documents for CDA due to their length (most over 100 pages) and their collaborative nature with other individuals and organizations. Documents for the in-depth CDA only include work produced exclusively by Hong Kong Unison.

\textsuperscript{105} Utilizing a cut-off point of the keywords occurring 10 times is another arbitrary cut-off point (cf. Mautner, 2009b). Having the keywords occur multiple times in all of the documents helped to eliminate data. Other pieces of data included all the keywords, but had them occur less frequently. The cut-off points were used in order to specifically examine prominent ideologies and themes in the data. The cut-off points reflect the difficult nature of decision-making in corpus linguistics (cf. Mautner, 2009b), yet they stress analysis of patterns (cf. Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015).

\textsuperscript{106} The lemma forms of nine keywords appeared at least 10 times or more in each document. The word ‘government’ occurred twice in one document and seven times in another.

\textsuperscript{107} The dates for the documents are: Annual Activities Report (2014), submissions to the Education Panel (2007 & 2013), the submission on the HKSAR (2013), and the mission and work statement (2015).
more detailed strategies from Wodak’s school (2000, 2006, 2009) of critical discourse analysis to these five documents.

5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis Application

Wodak’s (2000, 2006, 2009) school of CDA creates a research program centered in nine basic premises: focusing on interdisciplinary work at different levels, utilizing eclectic methodologies to examine data, building upon multi-directionality and dialogue in data, emphasizing a problem-oriented approach, centering work in theory and data, studying multiple public spaces and genres, understanding historical contexts, incorporating fieldwork, large sets of data, and ethnography, and aiming to bring about social change and practical applications. The five documents from the corpus analyses reflect various aspects of the nine premises of this approach to CDA. These documents, centered in interdisciplinarity at different levels of language planning and education policies, include multiple genres from multiple spaces of written data from the same NGO, and result from a larger set of data (cf. Wodak, 2000). Based on the limitations of data collection, this application of Wodak’s (2000, 2006, 2009) approach included only the collection of written textual data from multiple websites and databases rather than ethnographic fieldwork. Furthermore, adapted through a wider-angle perspective (cf. Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) towards CDA, the analysis procedures did not aim to bring about social change in the sense of pointing out what the government, NGO, schools, or teachers should do better. Rather, the procedure focused on examining how language creates arguments, ideologies, and defines roles for Hong Kong Unison. The problem-oriented approach was also adapted. While policies for ethnic minority students in Hong Kong have been generally described as problematic and unsuccessful (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2012, 2016; Carmichael, 2009; Carney, 2012, 2013; A. Chan, 2016; L. Chen & Feng, 2015; Cheng, 2016; F. Cheung et al., 2015; C. Choi & Ngo, 2013; Chong, 2012; Chu, 2016; Crabtree & Hung Wong, 2013; Erni & L. Leung,
2014; Gao, 2012a, 2012b; Gu, 2014; Gu & Patkin, 2013; Heung, 2006; Hubbs, 2015; Hue, 2008, 2010; ; Hue et al., 2015; Hue & Kennedy, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2015; Ip, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012, 2013; Lhatoo, 2015; Lin & Pérez-Milans, 2012; Ngo, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; Novianti, 2007; Pérez-Milans & Soto, 2013, 2014; Sieh, 2013; S. Tse & Hui, 2012; Ullah, 2012), rather than devote the analysis to critiquing discriminatory stances within the NGO and continuing to demonstrate problems in the development of policy changes, the emphasis was on gaining a deeper understanding of various perspectives towards language planning and policy development in education. In other words, the problem-oriented nature of the analysis focused on a generally agreed upon problem in Hong Kong education, but did not aim to solve the problem through the application of CDA nor pinpoint problems within the NGO’s discourses.

Expanding further upon Wodak’s (2000) school of CDA, she notes that analysis should focus upon the examination of discourse strategies. A strategy demonstrates a discursive practice (a way of using language) to achieve a particular aim. Wodak (2000, 2006) outlines five discursive strategies: referential strategies (how social actors and groups are named or labeled), argumentation strategies (how arguments are made, how things are justified), perspectivation strategies (understanding point of view and description of events), intensification strategies (understanding how language and discourse intensify or mitigate issues or problems), and predication strategies (how groups are described, what characteristics and attributes define them). In the five documents, I looked for these five discursive strategies. I conducted the analyses by hand with the use of color-coding for each of the various strategies. I also uploaded the five documents into QSR International’s NVivo 10 Qualitative analysis coding software (NVivo) (QSR International [QSR], 2014; Richards, 2005). As a qualitative software tool, NVivo (QSR, 2014) allows for data to be uploaded in its original format in any language. NVivo (QSR, 2014)
provides a platform for categorizing and coding (marking) patterns and themes (cf. Richards, 2005). I used this software in order to mark (code) references of intertextuality (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012; Kristeva, 1980) and intratextuality (cf. Meyer, 2001) between the five documents. Coding for intertextual links was facilitated through the software platform, and allowed for organization of references to be clearer than the by-hand analysis.

Upon completion of the corpus analysis and coding of discursive strategies, I created charts and tables to organize the data and begin to describe Unison’s ideologies and involvement in language planning and policy in the Hong Kong context. Chapter 6 reveals how this multidimensional analysis sheds light on Unison’s role as an important social actor in Hong Kong.
CHAPTER 6
Hong Kong Unison: Policy-Makers

After merging the CL and CDA analyses, Chapter 6 provides a discussion of how the data answer the research questions. I divide this discussion into three sections. The first section presents an analysis of Unison’s ideologies as revealed through their discourses (cf. van Dijk, 1995). I examine Unison’s ideologies in order to describe how their beliefs and identity shape their role in language planning and policy in Hong Kong. Next, I turn to an exploration of Unison’s interactions (cf. Gee & Handford, 2012) with other social scales and social actors in the decision-making and negotiation process. Finally, I discuss how an understanding of Unison’s discourses and interactions reveals their role and involvement in LPP.

6.1 Ideologies and Effects on Policy

Within an epiphenomenal view (cf. Ruiz, 2014) of the nature of language in planning and policy, ideologies (cf. Ruiz, 1984, 2010; Spolsky, 2009; van Dijk, 1995; Wee, 2016; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schiefflin, 1994) take on a central role as they demonstrate why decisions are made and how those decisions reflect relationships with non-linguistic factors. Ideologies further shape and define Unison’s role and participation in language planning and policy in Hong Kong. The following section outlines the various ideologies that surfaced in both the corpus and discursive analyses and how they affect Unison’s participation in policy advocacy.

6.1a Unison’s View of Self

Before exploring some of Unison’s more specific ideologies towards issues and education in Hong Kong, I first discuss how they define their organization and their role in Hong Kong. In their most straightforward description, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2014) utilizes predication strategies to refer to themselves as a non-governmental, non-profit organization. This simple example of predication (cf. Wodak, 2000) precisely identifies how Unison (2007, 2013a, 2014) defines their organization, and confirms how they are addressed by outside sources, including the
media (Ngo, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c) and academic scholars (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2012, 2016; Hue & Kennedy, 2011): Unison is an organization outside of the government, receiving no governmental funding.

Building upon this identification, Unison (2007, 2014) describes their organization as influenced by a rights-based approach. Intertextual references\(^\text{108}\) (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; J. Flowerdew & Wan, 2006, 2010; Gee & Handford, 2012; Kristeva, 1980; Wodak, 2006, 2009) between all the documents that underwent the application of CDA indicate that throughout their existence, Unison consistently defines their organization as centered in a rights-based-approach. In particular, the *Annual Activities Report* (Unison, 2014) contains multiple instances of intratextuality (cf. Meyer, 2001) where the NGO portrays their organization as “rights-based” (p.1) and focusing on “human rights” (p.2). On the first page of their annual report, the NGO utilizes the phrase “rights-based” twice to define their organization in different ways: “Unison adopts a rights-based approach to challenge unjust institutions and policies” (p.1), along with the phrase, “Unison adopts a comprehensive rights-based approach that includes advocacy and service” (p.1). In these two examples, Unison expands on their definition of what it means to be an organization that builds upon a rights-based approach. First, a rights-based approach challenges injustices in Hong Kong’s policies and institutions. Secondly, a rights-based approach allows the NGO to advocate justice and promote social change through serving the community. These descriptions imply that Unison (2014) has a stance on various social issues as unjust, and demonstrate that their organization is not passive one, but takes an active

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\(^{108}\) Intertextual references in this dissertation are defined throughout as a discursive device that demonstrates how one text is created or shaped by another text (Fairclough, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Wodak, 2006, 2009). As Fairclough (2003) defines intertextuality further, one text can directly quote another, or simply have the same generic meaning implicitly rearticulated across different texts. In this discussion, intertextual references between Unison’s documents refer to the same meaning being rearticulated across various texts. Intertextual references with other works, including the government or media, involve direct quotations and paraphrases.
role in upholding their beliefs. Their active role as a rights-based organization becomes more apparent in their annual report and their website, as Unison (2014, 2015) explicitly enumerates how their organization is involved in various advocacy-related activities. Unison (2014, 2015) provides examples of their involvement in petitioning the Hong Kong government through letters and reports, promoting human rights through campaigning in public spheres in order to build awareness of discrimination, hosting public fundraisers, creating a Facebook platform, obtaining public signatures on petitions, and hosting professional development sessions for teachers. By listing these activities, Unison (2014) illustrates how their role as a rights-based organization unfolds through their “advocacy and service” (p.1). Their organization is centered in promoting rights by building public awareness through petitions, fundraisers, and social media. Furthermore, they advocate for policy changes by petitioning the government and sending letters and reports on ethnic minorities and problems in current policies (cf. Unison, 2014, 2015).

Continuing to expand upon the notion of what it means to be a rights-based organization, Unison (2007, 2014, 2015) characterizes their identity as focused on the promotion of equal opportunities and the equality of all Hong Kong people. To demonstrate this component of their identity, the NGO utilizes the rhetorical device of polyptoton (cf. Farnsworth, 2011) in their Annual Activities Report to repeatedly emphasize that their mission is to promote equality. On the first page of their report, Unison (2014) describes their goals: “we promote equal opportunities […] believe people are born equal […] promote racial equality” (p.1, emphasis added). Within a few sentences, the notion of equality is clearly shown to be one of Unison’s principal goals as an organization. Equality also constructs their identity as a rights-based organization, and these two ideas are directly connected in Unison’s website: “we promote racial equality and rights” (Unison, 2015). It is significant that Unison defines itself as a rights-based
organization that promotes equality, as it justifies their identity as an NGO focused on
advocating for better education and language curriculum for ethnic minority students in Hong
Kong.

Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) continues to elaborate on their role as a rights-
based organization that promotes equality through an explanation of their primary focus:
advocating for a Chinese as a second language (CSL) curriculum. In an example from their
website, Unison (2015) states, “Our primary concern is education, especially Chinese language
education for ethnic minorities.” This statement eliminates doubt regarding Unison’s role and
identity as an organization. They plainly affirm that their greatest concern is developing CSL for
ethnic minority (EM) students. Essentially, this assertion summarizes their identity and focus as
an organization, bringing together their previous descriptions of being an NGO that adopts a
devices-based approach and believes in the promotion of equality. Unison’s approach to how they
promote human rights and equal opportunities is seen through their concern for ethnic minorities
in the realm of language education. The NGO’s chief concern is emphasized again, as their point
of view, or perspectivation (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006), towards language education is described
directly through verbs of perception and argumentation. Repeatedly, Unison (2007, 2013a,
2013b, 2014, 2015) utilizes the following phrases: *we promote, we believe, we are concerned
about, we fight for, we opine, we offer our viewpoints, we argue, are aim to promote, we must
stress, we strongly believe, we appeal, we hope, and we have the following concerns.* Through
these phrases, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) demonstrates that their organization
takes a stance towards policy, justice, and equality in Hong Kong. Each of the verbs emphasizes
their beliefs and perceptions towards issues in education and language policies for EM students
(cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). For example, their submission to the Education
Panel states: “we argue that the severe racial segregation observed in many designated schools is a result of a lack of choices” (Unison, 2013b, p. 1). Although this is one of several examples throughout their work, it reflects how Unison employs verbs of perception and argumentation to describe their viewpoints towards problems in education, language, and the overall situation for EM communities. These verbs provide clear statements of what Unison believes and how it aligns with their identity as an organization working towards equality and rights. In addition, these verbs define Unison as an organization. Graumann & Kallmeyer (2002) indicate that while implicit linguistic practices often characterize perspective, the direct usage of verbal expressions can accentuate a particular point of view. Unison, (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015), therefore, relies on the use of these verbal expressions to directly describe their goals and points of view (cf. Graumann & Kallmeyer, 2002). These verbal expressions not only describe Unison’s beliefs, arguments, points of view, concerns, and goals, but they also reflect how the NGO navigates policy change and advocacy. In the following sections, I expand upon Unison’s identity as a rights-based organization by exploring more specific ideologies that affect their role and participation in LPP in Hong Kong.

6.1b Ethnic Minorities Experience Disadvantages

As a rights-based organization concerned with equal opportunities and CSL education (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015), Unison’s identity stems from their core belief that ethnic minorities encounter discrimination and disadvantages in Hong Kong, particularly in the education system. Examining the keyword list (see Figures 5.2-5.11), the words *ethnic, minority*, and *school*, occur frequently within the corpus, and begin to indicate some of the key themes within the data. These three words often form collocation networks, occurring together in order to create connections between ideologies about schools and ethnic minority students. When investigating the collocation networks between ethnic, minority, and schools in their
concordance view, the disadvantages students encounter become more apparent. Figure 6.1 displays a concordance view of collocations between schools and ethnic.

The term ethnic minority (see Figure 6.1) is generally utilized to describe a school’s situation. These are schools that accept, receive, or cater towards EM student populations. The collocation and contextualization of these words in their concordance view provide evidence of the underlying segregation in the Hong Kong education system. There are schools that are traditionally associated with ethnic minority students, and are therefore separated and different from other schools. Expanding upon these collocations and concordances, school, also frequently collocates with the words mainstream and designated. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 demonstrate these collocations in their concordance views.
Two types of public schools exist: mainstream ones, generally populated by Chinese students teaching through Chinese as the medium of instruction, and designated schools, catering to ethnic minority students. Other examples in the corpus show collocation networks between *schools, allocation, and places*. These collocations demonstrate the theme of divisions and categorizations. Students in Hong Kong belong to different groups and are allocated and placed in different schools—designated or mainstream schools. The patterns in the corpus highlighting divisions in types of schools reflect historical and social policies in Hong Kong. The Llewellyn Report (1982) under the British government outlined how ethnic minority students’ needs
pertained to special education. As a result, categorization and divisions in Hong Kong’s schools are not a recent phenomenon (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; Lan-Castle, 2015; C. Tse, 2013; Unison, 2016b). Designated schools, since the 2000s have been modeled under the special education design to serve the diverse needs of EM students (cf. Erni & L. Leung, 2014; M. Gu & Patkin, 2013). The collocations that categorize schools for ethnic minorities and create divisions between mainstream and designated schools demonstrate that Unison is aware of historical and present education policies in the city.

While the school labels and categorizations revealed through word patterns in the corpus do not directly demonstrate disadvantages and discrimination, the use of various rhetorical strategies (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; Wodak, 2000, 2006) builds upon these divisions and distinctions. The NGO’s understanding of educational programs in Hong Kong for EM education, as revealed through discursive analyses, outlines how the in-place policies create inequality. Taking into consideration their report on the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Unison (2013a) utilizes an intensification strategy (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to construct their argument: “ethnic minority students only have two choices, namely mainstream and designated schools” (p.4, emphasis added). In this document, Unison (2013a) explains that EM students have limited options for education and can only (intensification) decide between two types of schools. Aside from suggesting these students have limited options (unlike their Chinese counterparts who can attend numerous private and international schools), Unison (2013a) continues to intensify this situation through the negative predication (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) of both schools. Designated schools are portrayed as having low Chinese standards and limiting higher educational opportunities, while mainstream schools assume a student’s first language is Chinese and create an unsuitable learning environment for minority students (cf. Unison, 2013a).
This belief is also confirmed in Unison’s (2013b) submission to the Education Panel of the LegCo. The rhetorical strategy of repetition (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; Wodak, 2000, 2006) is utilized to emphasize that designated schools and mainstream schools are not suitable options for teaching EM students. Unison (2013b) enumerates the problems with these options: “lack of choices, lack of support, lack of real viable options” (p.1). Therefore, not only are mainstream and designated schools seen as creating categories and separation as seen in the collocation networks, but both are seen as two extremes that provide neither support nor appropriate options for EM students (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2013b). Neither of these schools, in Unison’s (2013a, 2013b) rhetoric, is viewed as suitable for non-Chinese speaking students.

In the most current educational policies after 2012 (cf. EDB, 2012, 2016) government-run public schools have become open through the allocation system with the aim to remove school labels. The Education Bureau declared that schools are no longer labeled, and all students (including ethnic minorities) have equal opportunities through the allocation system (cf. EDB, 2016). Despite the attempt to remove the labels ‘designated’ and ‘mainstream’ in 2012, Unison (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) continues to utilize these labels to refer to schools and divisions in Hong Kong. The continual distinction between schools in Unison’s work (cf. 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) demonstrates that students remain concentrated in separate schools despite the official removal of labels (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; E. Cheung, 2015; Connelly et al., 2013a, 2013b; Hue, 2010; Kapai, 2015; Ullah, 2012; Yeung, 2013; Zhao, 2013; Zubin, 2015). Furthermore, Unison’s (2013a, 2013b) intensification strategies that describe both mainstream and designated schools in a negative light, contradict the government’s views (cf. EDB, 2012, 2016) that all students have equal opportunities. Unison (2013a, 2013b) instead suggests that
EM students either experience watered down curriculum in designated schools\textsuperscript{109} or battle sink-or-swim education in mainstream schools\textsuperscript{110}. In other words, EM students not only have few schooling options, but all of their options for education are described through negative intensification strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006). The distinction in schools, continual segregation despite policy changes, and poor educational opportunities, begin to demonstrate Unison’s (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) views that EM students in the city encounter discrimination and disadvantages.

Aside from school choices and separate facilities from their peers, ethnic minority students also encounter difficulties within the current assessment system. Unison (2007, 2013a, 2014) suggests that the current assessment system creates further disadvantages for students, preventing them from achieving post-secondary educational attainment and success in employment. First, Unison (2013a) utilizes comparison and contrast rhetorical strategies (cf. Farnsworth, 2011) to build their argument on the problematic assessment system. Presenting their arguments that the assessment system fails, Unison (2013a) notes that the current Chinese exam most EM students take in Hong Kong is the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE)—a British exam (cf. EDB, 2008, 2012, 2014b, 2015a, 2015f, 2015j; Information Services, 2014; LegCo Secretariat, 2011). Unison (2013a) then compares the Chinese language GCSE with the local Chinese examination in Hong Kong, developing the argument that a foreign solution cannot address local needs. In addition, Unison (2013a) concludes that the GCSE

\textsuperscript{109} The continual use of ‘designated’ also reveals that the government’s policies create \textit{de facto} segregation. Unison’s distinction of schools despite changing government policies show that the NGO views this \textit{de facto} segregation still creates a sense that there are designated and mainstreams schools. While the government opened the allocation system and removed the labels with the aim of creating school choice, Unison’s ideologies suggest that EM students and families do not have the same choices as their Chinese counterparts. Unison’s ideologies thus reflect how EM communities may have choices on paper, but the system actually provides them with no viable options for student choice or success.

\textsuperscript{110} As described in the \textit{South China Morning Post}, E. Cheung (2015) reports on stories confirming the lack of options for EM students in education. Cheung (2015) interviews parents, and recounts their frustrations with their students struggling in mainstream schools unable to understand Chinese instruction.
examination of the Chinese language has lower standards than local examinations, meaning that ethnic minority students are tested at lower language levels and not sufficiently prepared for entering Hong Kong universities or the job market. Unison’s (2013a) concerns regarding the lower standards of alternative exams, are confirmed by university professors (cf. Kapai, 2015; K. Law & K. Lee, 2012) arguing that EM students are not able to meet the language demands under the current examination system. Unison’s arguments are legitimizes as reflecting actual social problems that have not been resolved despite the government’s policies that promote alternative examinations.

Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) continues to critique the assessment system through intertextual references (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012; Kristeva, 1980; Wodak, 2006, 2009) that create exemplification as an argumentation strategy. Examples from the stories of ethnic minority community members are utilized in order to expand Unison’s arguments. Referenced in three different documents, Unison (2013a, 2013b, 2015) tells the story of a young ethnic minority student that received an ‘A’ on their Chinese GCSE examination. Once that student received a job, they realized their Chinese was not at a high enough level to carry out the basic reading and writing functions required to be successful. As a result, the student had to resign from their job. Aside from retelling this narrative, Unison (2007) also includes intertextual references (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012; Kristeva, 1980; Wodak, 2006, 2009) to newspaper articles that include interviews with ethnic minorities discussing their struggles on the job market and their difficulty with meeting language requirements. Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) integrates narratives and newspaper interviews as examples of intertextuality that include the voice of ethnic
minorities into their arguments. By utilizing these stories,\textsuperscript{111} Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) confirms that the education and assessment system create disadvantages for minority communities in Hong Kong. Narratives from ethnic minorities create a more intimate argumentation strategy (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006), as Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) justifies their beliefs in the inequality in education through the personal experiences of EM peoples. These stories also appeal to the NGO’s identity as an organization that fights for rights and equality.

Finally, Unison (2013a, 2013b, 2014) demonstrates their belief that ethnic minorities experience injustice through their use of predication (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to describe this group. While the NGO positively describes ethnic minorities as an integral and historical part of Hong Kong, their overall labels concentrate on negative attributes (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2013b, 2014). Lexicon and phrases used to refer to ethnic minorities include: disadvantaged, excluded, deprived of opportunities, limited in future development, not equipped with Chinese skills, lack Chinese proficiency, not accepted (cf. Unison, 2014), invisible, unable to fulfill their dreams, have weak Chinese abilities (cf. Unison, 2013a), lack support, limited, not competent in Chinese, and inadequate in Chinese writing (cf. Unison, 2013b). These examples of predication demonstrate Unison’s belief that ethnic minority students experience injustice and discrimination in Hong Kong. While the NGO primarily describes educational institutions and systems as the reasons for discrimination, the description of ethnic minorities as invisible, excluded, and limited in their future opportunities suggest that their problems extend beyond the realm of education and language. Moreover, these phrases shape the NGO’s role in advocacy. Based on their belief

\textsuperscript{111} The narratives of ethnic minorities also appear in the corpus. Many collocations involving designated and mainstream schools are found in one file of Unison’s publications that shares the stories of ethnic minority students with the general public. Their stories reflect their experiences at designated schools, rejections on the job market, and struggles with language. The collocations and connection with narratives create confirmation and links between the corpus and discursive analyses, showing that the limited choices create disadvantages.
that EM peoples encounter injustice and have limited choices in education, Unison is able to take on the role of an organization dedicated to a rights-based approach that challenges the status quo. Their ideologies about the situation of EM communities in Hong Kong thus confirm their own identity as an organization. In the remaining discussion on Unison’s ideologies, I suggest that the NGO’s identity as a rights-based organization, along with their conviction that ethnic minorities experience injustice, shape their perspectives on solutions to problems in Hong Kong’s current language and education policies.

6.1c Cultural Sensitivity Fosters a Harmonious Society

Drawing upon their identity as an organization promoting equality, Unison describes their ideology towards how to foster a welcoming society that creates equal rights for all its residents. This ideology manifests itself through Unison’s discourses on cultural sensitivity, racial harmony, and integration. While the majority of the NGO’s perspectives contradict with education policies and decisions, Unison’s focus on racial harmony appears to align itself with the government’s goal of building a culture of integration in Hong Kong (cf. Carney, 2013; F. Cheung et al., 2015; Erni & L. Leung, 2014; C. Lai et al., 2015; Lan-Castle, 2015). The government and Unison both view integration as a path towards success for ethnic minorities. Unison illustrates this view in both the corpus and discursive analyses. Collocations between students and race, and race and language demonstrate goals of cultural harmony and integration (see Figures 6.4 & 6.5). Within the collocations of students and race, the phrase “of different ethnicity or race” is often repeated in the surrounding context (see Figure 6.4). Collocations between race and language are similar, as they point out difference in race, culture, and language (see Figure 6.5). Through these patterns in the corpus data, Unisons establishes the themes of ethnic, racial, cultural, and linguistic differences.
By highlighting cultural differences and diversity, the Unison corpus does not contain controversial ideas, as the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity in Hong Kong has been documented within census data (cf. C&SD, 2011, 2012, 2015) and discussed in the media (cf. C. Choi & Ngo, 2013; Ngo, 2014). The surrounding context of the collocations, however, demonstrates that Unison is concerned about how these differences prevent ethnic minorities from participating within Hong Kong society. Collocation networks between *Hong Kong* and *society* reveal this concern (see Figure 6.6).

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**Figure 6.4. Collocations between students and race.**

| 1 | direct discrimination against non-Chinese speaking students under the Race Discrimination Ordinance. |
| 2 | students on the grounds of race may constitute |
| 3 | the students disagree that their teachers treat |
| 4 | students of different ethnic or race equally. |
| 5 | that the teachers in their school treat |
| 6 | students of different ethnic or race equally. (Tab |
| 7 | they feel their teachers do not treat |
| 8 | students of different ethnic or race equally, or |
| 9 | that the teachers in their school treat |
| 10 | students of different ethnic or race equally. 13% |
| 11 | for schools in identifying and teaching NCS students with SEN. Race Discrimination Ordinance ( |

**Figure 6.5. Race and language collocations.**

- From social participation due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, *economic* or *social status*
- Should be excluded from social differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, or *economic* and *social status*
- It because of the status of skin, *race*, *language*, or *culture*? I believe a fundament
- Be treated differently due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, or *socio-economic status*.
- Survey in 2001, the main reasons are their *race* and *proficiencies* in local language, *Cantonese* . Therefore, any discrimination on the basis of *race*, *colour*, *language*, etc. occurring in the public *race*, *colour*, *sex*, *language*, *religion*, *political* and *socio-economic status*.
- Evidence that the discrimination is based on *race* rather than nationality or language. Some may
- Equal social participation due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, *economic* or *social status*.

**Figure 6.6.**

- From social participation due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, *economic* or *social status*.
- Should be excluded from social differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, or *economic* and *social status*.
- It because of the status of skin, *race*, *language*, or *culture*? I believe a fundament.
- Be treated differently due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, or *socio-economic status*.
- Survey in 2001, the main reasons are their *race* and *proficiencies* in local language, *Cantonese*. Therefore, any discrimination on the basis of *race*, *colour*, *language*, etc. occurring in the public *race*, *colour*, *sex*, *language*, *religion*, *political* and *socio-economic status*.
- Evidence that the discrimination is based on *race* rather than nationality or language. Some may.
- Equal social participation due to differences in *race*, *culture*, *language*, *economic* or *social status*.

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112 Figure 6.4 shows how some of Unison’s English has characteristics of a second language, as the phrase ‘different ethnic’ is repeated.

113 Figures 6.4 & 6.5 show the unique usages of the word *race* in the data. Generally, (see Figure 6.20) *race* is used in reference to the Hong Kong Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO); other usages highlight race segregation or race inequality. Unison also uses *race* to refer to specific passages in the RDO and other legislation. These references always include the specific collocation of ‘race discrimination.’ As W. Diao (personal communication) suggests, it is common in Chinese usage to use *race* to refer specifically to segregation and discrimination. This usage is slightly different to English, where race and ethnicity are commonly conflated to having similar meanings (cf. May, 2014). In Figures 6.4 & 6.5, Unison utilizes *race* to draw upon that sense of discrimination based on differences. In the data, *ethnic* and *race* are both keywords. At times, they are somewhat used ambiguously (as in Figures 6.4 & 6.5). Despite this ambiguity, the data tend to reflect that *ethnic* is used to specifically refer to ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, while *race* is used broadly used to note differences, pinpoint discrimination, and refer to Hong Kong legislation.
The collocation network between *Hong Kong* and *society* (see Figure 6.6) includes lemmas such as *integrate* (and integration), as well as *participate* (and participation). The context around ethnic and cultural differences in this collocation network is therefore connected with the need for Hong Kong society to include everyone equally; integration is connected with the theme of building a harmonious Hong Kong society.

While the themes of cultural harmony are alluded to within the corpus data, discursive analyses further portray Unison’s ideologies towards fostering racial harmony and cultural sensitivity. Four of the five documents that underwent discursive analysis describe Unison’s (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) goals of promoting racial harmony. Repetition of this goal becomes a rhetorical device (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; Wodak, 2000, 2006) to emphasize this ideology. The *Annual Activities Report* (Unison, 2014) repeats ideas about cross-cultural collaboration and racial harmony consistently throughout their report. Examples include: “to encourage cross-racial collaboration [...] to promote cross-racial and cross-cultural understanding and communications” (p.1), “encourage racial harmony” (p.2), “aim to increase racial harmony” (p.
9), and “raise awareness to respect cultural diversities” (p.9). These phrases demonstrate not only the repetition of creating harmony and encouraging cross-cultural collaboration, but also reveal Unison’s stance and actions towards these differences. The NGO’s ideology towards racial, linguistics, and cultural differences is that they can lead to misunderstandings between groups of people, and the lack of integration through school segregation only increases these differences. Unison (2013b) stresses that the racial segregation problem in Hong Kong must be “overcome” (p. 11), because it “harms the students’ integration into the mainstream society and damages social harmony in Hong Kong” (p.11). The intensification (cf. Wodak, 2000) of divisions and separation is seen through Unison’s (2013b) lexical decisions to use words such as overcome, harm, and damage. In other words, Unison believes that misunderstandings and differences in language, culture, and ethnicity create distinctive differences in Hong Kong that must be overcome.

In order to overcome the harm caused by misunderstandings from racial, linguistic, and cultural differences in the city, Unison promotes integration and harmony as policy suggestions to unite Hong Kong. One advocacy strategy appears in their discourse on connecting society through building bridges (Unison, 2015). Unison (2015) suggests that education needs to “build bridges” in order to create integration in schools and allow students to connect with each other, exchange knowledge, and foster understanding. The metaphor (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012) that language can build bridges suggests that Unison (2015) views their platform towards promoting education for ethnic minority students as a way to bring in and out groups together, utilizing differences as a way to engage in knowledge and understanding. A bridge provides an image of how two sides can come together, or how one side can be crossed. The use of the bridge metaphor is connected to Unison’s (2014) repetition
of the phrase “cross-cultural understanding” (p. 1). In the section of their website describing their educational lobbying, the NGO states their aims to build bridges in order to develop cross-cultural understanding: “we also propose to add more racial and cultural elements into the general studies textbooks” (Unison, 2015). Unison (2013b, 2014, 2015) thus aims to build on their role as rights-based organization by promoting equality through increasing the public’s understanding of other cultures, and even proposing through their lobbying efforts to the Education Bureau, that general curriculum add more diversity in the textbooks. As a result, Unison’s goal is to promote, encourage, raise awareness, and lobby for ways to foster an inclusive and harmonious society (see Figure 6.6).

In the following sections, Unison’s views towards integration and collaboration to foster cultural harmony become more clearly articulated through their ideologies towards language (cf. van Dijk, 1995; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schiefflin, 1994) and education. The NGO, aiming to give all members of Hong Kong society equal rights and opportunities, views integration as primarily achieved through language education (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Their promotion of racial and cultural harmony is thus expounded upon in the following sections discussing their perspectives towards education and language. As their views on education for EM students are more clearly articulated, their differences with the government about the goals of integration and cultural harmony become more apparent, and their role and position in advocacy also become more defined.

6.1d Educational Opportunities Are Key to Promoting Equality

In his work on Native Alaskan language revitalization, Lachler (2016), argues that in order to create a sense of sustainability for minoritized populations, the people that sustain a language must be sustained before the language itself is sustained. In other words, Lachler (2016)
suggests that while scholars may attempt to revitalize a language through education or training programs, these efforts are wasted if nothing else is done to sustain and build up that community. While, Unison does not work with language revitalization in minority communities, their ideologies towards sustainability are similar, as they demonstrate through their work the need to promote educational opportunities, teach language, and help sustain students by developing their potential for life-long success in Hong Kong.

Based on their view that the current education and assessment systems creates sites of injustice for ethnic minority students, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) demonstrates that the best way to promote sustainability for future success in EM communities is achieved through increased access to educational opportunities. Patterns in corpus data suggest that educational attainment is a key factor in combating inequality. Frequent keywords in the data include education, and Hong Kong (see Figure 5.1). As Baker (2006) notes, keywords and collocation networks highlight themes within a corpus. When investigating the collocations of the keywords education and Hong Kong, a pattern emerges: the word secondary frequently co-occurs with these two words. Figures 6.7 and 6.8 demonstrate KWIC views of some of the co-occurrence of these three words.

Figure 6.7. Secondary and education collocations.
Considering these snapshots of collocations in context, the corpus data demonstrate that Hong Kong Unison is concerned with post-secondary education for ethnic minority students. The collocations between *secondary* and *education* often occur with the context of examinations or the prefix ‘post’ to describe options after secondary school. Collocations between *Hong Kong*, *secondary*, and *education* also refer to post-secondary opportunities (including tertiary degree programs) and the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education. The repetition of collocations between *secondary*, *education*, and *Hong Kong* demonstrate Unison’s emphasis on decreasing inequality by allowing all students to have the same opportunities—including the chance to attend university and have successful employment. Unison’s attention to secondary education also demonstrates their awareness of social issues, including the high drop-out rates, low tertiary entrance, and poor examination scores of EM students (cf. Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016; C&SD, 2015; EDB, 2007c; Hue & Kennedy, 2015).

Exploring the data further, the file view in the software demonstrates the variety of documents that contain these collocations. Documents with these collocations include public flyers and information, annual activities reports, and letters and questions to the Legislative Council. By looking at where these collocations occur, Unison demonstrates consistency in their views and ideologies towards difference audiences. The emphasis of Unison’s work, however, involves letters and documents to the government, revealing the NGO’s need to make the

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114 Public flyers and data include website and Facebook information, flyers, and the Unison scholarship application for higher form secondary students. The scholarship application provides a concrete example of Unison’s involvement in promoting university preparation in order for ethnic minority students to have more options after graduating. The scholarship application demonstrates that Unison’s actions align with their ideology that educational attainment will help decrease social disadvantages of EM communities.
problem of post-secondary attainment of EM students more apparent to the governing administration. Numerous collocations about post-secondary education occur in letters to the government, demonstrating the NGO’s belief that policies and measures should be taken to support EM students in passing their examinations in order to have the chance to pursue post-secondary options. In their submissions to the LegCo and Education Bureau (Unison 2007, 2013b), the NGO indicates their education policy suggestions. A common suggestion is the need for the Education Bureau to “devise a comprehensive education policy for ethnic minority students” (Unison, 2013b, p. 8). The design of a comprehensive education program would give students the chance to integrate into mainstream society, learn Chinese, and “gain credentials and recognition for future advancement in education and employment” (Unison, 2013b, p. 8). Another submission to the Education Panel also states that the government needs to “clearly define direction of examinations and qualifications for recognition” (Unison, 2007, p. 2). The NGO’s recommendations to the government clearly outline the goals of defining educational programs in order for EM students to have the necessary qualifications to be recognized in their post-secondary opportunities (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b). Overall, Unison’s discourses towards education reveal that the current system is problematic due to its discrimination and divisions, unrecognized assessment system, and non-comprehensive curriculum. Unison thus suggests that if remedied, education has the potential to help students become more successful and create sustainability for the EM population (cf. Lachler, 2016), as they can have the chance to attend universities and obtain recognized qualifications and skills for employment.

6.1e Chinese Language Education Increases Equal Opportunities

In order to build equality through more educational opportunities, Unison also believes that improving the quality and comprehensiveness of Chinese language education in Hong Kong will increase ethnic minority students’ overall academic success. Unison’s ideologies towards
teaching the Chinese language dominate their efforts, as the keywords *Chinese* and *language* occur 2,299 and 941 times respectively in the entire corpus, appearing at least once in every file. *Chinese* and *language* also collocate with each other more than any other word. The collocations between *Chinese* and *language* shed further light on Unison’s ideologies, as the two words often create collocation networks with *education, curriculum,* and *learning.* Figure 6.9 demonstrates the intimate link between *Chinese, language, and education.*

![Collocation Network Diagram](image)

**Figure 6.9.** A visual representation of the collocation network between Chinese, language, and education.

In Figure 6.9, the collocation network\(^\text{115}\) between three words is shown utilizing the \(MI^3\) value (cubic association coefficient) as greater than or equal to five. As McEnery et al. (1997) discuss, \(MI^3\) values neutralize low-frequency elements and represent the collocations that are extremely

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\(^{115}\) The collocation network was created through GraphColl software (Brezina, McEnery, & Wattam, 2015). This software provides visual representations of collocations and connectedness in a corpus.
likely to occur together (cf. Gorjanc & Krek, 2001; Lüdeling & Kytö, 2008). The equation and measures utilized to produce $M_{I3}^3$ are reported in Table 6.1\textsuperscript{116}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistic name</th>
<th>Cut-off value</th>
<th>L and R Span</th>
<th>Minimum Collocate frequency</th>
<th>Filter</th>
<th>Equation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$M_{I3}^3$</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>L5-R5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Punctuation remarks removed</td>
<td>$M_{I3}^3 = \log_2\left(\frac{a^3N}{(a+b)(a+c)}\right)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Collocation parameters (mutual information/cubic association coefficient); looks for collocations within five words to the left and right; must occur a minimum of five times; cut-off value is 5. (cf. Brezina et al., 2015; Lüdeling & Kytö, 2008; McEnery, Langé, Oakes, & Véronis, 1997).

Figure 6.9 provides a visual representation of the connections between the words Chinese, language, and education, with the overlapping branches that originate from the words demonstrating that these words not only occur in the same context, but also have multiple shared collocations. The statistical connectedness and co-occurrence (see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.9) of these three words highlight the fact that Unison is concerned with Chinese language education, and this is a recurring and important topic in their work. Furthermore, the three way collocations between education, Chinese, and language, occur in every document produced by Hong Kong Unison, including their mission statements, research reports, public information, website, annual activity reports, and their submissions to governmental councils and bureaus. Within all their work, Unison places value and repeated prominence on the theme of building Chinese language education programs in Hong Kong. This emphasis appears not only in all the documents and within this three-way collocation network, but also appears alongside other collocations. Figures 6.10, 6.11, and 6.12 expand upon this theme.

\textsuperscript{116} These measures are default equations in the software.
Figure 6.10. Chinese and ethnic minorities in context.

The students had acknowledged the importance of Chinese learning, but many had difficulties in learning the Chinese language, as many as 76% of the Nepalese, the majority of whom are ethnic minority students. The local Chinese language curriculum is unsuitable for ethnic minorities. They even considered learning Chinese to be an important and urgent task, and the education system was failing to address the unique needs of ethnic minority students.

In Hong Kong, the minority students were often burdened with the same curriculum as the Chinese students, which was inappropriate for their language proficiency. The curriculum and assessment framework were designed for Chinese students, which was not suitable for ethnic minority students. The education system in Hong Kong did not provide any special education curriculum for ethnic minority students. However, the government was working on developing an appropriate education framework for ethnic minority students.

Figure 6.11. Chinese and learning collocations.

Language Curriculum and Assessment Standard" and "Language (CSL) curriculum with corresponding support for establishing a Chinese as a Second Language curriculum (CSL) and desegregating ethnic initiatives is the introduction of the Chinese Language Curriculum Second Language Learning Frame Activity Report 2014 implementation of the Chinese Language Curriculum Second Language Learning Frame and express their views on the Chinese education system.

Figure 6.12. Language and learning in context.

Language (CSL) curriculum, coupled with standardized and curriculum "Chinese as a Second Language (CSL), c Language curriculum, coupled with relevant learning curricula, published a Supplementary Guideline for non-Chinese Speaking Students. The local Chinese language curriculum is built upon the assumption of language curriculum suitable for ethnic minority students for developing a "Second Chinese as a Second Language curriculum, very few ethnic minority students currently develop an appropriate Chinese-as-Second Language curriculum and assessment scheme. The Language Curriculum Second Language Framework in t Language curriculum with a systematic Chinese curriculum the...
In Figure 6.10, collocations between *ethnic* and *Chinese* are shown (including the word *minorities* in the network). As patterns with *Chinese, language,* and *education* occur alongside the words *ethnic minorities* in the corpus, Unison’s view becomes more apparent: the promotion of Chinese language education is designed to better serve EM students. Concordances and collocations also link Chinese language education and curriculum to ethnic minority students. These connections reveal that ethnic minority students are in need of Chinese language curriculum specifically designed for their needs (see Figures 6.11 & 6.12). As a result, the collocation networks, patterns, and concordances demonstrate how Unison continually reiterates and emphasizes their ideology towards the Chinese language as valuable for ethnic minority students.

While the corpus analyses begin to give insight into the repetition and importance of Chinese language education, examples from the discursive analyses further unpack how Unison views language as a key to promoting educational opportunities and achieving their goals as an organization. First, Unison (2015) perceives language as a problem (cf. Ruiz, 1984) that ethnic minority students must overcome. The NGO utilizes two expressions to demonstrate their point of view. Unison describes language as “creating barriers” (Unison, 2015) that EM students need to overcome. Secondly, Unison (2015) suggests that the solution to crossing the language barrier comes through “building bridges” in the community. While these bridges promote integration and cross cultural harmony, language is one of the key factors in connecting ethnic minority students to the larger Hong Kong community and overcoming their primary “barrier.” Therefore, the NGO’s belief that ethnic minority students need better language skills contributes to their argument that Chinese language education can create the necessary bridges to sustain success and foster cultural integration and harmony in Hong Kong.
Continually building upon the need to develop sufficient Chinese language skills in order to survive in Hong Kong and experience equal opportunities, Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) work consistently uses rhetorical devices to demonstrate the power of language education as a solution to the difficulties EM students encounter. In a letter to the Education Panel, for example, Unison (2013b) employs the rhetorical device of scesis onomatōn, or the repetition of synonymous phrases and ideas (cf. Farnsworth, 2011), to demonstrate their point of view. Unison (2013b) utilizes the following two phrases within the same paragraph: “the Chinese language is necessary for survival in Hong Kong,” and “good Cantonese and written Chinese skills [are needed] in order to survive and thrive in Hong Kong” (p.4). These two phrases both describe the same idea: the Chinese language is necessary to survive in Hong Kong. By echoing this idea through similar phrases, Unison (2013b) makes their ideology clear: language is the key to solving many of the problems ethnic minorities confront.

This repetition also demonstrates Unison’s epiphenomenal (cf. Ruiz, 2014) view towards language within LPP. Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) does not care about language education only for the sake of language itself, but rather, the organization promotes the learning of Chinese because it is related to underlying issues of poverty, success in Hong Kong, the promotion of equal rights, and the chance for more social and educational opportunities. The NGO further describes this problem as preventing ethnic minority youths from actualizing their full potential and achieving their dreams (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2015). In their website, Unison (2015) intensifies this problem, describing the need for developing Chinese language as a way to give students the chance “to integrate into mainstream society, to escape the curse of intergenerational poverty, and to pursue their dreams.” The lack of language skills is connected with Unison’s identity as an organization focusing on creating equality and promoting rights: if
ethnic minority students do not have sufficient Chinese language they are trapped in poverty and disadvantage.

The organization’s epiphenomenal views towards language are further revealed in their intertextual references (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012) to ethnic minority narratives reported in Hong Kong newspapers. For example, in their 2007 submission to the Education Panel, Unison (2007) cites a Ming Pao newspaper article titled, 我的夢想 (My dream) (梁啟綸, 2006). This article, narrates the stories of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong and the obstacles they encounter in their quest to make a living and be successful. Language is one of the problems the EM communities describe as preventing them from achieving their dreams (cf. 梁啟綸, 2006). In addition, Unison (2007) references an article from the South China Morning Post (2006) that interviews ethnic minority students struggling with language. Through this intertextual reference (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012), minorities describe “language [as] a prison” (South China Morning Post, 2006, p.1); students continue to reflect on the absolute necessity of the Chinese language to live and work in Hong Kong. Resulting from these examples of intertextuality that draw upon the experiences of ethnic minorities, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2015) builds their discourse that language is a problem (or barrier); students cannot actualize their dreams because of their inability to understand Chinese. Overall, Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2015) intertextual references to the narratives of ethnic minorities’ difficulties with language confirm scholarship on the linguistic difficulties these students encounter. In their interviews with out of school ethnic minorities to explore reasons for high drop-out rates, Bhowmik & Kennedy (2016) confirmed that the lack of adequate Chinese language learning leads to feelings of marginalization. Students view language as key to staying in school and having more opportunities in society (cf. Bhowmik &
Kennedy, 2016). Pérez-Milans & Soto (2014) also suggested in interview research with EM youngsters that the “lack of Chinese skills [is] considered to be the main reason for the widespread failure among EM students” (p. 216). These research examples confirm Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) ideology that language is epiphenomenal and linked to social mobility, vocational success, and educational advancement.

Based on the view that ethnic minority students suffer from low Chinese language abilities, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) expands upon the ideology alluded to in the collocation and concordance analyses: Chinese language education is the key to increasing equality in EM communities. Often, the NGO explicitly states their position through verbs of perception. For example, their website states: “we believe improving Chinese language education for ethnic minority students is a key to improving their life chances and social mobility” (Unison, 2015). In this example, Unison (2015) directly describes their beliefs that teaching Chinese is integral to the success of EM students. Unison (2013a) also utilizes metaphors as an argumentation strategy (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; Wodak, 2000, 2006) to show that quality Chinese language education is important. Unison’s (2013a) submission on the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region describes the need for building foundational language skills for ethnic minority students. The NGO (Unison, 2013a) notes that beginning in kindergarten, EM students receive diluted Chinese language education; this creates a poor language foundation at the onset of their education. Unison (2013a) continues to create a metaphor out of the idea of language as foundation. A foundation must be laid in order to create a sturdy building. If ethnic minority students build their educational experiences upon a shaky foundation of the Chinese language, it is more difficult to create a solid structure for their future successes (cf. Unison, 2013a). The use of the language as a foundation metaphor not only builds upon language as epiphenomenal
(relating to educational experiences and future successes), but also intensifies Unison’s (2013a) argument that the poor structure of the current policies deprives students of their potential, and action must be taken in order to ensure that their language foundation is solid.

Another significant metaphor is utilized in Unison’s (2013b) letter to the LegCo. In this metaphor, language education is compared to a ladder (cf. Unison, 2013b). Utilized twice in the same letter, this metaphor describes the common illustration of education as a ladder. Each year, a student climbs another step, eventually reaching the top of the ladder as they complete their education. Unison (2013b) uses this illustration, however, to note that ethnic minority students are not climbing the ladder alongside their Chinese peers, instead they disappear on the higher steps. Once again, language is referenced as the reason EM students cannot climb the ladder of educational success. Both the ladder and foundation metaphors serve as intensification strategies to Unison’s (2013a, 2013b) discourses that ethnic minority students deserve quality instruction in the Chinese language.

After clearly establishing their perspective towards the value of Chinese language education and its connections with the academic and economic livelihoods of EM communities, Unison demonstrates how their ideologies become enacted through their policy advocacy. Unison’s interactions with the government, through letters, petitions, and legislative questions, demonstrate that the NGO’s work is shaped by their ideologies. In looking at the corpus data, the file view of AntConc (Anthony, 2013) demonstrates that Unison writes primarily for an audience composed of various governmental bureaus. Unison sends letters to legislative council members, education panels, bureau secretaries, the chief executive, and other councils in the Hong Kong government. Throughout these documents, Unison repeats their desire to see the current policies change, and their concern that the government has not put forth sufficient effort
into helping EM students (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015). In a letter to the Education Panel, for example, Unison (2007) utilizes the rhetorical strategy of asking a list of questions (cf. Farnsworth, 2011; Wodak, 2000, 2006) in order to make their argument that the government needs to address Chinese language education: “How many supportive staff do they [the government] have for these schools [that accept EM students]? What kind of background training do they have? How does this supporting team function?” (Unison, 2007, p.1). Raising questions about supportive staff for schools with large ethnic minority populations, Unison (2007) asks for clarification on the government’s actions, demonstrating that the NGO is not convinced with the current measures. The organization continues to ask questions throughout the remainder of the letter regarding examinations, university entrance requirements, the quality of teacher training, and problems with the lack of a comprehensive language curriculum (Unison, 2007). The lists of questions not only illustrate Unison’s concern towards the status quo, but also demonstrate how the NGO is implicitly recommending the government take action to solve the perceived policy problems.

In addition to utilizing the rhetorical device of asking the Education Panel in the LegCo to clarify their position and take action, Unison also indicates their knowledge and understanding of the government’s work through direct citations to legislative papers. In the same letter, Unison (2007) creates an intertextual reference (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012) to Legislative Paper No.CB(2)757/06-07(02) (EDB, 2007b) in order to emphatically reveal their concern with the government’s actions. Unison (2007) directly cites the LegCo Paper’s stance on the suitability of the Hong Kong national curriculum: “curriculum is general enough to be applicable to all learners irrespective of whether they are native Chinese speakers” (EDB, 2007b, p. 1). The NGO then counters the government’s declaration by arguing
that general curriculum designed for native Chinese speakers discriminates against ethnic
diminuIty students and ignores their specific needs. Therefore, Unison’s belief in the centrality of
Chinese in solving the social problems ethnic minority communities encounter is apparent
throughout their work and negotiations with the government. Unison dedicates their
involvement in planning and policy to focus on interaction with the government through letters,
questions, and recommendations that challenge the status quo and encourage officials to change
policies in order to promote equality and rights for the entire population.

6.1f Chinese Learning Styles Vary Between First and Second Language Learners
Closely related to the view that improved CSL education can benefit the ethnic minority
first and second language acquisition are different. Their ideologies towards differences in
language learning become a major thrust in their advocacy efforts. In order to establish that
programs for second language learners should be different, Unison utilizes nomination strategies
(cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to establish how students are characterized in Hong Kong. In the
corpus data, the words ‘NCS’ (Non-Chinese Speaking) and ‘non-Chinese’ frequently collocate
with ‘students.’ Figures 6.13 & 6.14 demonstrate how these collocations are utilized to create
nomination of these student groups.
Examining collocations with non-Chinese and NCS (see Figures 6.13 & 6.14), it is apparent that Unison utilizes these adjectives to describe a particular group of students: ethnic minority students that do not speak Chinese. Although non-Chinese has collocations with students, children, arrivals, and families, the adjectival phrase maintains that there are in and out groups within the Hong Kong community. While there are few collocations between Chinese and students to describe ethnic Chinese students directly, phrases such as NCS and non-Chinese implicitly demonstrate that there is an opposing group. The nominations found in the corpus...
thus create comparisons and contrasts between groups based on their language. The context within the concordance views (see Figure 6.14) also implies that non-Chinese speaking students have different needs, and thus learning and curriculum strategies should be based on their specific needs.

The distinction between Chinese speaking and non-Chinese speaking students is further described in Unison’s submission to the Education Panel (Unison, 2013b). In this letter, Unison (2013b) utilizes scesis onomatop (repetition with similar or synonymous phrases) as a rhetorical strategy (cf. Farnsworth, 2011) to describe the differences between learning in one’s L1 and L2. The NGO states: “Chinese is not ethnic minority students’ first language, or mother tongue” (Unison, 2013b, p. 3). Unison (2013b) emphatically describes the linguistic situation of ethnic minority students to the LegCo. Students do not speak Chinese as their first language—it is not their mother tongue. The use of scesis onomatop (cf. Farnsworth, 2011) repeats almost synonymous ideas to the government, highlighting Unison’s view that ethnic minorities are distinct from native Chinese speakers. Therefore, by emphasizing the nomination of what kind of students there are, the ideology is created that Chinese and non-Chinese speaking students are not only different because of their linguistic abilities, but they also learn differently.

Aside from establishing different types of students, collocations and concordance analyses also demonstrate the NGO’s solution to helping with language differences. Frequent collocations between language and second (see Figures 6.15 & 6.16) create a parallel between the nominations with NCS students. Students, labeled as NCS, correspond with the nomination of language as a ‘second’ language. Unison’s use of ‘second language’ clarifies their position towards how Chinese education can help ethnic minority students. Students are in need of curriculum, pedagogy, and policies that teach Chinese as a second language (L2) rather than a
first language (L1). The collocation network (see Figure 6.16) confirms this belief, as ‘second’ and ‘language’ share connections with notions such as learning, education, and curriculum.

In their website, Unison (2015) creates comparisons between learning in a first and second language. Considering the example of Cantonese (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Unison (2015) describes that the policies in Hong Kong teach Cantonese students through English as a second language curriculum. This is done because the government recognizes in
their biliterate trilingualism policy (cf. EDB, 1997, 2009c, 2010) that English is not the first language of the majority of the population and should be learned in addition to Chinese (cf. SCOLAR, 2003a, 2003b). Unison (2015) argues that EM students learning Chinese as their L2 have a similar experience to Cantonese students learning English as an L2. Unison (2007, 2015) also argues, through the exemplification of CSL programs in other countries, that Hong Kong should implement appropriate curriculum for ethnic minority students. Unison (2007) states, “Chinese is taught as a second language in other countries and regions, China and Taiwan for instance” (p.1). The NGO continues by discussing how foreigners living in China and Taiwan learn through foreign language curriculum and take specific examinations\(^\text{117}\) to test their proficiency. The primary argument through their comparison of Cantonese speakers learning English in Hong Kong (cf. Unison, 2015) and foreigners learning Chinese in Chinese-speaking countries (cf. Unison, 2007) hinges upon the notion that learning an L2 requires a different approach than learning through an L1. By utilizing this argument of comparing and contrasting how a second language is learned, Unison (2007, 2015) demonstrates how there are misunderstandings towards teaching EM students. The mainstream curriculum and the Supplementary Guidelines (CDC, 2008a, 2008b), promoted by the Education Bureau (2012), do not address second language learning needs.

Furthermore, the concordance view of the collocations with language policy (see Figure 6.17) also reflects Unison’s views towards Chinese as a second language (CSL). Figure 6.17 provides a concrete example of how Unison’s ideologies regarding language education and the

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\(^{117}\) Hanyu Shuiping Kao Shi (汉语水平考试), or the Chinese Proficiency Test, is administered by the Ministry of Education in the PRC; the Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language is administered in Taiwan as developed by the National Taiwan Normal University (cf. Unison, 2007, p. 4).
differences in learning merge with their advocacy efforts and relationship with the government:

Unison supports the development of a CSL policy.

Unison directly makes policy recommendations and suggestions in their letters and questions for the Legislative Council and Education Bureau. For example, Unison (2013b) enumerates the following “Policy Suggestions” to the LegCo: develop a clear and standardized CSL curriculum, dedicate central efforts in the government to make curriculum comprehensive for all schools, train teachers, and develop appropriate guidelines and assessments for student progress (pp. 5-7).

Unison (2013b) stresses, in particular, the comprehensive and continuous nature of the curriculum and policy that should be developed for a CSL program. Their website states that the NGO supports a policy that is “continuous from kindergarten through secondary school” (Unison, 2015). Their submission on the HKSAR repeats this idea, emphasizing the need for building a comprehensive program with an effective design and well-developed materials for students (Unison, 2013a). Unison’s work (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) to promote comprehensive programs also negates the Education Bureau’s summer bridge courses (cf. EDB, 2015c, 2015d). Due to the short contact hours and inconsistencies in the summer bridging programs, Unison
argues that policies by the government are fragmentary and do not understand the nature of second language learning. Thus, building upon their previous ideologies that language is epiphenomenal and can contribute to the success of EM communities, and their identity as a rights-based organization promoting equality, Unison consistently demonstrates their involvement in policy through recommendations and advocacy to the government that encourage increased understanding of cultural and linguistic differences in order to provide effective programs for all students.

6.1g The Government Fails Ethnic Minority Students

As Witt (2008) and Harvey (2007) suggest, non-governmental organizations are often founded based on the perceptions that economic, political, and social injustices throughout the world have increased\(^1\). Unison, establishing itself as a rights-based organization that strives to promote equality, has situated itself as an NGO that aims to increase awareness on the discrimination ethnic minority people experience in Hong Kong. Unison’s position towards fighting against injustice for the EM population implies that the NGO is engaging with other groups in order to make their opinions and actions known. While their work is accessible to the public, Hong Kong Unison dedicates the majority of their efforts towards policy advocacy (as seen in their mission statement), and interacting with the city’s various governmental departments. As a result, all of Unison’s work is centered on the belief that the government does not design effective policies for ethnic minority people, and that governmental programs and legislation create discriminatory practices.

\(^1\)In addition, Harey (2007) argues that the global spread of neoliberalism has created a hands-off government approach. This attitude has resulted in the increasing presence of NGOs; governments have also begun handing over social problems to non-governmental organizations due to neoliberal values. This dissertation demonstrates the neoliberal legacy in Hong Kong from the British colonial period (see Chapter 3) that has resulted in the growing presence of NGOs, such as Unison.
As seen in Figure 6.17, Unison explicitly provides their views that the government needs to develop a CSL policy for EM students. Their concern and negotiation of policy demonstrates their actions and involvement in policy-making, as well as their view that the government has not taken sufficient action. Building upon this concern, further data within the corpus demonstrate that Unison does not believe the government does enough to help EM peoples. Collocation networks between education and policy also include the terms Chinese, language, and ethnic minority. These collocation networks confirm Unison’s beliefs in promoting CSL and creating more effective language-in-education policies. As seen in Table 5.10, the top collocations with the word government include Chinese, education, ethnic minorities, schools, urge, and Unison. Firstly, these collocations demonstrate primary areas of concern for the NGO: Chinese education for ethnic minority students. More importantly, these collocations reveal interactions between two social scales through the co-occurrences of Unison, government, and urge. The collocation network surrounding the word urge (see Figure 6.18) reflects the various recommendations and interactions between the government and the NGO. Patterns are seen between ‘we’ (referring to Unison), the EDB, (Education Bureau), the EOC (Equal Opportunities Commission), and the government. Recommendations and urging connect these institutions together. (The common pattern is: We/Unison urge the EDB/EOC/government). These collocation networks demonstrate that Unison is involved with the government and their role in LPP primarily involves lobbying for improvement (through recommendations) to the current education of EM students. The explicit links between government, urge, and Unison demonstrate that the NGO is concerned with the status quo, and are compelled to make suggestions.
Examining in further detail how Unison is concerned about the government’s actions, their documents demonstrate that the NGO finds the government’s statements and policies unreliable and untruthful (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2014, 2015). Unison recurrently uses the phrase “the government claims” (cf. Unison, 2013a, p. 9) to demonstrate that the government is misinformed and makes claims lacking reliability and truth. In addition, Unison (2013b) portrays the government as basing their decisions off assumptions. In their letter to the LegCo, Unison repeatedly utilizes the phrase, the “Education Bureau posits” (pp. 1-3). The definition of posit, meaning to put forth as a fact, reflects that Unison (2013b) believes the government makes decisions based on assumptions that lack facts. Lexicalization, as a discursive strategy (cf. van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2006), expresses ideologies and creates positive and negative values associated with the chosen words. Unison’s repetition of ‘posit’ and ‘claim’ to describe the government expresses negative values towards the government’s actions, and builds upon their ideology that the government does nothing for EM students. Further examples of lexicalization (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2006) to describe the government’s efforts include Unison’s characterization of the Education Bureau’s policies: *not useful, not sufficient, not effective, not*

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119 Due to the settings of the GraphColl software (Brezina et al., 2015), Hong Kong appears as two separate tokens. Despite this fault, I only consider it as one word.
genuine, not comprehensive, fragmentary, scattered, piecemeal, insufficient, short-lived, failed, not adequate, poor, not structured, and containing loopholes (cf. Unison 2013a, 2013b, 2007, 2015, 2014). The lexicalization and negation in these examples (cf. van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2006) serve as intensification strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000) to describe Unison’s perception that the government’s policies and efforts are problematic.

To confirm Unison’s perception that the government fails EM students, Unison (2013a, 2013b, 2014) utilizes enumeration as an argumentation strategy (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to list all the problems within the current education and language policies. In their report on the HKSAR, Unison (2013a) argues that the Equal Opportunities Commission (a statutory body) has adopted a passive role in working to promote equal opportunities in the government. Unison (2013a) creates a list to describe their passive role utilizing ordinal numbers to enumerate their complaints (pp. 14-15). The complaints center on the EOC failing to utilize its power to advocate for changes in the current policies. The same strategy is used in a submission to the LegCo (cf. Unison, 2013b). Unison (2013b) develops a list (with ordinal numbers) to point out the failure of the government’s policies and guidelines (cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b) to provide teachers with resources and strategies to serve EM students. Their list culminates with an accusation that the Supplementary Guidelines for non-Chinese speakers (cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b) are unhelpful and the Education Bureau has treated teachers poorly: “the turnover rate of Chinese teachers is very high. There is no incentive to encourage teachers to gain experience in teaching Chinese to ethnic minorities. This severely hinders schools’ abilities to develop appropriate Chinese curriculum” (Unison, 2013b, p. 3). This accusation, along with lists enumerating problems in the current policies, strengthens Unison’s (2013b) arguments that the government responds to problems through inaction. Not only are there “no incentives” and “no curriculum
development” (Unison, 2013b, p. 2), but the policy design is also linked to the reason for why many Chinese teachers leave their positions. This enumeration strategy not only creates a list of problems that should be addressed, but intensifies Unison’s argument that the government’s policies and programs consistently fail and lead to unforeseen problems (such as teacher turnover rate).

Building upon their problems with the government, Unison (2014, 2013a) utilizes intertextual references (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012) to the government’s policies as a strategy to create their argumentation (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006). For example, Unison (2014) discusses the ramifications of the Education Bureau’s initiative to remove the designated schools label (cf. EDB, 2012, 2016). Unison (2014) summarizes how the government views their recent initiatives as taking a proactive role in improving integration by mainstreaming schools and giving ethnic minority students better access to education (cf. EDB, 2012, 2016). The NGO, however, negates the government’s initiative, stating, “the Education Bureau abolished the designated schools label, de facto racial segregation still exists in the public education system” (Unison, 2014, p. 2). Unison (2014) then refers to census and statistical data, that demonstrates how “the proportion of ethnic minorities enrolled at each school” (p. 5) has not changed after the mainstreaming policy initiatives. In other words, Unison utilizes other government data from the Census and Statistics Department (2011, 2012, 2015) to demonstrate that over 60% of EM students remain at schools with high concentrations of other EM students. By referencing governmental policies and data, Unison\(^{120}\) (2013a, 2014) contrasts the government’s initiative of integration and removing school labels, with the statistical reality that students remain segregated. In this way, Unison demonstrates shrewd argumentation strategies

\(^{120}\) Unison (2013a) also suggests that the school allocation scheme (cf. EDB, 2012, 2016) is not fair, as it considers the students’ home language. The allocation system is thus considered another factor in creating de facto segregation in public schools as students’ home languages and their lower scores on Chinese examinations affect their school allocation (cf. Unison, 2013a).
that employ the government’s own data to indicate the Education Bureau and Legislative Council’s failures in policy-making for EM students.

Unison also confirms their beliefs in the government’s failures through a discussion of the Education Bureau’s promotion of the ApL(C) course. Designed to provide Chinese language curriculum for Chinese speaking students (CDC, 2014; EDB, 2015), the ApL(C) courses provide alternative venues for EM students to receive language qualifications in their secondary examinations (cf. CDC, 2014; EDB, 2015). Unison (2014) contrasts the government’s goals of promoting alternative recognized qualifications with actual practice in Hong Kong. Unison (2014) argues that public employers and universities do not understand the qualifications, nor do many organizations recognize them as having the same caliber as the standard curriculum (cf. Kapai, 2015). In this manner, Unison (2014) contradicts the government’s goals by discussing how employers and universities treat the alternative course—they do not commonly recognize the ApL(C). Unison thus creates an effective argumentation strategy (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) by contrasting the government’s goals with how the policies manifest themselves in the city. These arguments confirm Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) belief that the Education Bureau and its related subcommittees in the Legislative Council make ineffective decisions and do not adequately solve the larger issues facing EM students.

Finally, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) emphasizes their perspective towards the government’s policies through their usage of recommendations. While there are indirect recommendations to the government, that include Unison’s opinions or views on developing second language curriculum and integrating schools, the NGO also directly details their suggestions. In their multiple submissions to the education panel on the Legislative Council, Unison (2007, 2013b) utilizes semiotic means and enumeration to make their recommendations
apparent. The heading “Policy Suggestions” (Unison, 2013b, p. 5) utilizes bold, underlined font to make the NGO’s recommendations clear and prominent. Underneath this heading, Unison (2013b) lists various measures that the government should adopt, including the design of a CSL curriculum for EM students, teacher training and incentives, clear benchmarks and assessments, and comprehensive lesson plans and guidelines (cf. Unison, 2013b, p. 5-6).

Comparing their list of suggestions in a 2013 submission to the Education Panel with a letter the NGO wrote to the same panel in 2007, Unison’s recommendations demonstrate that the government has continued to ignore the plight of EM students over time. These two submissions reflect the spatiotemporal (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015) nature of language policy negotiation. Unison’s (2007, 2013) consistent recommendations for policy change reveal that the NGO views the plight of EM groups as ongoing problem that is continually not addressed by the government.

Unison’s dedication to policy change and advocacy is clearly shaped by their belief that the government has failed to create quality policies to teach EM students. Their recommendations throughout their work provide clear demonstrations of the NGO’s goal to increase awareness and provide concrete suggestions for the government to adopt in their future policies. Their perception of the government’s inadequate policies prompts the NGO to take action, solidifies their identity as a rights-based organization, and provides the primary platform for the NGO to share their ideologies towards language, education, and cultural integration.

6.2 Interaction Between Social Scales

While ideologies shape Unison’s role and involvement in LPP, their interactions with other groups and individuals add further insight into the NGO’s position within social scales in Hong Kong. As Gee & Handford (2012) assert, discourses are sites of interaction. The analysis of discourse, therefore, reflects not only ideologies and perspectives, but also reveals sites of
dialogue (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013; J. Flowerdew & Wan, 2006, 2010; Hoey, 2001; Wodak, 2006, 2009). In the following section, I describe how the data provide visible evidence of Unison’s interactions across social scales, further shaping their role in the transformation of language planning and policy in Hong Kong.

6.2a Government Conflicts

As an organization devoted to changing policies in Hong Kong, Unison dedicates the majority of their energy towards communicating with the government. This is made evident through the corpus data that include one decade of interactions (2000-2015) with the government involving letters to the LegCo and chief executives, and submissions with questions to various councils and committees. Unison’s interactions with the government are shaped by how the NGO characterizes and portrays the government. Unison first acknowledges the complex nature of the Hong Kong government through its various boards, councils, bureaus, and administrators. Within the corpus, collocations with the word education reveal that the words that co-occur in the closest proximity are bureau and system (see Figure 6.19). Collocations between education, bureau, and system often function as metonyms (cf. Kövecses, 2002) within the corpus. The phrases ‘education system’ and ‘education bureau’ invoke associations of all the teachers, curriculum, councils, and people in the government working together. These two phrases demonstrate that multiple social actors and individuals are involved in policy-making, and that social scales are not only composed of large organizations and entities, but also of individuals (cf. Hult, 2013). While there are multiple intersections of ideologies and perspectives within the individuals that compose the education system and Education Bureau, Unison groups these beliefs together and refers to their overarching opinions that are expressed within their policies and guidelines in education. Despite the hierarchies of groups and individuals within the

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121 I consider only content words rather than function words.
government, Unison addresses them collectively either as the Education Bureau, the education system, or the government. Addressing the government in this manner demonstrates that the entire system works together in order to bring about policy changes. These collocations (see Figure 6.19) also suggest that Unison is concerned with how the government as a whole presents their opinions through their legislation and policies. Although the NGO does address letters to various individuals serving on education panels, they are more concerned with the government’s policies as a whole and how they create an overarching ideology and presence in society.

![Figure 6.19. Collocation network of 'education 5a-MI3(9), L5-R5, 25 (cf. Brezina et al., 2015).](image)

Aside from characterizing the government as composed of complex organizations, Unison also utilizes nominization and predication strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to further reveal how they perceive the government. First, Unison often utilizes honorific language (cf. 122)

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122 Within the concordancer software, the corpus files reveal that Unison understands that individuals are the heart of the bureaucratic governmental system. Some letters are addressed to specific members of subcommittees. Two letters are addressed specifically to the chief executive. Other submissions are written to panel members, demonstrating that the NGO is aware of the complex nature of governmental councils and the roles and influences individual members have within the government.
Farnsworth, 2011) to create in and out groups between the government and their NGO. For example, submissions to the Education Bureau and LegCo include “Dear honorable panel members” (cf. Unison, 2007). Through the use of the salutation describing panel members as honorable, Unison acknowledges that the individuals working in the government have positions of power and authority. Unison (2007) portrays a sense of respect to the panel members on the various councils, acknowledging that these members have the potential to take the NGO’s recommendations and turn them into official policy changes. Moreover, the nominization strategy (honorable panel members), contrasts with Unison’s predication strategies. Overall, Unison (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) characterizes the government through phrases such as: not transparent, not serious, insincere, not committed, ineffective, reluctant, complacent, discriminatory, inconsistent, irresponsible. These adjectives create a sense of negativity around Unison’s view (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) of the government. The use of honorable to address the government and its panel members contrasts with the descriptions that the government’s actions are deemed incompetent and ineffective. The nominization and predication strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) reveal how Unison navigates their interactions with the government by Designating respect in how they address them, and then portraying their frustration that the government’s policies do not meet the NGO’s standards.

As a result of their frustration with the government’s policies, Unison focuses their interactions on responding to proposed initiatives, legislation, policies, and guidelines produced by various governmental agencies. Their views of the government’s failures to create appropriate policies often take shape through Unison providing recommendations, suggestions, and direct responses to specific legislative statements. As seen in the corpus data, these interactions manifest themselves in collocation networks between the words government and
urge. These two words frequently co-occur, and are often accompanied by the words *Unison* or *we*. This pattern demonstrates Unison’s direct dialogue with the government in their submissions. The NGO urges the government to take action and change the status quo of the education and language policies for EM students. Dialogue also occurs when Unison directly refers to governmental policies within the corpus data. Figure 6.20 shows collocations between *race* and *ordinance*. These words collocate together in reference to the piece of legislation known as the Race Discrimination Ordinance (LegCo, 2008) passed as a civil rights law that outlines types of racial discrimination and provides protection for minorities in the city (cf. Hubbs, 2015). The frequency of the collocations between *race* and *ordinance* highlights Unison’s concern about the effectiveness of this legislation. The intertextual references (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Wodak, 2006, 2009) to the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) demonstrate how Unison engages with legislation and creates sites of interaction (cf. Hoey, 2001) with the government through their response to policies and legislation. Examining the context of Unison’s intertextual references to the RDO shows the NGO’s dissatisfaction with the legislation, as they describe the law as having “flaws” and “repeatedly draw[ing] criticisms” (Unison 2014, p. 3). Their description of the ordinance confirms their disdain towards the government and their need to engage in dialogue in order to prompt change.
As seen through the example of the RDO, Unison often utilizes intertextual references (including both direct citations and summaries) of policy documents in their work. The references to policies and legislation demonstrate how the NGO dialogues with the government. Intertextual references to government reports and policies additionally show that Unison is reading the policies in order to gain knowledge and understanding of the government’s actions. As a result, the NGO’s references to governmental policies reflect the nature of texts as creating dialogue between readers and involving the expectation of a response (cf. Hoey, 2001). These intertextual references also exhibit how Unison (cf. 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) negotiates with the current policies in order to suggest changes. In order to further explore Unison’s usage of intertextual references and negotiation with policy documents, I turn to examples from their 2007 submission to the LegCo Education Panel. This unique document utilizes intertextual references throughout the entire letter in order to position the NGO’s arguments, and create sites of textual interaction through responses to the government’s policies.
Unison’s (2007) letter to the Education Panel begins by addressing the Education Bureau (EDB)’s (2007b) LC Paper No. CB (2)757/06-07/(20). This paper addresses the EDB’s (2007b) view on providing curriculum for non-Chinese speaking students. Unison’s (2007) letter to the panel members is entirely based upon a response to this paper, creating dialogue with the government’s work. In their letter, the NGO utilizes both direct citations and summaries of the LC paper, building their reliability as an organization that does not twist the government’s words, but reports them accurately. Unison (2007) dedicates their efforts to paraphrasing the LC paper as accurately as possible in order to provide their responses and questions to the statements made by the EDB. Taking one example into consideration, Unison (2007) states that the Education Bureau “insists to teach the NCS students with the curriculum originally designed for native Chinese speaking students” (p. 1-2). In this statement, Unison (2007) summarizes the EDB’s perspective from the LC Paper: “curriculum is general enough to be applicable to all learners irrespective of whether they are native Chinese speakers” (2007b, p. 1). While Unison (2007) rewords the exact statement from the LC Paper, they provide an accurate summary: the government finds the education curriculum applicable for all students in Hong Kong despite their first language. After summarizing the government’s perspective, the NGO turns to providing their commentary and criticisms towards the LC Paper. Unison (2007) notes that teaching through the same curriculum ignores that Chinese-speaking students and non-Chinese speaking (NCS) students learn differently. Furthermore, Unison (2007) sharply points out that the government creates “indirect discrimination” (p. 2), by insisting that NCS learn in the same manner as their Chinese peers. By referring to the government’s paper as an instance of discrimination, Unison (2007) builds an intensification strategy (cf. Wodak, 2000) to demonstrate that the LC paper is not only problematic, but also harmful. Rather than only take
an accusatory tone in their letter, Unison (2007) immediately follows their criticisms by providing recommendations for how to create better policies and programs: “We urge that the EMB [EDB] will establish the policy of learning Chinese as a second language” (p. 2). This letter demonstrates how Unison interacts with the government. The NGO engages with the government’s reports and policies, points out their interpretations of problems, and provides suggestions for how these problems can be solved. This interaction provides a typical example of how Unison communicates with various governmental bureaus—they quote and paraphrase the policies in order to critique them and encourage the government to make changes.

Unison’s letter to the LegCo Education Panel demonstrates that the NGO understands the government’s authority and power to initiate change. Unison (2007) utilizes honorifics in their salutations (‘honorable panel members’) and politely closes the letter with the statement, “We look forward to your reply to our concerns and questions. Thank you” (p. 3). The NGO carefully positions their critiques in their letter by beginning and ending their communication in a respectful and professional manner. Furthermore, Unison (2007) notes their anticipation of the government’s response; this anticipation reveals the NGO’s hope that the government will continue the conversation about Unison’s concerns regarding education for EM students. The NGO views their letters and work as interactive; if the government responds to their concerns in policy changes or continues to promote the same views, they have responded to Unison’s negotiation and advocacy efforts.

Overall, Unison’s interactions with the government involve a balance between respecting the complex nature of the bureaucratic system and its power, and the conflicting views towards how to best respond to the situation of ethnic minority language education in Hong Kong. The government and NGO frequently have conflicting discourses. Unison aims to establish and
promote “Chinese as a second language education” (cf. Unison, 2007, p. 2), while the government continues to endorse a national curriculum for all students with a supplementary guideline for helping the ethnic minorities (cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b; EDB, 2011, 2012). Unison’s interactions with the government reflect contradictory discourses towards education and responses towards how to take action to help EM students. Despite their conflicting discourses, Unison continues to converse with the government. Clearly, Unison’s advocacy efforts focus on creating dialogue and engaging with the government as a social actor that wields power in the Hong Kong context.

6.2b Advocacy for Ethnic Minority Students

On their Facebook Page, website, public pamphlets and posters, interaction with international organizations, and criticisms of the Hong Kong government, Unison clearly defines their NGO as one dedicated to work specifically towards advocacy for the ethnic minority population. The advocacy efforts of this NGO, therefore, involve communication with the EM people in Hong Kong. Corpus analyses and discursive strategies reveal Unison’s positionality towards EM students and how their interactions with this population contribute to their voice of advocacy (cf. Combs, Patton, & D. Chen, 2016; Maina & Hicks, 2016).

Unison’s nominization strategies provide a platform for beginning to understand how the NGO interacts with EM students. Nominization strategies are utilized to create labels and describe individuals and groups of people (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006). Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) utilizes the term ‘ethnic minority’ to label this specific group and contrast them with the mainstream population. Considering Figure 6.21, ethnic and minority have a strong collocation with one another. The co-occurrence between ethnic and minority appears in every

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123 Similar patterns are seen with the abbreviation EM to refer to ethnic minorities within the data. “EM” is also utilized to describe students, youth, residents, and label groups in Hong Kong.
document in the corpus, serving an adjectival function. The collocations between these two words reflect nominization strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006). Ethnic minority describes children, students, communities, parents, residents, youths, and individuals.

While nominization strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) may not appear to characterize Unison’s interactions with ethnic minorities, the creation of in and out groups describes the NGO’s positioning. Although used less frequently, Chinese creates a label for students, populations, and communities, distinguishing them from ethnic minorities (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). The creation of distinct groups—the Chinese population and ethnic minority population—shapes Unison’s interactions within Hong Kong and with EM communities. First, the creation of two different groups confirms the NGO’s stance that ethnic minorities are considered as outsiders that experience overall discrimination in Hong Kong. Ethnic minority groups are not the same as Chinese groups, and are therefore distinguished within Unison’s work. The nominization strategies also confirm Unison’s (2015) mission
statement: “advocate for change so that all ethnic minority residents of Hong Kong have equal opportunity and equal access to public services.” The differentiation between Chinese students and ethnic minority students implies these groups have differences in treatment and opportunity in Hong Kong. Unison (2015) views their position as an organization aiming to decrease the differences between groups by creating equal opportunity for all people in the city. The labels of Chinese and EM populations, therefore, describe Unison’s goals in creating equality, as the organization aims for these groups to have the same opportunities.

Furthermore, these labels demonstrate how Unison interacts symbolically with the EM population (cf. Charon, 2004). As Charon (2004) argues, humans and groups interact with groups based on the meanings and descriptions they ascribe to those groups. Unison (see Figure 6.22) labels and distinguishes EM people from local Chinese people. In characterizing these groups, Unison begins to symbolically interact with the EM population (cf. Charon, 2004). Their interactions with this group are based on their differences with the Chinese majority in Hong Kong. These perceived differences cause Unison to act on behalf of these communities. Thus, the label ‘ethnic minority’ becomes a platform for Unison to take a stance within Hong Kong. The NGO is able to describe their views about EM students and communities to teachers, governmental bureaus, and other organizations (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). The label is also used in alignment with references in government policies and guidelines that are directed towards EM students. Therefore, the use of nominization strategies within the data serves as a tool to describe and distinguish between population groups, to create a platform to discuss issues surrounding the EM community, and to solidify Union’s position as an organization focused on equality for all HongKongers.
Predication strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) are also used to reflect Unison’s interactions with EM peoples in Hong Kong. Unison (2014) refers to EM communities as having “an authoritative voice” (p. 2) and “collective power” (p. 2). Compared with previous descriptions that ethnic minority students lack opportunities and need language instruction (cf. Unison 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015), Unison (2014) also demonstrates their belief that the EM community has the potential to unite together despite their multicultural differences and generate collective power in the city. Through the description that EM communities have power and can unite together, Unison (2014) reveals their belief that advocacy does not depend on their organization’s efforts alone.

Unison (2014) further describes their goals to interact more with EM peoples through community organization: “It is important to empower ethnic minority groups so they fight for the protection of their own rights […]. Unison believes that ethnic minorities must come together and act […]. We organize events, seminars, discussion meetings, sharing sessions to understand their situation and their points of view, and get them involved in the policy-making process” (p. 2). This statement, appearing in their yearly activities report, describes Unison’s interactions and dialogue with EM communities in Hong Kong. Firstly, the role of their organization as centered in a rights-based approach is continuously confirmed, as Unison (2014) emphasizes the fight for the protection of rights. More importantly, Unison (2014) notes their ideology towards empowerment: ethnic minority people must learn to come together and engage in policy-making. Ethnic minority voices are thus portrayed as powerful agents within the process of policy negotiation. As Maina & Hicks (2016) reveal in their work on advocacy efforts in language education in African contexts, the overall tendency of advocacy efforts tends to learn towards one-sided work that does not involve dialogue with the primary groups involved. In their
discussion of community organization, Unison (2014) demonstrates their unique position as an advocacy group that encourages dialogue with community members. Unison (2014) recounts their events, such as seminars, discussion meetings, and sharing sessions, that engaged ethnic minority peoples to share their personal experiences. By referencing their focus group sessions and meetings with community members, Unison (2014) notes the importance of interaction with EM peoples in order to share their voice within the NGO’s advocacy efforts. While these interactions are not highlighted in all of the NGO’s work, the sharing sessions become sources for Unison to narrate the experience of ethnic minority students in their documents and letters to the government. In essence, Unison adopts the voice of ethnic minorities and utilizes this voice in their documents to negotiate policy changes in education and language curriculum development.

Also, the corpus data reveal Unison’s dialogue with EM peoples in documents such as their Ethnic Minority Stories, based on interviews and conversations with community members. This document, in particular, describes EM stories of difficulty in Hong Kong in order to present why Unison works towards equality for these people. Furthermore, their work with teachers, the media, international bodies, and the government, also contain references to the narratives of ethnic minorities (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2014). By recounting these stories, Unison demonstrates the power of ethnic minority voices. Their stories describe real life experiences, making Unison’s advocacy efforts for change built upon actual events rather than only their ideologies and positions towards language, education, and equality.

Within intertextual references (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012), Unison further builds upon the notion that EM students and people have their own identities and cultural expressions that must be preserved and shared. For example, similarly worded references in
their website and reports to the government describe the value of maintaining the home cultures and identities of ethnic minority residents (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2015). Unison (2013a, 2015) notes the importance of “preserv[ing] the identities of ethnic minority students” (Unison, 2015), and suggests that “minority languages should be protected” (Unison 2013a). Therefore, Unison’s interactions and dialogue about ethnic minority students not only generalize the disadvantages they experience in Hong Kong, but also emphasize that each community’s language and identities are unique and should be protected and preserved124 (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2015).

On the whole, Unison’s interactions with Hong Kong’s ethnic minority community are multifaceted and complex. The NGO not only participates in the essentialization and generalization of diverse cultures by describing them as impoverished and lacking opportunities, but they also praise the value of diversity and emphasize the need to appreciate and understand the various languages and cultures within the EM community (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). These different discourses reflect the difficulty in advocacy for a diverse group of people. Negative predication of EM peoples allows Unison to argue for better treatment and the creation of new policies. The empowering discourses of unity allow the NGO to navigate their role in promoting community involvement in advocacy. While Unison’s interactions through their discourses appear contradictory, they demonstrate the value of voice (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Combs et al., 2016; Ruiz, 1990). In order for their advocacy to be effective, Unison must make their voice heard among the many voices within the Hong Kong context. Their voice argues to

124 Unison also produces cultural pamphlets (see Appendix A) that describe the traditions, food, clothing, religions, and languages of various minority communities. These information pamphlets are available on their website and provide resources for the public and for teachers to learn about the home cultures of their students. These pamphlets demonstrate that Unison not only wants to promote integration, but they also want to build cultural harmony through creating awareness of the diverse heritage and cultures of ethnic minority communities.
the government that ethnic minorities deserve rights and equality due to their experiences of discrimination. The NGO also adopts the voice of ethnic minority narratives in order to add power (cf. Blommaert, 2005) to their interactions with the government. By describing the actual lived experiences of EM communities, Unison dedicates their advocacy to make the voice of normally invisible communities heard. Unison’s interactions with ethnic minorities thus build power and legitimacy of their own ideologies as they confirm the need for quality language education and the development of new policies. These interactions, however, remain complex as they raise questions about the ethics of advocacy groups. As Ruiz (1990) notes, voice is central to empowering minority communities and bringing about policy change. Dedicated to advocacy, it is important that Unison accurately represents the voice of ethnic minorities. Their interactions with EM communities, therefore demonstrate the complexities of an organization representing not only their own ideologies, but also striving to make known the voices of a diverse group of people.

6.2c International Interactions

A central theoretical component of critical discourse analysis centers in the notion that the use of language involves power (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011). Furthermore, social actors involved in policy negotiation center their discourses on the creation of power in order to express their ideas (cf. Combs et al., 2016). As a non-governmental organization, dependent upon financial support from donors and fundraising, Hong Kong Unison would appear to have limited power despite their presence and advocacy work for EM people in the city. The organization’s interactions with international committees and statutory bodies, however, provide an avenue for Unison to empower their discourses towards CSL policy and rights within the Hong Kong context (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). In order to bring their cause to an international level, Unison submits various position papers and letters to
the United Nations (UN) (see Appendix A). The NGO\textsuperscript{125} refers to their submissions to various committees within the UN, including the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) and the International Convention on the Rights of a Child (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2014, 2015). Their submissions to the UN show how Unison appeals to other organizations to notice the situation of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Their submissions to the UN also build Unison’s power as an organization that has legitimate concern and knowledge about human rights and education (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Combs et al., 2016).

In their website, submission on the HKSAR, and their yearly activities reports, Unison (2013a, 2014, 2015) refers to the UNHRC’s concluding observations on a periodic report on Hong Kong (cf. UNHRC, 2013). In their report, the UNHRC (2013) notes their concern towards the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in higher education. In particular, the committee states: “The Committee [UNHCR] is concerned […] that no official education policy for teaching Chinese as a second language for non-Chinese speaking students with an immigrant background in Hong Kong has been adopted […] non-Chinese speaking migrants face discrimination and prejudice in employment due to the requirement of written Chinese language skills” (p. 6). Commenting on this quote in their work, and providing a link to UNHRC’s website, Unison (2015) argues that “Chinese language education for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong does not meet international human rights standards.” Unison thus utilizes the UNHCR’s (2013) concern as a way to justify their own rights-based approach and their promotion of a CSL policy. Not only does Unison (2013a, 2014, 2015) refer to the experience of ethnic minority students’ narratives to demonstrate injustice, but they also stress that the current situation is internationally unacceptable. Furthermore, Unison (2013a) compares the UNHRC’s (2013) conclusions.

\textsuperscript{125} In their Annual Activities Report, Unison (2014) references their lobbying efforts and position papers submitted to the UN three times in the same document. These references provide an example of the NGO’s submissions and interactions with the UN.
recommendations for Hong Kong with similar suggestions the committee has made in other countries. Unison (2013a) cites the example of the United Nation’s (2009) concluding observations regarding the elimination of racial discrimination in Mongolia. The observations recommend that Kazakh children be provided with opportunities to learn Mongolian as a second language in order to overcome racism (cf. UN, 2009). Utilizing this example, Unison (2013a) urges the Hong Kong government to also “implement a Chinese as a Second Language curriculum as soon as possible” (p. 6).

In utilizing the UN’s comments and perspectives on racism and minority language education, Unison (2013a, 2014, 2015) justifies their own perspectives towards CSL in Hong Kong. Their interactions with international bodies demonstrate not only the involvement of multiple social scales (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015) within the Hong Kong context, but also reveal how Unison builds power within their own discourses. Unison, aligning themselves with the UNHRC (2013) and UN (2009), demonstrates that discrimination based on nationality and language is unacceptable according to international human rights standards. The NGO cites the UN’s work in order to emphasize the importance of giving all people equal opportunities and access to adequate education (cf. UN, 2009, UNHRC, 2013; Unison, 2013a, 2015). The interaction with the UN builds Unison’s authority as an organization that is in agreement with an internationally recognized body. Unison’s concern towards the status quo of the treatment of EM people in Hong Kong is intensified through similar beliefs held by the United Nations. The NGO’s use of intertextuality (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012) also creates power in their discourses by suggesting that if Hong Kong continues to ignore Chinese language education, they will fail to promote international human rights. This strategy not only affirms Unison’s position that the government has failed to act, but also creates a sense of urgency for the
Education Bureau and other legislative committees to be prompted to engage in change to allow Hong Kong to save face at a global level. Unison’s references and interactions with international organizations demonstrate how discourses are circulated through various spaces, places, and across social scales (cf. Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert et al., 2015; Hult, 2013, 2015). Unison’s discourses extend beyond their local context and also involve international social actors concerned with the promotion of equality, economic opportunity, and social justice (cf. UN, 2009; UNHRC, 2013). These connections demonstrate that while the NGO’s goal continues to focus on changing educational policy and promoting CSL for minority students, the discourses about equality and social justice reveal the epiphenomenal nature of language at a global level. Decisions in language policy, then, are not only related to language, but multiple social phenomena, including the promotion of justice and equality (cf. Ruiz, 2014).

6.2d Dialogue with Teachers

Stemming from their ideology that language is the foundation for increasing educational achievement and solving the difficulties EM students encounter in their everyday lives, it is natural that Unison also interacts with schools, teachers, and universities in Hong Kong. The NGO characterizes these organizations and individuals through the use of predication and nominization strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006). These discursive strategies characterize the NGO’s positionality and indirect interactions with these social actors.

In Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) work, schools are often categorized through nominization strategies as either mainstream or designated. These labels not only categorize types of school choice available to ethnic minority students, but also reflect differences in teachers. Teachers working at designated schools (and mainstream schools with large EM populations) are referred to as “Chinese language teachers” (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b,
By labeling teachers, Unison notes that there are specific teachers connected with teaching the Chinese language to ethnic minority students. Unison (2007) also utilizes the phrases “supporting staff” and “supporting teachers” to refer to teachers and staff working with EM students. These two descriptions demonstrate that Unison understands that educators teach the Chinese language and provide support to EM students. Finally, the NGO also utilizes the label “front line teachers” (Unison, 2014, p. 5) to refer to teachers as the front-runners of language policy implementation as they are in the classroom providing instruction and teaching language (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b). These three descriptions demonstrate that teachers have direct interactions with EM students by providing support, teaching the Chinese language, and working on the ground in the classroom. Thus, Unison’s (2007, 2013b) nomination strategies suggest that the NGO values the role of educators working with EM students.

Unison’s predication strategies further illuminate how the NGO views teachers. In their annual report and website, Unison (2014, 2015) creates predication that describes teachers as: *having no training for CSL, lacking incentives, lacking support, needing to cultivate racial awareness and sensitivity, needing more skills to work with EM students.* At first glance, the predication appears to contradict Unison’s positive descriptions that these Chinese language teachers provide support and are the front-runners of language policy. In context, however, the predication strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) are utilized to highlight the NGO’s concern for teachers working with EM students. For example, in their submissions to the government (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b), the NGO suggests that teachers have neither received sufficient support nor training to adequately help their diverse student population. The NGO does not blame the teachers for lacking sensitivity and training, but instead criticizes the government for failing to provide training and curriculum to better equip teachers. In particular, Unison (2015) notes that
the Supplementary Guidelines (cf. CDC, 2008a, 2008b) developed to give teachers options for teaching EM students, are poorly designed and unhelpful for teachers with little experience in working with second language learners. Unison’s characterizations of teachers through nominization and predication strategies are thus utilized to allow the NGO to petition the government for better curriculum, training, and support for the educators directly involved in the lives of EM students. Unison’s (2007, 2013b, 2014, 2015) view towards teachers demonstrates how the NGO indirectly interacts with them by advocating for changes to assist their work as important social actors involved in the implementation of LPP.

Aside from utilizing descriptive strategies to advocate on behalf of teachers, Unison also indirectly cites the experiences of educators in their submissions and reports. For example, in the report of their annual activities, Unison (2014) refers to the various public forums and meetings they hosted throughout the year. Various teachers working with EM students attended these events and shared their frustrations and experiences (cf. Unison, 2014). In these forums, the teachers described their problems with the current educational policies, and Unison then cites their experiences when petitioning the government for better curriculum and programs for teaching CSL. Unison’s (2013b) submission to the EDB explicitly summarizes teacher experiences: “Experienced Chinese teachers say that trying to develop their own alternative Chinese curriculum and teaching materials is very difficult, taxing, and inefficient” (p. 2). This example, demonstrates how Unison utilizes teachers’ experiences as an argumentation strategy in their advocacy efforts for policy change. The NGO interacts with teachers at various public forums (cf. Unison, 2013b, 2014, 2015), and then recounts their stories in their letters to the government in order to integrate the voices of education experts into their advocacy efforts. Much like their interaction with international organizations, such as the United Nations, the
indirect citations of teachers’ experience in the classroom demonstrate how the NGO adopts the voices of other social actors in order to justify their own arguments. Unison’s (2013b, 2014, 2015) interactions with teachers continue to demonstrate how the NGO recognizes that there are multiple scales and social actors involved in policy negotiation and implementation.

6.2e Interactions with the ‘General Public’

As Pennycook (2013) argues, everyone is involved in the creation, negotiation, and implementation of language policy. The epiphenomenal nature of language means that decision-making involves multiple social systems and engages with individuals at multiple levels of organization (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013, 2015). Within their work, Unison (2014, 2015) demonstrates their understanding that language policy involves everyone, by suggesting that the general public in Hong Kong has a role to play in promoting social change. In their discussions on integration and cultural harmony, Unison (2014, 2015) highlights how a multicultural city cannot be created without the involvement of schools (including teachers, staff, and students), the government, social workers, ethnic minority and Chinese youth, universities, and employers. Unison’s (2015) website summarizes this idea, expressing that “social connections and information exchange […] help ethnic minority students integrate into the mainstream Hong Kong society.” In other words, Unison’s (2015) perspectives on society reflect that all individuals and groups are involved in negotiating policy. Social connections and information exchange occur as knowledge is shared through schooling and community engagement. Unison (2015) believes that the entire Hong Kong society must be involved in order to share knowledge, build social connections, and thus decrease segregation and foster multicultural understanding. Continuing to build upon the notion that the entire community is involved in increasing cultural harmony and promoting social change, Unison summarizes their efforts in the development of the Racial Harmony School Project (cf. Unison, 2014, 2015). This
project includes roving exhibitions to teach about different cultures, religions, and histories, hosting racial harmony talks to public schools, and a celebration of the Annual International Day of the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (cf. Unison, 2014, 2015). While these project details may appear insignificant, this description not only reflects the NGO’s actions to enact their ideologies towards integration and cultural understanding, but also reveals how Unison aims to involve all HongKongers in the efforts of building a more equal city for ethnic minorities. In fact, the description of their racial harmony project includes phrases such as “to promote racial harmony more effectively, and expand the coverage of the activities to the public,” and “spreading important messages to the public” (Unison, 2015). Ultimately, Unison’s (2014, 2015) work and efforts aim to involve multiple social actors with each other, share knowledge, and spread the messages of racial equality to all levels of society in order to more effectively change policy and foster cross-cultural understandings.

A primary example of Unison’s interactions with the Hong Kong general public includes their 2013 letter campaign to the Chief Executive, C.Y. Leung (cf. Unison, 2015). The letter campaign was designed to demonstrate the far-reaching concern of HongKongers towards CSL education for EM students. Unison (2015) described the letter petition as aimed at “arousing Mr. CY Leung’s attention on the public concern of Chinese language education for ethnic minorities” (Unison, 2015). Aside from the lexicalization in this statement through the use of the word ‘arousing’ to awaken the chief executive’s concern towards EM students, Unison (2015) suggests that the Hong Kong public is also concerned about the status of language education in the territory. In this simple statement, Unison creates in and out groups, by siding members of the public with the organization’s cause, and creating opposition to the government’s actions. Unison (2015) describes the public’s support in the letter campaign as a chance to “make a
difference together.” By making a difference together, Unison creates a strategy of inclusion in their discourse that unites various social actors (individuals in the Hong Kong public) with the NGO; all these social actors are able to connect across different social scales (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015). Summarizing the results of the letter campaign, Unison (2015) states that over 5,000 public signatures were collected. These 5,000 signatures confirm that other individuals outside of Unison support the improvement of CSL education for EM students. In addition, the letter campaign provides evidence of Unison’s ideologies manifesting in their actions, as they engage in increasing public awareness. The campaign also intensifies Unison’s position and power as an organization by demonstrating to the Chief Executive and other government officials that individuals in the city are aligned with the NGO’s ideologies and work.

Overall, Unison’s work, advocacy, letters, governmental submissions, events, and information on their websites and pamphlets (see Appendix A) demonstrate how the NGO interacts across social scales (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015). Although the NGO primarily dedicates their efforts to communicating their ideologies and recommendations to the government, Unison also engages with teachers, international organizations, the ethnic minority community, and the general public. The majority of their work is publically accessible through their website, revealing their desire to effectively communicate their goals and efforts with all of Hong Kong. Their specific references to community involvement and participation with the Hong Kong public demonstrate that Unison’s role in policy planning and negotiation is dependent upon their interaction with other groups and individuals. The NGO’s discourses are not in isolation, but are circulated across scales and involve multiple individuals (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; Tollefson, 2013, 2015) within Hong Kong. Unison’s dialogue across social scales reflects how multiple ideologies come together and must be negotiated in order to make decisions about language and
its non-linguistic factors. In the final section of this chapter, I summarize how Unison’s interactions and ideologies come together to define their role in LPP.

6.3 Overall Role in Hong Kong LPP

Language planning and policy involves a combination of ideological agendas, macro political and social forces, and the social actors that engage in various arenas with these factors (cf. McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013). As an organization with their own perspectives and ideologies, Unison interacts with other social actors in order to make decisions about language within the complex political and social arena of Hong Kong. In order to reflect on their involvement in LPP activities in Hong Kong, I synthesize the organization’s definition of identity, ideologies, and dialogue with other social scales.

Unison’s ideologies and identity as an organization shape their involvement in LPP in Hong Kong. The NGO self identifies as an organization dedicated to the promotion of equality for all people in the city (cf. Unison, 2014, 2015). They express this identity in their description as a rights-based organization aiming to encourage racial harmony and create opportunities for ethnic minority students (cf. Unison, 2014, 2015). Unison’s proclaimed identity provides the backdrop to their work in planning and policy. Their annual report utilizes various action verbs to emphasize their participation in language planning: *we advocate, conduct research, empower ethnic minority groups, organize, support, give talks, continue to advocate, continue to encourage racial harmony* (Unison, 2014, pp. 1-3). The NGO’s identity is seen through their actions as a group aiming to advocate, encourage harmony, empower ethnic minorities, and conduct research on various issues (cf. Unison, 2014). In addition, their work for EM students stems from their ideologies about the Hong Kong society. The NGO believes that EM people experience disadvantages in the city and their continual entrapment in poverty is due to their lack
of linguistic ability and educational opportunities. Unison also feels that the government and its various councils have applied piecemeal policies to the problems EM students experience, thereby perpetuating discrimination. Based on these perspectives, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) has formulated their involvement in policy to focus on the negotiation of language curriculum, programs, and assessments for ethnic minority students. Their advocacy efforts primarily involve recommendations on the differences in language learning, the problems with the assessment system in Hong Kong, and the need for students to integrate with their Chinese peers (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Their ideologies, as gleaned from the corpus data and discursive analyses, thus reveal how the NGO participates in policy planning and negotiation within the Hong Kong context.

Their role in LPP is also shaped by their interactions with other social actors. Unison describes various social actors within their documents, utilizing nominization and predication strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) to label teachers, schools, ethnic minority communities, Chinese students, and the government. In describing these social actors, Unison reveals that their work in LPP involves dialogue and communication across social scales. Unison’s dialogue with other groups also displays that policy development and change involves multiple people with different roles. The NGO aims to empower ethnic minority communities, instruct teachers, increase public awareness, and engage with the government in order to foster a harmonious society that works together towards advocacy. Their direct interactions, in particular with the government and international organizations, demonstrate that Unison’s involvement is centered in negotiations and dialogue across social scales. By imploring the government to make changes, Unison (2014, 2015) reveals their awareness that they cannot negotiate policy on their own. Also, their references and submissions to committees in the United Nations (cf. Unison, 2013a)
highlight the far-reaching extent of Unison’s involvement, illustrating how local issues are related to global concerns. Unison’s interactions exhibit how ideologies and communication are exchanged across social scales, and how the beliefs of various social actors both diverge and converge to create multiple perspectives on the same policy (cf. Hult, 2013). In other words, while Unison’s role provides a unique magnification of the policies for ethnic minority students in Hong Kong, all of the levels of magnification must come together to create the entire picture of policy and planning. Unison’s indirect and direct communication and interactions reflect their understanding that policy efforts and change cannot rely on their NGO alone.

Hult (2013)’s social scales point out that individuals are also key participants in planning and policy. Individuals are involved at every level as their goals and ideologies are shaped and challenged by their various roles in society (cf. Grin, 2016; Hult, 2013). Although the NGO collectively publishes and produces documents representing their ideologies and role in language policies, the voice of the executive director of the organization is often behind many of these documents. Prior to 2014, the voice of Fermi Wong, the founder and director of the NGO, is found within multiple documents. For example, Wong signed the NGO’s letters to the chief executive, council members, and education panel. While these letters are also co-signed by other members of the NGO, they demonstrate that individuals also have a key role as participants in social scales (cf. Grin, 2016; Hult, 2013). Wong’s ideologies become the foundation of the NGO, as she is the founder and former director. Her letters, signed by other members of the NGO, demonstrate that the organizing committee allows an individual to take a primary role in voicing their beliefs to other social actors. Wong’s authorship also demonstrates that individuals are

126 After taking over the director position in the NGO, Phyllis Cheung has also authored two of the documents in the corpus. As she continues to lead the NGO in the future, her position may have similar impact to Wong’s, as she represents the collective voice of the organization and continues to demonstrate how individuals are at the heart of an organization.
valuable within each social scale as they take actions to engage in policy, interact with other individuals in their scales, and communicate between levels.

Overall, Unison’s role within LPP in Hong Kong is best described as an organization aiming to integrate and involve various social actors in order to work towards their definition of social justice and equality for ethnic minority students. The NGO’s role is implicitly defined through their discourses and the ideologies these discourses reveal about the impact of discrimination and the need for language education. Unison demonstrates the epiphenomenal nature of language within LPP by linking decisions about language to educational attainment, social integration, equality, and employment opportunities. The organization’s role is also defined by the various documents appearing within the corpus data. In the corpus, documents range from public flyers describing the situation of EM students, website pages, letters to the chief executive, submissions to the United Nations, scholarship forms for EM students, opinion articles in the press, annual reports of the NGO’s activities, narratives of EM stories, and multiple submissions to various governmental panels and councils. The variety of documents demonstrates that the NGO’s advocacy efforts involve multiple social actors, and reflect their role in policy negotiation. While the majority of their efforts focus on engaging with the government and aiming to impact policy change, the NGO is also involved with informing the public of issues EM people face through their websites and pamphlets, engaging with EM peoples to retell their stories, and involvement in schools by creating scholarships and teaching materials. Unison’s role in language policy involves the articulation of their ideologies and beliefs by outlining their suggestions to various individuals and organizations. Clearly, the NGO’s role in planning and policy weaves together multiple individuals and engages with various social scales in the aim of changing the status quo. Due to the variety of their work and
extent of their interactions, Unison’s efforts in Hong Kong reflect the continuing importance of studying the complex relationships between social actors and individuals in the policy process; their role also reveals the need to understand how nonprofits and non-governmental organizations in Hong Kong and other contexts navigate and create dialogue about language and education policies.
CHAPTER 7
Discourse, Social Scales, and Epiphenomenality in Hong Kong

As the field of language planning and policy has developed, it has transformed from its focus on an oversimplified solution process (cf. Haugen, 1972, 1983) to an activity interested in describing the increasingly complex conditions surrounding planning efforts (Lo Bianco, 2010; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013, 2015). Contemporary awareness demonstrates that language planning activities are dynamic and shaped by both local and global processes. Although recent work in language economics (cf. Grin, 2016) has attempted to once again narrow the approach to studying language planning through the creation of specific typologies and formulas, the field continually reveals its interdisciplinary nature and the relationship of language to political dynamics, social actors, changing ideologies, and the influence of historical circumstances (cf. Davis, 1994; Lo Bianco, 2010; McGroarty, 2013; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013, 2015). This dissertation has been a thought project that elucidates the complex understanding of LPP through a discussion of the epiphenomenal nature of language decisions (cf. Ruiz, 2014). The epiphenomenal nature of LPP, similar to a language-skin metaphor, suggests that in order to fully grasp decisions made about language, other social mechanisms must also be understood. Language cannot be disembodied as the only element behind decision-making, but rather language is situated within complex sociocultural processes, ideologies, attitudes, and other formal and informal mechanisms that influence these decisions (cf. McCarty, 2011; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2013). As Tollefson (2015) argues in a commentary on language policy in late modernity, language policies cannot be disconnected from discourses about education, equity, political and economic agendas, and social processes; language policies are embedded within a variety of social discourses. These social discourses involve social actors that participate in various groups and organizations (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; McGroarty 2013). Individual actors
participate in family, religious, health, business, educational, public, military, governmental, national, regional, and international institutions and organizations (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; McGroarty, 2013). Because of their involvement in multiple arenas, or social scales (cf. Hult, 2013), individuals develop and formulate ideologies (cf. Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schiefflin, 1994) towards language shaped by their perceptions and beliefs regarding other social processes, reflecting the epiphenomenal nature of language. Accordingly, this dissertation has utilized a methodological and conceptual tool kit (cf. Gee, 2011; Hult, 2015) to study the role of a local NGO’s involvement in policy negotiation in Hong Kong.

Overall, this dissertation contributes to the broad field of applied linguistics in three ways. First, both the conceptual framework (Chapter 2) and discussion of the data (Chapter 6) expand upon Ruiz’s (2014) conceptualization of the epiphenomenal nature of language within decision-making. While Unison’s (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) negotiation focuses on the promotion and development of CSL, the NGO’s discourses also reveal that their decisions are linked to issues of equality, human rights, and social and economic advancement and opportunity. Secondly, this dissertation addresses the often neglected role of NGOs as a social actor involved in the process of language planning (cf. Tollefson, 2013). As such, this research urges continual scholarship not only in Hong Kong, but internationally, to investigate how NGOs and other nonprofit organizations participate in social scales. Finally, this research is significant as it continues to explore the synergy between corpus approaches and critical discourse analysis. In the remainder of this dissertation, I reflect upon the limitations, indicate future directions for continual research, and conclude by summarizing the key findings.

7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Approaches

Chapters 4 and 5 set forth and described a multi-methodological tool kit, comprised of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL) in order to examine the role of a
local Hong Kong NGO in negotiating and creating language policy for ethnic minority students. The use of CDA and CL allow for the NGO’s discourses to be explored by examining in detail their use of language to create identity and reflect their ideologies (cf. van Dijk, 1995). These two approaches develop what Pérez-Milans (2015) refers to as the exploration of the situated description of language policies. In other words, language policies are seen to result from how participants utilize discourse. Participants, through discourses about language policies, articulate their representations about their own identity and involvement in negotiation and decision-making. Discourses also represent how social actors construct their ideologies by the legitimization of themselves and their supporters, and the delegitimization of their opponents (Pérez-Milans, 2015a; Tollefson, 2015). As van Leeuwen (2005) notes, discourse reflects our knowledge and social realities. Because of the importance in discourse as constructing our social world (cf. van Leeuwen, 2005), CDA and CL aim to tease apart patterns to reveal ideologies and identity constructed through language.

Specifically, I described the combination of CDA and CL as two useful theoretical methodologies able to balance their respective limitations. I employed a data-driven approach (cf. Baker, 2006, 2010a 2010b, 2012) through corpus linguistics. This approach narrowed down the data from the NGO to five documents containing repetitions of keywords. I then applied Wodak’s school (2000, 2006) of CDA through a wider-angle approach (cf. Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) to the five texts. Wodak’s (2000, 2006) school of CDA provided five strategies for analyzing data: nominization, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification. These strategies together began to reveal the identity, point of view, and ideologies of the NGO. By utilizing the wider-angle approach (Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009), I refrained from criticizing the NGO’s discourses and taking a stance towards their ethics. Instead,
the wider-angle approach allowed the research to focus on describing the NGO’s discourses and how they reflect their identity and role in relationship to their context. The wider-angle approach, understanding that all analysis is critical due to the political and social nature of discourse, begins to provide a more expansive paradigm to utilizing methods within CDA, particularly in sensitive contexts, such as the current state of neocolonial Hong Kong.

Despite the utility of the multi-methodological tool kit to investigating discourses as creating interactions and shaping language policies, the use of CL and the wider-angle approach to CDA are by no means without limitations. First, practical considerations of time and access prevent a full account and in-depth understanding of the role of Hong Kong Unison. As one researcher, with limited time and funding, I was unable to carry out the full scope of research by investigating the NGO’s interactions through ethnographic work. Furthermore, due to the limitations of Unison’s time and resources in granting interviews and observations, the research instead focused on discourses as representations of how social actors navigate language policies and construct their realities through language. Future research could consider more direct contact through a volunteer-researcher role with the NGO in order to gain more insight into their activities in Hong Kong. Participant-observation and interview research would provide potential avenues to better understanding not only the role of Hong Kong Unison, but also their interactions with the public, teachers, and ethnic minority students.

Secondly, this research is limited by continually developing ideas in how to conduct data-driven approaches to CDA through the use of corpus linguistics (cf. Baker, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2016; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015). For example, the use of lemma forms and cut-off points of 10 key words are arbitrary and done in order to make the data manageable. These cut-offs, however, exclude other potential analyses that may be worthwhile and reveal other themes
and patterns within the data. Despite the arbitrary nature of these cut-off points, there remains a plethora of data for further investigation within the corpus that can be used in continual research on the Hong Kong context. Another limitation of this study also comes from the use of the wider-angle approach to CDA. While the wider-angle perspective (cf. Chilton & Tian, 2014; Tian, 2006, 2008, 2009) aims to allow researchers to objectively study the function of discourses without overtly focusing on solving social problems, the context of Hong Kong Unison continues to raise underlying questions about ethnics, effectiveness, and empowerment. For example, although this dissertation describes and examines the role of Hong Kong Unison in attempt to open a wider approach to CDA, the nature of the project inherently involves questions about agency and power. Does Hong Kong Unison, in their claims to promote rights and equality, push their ideologies onto ethnic minority communities, or do they truly promote the voices of these communities? The role of advocacy becomes contentious, as the NGO has the potential to further their own agenda, taking away from the voices of the ethnic minority communities. In this sense, the wider-angle approach, while providing sensitivity, and allowing for a critical description of discourses, is also problematic as it can ignore valid questions about agency, voice, and empowerment. Future research should consider how Unison interacts with EM communities, and whether the NGO’s negotiation of policies assists EM people in furthering their voices, or hinders them. Also, it appears natural to question if the NGO’s aims to advocate for change are effective. Under the wider-angle perspective, it is not necessary to answer this question. Therefore, despite its utility in observation and description, the wider-angle approach to CDA should be continually developed. Is it useful to maintain a critical distance in hopes of research neutrality, or should analysis involve social change?
Finally, while CL and CDA approaches are beneficial to study the organization’s discourses and role in policy negotiation, it is difficult to separate the individual voices of members within the NGO. In other words, the director of the NGO and other committee members have different perspectives and ideologies that also play a role in shaping the NGO’s actions in LPP. Further research should explore the individual committee members, and the role of the director, in writing and formulating the NGO’s documents. These individuals (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015) clearly play a role in producing and creating Unison’s discourses.

7.2 Hong Kong Unison: NGOs as Policy-Makers

Despite the limitations of this study, the synergetic approach of corpus linguistics and the wider-angle application of Wodak’s (2000, 2006) school of discourse analysis provide the starting point for answering the guiding questions set forth in Chapter 1. The remainder of this dissertation summarizes the answers to these questions.

7.2a Hong Kong Unison: Policy-Maker

While LPP research (cf. Grin, 2016; Lachler, 2016; McGroarty, 2013; Pérez-Milans, 2015a; Tollefson, 2013, 2015) is only beginning to scratch the surface of the complexities of organizations involved in implementation, negotiation, and decision-making, it is clear that each individual and social actor participates in and across social scales (cf. Hult, 2013, 2015; Pennycook, 2013; Tollefson, 2015; Wee, 2016). As Witt (2008) argues, non-governmental organizations clearly engage in policy negotiation and are becoming more important social actors due to economic and political forces (cf. Harvey, 2007; Wee, 2016). In Hong Kong, the local non-governmental organization, Hong Kong Unison, confirms Witt’s (2008) arguments, by demonstrating through an examination of textual data their active role in engaging with policy-making. Corpus and discursive analyses indicate that Unison is primarily involved in transforming language policies through their active role in increasing public awareness about the
social, political, and educational difficulties ethnic minorities experience in the territory (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Unison creates advocacy through awareness. In order to do this, the NGO utilizes public resources, including websites, Facebook, flyers, and pamphlets. Unison also uses their resources to interact with the government. Unison writes letters, submits research, asks questions, and provides recommendations to governmental bureaus with the hopes of improving the language-in-education policies for ethnic minority students. Argumentation analyses (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) in their submissions to the Legislative Council (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b) demonstrate that the NGO dedicates their efforts to providing recommendations and suggestions on how to develop programs that will create sustainability (cf. Lachler, 2016) for minority communities and help them integrate into Hong Kong society.

In summary, Unison’s role in language planning and policy actively involves the spread of their ideologies and perspectives in order to negotiate with the government and increase awareness about discriminatory policies through advocacy efforts (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Although the wider-angle perspective describes their role rather than evaluates their effectiveness and ethics, it can be concluded that Unison does engage in the transformation of language policies in the city. As Ruiz (2013) suggests in a discussion on social change through policy negotiation, an organization effectively participates in the transformation of society by increasing awareness of injustice. Ruiz (2013) notes that helping others become more aware of the negative effects of policy is only a starting point, but it is a crucial first step towards change. While there is still much to consider regarding Unison’s role in policy transformation, the organization does take the first step in their work to promote change through increasing awareness.
7.2b Ideologies and Positionality: Language as Epiphenomenal

Identity and ideologies, as created through discourse, define and position social actors within their situated contexts (cf. van Dijk, 1995; Woolard, 1998). As revealed through lexicalization, intertextuality, and perspectivation strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006) as well as repeated patterns within keywords in the corpus, Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) identifies their organization as outside of the government, and centered in rights, equality, and advocacy. Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) expands their rights-based advocacy role through the explication of their ideologies. The NGO first establishes their belief, based upon statistical evidence (cf. C&SD, 2011, 2012, 2015) that ethnic minority populations in Hong Kong experience social disadvantages compared to their Chinese peers. As a result, Unison describes their advocacy for this group of people and their goal that all HongKongers have equal opportunities and access to education and social services. Next, Unison defines their belief that language education is intimately tied to social opportunities, economic mobility, educational advancement, and wellbeing (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). The NGO, utilizing intertextual references (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2003; J. Flowerdew, 2013; Gee & Handford, 2012; Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2006, 2009) to governmental policies and narratives from ethnic minorities, argues that the government continues to fail these communities and purposefully discriminate against them. Thus, Unison’s ideologies position them as opposed to governmental inaction and indirectly label their group as proactively fighting to help EM peoples. If the government maintains the status quo without changing language-in-education policies, their choices imply that they do not view equality as an important goal in Hong Kong. Unison’s opposition towards the government demonstrates that their organization, by promoting better curriculum, assessments, and teacher training (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015), cares about equality and social justice issues.
Most importantly, Unison defines their organization through the ideology that language skills are foundational to building success, and therefore dedicates their efforts towards campaigning to change the language-in-education policies. In particular, these ideologies center in the notion of epiphenomenality (cf. Ruiz, 2014). This is made evident in their view that language is linked with poverty and economic disadvantage. Unison provides intertextual references to the narratives of ethnic minority community members outlining their battles with poverty and their lack of adequate abilities in the Chinese language (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Their epiphenomenal views towards language are also seen in the NGO’s rhetorical intensification strategies (cf. Wodak, 2000, 2006), demonstrating how the lack of quality language education is tied to economic mobility and academic success (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Furthermore, metaphors such as building bridges (cf. Unison, 2014) to increase cultural sensitivity through language also reflect how language serves as a tool to build communication and bring a community together. Unison’s ideologies towards language, and their role in promoting policy change, therefore, are not the result of their beliefs towards language. Instead, their views towards teaching language are intimately connected with notions of social equality, cultural harmony, academic achievement, and economic mobility (cf. Unison, 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). As Davis (1994) states, “Language planning is a complex enterprise. It is influenced by a wide array of political, economic, and social factors” (p. xiii). Clearly, in the Hong Kong context, and in the specific situation of Unison, the negotiation of language policies is not only about language, but also about the myriad of factors beneath the surface (cf. Ruiz, 2014; Tollefson, 2015).

7.2c Social Scales: Discourses as Sites of Interaction

Finally, aside from serving as a way of examining patterns and ideologies, corpus and discursive analyses reveal how Hong Kong Unison not only participates in policy-making, but
also interacts with other social scales (cf. Hult, 2013). As J. Flowerdew (2013) and Hoey (2001) suggest, texts serve as sites of interaction, as the discourses imply the expectation of a response. The patterns and discourses in the data indicate that Unison is a social actor involved in interactions across multiple social scales. As made evident within the corpus files, Unison writes for multiple audiences, demonstrating that the NGO engages with multiple social scales in Hong Kong. Their interactions indicate that the NGO understands that policy and social transformation involves multiple social actors working together (cf. Hult, 2013; McGroarty, 2013; Pennycook, 2013; Spolsky, 2009; Tollefson, 2013, 2015). Unison’s interaction through their texts, serving as dialogue with various audiences, as well as the inclusion of intertextual voices (cf. J. Flowerdew, 2013), reveal the complex nature of dialogue and conflicting ideologies across social scales. Unison (2007, 2013a, 2013b) argues with the government’s discourses that the status quo is sufficient to assist EM students, and they draw upon their agreements with international organizations, such as the United Nations, that language education is a human right for all students (cf. Unison, 2013a, 2015). Unison’s interactions reflect that each social actor involved in the planning process brings their own expectations and beliefs regarding social, political, and economic processes. These connections continue to demonstrate that decisions made about language, while being negotiated across social scales, are epiphenomenal in nature.

Unison’s interactions overall reveal the complex nature of language planning and policy. The NGO demonstrates their involvement, calling for continual research to explore the influence of non-governmental organizations and their interactions in various policy contexts (cf. Grin, 2016; Tollefson, 2013; Witt, 2008). Although further research through observation, ethnography, and interview can shed more light into the complexities of the interrelationships among social scales in the Hong Kong context, this study demonstrates the necessity of understanding how
interactions across policy levels continual to reveal more about the multifaceted factors that affect language planning efforts. This study, while providing more insight into the policy context by examining the role of a local NGO, continues to raise questions for future research: how do the ideas of multiple scales intersect in the policymaking process, and how does the epiphenomenal nature of language shape how decisions are determined and negotiated over time?
APPENDIX A

List of documents included in data analysis:

**Annual Activities Reports**:

1. Annual Activities Report 2010-2011
3. Annual Activities Report 2012-2013

**Submissions to LegCo, EDB, EOC, SCOLAR, and other governmental organizations and officials**:

6. Hong Kong Unison’s Submission to the Education Bureau: Use of Language Fund to Enhance Chinese Language Proficiency of EM people in HK July 2010
7. Hong Kong Unison’s Response to the Paper Submitted by the Education Bureau to the Panel on Education of the Legislative Council
8. Hong Kong Unison Statement in Response to the Open Recruitment of the EOC Chairperson
9. Hong Kong Unison’s Submission to SCOLAR Enhancement of Chinese Language Education for EM people in HK June 2010
10. It is the 1st time for F.S. to Pay Attention to Ethnic Minorities, but it is still too mean
11. Education for Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong: Paper Submitted to the Equal Opportunities Commission by Hong Kong Unison August 2011
12. Letter to Ms. Bernadette Lim, Deputy Secretary Education Bureau
13. Response to the Consultation Paper on Developing a ‘Supplementary guide to the Chinese Language Curriculum for non-Chinese Speaking Students’
14. Unison’s Opinion on Education for Ethnic Minority Children
15. Hong Kong Unison Submission for the Universal Periodic Review of the People’s Republic of China (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region)
16. Admission of Local non-Chinese Speaking Students to Institutions Funded by University Grants Committee and Further Flexibility on Application of Chinese Language Requirement
17. Letter to Mr. Tsang, Chief Executive, 2006
18. Letter to Mr. Tsang, Chief Executive, 2008
19. Letter to Mr. Tang, Chief Secretary, 2009
20. Comments of Hong Kong Unison on the “Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide” Consultation Draft
21. Hong Kong Unison’s Response to the 2014 Policy Address and Press Invitation: Hong Kong Unison Welcomes Mr. CY Leung’s Fulfillment of his Promise of Implementing a “Chinese as a Second Language” Policy
22. Press Release Hong Kong Unison Urges the Secretary for Education to Clarify in his Press Conference Certain Issues about the “Chinese as a Second Language Policy”

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127 There were no Annual Activity Reports before 2010-2011. Reports were done in slide shows and the published reports were strictly budgets and financial information. These are not included in the data as they did not pertain to the research questions.
23. Our Views to the Report on the Study on Tracking the Adaptation and Development of non-Chinese Speaking Children
24. The Views of Hong Kong Unison Towards Education for non-Chinese Speaking Students
25. Submission by Unison to the Education Panel of the Legislative Council
26. Submissions on the 2015 Policy Address and 2015/16 Budget
27. Comments on Education Bureau’s Support Measures for non-Chinese Speaking Students (March 2011)
29. Submission to the Panel on Home Affairs Meeting on Friday 12 January 2007 in the Chamber of Legislative Council Building
30. Co-signing Joint Statement – the RDB paves the way for Hong Kong Government

Hong Kong Unison Website and Mission Statements:

31. Love Mercy, Seek Justice (Fermi Wong, founder’s statement)
32. Hong Kong Unison: About Us, Work, and Advocacy
33. Hong Kong Unison Introduction (public flyer)
34. What is Hong Kong Unison: Quick Facts
35. About Hong Kong Unison, and Mission Statements

Press Releases and Newspaper Opinion Articles:

36. 2015 Policy Address January 2015

Research Reports and Surveys

38. Report: Survey on Kindergarten Education for Ethnic Minority Students in Hong Kong
39. Racial Acceptance Survey Report
40. Research on Kindergarten Support and Attitude Towards Ethnic Minority Students in Hong Kong
41. A Research Report on the Education of South Asian Ethnic Minority Groups in Hong Kong
42. Race and Equality: A study of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong’s Education System

Hong Kong Unison’s Student Resources:

43. Scholarships Schemes for Ethnic Minority Students Administread by Hong Kong Unison
44. Plan for Multiple Ways of Further Studies
45. Unison’s Survival Kit for Form 6 Students

Submissions to Committees in the United Nations:

46. Briefing on Hong Kong’s Race Discrimination Bill Prepared for the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination by 69 Hong Kong and International NGOs
47. Proposed List of Issues with the Consideration of the Initial Report of Hong Kong Special Administration Region in the Light of the International Covenant on Civil and Political right
48. Urgent Appeal to the members of CERD: Further Information on Hong Kong’s Language Policy and Education


**Hong Kong Unison’s Teacher Resources:**

50. Catalogue of Resources for Teachers on Teaching Ethnic Minority Related Topics of Liberal Studies

51. Teacher Resources Handbook About Ethnic Minority Students

**Hong Kong Unison’s Public Resources and Information:**

52. Ethnic Minority Stories (from public newsletter)

53. EM-Paedia (Ethnic Minority Encyclopedia)

54. Studying in Hong Kong

55. Facebook Mission Statement and Information Page

56. Race Discrimination Bill Information

57. Study, Employment, and Life Goals Resources

58. Chinese as a Second Language (public info-graphic)

59. Cultural and Ethnic Information (public info-graphic/pamphlet)

60. Cultural Tour (public resource/pamphlet)

61. International Day of Racial Discrimination (public leaflet)

62. International Law and Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong (public information leaflet)

63. Problems for Ethnic Minorities (public info-graphic/pamphlet)

64. Racial Inclusion (public leaflet)

65. Race Discrimination (public pamphlet)

66. Education Opportunities (public leaflet)

67. General Information on EM peoples (public leaflet)
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