

THESIS

ONE COUNTRY, TWO PERSPECTIVES: SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH NEWS MEDIA
FRAMING DURING THE 2014 UMBRELLA MOVEMENT IN HONG KONG

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ABSTRACT

ONE COUNTRY, TWO PERSPECTIVES: SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH NEWS MEDIA FRAMING DURING THE 2014 UMBRELLA MOVEMENT IN HONG KONG

In 2014, Chinese citizens living in mainland China and Hong Kong received different narratives and interpretations of the Umbrella Movement's events based on the administrative regions they lived in and the news sources they had access to. State-controlled and market-based media outlets purposively manipulated frames of both ongoing and historical events of civil unrest in Hong Kong and China to shape citizens' perceptions of political events and the formation of particular identities and political behaviors. It is critical to understand the news frames employed by the media outlets with different political orientations in mainland China and Hong Kong to create an analytical framework that may contribute to the study of social control in post-colonial and authoritarian political settings, which may be applied to future civil unrest events across the world, such as the 2019 Hong Kong and the 2021 U.S. Capitol unrests. Using NVivo, a qualitative content analysis of 499 articles was conducted to identify common frames employed by ideologically different news media outlets in Hong Kong and China. The findings of this study revealed three unique narrative frames expressed to the public regarding the same event. This broadly resulted in Pro-Establishment, Pro-Status-Quo, and Pro-Universal Suffrage perspectives. The Pro-Establishment perspective is non-sympathetic to Hong Kong's sovereignty or dissent and movements against the Chinese Communist Party. The Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective is sympathetic to protesters, supports the movement against mainland China's authority over

suffrage, and reports cases of unjust persecution of activists. The Pro-Status-Quo perspective is concerned with the economic and social stability of Hong Kong during the movement, wanting to maintain the homeostasis of economic growth. The selective framing of protest movements represents the state's attempt to impose social control through criminal selectivity, which fits the protest paradigm and moral entrepreneur perspectives in cultural criminology and frame analysis. A framework to analyze media coverage of social unrest in different political and social contexts is included in the appendix.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2014, Hong Kong experienced one of the largest events of civil disobedience in its history until then. The event would later be called the Umbrella Movement from the protestors' use of umbrellas to fend off police tear gas attacks. This protest occupation lasted for 77 consecutive days, from September 28, 2014, to December 15, 2014. The roads of major shopping and business centers around Hong Kong were occupied by thousands of students and members of the public. The Umbrella Movement began as the "Occupy Central with Love and Peace" movement, organized by the Hong Kong Federation of Students and an activist group known as Scholarism (Lee and Ting 2015). The occupation was performed in response to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress' decision to set limits on who could be eligible for election in the Hong Kong Chief Executive primary in 2017. This decision constricted the goal of universal suffrage in Hong Kong in 2017, as outlined in the Hong Kong Basic Law (Davis 2015; Feng 2017).

During the occupation, several news outlets across Hong Kong and mainland China reported on the events of the protest. However, the articles published during this time did not share a consensus. Disparities between newspaper outlets included legal and moral issues, definitions of criminality, and overall sentiment toward the protesters were identified. The research question posed by this study is: "What is the narrative presented by state-sponsored media in China and Hong Kong during the 2014 Umbrella Movement?" To answer this, I analyzed state-sponsored media (China Daily – Beijing and Hong Kong editions, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News). To provide counter examples to the analysis of state-sponsored media, I

studied Pro-Capitalist newspaper South China Morning Post and the pan-democratic newspaper Apple Daily.

The narratives presented by news outlets fell into either of two categories: sympathetic and marginalizing. The sympathetic frames included Protester's Story, Protest Reaction, Unjust Persecution, and Anti-Misinformation. The marginalizing frames included Criminal, Moral Decay, Radical, Rule of Law, Social Disorganization, and Violent Protesters. The sympathetic frames are associated with the Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative. The Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective supports protesters, defends the movement against mainland China's authority over suffrage, challenges the legitimacy of the one-party rule, and reports cases of unjust persecution of activists. The marginalizing frames are associated with the Pro-Establishment narrative. The Pro-Establishment perspective is non-sympathetic to Hong Kong's sovereignty or dissent and movements against the Chinese Communist Party. A third narrative, associated with the social disorganization frame, is the Pro-Status-Quo perspective. The Pro-Status-Quo perspective is concerned with the economic and social stability of Hong Kong during the movement, wanting to maintain the homeostasis of economic growth. The narratives can influence criminalization (policing, sentencing, legislation); deviant labeling; definitions associated with the movement ("Rule of Law," "Illegal," "Criminal," "Radical," "Activist," "Rioter," and "Democracy"); public view of the movement; government actions; and the formation of regional identities.

Building on a theoretical foundation of critical criminology, cultural criminology, and frame analysis, I have constructed the argument that Pro-Establishment news outlets purposively influenced the normative discourse surrounding the Umbrella Movement actors and their subsequent criminalization. Hong Kong and China's newspaper outlets used news media framing to construct social control messages, influencing citizens' moral definitions regarding the

protesters. Creating a mediated moral panic surrounding protesters' actions fueled the anti-occupy movement, harsher sentencing, and divisions between Hong Kong citizens. The meaning-making process that occurred during the movement, in turn, affected legislation vis-à-vis the sovereignty of Hong Kong in the years following (Davis 2021; Ives 2019; Maizland and Albert 2021). Michael C. Davis (2021:43) remarks,

After the Umbrella Movement, Beijing took a more hands-on approach to guide or cheer on the local government to stamp out the opposition and tighten the central government's control. This included aggressive prosecutions, expelling opposition politicians from the Legislative Council, banning them from elections, more aggressive police tactics, and holding a firm line against political reform.

Under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, the newspapers' moral entrepreneurship has led to the legitimation of the tightening of the Chinese central government's control over Hong Kong.

This research gives significant insights into the culturally-formed mediated definitions of norms in authoritarian governed regions. By studying the frameworks utilized by state-regulated and independent news outlets surrounding a civil disobedience movement, I connect normative discourses to the criminalization of political dissidents. An essential aspect of this research is the connection between authoritarian governance, criminal selectivity, and mass media. The manipulation of normative definitions to justify the criminalization of dissent is a fundamental tool of authoritarian governments in the 21st century and must be researched further.

As an American Academic, I acknowledge that my perspective on state governance, cultural conformity, and deliberative processes of meaning-making are shaped by my U.S.

Constitutionally protected freedoms and enculturated perspectives of critical analysis. My examination of criminally selective processes based on politically defined criteria from the Chinese communist party is intended to be both an expose on the crisis in Hong Kong and engage in an existing protocol for analyzing broader mass media propaganda. As I worked through this piece, I considered the perspectives of Hong Kongers being enveloped into the communist political processes of mainland China. This research was conducted as a theory driven, critical analysis of state-influence over its citizens, not as a political or ideological argument.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Crime

The process of understanding crime and social control begins with an examination of the historical and socio-economic contexts. Critical criminology lays the foundation by outlining the connection between capitalism and crime, which is crucial to understanding how acts are defined as criminal (Vegh Weis 2018). Critical criminology has roots in Neo-Marxian perspectives, with a focus on class relations. Additionally, other social conflicts such as gender and sexuality contribute to critical criminology as a sub-field (Taylor, Walton, and Young 2011).

Critical criminological theories that focus on class relations are derived from Neo-Marxist thought, centering on a dialectic model in which the conflict between opposing classes – the bourgeoisie (the elite, ruling class) and the proletariat (the masses, working-class) – is the driving force behind the social change (Chambliss 2011; Taylor, Walton, and Young 2011). Through a Marxist frame of class conflict, I discuss crime not as a constant in human communities (a functionalist perspective) but as the result of capitalistic class relations and definitions of criminal acts created to preserve bourgeoisie power. William Chambliss (2011:168) explains, "Marx viewed crime as contributing to political stability by legitimizing the State's monopoly on violence and justifying political and legal control of the masses." By definitional targeting the masses' antiestablishment behaviors as "criminals," the ruling class can exert control over the working class. Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda (2010:119) express the other functions of defining criminal acts:

First, it legitimizes a certain category's definition of right and wrong; second, it symbolizes the respectability of one category vis-à-vis another; and third, it punishes members of one category for engaging in behavior that another has proscribed.

These functions serve as political drivers for groups to engage in the definition of criminal acts. There is a connection between the elite wanting to control the masses and the political power associated with defining crime. Legitimization of ruling ideologies through criminal definitions creates political power for the elite ruling class (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010; Taylor et al. 2011; Vegh Weis 2018).

To understand how the ruling class exerts its power over the masses, I will present the contexts of social control, social normativity, deviance, and politically routinized ideologies. Talcott Parsons defines social control as a system of rewards and punishments that can be conscious or unconscious, promoting conformity to the norm and penalizing any deviation from it (Parsons 1961). To Parsons, social control is everything ranging from external forces enforcing laws to the process of socialization through our peers, educational systems, and the media (Parsons 1961). A failure in social control effectiveness would result in civil disobedience, criminal acts, protests, or riots. However, Parsons' definition does not consider that social control can be situational and aimed to benefit one part of a system, but not the whole of society. A social network is a conglomerate of intricate subsystems that each abides by circumscribed norms, engaging customized social control mechanisms to keep that subsystem inline (Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien 1973; McLeod and Hertog 1999). These subsystems could be local community social units, environmental organizations, sports teams, or a federal government.

Social control is implemented to make individuals conform to a predetermined and dominant set of social norms. Social norms are traditionally defined as "shared convictions" about

what is appropriate behavior within a society. This definition assumes that there is a consensus among all individuals within a community. Social norms, however, are predisposed to manipulation by power elites and established institutions. Influential individuals are likely to "carry a disproportionate weight in establishing and maintaining norms" (McLeod and Hertog 1999:307). Institutionally created and enforced social norms are robust regardless of the social group's degree of consensus (McLeod and Hertog 1999). When social control fails, and social norms are not upheld, an anomic gap emerges, allowing deviance to occur. Deviance is defined as any behavior that diverges from the bourgeoisie's predefined social norms (Becker 1962; McLeod and Hertog 1999; Merton and Merton 1968). Howard Becker (1997) expands upon the traditional definition of deviance through the application of labeling theory. Labeling Theory asserts that ascribed and achieved deviance labels are applied to individuals, defining their social worth and changing their life outcomes. For a label to be ascribed or achieved, deviance must elicit a reaction from society. Thus, an act is only deviant if the audience reacts in a significant or problematic way to irregular behaviors (Becker 1962).

Once the political elite deems a deviant behavior too dangerous for society, it is made illegal via criminal statutes. Behaviors that are labeled deviant become criminal through the political meaning-making process. Austin Turk posited that "Criminality is not a biological, psychological or even behavior phenomenon" (Turk 1969:25). Instead, being criminal is a "social status defined by how an individual is perceived, evaluated, and treated by legal authorities" (Turk 1969:33). For Turk, the authorities represent the ruling class, and the masses are the subjected class. Turk states, "law breaking then becomes a measure of the stability of the ruler/ruled relationship" (Turk 1969:48). Laws are codified social norms put into place to control the

subordinate masses socially. George Vold explains the connection between social groups and laws by arguing:

Individuals band together in groups because they are social animals with needs that are best served through collective action. If the group serves its members, it survives; if not, new groups form to take its place. Individuals constantly clash as they try to advance the interests of their particular group over those of all the others. The result is that society is in a constant state of conflict (Adler, Laufer, and Mueller 2017:181).

According to Vold, laws and crime control techniques are the result of this conflict between interest groups. All groups are engaged in a struggle to attain greater levels of political power. Lawmaking is thus the product of clashes within powerful groups resolving how they can maintain power. This process of accommodating differing goals generates stratification and inequalities across the criminal justice system.

Any criminal justice system's inequalities regarding race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, or age are markers of previous contestations for power. This concept can be elaborated through evaluating criminal profiling, arrests, prosecutions, sentencing disparities, and statistical rates of incarceration. A criminal justice system's comprehensive and socially systematic inequality is termed "criminal selectivity" by Valeria Vegh Weis (2017). Vegh Weis utilizes classical Marxism and Neo-Marxism to situate the phenomenon of criminal selectivity in a historically informed context that focuses on the capitalist system and class inequalities. Her focus on Marxism is critical to understanding the importance of capitalistic power structures that create these inequalities. She makes an argument that our criminal justice system is fixated on outcomes and end products (criminal selectivity) that are structured by an ideological bias. Vegh Weis

constructs the argument that punishment and inequality are inherently related through thorough Marxist totality analyses of social and historical contexts.

For Vegh Weis, the state has absolute power when deciding what is classified as criminal and proprietorship over how criminal or deviant behavior is punished. The ruling class in control of the state has preeminent dominance over this definition-making process. From this definitional process, four criminal selectivity elements emerge, including (1) primary criminalization, (2) secondary criminalization, (3) over-criminalization, and (4) under-criminalization (Vegh Weis 2015, 2017, 2018). Primary criminalization encompasses the state-sponsored transformation of specific socially deviant behaviors into codified law violations through the legislature. Secondary criminalization includes the process of selective enforcement when it comes to applying laws created during primary criminalization. This process filters out specific populations to prosecute while letting others skirt the full force of the criminal justice system. Over-criminalization consists of the over-policing and sentencing of specific demographics within the community. This criminalization dynamic often depends on an individual's characteristics as defined in a societal framework (Vegh Weis 2015, 2017, 2018). Those in power construct laws and enforcement methods to keep themselves at the top and the subjugated, threatening class at the bottom. In short, the bourgeoisie of any political or economic system craft criminal selectivity to establish and replicate their control through ideological dissemination. The four elements of criminal selectivity provide an institutional platform for authoritarian systems of governance to deter undesirable behaviors, exert unchecked social control, and establish social stigmatization via labeling without the willing participation of a population.

Cultural Criminology

Emerging from Critical Criminology, the sub-theoretical perspective of Cultural Criminal "explores the convergence of cultural and criminal processes in contemporary social life" (Ferrell 1999:395). When understanding the relationships between culture and crime control, there is the meaning-making process that provides the legitimacy of crime control, criminal labels, and justice system interactions. Keith J. Hayward and Jock Young (2004:259) remark, "[Cultural Criminology's] focus is always upon the continuous generation of meaning around interaction; rules created, rules broken, a constant interplay of moral entrepreneurship, moral innovation, and transgression." In the 21st century, the meaning-making process surrounding crime, justice, delinquency, and deviance interlocks with the interaction between media and social learning. As individuals consume media, they learn social behaviors and moral reactions to deviance. Cultural criminology "attempts to make sense of a world in which the street scripts the screen and the screen scripts the street" (Hayward and Young 2004:259). Social learning via virtual contexts like social media, television, advertising, or online communities can be as impactful as a traditional peer, family, community, and educational sources.

When it comes to characterizing "crime," there is no universal definition. The criminological theory identifies that crime is defined subjectively and transforms according to societal and justice movements. Critical Criminology establishes that groups are often criminalized in an attempt to keep them subdued, thereby solidifying elite rule (Sibley 1995; Taylor et al. 2011; Vegh Weis 2018). Laws are used by the politically powerful as a means of social control to protect their self-interests (Lynch, Stretesky, and Long 2015). Critical socio-legal evaluations are biased because the framing is definitionally based on the power elite's statutes. In summation:

Without sufficient analyses of the formulation and enforcement of criminal laws, criminology, as an academic discipline, loses its scientific foundation because external political processes have the power to define the discipline's object of study... Moreover, conventional approaches in criminology suffer from the "explanation measurement contradiction," which emerges when criminologists implicitly render the explanations of crime from a behavioral standpoint that can be independently measured as the violations of the law, which replicate the political and economic interests of the dominant group (Mao 2020:120–21).

It is crucial to understand the meaning-making processes behind legal definitions and criminalization through cultural criminology. What cultural criminology aims to discuss is not the act of exclusion via criminalization. But instead, the process of meaning-making in which knowledge defines an act as criminal is the disciplinary goal. To understand this process, the first step is to understand moral entrepreneurship and moral panics.

Moral panics can be defined as carefully constructed, unjustified fears among the masses concerning social issues constructed through media and social control messages for the benefit of the elite ruling class (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010; Hunt 1997; Kaptein 2019; Lottermoser, Queathem, and Tetrick 2013). Moral panics are utilized as mechanisms "to create a favorable social environment for the enactment and enforcement of criminal laws" (Cohen 1974; Vegh Weis 2018:6). This phenomenon is a temporary phase that societies endure based on historical and socio-economic contexts, based on the moral entrepreneurs' explanation of events. Moral entrepreneurs are the producers of definitions and standards of what acts are considered "deviant" or "criminal" (Becker 1962; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010; Vegh Weis 2018). In the discipline of journalism, moral panics "emerge when there is a misrepresentation of an important social issue" (Luce 2013:393). Examples of moral panics in a contemporary U.S. context include sex and its

connection to HIV/AIDS, crime waves, the satanic panic, violence in entertainment, or linkages between video games and school shootings (Lottermoser et al. 2013; Luce 2013).

Moral entrepreneurs are responsible for the creation, enforcement, or maintenance of moral panics. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010:121) describe actions that maintain moral panics performed by moral entrepreneurs:

Attempting to influence public opinion by discussing the supposed extent of the threat in the media; forming organizations, and even generating entire social movements to deal with the problems the threat presumably poses; giving talks or conducting seminars to inform the public how to counter the threat in question; attempting to get certain views approved in educational curricula; influencing legislators to allocate funds which would deal with a given threat; discrediting spokespersons who advocate alternative, opposing or competing perspectives.

Through these actions and attempts to criminalize behaviors associated with a moral panic's threat, moral entrepreneurs can disseminate ideologies that reflect their elite interests. Legislation and law enforcement are essential tools in the hands of moral entrepreneurs in legitimizing their ideologies (Cohen 1974; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010; Müller 2019). Disseminating criminalizing ideologies into the public requires the use of mass media. Mass media has been documented as having a significant role in generating moral panics and aiding social control of the masses (Brasted 2005; Harlow and Johnson 2011; Hunt 1997; Jasperson et al. 1998; Luce 2013; Tettey 2016; Zinser 2014). Mass media's legitimacy is dependent on the power elite's accreditation, which is often contingent on subservient favoritism towards established social controls that serve to regulate deviant behaviors.

Media's Role in Criminalization Process

Mass Media as a Social Control Mechanism

Mass media can provide the reactionary social force that labels a group or individual a deviant of the social norm, thereby publicly defining deviant acts according to elite definitions of social control. Mass media can be an agent or tool of social control wielded by society's elite ruling class. Sole ownership of media outlets allows the ruling class to perpetuate power, consolidating view as "normal," creating ideological control over the masses (Chandler 2000). Mass media serves as "a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace" (Herman and Chomsky 2011:1). Through entertainment, amusement, and information diffusion, mass media gives the public the "values, beliefs and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society" (Herman and Chomsky 2011:1). Media provides the ruling class (both individual elites and governing entities) with the ability to influence the process of socialization of the masses through proprietary ownership of media outlets. Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda (2010:97) elaborate this point:

The major media are owned by a narrow and self-interested group of billionaires who control the message transmitted by the press and other outlets and, thus, weed out and marginalize perspectives and news unacceptable to their interests. Managers, editors, journalists, broadcasters, and other media functionaries act as minions of the ruling elite and go along with their directives.

Mass media is also an effective instrument of social control employed by a societies' governing powers; however, it is particularly effective in authoritarian states. Jaros and Pan (2018:11) state that:

The function of official media in authoritarian settings like China is to signal political power to citizens and elites as much as to indoctrinate them or shape their underlying belief structures and values.

This alternate function of mass media as a social control instrument is most evident when examining events that result in dramatic levels of social change (McLeod and Hertog 1999). Mass media systems are created to exert conflict control on the masses through the regulation of information. Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien explain that "from a systems perspective, such reporting is functional for maintaining the total system in that it increases the likelihood of preserving an equilibrium state" (Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien 1973:654). In this case, the equilibrium would be prejudiced to maintain the ruling class's power over the subdued masses.

Social control is exercised in the mass media via social control messages. Social control messages are the influencing statements delivered through "interpersonal communication channels" by any social actor onto another (DeMers and Viswanath 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999). These social control messages can be given by parents, relatives, peers, teachers, or politicians. Any actor within the social power structure of society can convey social control messages to another actor. Mass media is one such communicative channel in which social control messages are transmitted. The study of mass communication messages began in the early 20th century as the practice of propaganda was on the rise through Europe and America (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010; McLeod and Hertog 1999). Concern among researchers grew as the connection between mass messages and collective action became more evident. The powerful effect of media has been well documented over the past half-century through experiments and qualitative interviewing (Bergsma 1997; Chung and Austria 2010; McGinty, Webster, and Barry 2013; Riffe 2014; Zinser 2014).

Because of the media's function in society as a social control tool, the financially powerful can influence the masses' ideologies. Through ownership, censorship, and control of mass media, those in positions of power (political figures, financial elite, and military officials) can exert power over the masses by disseminating incorrect, harmful, criminalizing, or demonizing ideologies. Media can also be manipulated to create definitions of criminal behavior through moral entrepreneurship and the social construction of a moral panic (Hunt 1997; Kaptein 2019; Marwah 2014; Müller 2019; Nordgren 2013; Tettey 2016)

Mass Media as a Moral Entrepreneur

In cultural criminology, media is vital in constructing the reality "of crime and deviance and generating new forms of social and legal control" (Ferrell 1999:397). Mass media institutions, crime control agents, and criminal subcultures are intertwined in a network of "media loops" through which definitions of crime are fed, articulated, and applied to justify social stigmatization among the general public (Ferrell 1999; Kane 2010). Jeff Ferrell (1999:406) explains the reciprocal relationship between news media institutions and the criminal justice system as:

Working within organizational imperatives of efficiency and routinization, media institutions regularly rely on data selectively provided by policing and court agencies. In so doing, they highlight for the public issues chosen by criminal justice institutions and framed by criminal justice imperatives, and they in turn contribute to the political agendas of the criminal justice system and to the generation of public support for these agendas. In a relatively non-conspiratorial but nonetheless powerful fashion, media and criminal justice organizations thus coordinate their day-to-day operations and cooperate in constructing circumscribed understandings of crime and crime control.

Understanding the interconnection between news media outlets and the criminal justice system is imperative to understanding media's role in the criminalization process.

Media plays a vital role in the creation and maintenance of moral panics. Media is the vehicle in which moral panics and ruling ideologies are propagated through the masses. Centralized media outlets become breeding ground for society-wide moral panics focused on "Folk Devils" or actors associated with socially threatening forms of deviancy. One way "folk devils" can fight back against the moral panic and moral entrepreneurs is to produce their media (Cohen 1974). By producing alternative media messages, folk devils can oppose the hegemonic, elite-defined cultural norms and ideological dominance of the ruling class (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010). Ferrell (1999:407) remarks on the importance of understanding "moral panics" and "folk devil" conceptualizations when studying cultural criminology and media:

With the proliferation of media channels and the saturation of media markets, moral panics have become both dangerous endeavors and marketable commodities, and folk devils now find themselves both stigmatized and lionized in mainstream media and alternative media alike.

Mediated constructions of crime become defined as genuine because "they are real in their consequences" (Thomas 1966:301). Even the folk devil's resistance consecrates the moral panic's legitimacy by engaging the contestation of social reality, reifying the power struggle in the public sphere.

By combining the concept of criminal selectivity and cultural criminological perspectives of media's role in criminalization, I can build a framework to analyze the effects of print media on the course of social movements. To create this framework, I benefit from utilizing theoretical insights outside the disciplines of sociology and criminology, borrowing News Media Framing as

an essential method from journalism studies. This methodological approach to critically analyze news media allows us to dig into the hidden messages and meaning-making processes present in individual newspaper articles while applying the necessary elements of critical criminology.

News Media Framing

News media frame analysis, a variant of Erving Goffman's frame analysis, utilizes "'frames' to label' schemata of interpretation' that allow people 'to locate, perceive, identify, and label' occurrences or events" (Linström and Marais 2012:21). Frame Analysis methodology has been used to analyze mass media and how it presents information. This method "provides a means of describing the power of communication to direct individual cognitions towards a prescribed interpretation of a situation or object" (Jasperson et al. 1998:206). News outlets use frames as organizing principles that symbolically structure the social world (Linström and Marais 2012; McLeod and Hertog 1999).

A news frame is defined as "the pivotal organizing idea for news content that furnishes a context and defines what the issue is through the use of selection, exclusion, emphasis, and elaboration" (Du et al. 2018:2557). News frames influence the actions of individuals who consume the information, changing how they understand and remember the issue (Brasted 2005; Du et al. 2018; Entman 1993; Hertog and McLeod 1995; Iyengar 1994; Jasperson et al. 1998; Linström and Marais 2012; Shoemaker 1984; So 2017b). Entman (1993) explained media framing's functions as an endorsement of a specific definition, identifying the cause, moral judgment, and promoting improvement solutions.

News outlets have preconstructed frames within their repertoire to be used for specific stories (Luther and Zhou 2005; McLeod and Hertog 1999). Editors choose what frames they desire

in producing a story for public consumption. Once a frame is acquired, the journalist uses facts, opinions, quotes, and other information to flesh out the story, much like building a house around a foundation. A news frame is what determines the information a journalist will include, exclude, and highlight (Brasted 2005). When it comes to media reports of political protests, there are various frames, often replicated to the point of becoming clichés that are applied. Frames that news outlets prefer can be influenced by the totality of political, social, and elite power factors mentioned above. While journalists can utilize many possible protest frames, from supportive to hostile toward the protesting groups, their application is often dependent on political collusion.

McLeod and Hertog (1999) identify several frames that can be applied in a protest event. They begin with marginalizing frames that separate the protesters from the rest of society. These include the *violent crime story*, *property crime story*, *the carnival frame*, *the freak show frame*, *the "Romper Room" frame*, *the riot frame*, *the storm watch frame*, and *the moral decay frame*. They describe composite frames: *the showdown frame*, *the protest reaction frame*, *the dissection story*, *the psychoanalysis story*, *the association frame*, and *the comparison frame*. Next are the sympathetic frames: *the creative expression frame*, *the persecution frame*, *the unjust frame*, and *the "Our Story" frame* (McLeod and Hertog 1999). Adopting this perspective as the primary researcher, I employed an inductive analytic technique, evaluating news stories ahead of selecting which frames would be applied (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). This grounded approach established the basis for identifying themes existing in print media and assessing their potential for transmitting criminality definitions.

News media is influenced by various factors ranging from personal biases or ideologies to industrial or regional norms and practices. Media is inherently intertwined within the social power structure of society. Thus, it is also influenced by political, business, education, and religious

institutions (Boyle, McLeod, and Armstrong 2012; Donohue et al. 1973; Entman 1993; Luther and Zhou 2005; McLeod and Hertog 1999; Peng 2008; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). All of these influences shape and frame social control messages that are delivered through mass media. However, non-democratic governments' impact on media framing is an understudied criminal selectivity aspect (Kuang and Wei 2018). Because of the strong ties between news media outlets, governments, and ruling ideologies, journalism has a strong tendency to demonize dissent against ruling ideas when reporting. This phenomenon is known as the Protest Paradigm in journalism studies.

Protest Paradigm

Due to political and other structural biases, news outlets often create stories that follow a pattern or implicit template called the Protest Paradigm (Boyle et al. 2012; Harlow and Johnson 2011; McLeod and Hertog 1999; Tan 2016). The Protest Paradigm supports the "status quo" as defined by ruling elites and alienates the groups who question or challenge that narrative. Instead of focusing on the protest group's goals, the mainstream media focuses on the group's spectacles and dramatic actions (McLeod and Hertog 1999). The degree to which a protest group plans to disrupt the status quo determines how unfavorably news outlets will treat the group (Boyle et al. 2012; Harlow and Johnson 2011; McLeod and Hertog 1999; Peng 2008; Shoemaker 1984; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Social action or political dissent seeking radical reform or moderate concessions face the same treatment. The political elite defines the more deviant the group, the more unfavorable news stories characterize the movement and its participants.

Another characteristic of the protest paradigm is the reliance on official sources and official definitions. The story is told from the perspective of these sources rather than the people within the protest group. The protest paradigm also explains that news outlets will invoke political opinion

for stories about the protest. This is done through polls, bystander accounts, and the recounting of preexisting prejudice stereotypes. The protest paradigm marginalizes the protesters through delegitimization and demonization (Brasted 2005; McLeod and Hertog 1999). This is one method that mass media utilizes to marginalize and exclude a specific group from the discursive context. The silencing of protesting voices can have immense effects on a social movement's momentum, including its success and criminalization. One example of this phenomenon occurred in 2014 in Hong Kong as students took to the streets intending to defy legislation that limited the pursuit of universal suffrage.

Case Study: Hong Kong and China

Through the combined theoretical groundwork of criminal selectivity, social control, and cultural criminology, I can construct a framework of analysis that focuses on news media's role in contextualizing the Pro-Universal-Suffrage Umbrella Movement of Hong Kong. In 2014, the movement called for universal suffrage in Hong Kong elections of Chief Executive as outlined in the Basic Law and Joint Agreement (Davis 2015; The Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR of the PRC 2017). This movement provides an exemplar in understanding perceptions and frames created by Pro-Establishment, Pro-Universal Suffrage, and Pro-Status-Quo news media outlets during an event of mass civil disobedience. The Pro-Establishment perspective is non-sympathetic to Hong Kong's sovereignty or dissent and movements against the Chinese Communist Party. The Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective is sympathetic to protesters, supports the movement against mainland China's authority over suffrage, and reports cases of unjust persecution of activists. The Pro-Status-Quo perspective is concerned with the economic and social stability of Hong Kong during the movement, wanting to maintain the homeostasis of economic growth. Authoritarian social control mechanisms (news media frames and censorship); criminal selectivity used in the

criminalization of social movements (the criminalization of dissent to secure those in power); cultural criminology in the presentation of dissent and protests (definitions of criminal behavior, legal issues, and moral issues); and non-Western news media framing are gaps within the research that this study aims to fulfill. While there is a long history in the contestation of power, authority, and freedom in Hong Kong, the 2014 Umbrella Movement is a significant skirmish in a protracted conflict of resource allocation and identities.

Authoritarian Deliberation in China

China and Hong Kong have differing approaches to deliberative democracy. In Hong Kong, the tradition under British colonial rule was one of deliberative democracy. The Joint Agreement allowed for deliberative democracy to continue under China's rule. Deliberative Democracy is the political theory that posits that political decisions that affect the nation should be the outcome of equal and reasonable debate among citizens. In other words, it is the right of the citizen to have a say in the decisions of the state. In many western societies, deliberative democracy comes in the form of protesting, writing letters to government officials, or polling (Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance 2012). However, deliberative democracy is only one form of public deliberation. Baogong He proposes a different form of deliberation in authoritarian states that embraces cultural relativism: Authoritarian Deliberation. This kind of deliberation is a combination of "non-inclusive power and deliberative influence" that has a function to strengthen authoritarian rule (He and Warren 2011:269). Authoritarian deliberation in China is exercised in the form of:

Village-level elections..., approval and recall voting at the local level, public hearings, deliberative polls, citizen rights to sue the state, initiatives to make government information

public, an increasing use of Peoples' Congresses to discuss policy, and acceptance of some kinds of autonomous civil society organizations (He and Warren 2011:269).

(He 2014:72). Deliberation is classified as a "political consultation (or deliberation) system under the leadership of the party" (He 2014:73). Western democratic deliberation has the function of empowering citizens and promoting democracy. In China, authoritarian deliberation has the function of improving governance and strengthening authority. This means the discussion of politics must be done under the Chinese Communist Party's leadership. Authoritarian deliberation does not champion or encourage protesting or resistance against the government as western democratic deliberation does. The differential cultural definitions in deliberative democracy between western democratic nations and China presents a point of contention surrounding the meanings of "freedom."

Hong Kong and China Relations

The recent history of Hong Kong and mainland China relations must first be discussed to understand the two regions' political implications and structure. Hong Kong was under British control for nearly 150 years. On December 19, 1984, Britain agreed to relinquish Hong Kong back to China with the *Sino-British Declaration on Hong Kong's Question* (The Joint Declaration). The Joint Agreement specified basic laws that the People's Republic of China were to follow when it came to Hong Kong's governance and institutional arrangements. The Joint Agreement holds the principle of "One Country, Two Systems," which means that China is to have its socialist political system separate from that of Hong Kong. Hong Kong's political system would remain liberal democratic for 50 years after 1997, maintaining the rights and freedoms,

Including those of the person, of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of travel, of movement, of correspondence, of strike, of choice of occupation, of academic research and of religious belief (Basic Law Promotion Steering Committee 2008).

The agreement was to have a system where "Beijing is responsible for the city's defense and foreign affairs; Hong Kong enjoys limited self-governance and civil liberties, including an independent judiciary and unrestricted press" (Kaiman 2014). The policies that will ensure independence are specified in the *Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (HKSAR). The Basic Law came into effect July 1, 1997, following the official handover of Hong Kong to China by the British government (Basic Law Promotion Steering Committee 2008). Within the Basic Law, it is stated that "The ultimate aim is to select the Chief Executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures" (The Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR of the PRC 2017:Chapter IV, Article 45). This means that gradually, Hong Kong people would achieve universal suffrage and a democratic electoral system.

Nevertheless, the political blueprint that the Basic Law designed did not manifest as planned. A White Paper report released by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) in June 2014 asserts that the Hong Kong people must be governed by "Patriots." In Part V, the report states, "In a word, loving the country is the basic political requirement for Hong Kong's administrators" (Information Office of the State Council of The People's Republic of China 2014). There is a divide between mainland China and Hong Kong's belief that "One Country, Two Systems" and "Patriots" should mean. Mainland China is on the side of "One Country," and the idea that all land that the People's Republic of China exercises sovereignty over should have unifying factors such as laws and governance under the authoritarian

government. Hong Kong, however, is on the side of "Two Systems" and believes that even though the People's Republic of China exercises sovereignty over them, it should maintain its unique system of governance (Zha 2018). The report also stated that mainland China's central government had "comprehensive jurisdiction over Hong Kong, and the 'Two Systems' was subordinate to the sovereignty of 'One Country'" (So 2017:378).

2014 Umbrella Movement

From September 28 to December 15, 2014, there were a series of peaceful sit-ins, rallies, and main road occupations across Hong Kong (BBC News 2014b; Du et al. 2018; Varese and Wong 2018). These protests happened as Hong Kong citizens responded to the NPCSC's decision regarding the 2017 Hong Kong Chief Executive election procedure. The decision restricted civil nominations and limited universal suffrage of the region, reinterpreting the Basic Law (Du et al. 2018; Zha 2018). Protesters, including university students and professors, occupied the city's main thoroughfares and surrounded the government headquarters (Du et al. 2018). Peak numbers of protesters during Occupy Central were well over 100,000 (Roantree and Jucca 2014). Surveys taken during the protests indicated that young people were the key participants; the average age of protestors at 27.7 years, with 48.8% being under 25 years of age (Lee and Ting 2015).

The research question posed by this study is: "What is the narrative presented by state-sponsored media in China and Hong Kong during the 2014 Umbrella Movement?" To do this, I analyzed state-sponsored media (China Daily – Beijing and Hong Kong editions, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News). To provide counter examples to the analysis of state-sponsored media, I studied Pro-Capitalist newspaper South China Morning Post and the pan-democratic newspaper Apple Daily. Based on previous research, I divided the 2014 Umbrella Movement to seven temporal categories in my analysis: (1) September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014:

Occupy Central Begins; (2) October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters; (3) October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes; (4) November 1, 2014 – December 2, 2014: Escalation of Protests; (5) December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender; (6) December 11, 2014 – December 16, 2014: Police Clearance Operations In Admiralty and Causeway Bay (End of Protest); and (7) December 17, 2014 – December 31, 2018: Post-Occupy Central Reflections. These categories mark a shift in the movement and changes in citizens' and newspaper outlets' perceptions. I utilized these categories from previous research on the occupation movement (Connors 2019; Du et al. 2018; Tong 2019). This series of occupy central protests was hailed as the "Umbrella Movement" because participants carried black umbrellas as passive resistance tools against the Hong Kong police (Du et al. 2018; Lee and Ting 2015; Lo 2016). Since the protest, many activists have been jailed and treated as mainland Chinese dissenters for their involvement in the movement (Feng 2017; May 2019; So 2017b).

Post-Umbrella Movement Relations

After the end of the 2014 Umbrella Movement, activists involved in the formation, planning, and execution of the occupation were charged with crimes of "Unlawful Assembly" and "Public Nuisance." By the end of the protests in December 2014, the Hong Kong government had arrested 955 protesters (Amnesty International 2018; Kuo 2019). Following the protests, "Beijing and the Hong Kong government stepped up efforts to rein in dissent, including by prosecuting protest leaders, expelling several new legislators, and increasing media censorship" (Maizland and Albert 2021:1). In the aftermath of the 2014 occupation, the Basic Law's ambiguity is still in contention between "Pan-Democratic" 民主派 and "Pro-Establishment" 建制派 politicians. In 2017, Carrie Lam became the first woman chief executive in Hong Kong. Carrie Lam is known in

Hong Kong for her involvement as the head of the Task Force on Constitutional Development, being a central member in the 2014 National People's Congress Standing Committee decided to restrict the 2017 chief executive election (Maizland and Albert 2021). She was also a leading member of the televised debates with student leaders on October 21, 2014 (Tong 2019).

In 2019, a bill was proposed to allow Hong Kong to "detain and transfer people wanted in countries and territories with which it has no formal extradition agreements, including Taiwan and the Chinese mainland" (Ives 2019:1). The bill itself opens mainland China's opportunity to charge Hong Kong citizens with political dissent and have them extradited to the mainland for trial and sentencing. In the perspective of Pan-Democrats, this would be a direct violation of the Basic Law, which states that Hong Kong maintains a separate criminal justice system from mainland China (Ives 2019; The Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR of the PRC 2017). The proposed extradition bill sparked Hong Kong's largest protest in history. After Carrie Lam withdrew the proposed bill in September of 2019, the protests continued until the outbreak of COVID-19 in 2020 (Maizland and Albert 2021).

On June 20, 2020, a national security law was imposed on Hong Kong by the Beijing government, bypassing Hong Kong's legislature. Lindsay Maizland and Eleanor Albert (2021:1) explain, "the legislation effectively criminalizes any dissent, and adopts extremely broad definitions for crimes such as terrorism, subversion, secession, and collusion with foreign powers." The law puts pressure on the elimination of Pan-Democratic ideologies and Pro-Universal Suffrage activism. The Hong Kong Watch's Protest Prosecution Database concludes that as of January 31, 2021, "the accumulated number of arrests is 10,294 and more than 2,300 charged" concerning protesting in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Watch 2021). The 2014 Umbrella Movement triggered this series of events to punish dissent to be put into place. By disseminating criminal definitions in

mass media, direct criminalization of dissent in Hong Kong by the mainland Chinese government was made possible. It is more important now than ever to understand how mainland China developed its social control on Hong Kong and its citizens through shaping the media frames used in news coverage. When this research began, the 2019-2020 Pan-Democratic civil unrest was still ongoing. I chose to center the research on the 2014 movement to gather data on post-movement frames.

METHODS

Positionality

Before discussing the methods utilized in this study, I would like to present my own positionality as an American academic. I acknowledge that my perspective on state governance, cultural conformity, and deliberative processes of meaning-making are shaped by my U.S. Constitutionally protected freedoms and enculturated perspectives of critical analysis. My examination of criminally selective processes based on politically defined criteria from the Chinese communist party is intended to be both an expose on the crisis in Hong Kong and engage in an existing protocol for analyzing broader mass media propaganda. As I worked through this piece, I considered the perspectives of Hong Kongers being enveloped into the communist political processes of mainland China. This research was conducted as a theory driven, critical analysis of state-influence over its citizens, not as a political or ideological argument.

To overcome the challenges presented by own positionality, I frequently invited critiques from my Mandarin speaking and reading adviser, Dr. KuoRay Mao, and my Cantonese and Mandarin speaking and reading research assistant, Jianheng Huang. This research was also presented at the 2020 Midwestern Conference on Asian Affairs. Finally, I spoke about my interpretations and findings with Hong Kong immigrants in the United States involved in academia. There appears to be little doubt that there is a genuine attempt to reconcile the dissonance between sovereignty and conformity. The “One Country, Two Systems” perspective unintentionally invites differential definitions of freedom. There is a “freedom from,” “freedom to,” and “freedom of” argument at play. Where I culturally view “freedom from” conformity as

the greater good, authoritarian ideologies generate the “freedom to” conform as a virtue and negate “freedom of” political choice as a socially bonding mechanism.

Data

My approach to analyzing news media framing in Hong Kong and China during the 2014 Umbrella Movement is to select newspaper articles from both regions based on their associated news media outlets, dates of publication, locations, and perceived political ideologies. The research question posed by this study is: “What is the narrative presented by state-sponsored media in China and Hong Kong during the 2014 Umbrella Movement?” To answer this, I analyzed state-sponsored media (China Daily – Beijing and Hong Kong editions, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News). To provide counter examples to the analysis of state-sponsored media, I studied Pro-Capitalist newspaper South China Morning Post and the pan-democratic newspaper Apple Daily. These six newspapers were selected for their perceived political ideologies and prominence in each region. China Daily – Beijing edition is the official mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party, presenting a state-sponsored and pro-establishment perspective on the Umbrella Movement. The Global Times (Beijing) is a populist tabloid with a nationalistic perspective. Both of these newspaper outlets are under Chinese laws regarding media censorship (Lee 2010; So 2017a).

China Daily – Hong Kong Edition was chosen to see the differences between China’s edition and Hong Kong’s edition of the same newspaper, shedding light on the adjustments to news framing from region to region. Hong Kong Government News (HKGN) is an online news platform operated by an editorial team from the Information Services Department of Hong Kong. The narrative HKGN is meant to present a narrative sponsored by the HK government. The South China Morning Post is a privately owned and English newspaper that tends to display a pro-

business viewpoint of the Umbrella Movement's events. Apple Daily is an independent and pan-democratic tabloid known for its anti-establishment perspective. They are the 2nd best-selling newspaper in Hong Kong. These newspapers lay out the diverse perceptions and generated frames created by the news media during the 2014 Umbrella Movement (Du et al. 2018; Feng 2017; Sun 2014; Zhang and Fleming 2005).

Method of Collection

The data was collected through Colorado State University's subscription to Access World News from NewsBank. This database "provides full-text information and perspectives from over 600 U.S. and over 700 international sources, each with its distinctive focus offering diverse viewpoints on local, regional and world issues" (Colorado State University 2020). The rubric for sampling consisted of four parameters: Parameter A: Location; Parameter B: Dates; Parameter C: Publications; and Parameter D: Key Words. Parameter A: Location consisted of Mainland China and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. These two locations were chosen to adequately capture media manipulation within the regions that the 2014 Umbrella Movement affected. Parameter B: Dates ranged from September 28, 2014, to December 31, 2018. Even though the Umbrella Movement lasted from September 28, 2014, to December 15, 2014, the parameter was extended to include reaction and retrospection pieces by each newspaper (Du et al. 2018; So 2017a). The parameter ends before 2019 to avoid cross-contamination with the 2019 Pro-Democratic protests in Hong Kong that also adopted the Umbrella Movement title. These events will need to be examined at a later date when retrospection can be accomplished. Parameter C: Publications included China Daily – Beijing Edition, China Daily – Hong Kong Edition, Global Times (Beijing), Hong Kong Government News, South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), and Apple Daily (Hong Kong). Parameter D: Key Words used to search each newspaper included:

“Occupy Central,” “Occupy Movement,” “Umbrella Movement,” “占中” (“Occupy Central” in Chinese Simplified) and “佔中” (“Occupy Central” in Chinese Traditional). I conducted a manual process of screening in order to filter out all irrelevant items.

This process resulted in a total of 499 articles collected for analysis. The number of articles collected from each newspaper includes 129 articles from China Daily – Beijing Edition, 124 articles from China Daily – Hong Kong Edition, 57 articles from Global Times (Beijing), 56 articles from Hong Kong Government News, 104 articles from South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), and 29 articles from Apple Daily (Hong Kong). That results in a total of 186 articles from mainland China and 313 articles from Hong Kong. The discrepancy in the number of articles gathered from each region is based on my objective to study various social control templates utilized by the state and independent media across varied ideologies. The addition of news sources from mainland China allows me to better compare media framing in Hong Kong by categorizing similarities or differences in the primary or secondary narratives. The articles collected from World News Bank were translated into English through the database. I did not have to have them translated. However, due to my inability to read or speak Chinese or Cantonese, I employed Google’s translation tool add-in for Google Chrome when collecting news articles from Apple Daily (not available in the News Bank database). This allowed for immediate (although sometimes flawed) translation of the articles. Because of the translational ineptitude of auto-translate tools, I relied heavily on my research assistant, a native Chinese and Cantonese speaker and reader.

As a note regarding the sampling: Colorado State University did not have a subscription to Lexus Nexus at the time of data collection, restricting the availability of newspaper articles and newspaper outlets that could be included within the dataset. If the research were recreated, it would be helpful to include more Hong Kong newspaper outlets that were more conservative but not

state-sponsored, such as Wen Wei Po. This would have provided a much-needed third perspective of independent Hong Kong news.

News Media Frame Analysis

I chose to utilize news media frame analysis because it employs a critical discourse lens when investigating how mass media presents narratives to the public, swaying perceptions of historical events. News media frame analysis, a version of Erving Goffman's frame analysis, utilizes "'frames' to label 'schemata of interpretation' that allow people 'to locate, perceive, identify, and label' occurrences or events" (Linström and Marais 2012:21). Frame Analysis methodology has been used to analyze mass media and how it presents information. This method "provides a means of describing the power of communication to direct individual cognitions towards a prescribed interpretation of a situation or object" (Jasperson et al. 1998:206). News outlets use frames as organizing principles that symbolically structure the social world (Linström and Marais 2012; McLeod and Hertog 1999).

A news frame is defined as "the pivotal organizing idea for news content that furnishes a context and defines what the issue is through the use of selection, exclusion, emphasis, and elaboration" (Du et al. 2018:2557). News frames influence the actions of individuals who consume the information, changing how they understand and remember the issue (Brasted 2005; Du et al. 2018; Entman 1993; Hertog and McLeod 1995; Iyengar 1994; Jasperson et al. 1998; Linström and Marais 2012; Shoemaker 1984; So 2017b). Entman (1993) explained media framing's functions as an endorsement of a specific definition, identifying the cause, moral judgment, and promoting improvement solutions. Frames are a fundamental point of analysis for this research to conclude each newspaper outlet's goal correctly.

News outlets have preconstructed frames within their repertoire to be used for specific stories (Luther and Zhou 2005; McLeod and Hertog 1999). Editors are allowed to choose a frame they desire to use in creating their story. Once a frame is acquired, the journalist uses facts, opinions, quotes, and other information to flesh out the story, much like building a house around its frame. A news frame is what determines the information a journalist will include, exclude, and highlight (Brasted 2005). When it comes to protesting stories, there are various frames (or clichés) that can be applied. Frames that news outlets prefer can be influenced by the factors mentioned above. A range of possible protest frames the journalist can utilize, from supportive to hostile toward the protesting group.

Frames are a fundamental point of analysis for this research to conclude each newspaper outlet's goal correctly. By discerning which outlets are utilized by which outlets, one can reconstruct the implicit narratives that the news outlets are portraying to the masses.

Measurement and Frames

The unit of analysis used in this project was a single news story. The news media framing analysis involved 11 frames that the primary researcher designed through inductive reasoning after an initial analysis of the newspaper articles collected in combination with deductive reasoning after reviewing similar previous studies in this field of research (Du 2016; Du et al. 2018; Lee 2014; Luther and Zhou 2005; McLeod and Hertog 1999). The frames used were: Debate, Criminal, Moral Decay, Protester's Story, Protest Reaction, Radical, Rule of Law, Social Disorganization, Violent Protesters, Unjust Persecution, and Anti-Misinformation.

The **Debate Frame** represents the ideal newspaper article where it shows viewpoints from both sides of the protest. None of the articles represented this frame during the computer-assisted coding

analysis. However, it is included to show the neutral and balanced perspective that the general masses assume newspapers follow (McLeod and Hertog 1999).

The **Criminal Frame** is defined as an article displaying how protesters violate the law and how the police are trying to maintain the rule of law. An example of this frame from this research: “The HKSAR Government is resolute in opposing the unlawful occupation of the Central Government Offices or the Central District by ‘Occupy Central.’” From: "Illegal assembly in Hong Kong leads to clashes," China Daily – Beijing on September 29, 2014.

The **Moral Decay Frame** is exhibited when the article showcases how the protesters exhibit moral insensitivity or deviance. An example from the research: “By knowingly putting young students in jeopardy, ‘Occupy’ organizers demonstrate a desperate attempt to advance their political agenda, even at the expense of the safety of innocent people.” From: "An opportunistic adventure," China Daily – Beijing on September 29, 2014.

The **Protester’s Story Frame** is presented by articles that have quotes or interviews with protesters. An example: “One protester, 13-year-old Matthew Chau, said: ‘I can’t believe police would resort to tear gas ... My eyes hurt so bad.’” From: "Police fire tear gas as thousands join Occupy Central - Union leaders call for strikes as police defend hard-line response and Benny Tai admits protest movement’s leaders are not in control," South China Morning Post on September 29, 2014.

The **Protest Reaction Frame** is displayed when an article explains that the political protest is a reaction to a previous central Chinese government decision. An example of the Protest Reaction Frame: “The government’s decision to withdraw riot police from the streets of the city had no effect on the Occupy Central movement, as thousands continued their protest against Beijing’s

decision to maintain control of Hong Kong's electoral process." From: "Protests spread across the city - Demonstrations continue despite government's softer approach after Sunday's chaotic scenes as streets from Central to Mong Kok occupied," South China Morning Post on September 30, 2014.

The **Radical/Riot Frame** portrays the protesters as out of control and causing damage through illegal means. An example of this frame from the research: "The streets of Central and Admiralty descended into chaos last night after police in riot gear fired tear gas at protesters as the Occupy Central campaign, a movement that promised 'peace and love,' escalated." From: "Police fire tear gas as thousands join Occupy Central - Union leaders call for strikes as police defend hard-line response and Benny Tai admits protest movement's leaders are not in control," South China Morning Post on September 29, 2014.

The **Rule of Law Frame** focuses on the protesters as a challenge to the "Rule of Law" or attempting to destroy it. An example: "Those who damage Hong Kong's rule of law should be held accountable." From: "'Occupy Central' harms law," China Daily Hong Kong Edition on September 30, 2014.

The **Social Disorganization Frame** is present when the article displays concern about financial, business, or infrastructure degradation due to protests. An example of this frame: "They are doing this with threats of taking Hong Kong's economic well-being and social stability hostage." From: "An opportunistic adventure," China Daily- Beijing on September 29, 2014.

The **Violent Protesters Frame** occurs when the article portrays protesters as violent with total disregard for others' safety. An example: "It is equally unthinkable that a better society can be

achieved with violent acts against police officers carrying out their duties.” From “Let reason prevail,” China Daily - Beijing on September 30, 2014.

The **Unjust Persecution Frame** is exhibited when articles focus on a collection of civil rights violations and acts of police brutality against protesters. An example of this frame in the research: “The academic federation issued a statement criticizing the government and police for condoning violent triad attacks on peaceful occupiers, breaking faith with the people, betraying their faith, and being hostile to the people.” From: “Connivance of thugs against Occupy Central, police and black teamed up to clear the field,” Apple Daily on October 4, 2014.

The **Anti-Misinformation Frame** counters statistics or facts presented by the opposing party to correct the protest's narrative. An example of this frame: “Fan Guowei, a member of the Legislative Council of the New Democratic League, criticized the government for holding data to exaggerate the economic impact of the umbrella movement in an attempt to mislead the public.” From: “During Occupy Central, visitors to Hong Kong increased by more than 10%,” Apple Daily, October 22, 2014.

Event Intervals in Movement

The coding references from the articles generated seven temporal categories: (1) September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014: Occupy Central Begins; (2) October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters; (3) October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes; (4) November 1, 2014 – December 2, 2014: Escalation of Protests; (5) December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender; (6) December 11, 2014 – December 16, 2014: Police Clearance Operations In Admiralty and Causeway Bay (End of Protest); and (7) December 17, 2014 – December 31, 2014: Post-Occupy

Central Reflections. These categories were generated to evaluate the temporal change in news outlets' frames through and after the movement. The events and dates that form the categories were gathered from various sources and are recognized as essential turning points in the movement (BBC News 2014a, 2014b; Connors 2019; Lo 2016; Tong 2019).

Analysis Stages

The first stage of content analysis was performed using NVivo to create the coding parameters. This stage involved 50 of the articles being manually coded by me as the primary researcher. The second stage of analysis, auto-coding by NVivo, was then performed using the first stage's coding parameters. The auto-coding in NVivo created 784 coding references. Coding references are statements, sentences, or paragraphs of the newspaper articles that algorithmically match the first stage's coding parameters. When working with a computer-assisted coding program, there is always the possibility of error during the auto-coding process. To correct for this, I performed another in-depth analysis manually to correct false codes and straighten out coding parameters. After the in-depth analysis of coding accuracy, a second auto-code was run. The results of this auto-code is represented by the data in this study. The computer-assisted coding results were then transferred to Microsoft Excel to create the analysis section's descriptive statistics. In the third stage of content analysis, I conducted an in-depth manual review of the material to identify complex themes or neutral accounts of the protests that the coding software could potentially miss. This third analysis was performed because computer-assisted coding is not sophisticated enough to capture the nuances and underlying meaning-making tactics embedded in the data.

Coding and Intercoder Reliability

NVivo Qualitative Analysis Software 12 was utilized in this research to assist with coding the newspaper articles. As the primary researcher, I hand-coded 50 articles randomly selected from the sample. The remaining articles were then auto-coded by NVivo 12. After reviewing those results, I adjusted the codes to add or refine results from the initial auto-coding sequence then ran a complete analysis of all 499 articles as the final auto-code technique. A sample of 30 articles was chosen at random to test inter-coder reliability between myself and a research assistant, a native Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese speaker and reader. The thematic coding matched the researcher assessments, achieving the above 93% agreement with only 2 of the 30 articles being unmatched. Results of the auto-coding from NVivo were exported into Microsoft Excel for further analysis.

ANALYSIS

Content Analysis

As outlined in the methods section, the coding frames were applied to 499 newspaper articles using NVivo, and the coding results were transferred to Microsoft Excel for further analysis. The frequency of the identified frames broke down each newspaper outlet's articles. This allows for the frames' frequencies to be compared across all newspaper outlets and reveal any more significant thematic trends. These initial raw number results are represented in Table 1. Table 2 illustrates the same results by the percentage of articles from each newspaper.

I identified the mainland, communist government-controlled Chinese newspapers as China Daily- Beijing and Global Times. China Daily – Beijing is known as a political mouthpiece of the CCP (Du et al. 2018; Feng 2017; So 2017a). The distribution of frames used by these two newspapers is quite similar. The most frequent narrative used by both newspapers is the "Rule of Law" frame. Neither China Daily – Beijing or Global Times utilized the "Protester's Story," "Unjust Persecution," or "Anti-misinformation" frames in their reporting of the Umbrella Movement. Global Times was more than twice as likely to refer to the protesters as "rioters" or "radicals" than China Daily – Beijing. China Daily – Beijing was more likely than Global Times to report the protesters as "criminals" or the protests as "illegal." China Daily – Beijing's Hong Kong counterpart, China Daily – Hong Kong, had a similar distribution to China Daily – Beijing. China Daily – Hong Kong was more likely to report the "Protester's Story" frame than China Daily – Beijing. Like China Daily – Beijing, China Daily – Hong Kong utilized the "Rule of Law" frame the most out of every frame at 37.10%. China Daily – Hong Kong reported protesters as "criminals" and the protests as "illegal" more often than any other news outlet studied. China

Daily – Hong Kong mirrors China Daily - Beijing's distribution, with the only differences being in the "Criminal (Protesters)" and "Protester's Story" frames. In essence, these articles are saying the same thing differently.

Table 1: Analytical Results of Frames used by Mainland China and Hong Kong Newspapers

Frame	China Daily - Beijing	China Daily - Hong Kong	Global Times	Hong Kong Government News	South China Morning Post	Apple Daily
Criminal (Protesters)	28	34	8	15	9	0
Moral Decay	6	1	2	1	15	0
Protester's Story	0	3	0	0	32	6
Protest Reaction	4	7	2	3	9	4
Radical or Riot	11	13	11	3	7	1
Rule of Law	52	46	22	19	13	1
Social Disorganization	17	11	9	10	2	3
Violent Protesters	11	9	3	5	17	1
Unjust Persecution	0	0	0	0	0	11
Anti-Misinformation	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	129	124	57	56	104	29

Table 2: Analytical Results of Frames used by Mainland China and Hong Kong Newspapers (by percentage)

Frame	China Daily - Beijing	China Daily - Hong Kong	Global Times	Hong Kong Government News	South China Morning Post	Apple Daily
Criminal (Protesters)	21.71%	27.42%	14.04%	26.79%	8.65%	0.00%
Moral Decay	4.65%	0.81%	3.51%	1.79%	14.42%	0.00%
Protester's Story	0.00%	2.42%	0.00%	0.00%	30.77%	20.69%
Protest Reaction	3.10%	5.65%	3.51%	5.36%	8.65%	13.79%
Radical or Riot	8.53%	10.48%	19.30%	5.36%	6.73%	3.45%
Rule of Law	40.31%	37.10%	38.60%	33.93%	12.50%	3.45%
Social Disorganization	13.18%	8.87%	15.79%	17.86%	1.92%	10.34%
Violent Protesters	8.53%	7.26%	5.26%	8.93%	16.35%	3.45%
Unjust Persecution	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	37.93%
Anti-Misinformation	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.90%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Hong Kong Government News (HKGN) presented the "Rule of Law" frame most frequently over all other frames at 33.93% representation. HKGN also utilized the "Criminal (Protesters)" frame more than the mainland Chinese newspapers, but slightly less than China Daily – Hong Kong. It had no representation in the "Protester's Story," "Unjust Persecution," and "Anti-misinformation" frames. HKGN used the "Social Disorganization" frame at a greater frequency than the other outlets, expressing the damage caused by the protests to the economy, transportation, and tourism by disrupting society's essential elements.

South China Morning Post (SCMP) encompassed every frame except for "Unjust Persecution" and "Anti-Misinformation." The majority of the articles collected from SCMP used the "Protester's Story" frame (at 30.77%) to represent protesters' experiences throughout the civil unrest. SCMP's second most used frame (at 16.35%) was the "Violent Protesters" frame, publishing stories that described violent actions taken by protesters throughout the Umbrella Movement. Their third most-used frame (at 14.42%) was the "Moral Decay" frame which represented the protesters as having a moral insensitivity about the consequences of the protest or injuries caused.

Apple Daily was distinct from the rest of the newspapers studied in this analysis. The "Sympathetic" frames of protesters dominate Apple Daily's distribution observed in the frequencies of the "Unjust Persecution" (37.93%), "Protester's Story" (20.69%), and "Protest Reaction" (13.79%) narratives. Apple Daily did not utilize the "Criminal (Protesters)" or "Moral Decay" frames in any of their news articles analyzed in this study. This distribution shows an entirely different narrative represented in their news stories when compared to all the other news outlets.

Figure 1 shows a bar graph representation of the distribution of each newspaper's frames. Figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 display each set of frames employed by a newspaper, visually represented as portions of a pie graph. China Daily – Beijing, China Daily – Hong Kong, Hong Kong Government News, and South China Morning Post all hold a similar distribution of frames employed and the narrative they convey to consumers. South China Morning Post utilizes both "sympathetic" and "marginalizing" frames to create a balance in the narrative it presents to its consumers. Apple Daily uses a majority of "sympathetic" frames to express the narrative they are giving to their consumers.

Frames used by Mainland China and Hong Kong Newspaper Outlets (by percentage)

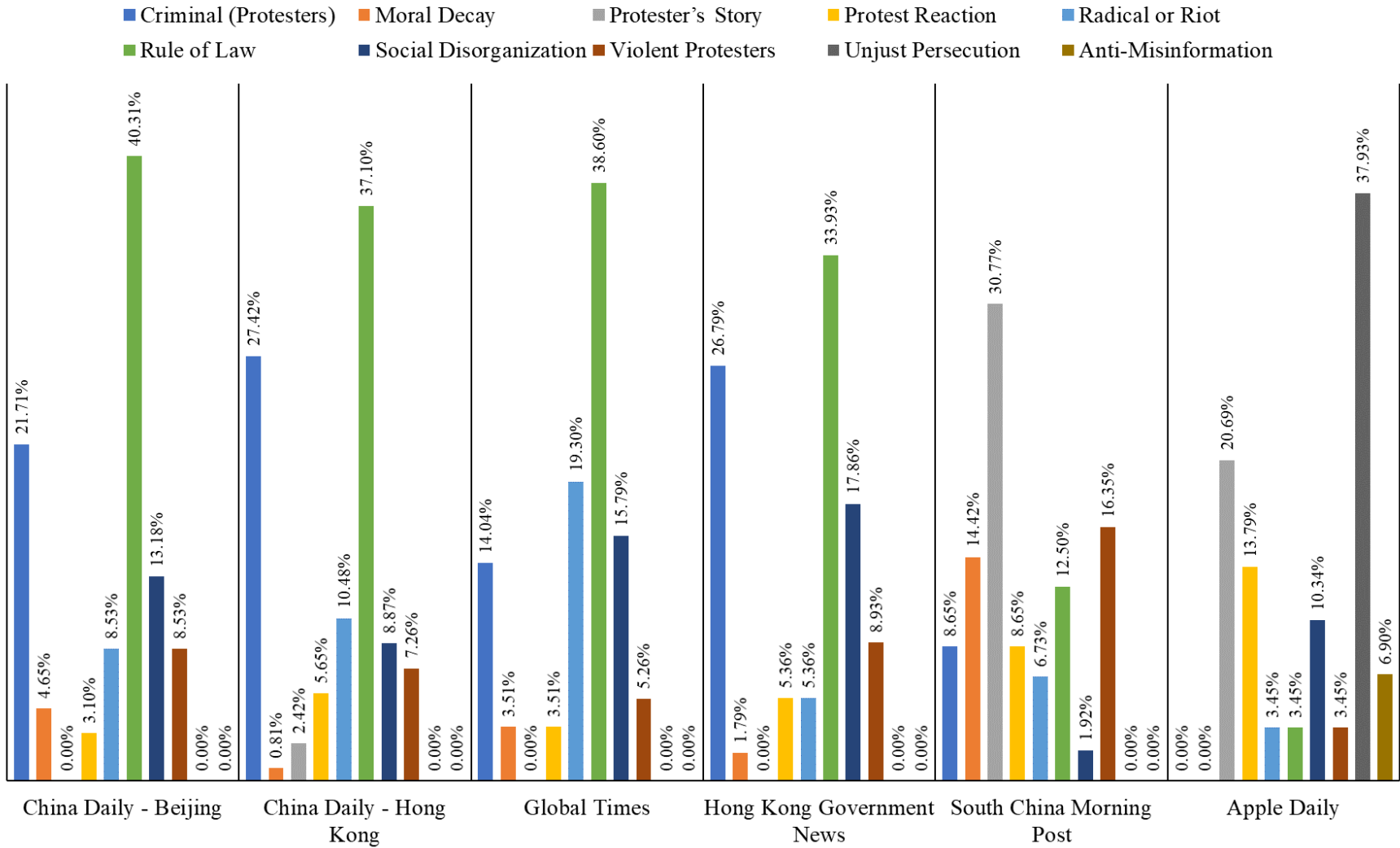


Figure 1: Bar Graph of Frames used by Mainland China and Hong Kong Newspaper Outlets (by percentage)

China Daily - Beijing

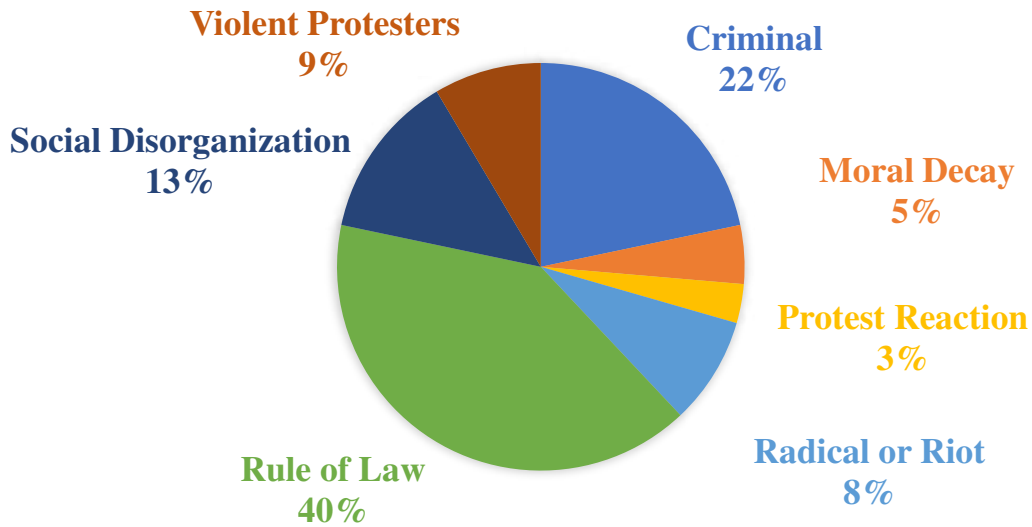


Figure 2: Pie Graph of Frames used by China Daily – Beijing (by percentage)

China Daily - Hong Kong

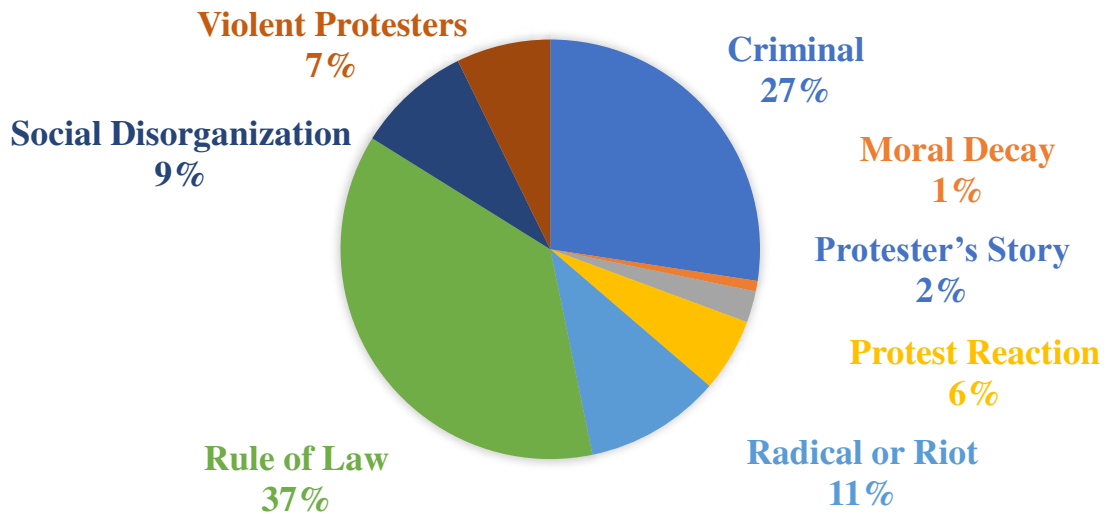


Figure 3: Pie Graph of Frames used by China Daily – Hong Kong (by percentage)

Global Times

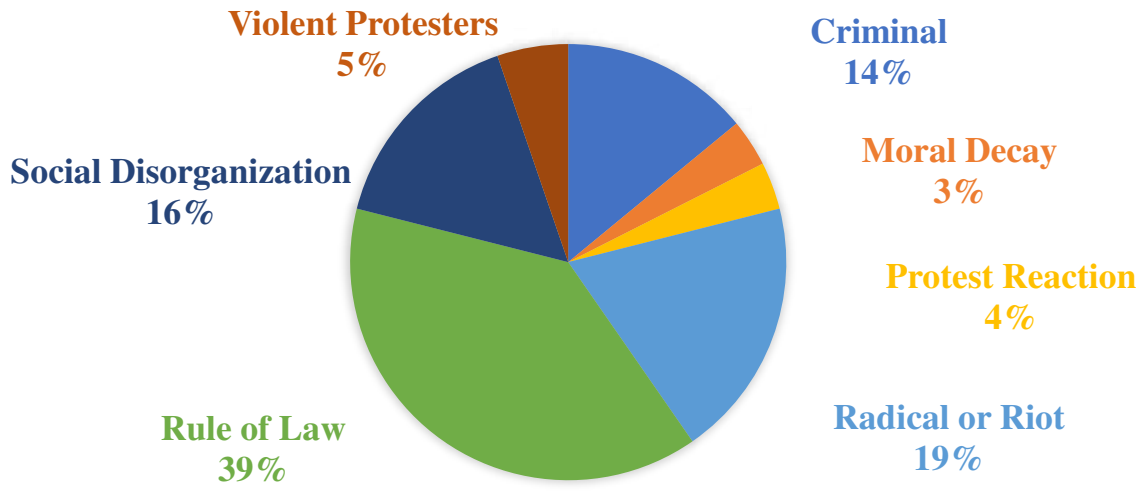


Figure 4: Pie Graph of Frames used by Global Times (by percentage)

Hong Kong Government News

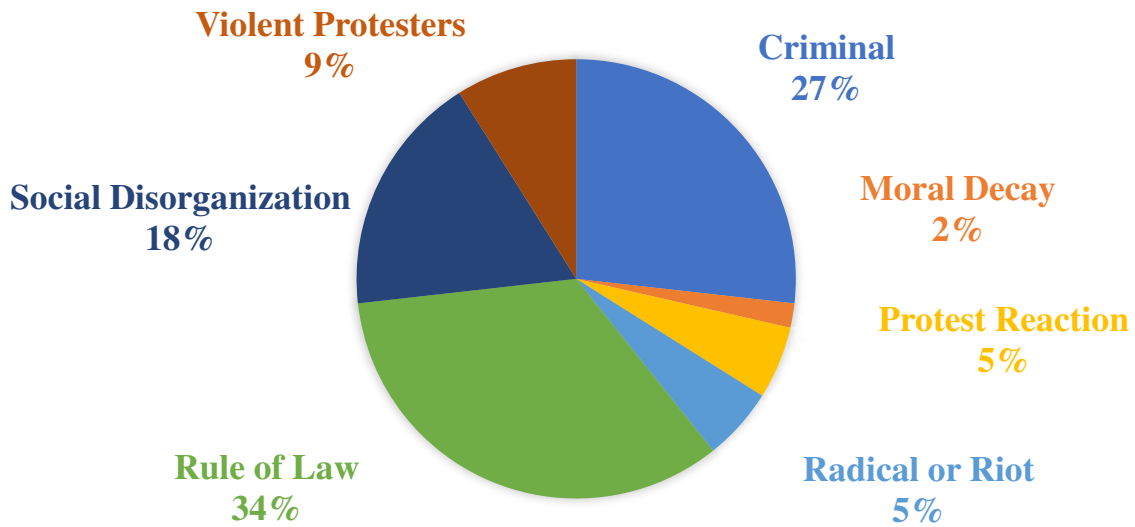


Figure 5: Pie Graph of Frames used by Hong Kong Government News (by percentage)

South China Morning Post

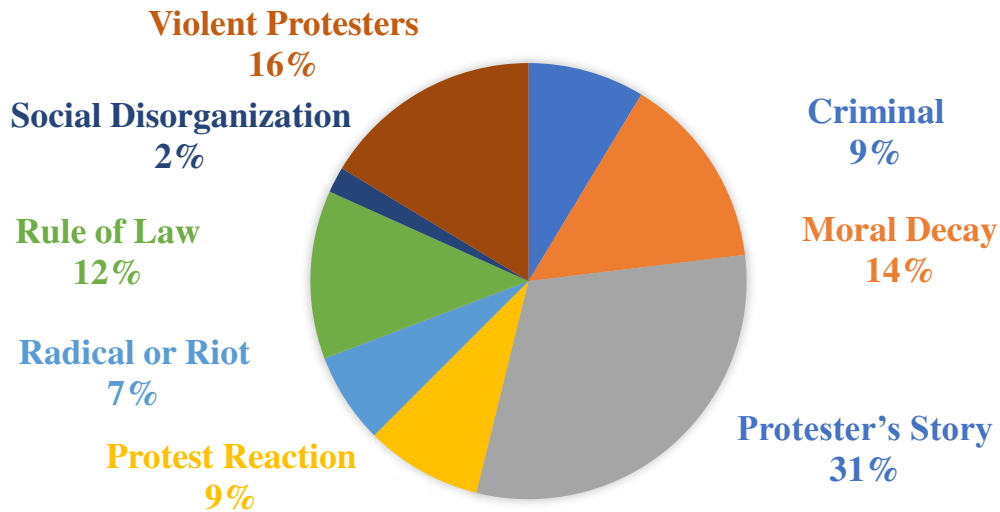


Figure 6: Pie Graph of Frames used by South China Morning Post (by percentage)

Apple Daily

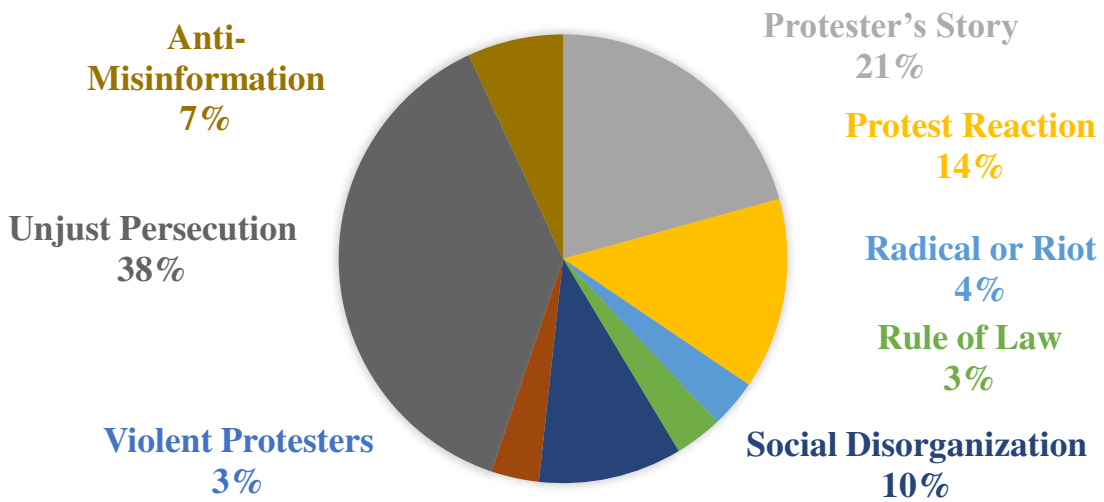


Figure 7: Pie Graph of Frames used by Apple Daily (by percentage)

Three narrative patterns can be identified in these results: (1) Pro-Establishment, (2) Pro-Status-Quo, and (3) Pro-Universal Suffrage. The established journalistic frames are related to each narrative in the following: (1) Pro-Establishment relating to the Rule of Law, Criminal (Protesters), Violent Protesters, Radical, and Moral Decay frames. (2) Pro-Status-Quo was focusing on the Social Disorganization aspects. Moreover, (3) Pro-Universal Suffrage relating Unjust Persecution, Protester's Story, Protest Reaction, and Anti-Misinformation categories. The newspaper outlets in this study display a wide range of frames across the categories. However, most of the frames and narratives can be further reduced into two categories: sympathetic and marginalizing.

The Sympathetic frames depict the activists and protesters positively, reflecting their moral goals and perspectives. On the other hand, Marginalizing frames present a negative view of the protesters, labeling them as criminals and delegitimizing their actions. The Pro-Establishment narrative is utilized by China Daily – Beijing, China Daily – Hong Kong, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News because of their use of "marginalizing" frames when discussing the Umbrella events Movement. The Pro-Status-Quo narrative is used by South China Morning Post because of the equal distribution into the other narratives, but the focus on the damage caused to society by the protests. Apple Daily represents the Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative because of their use of "sympathetic" frames when describing protesters and events throughout the movement. In this analysis, I would characterize Apple Daily and South China Morning Post as Sympathetic and all other news outlets in the analysis as Marginalizing. To support this categorization, I will discuss an in-depth qualitative analysis of the journalistic depictions.

Qualitative Analysis Results

The frame analysis was compiled utilizing coding algorithms in the qualitative analysis software NVivo. Of the 499 news articles in the study, my results mapped 784 coding references distributed over two primary time intervals. 504 of those coding references were selected from articles published between September 28, 2014, to December 31, 2014. The remaining 280 coding references were gathered from articles published between January 1, 2015, to December 31, 2018. These time periods were chosen to capture the entirety of the Umbrella Movement and post-movement perspectives without gaining influence from the 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests. The 784 references were analyzed with coding schemes created from the 11 frames described in the methods section. These frames include debate, criminal, moral decay, protester's story, protest reaction, radical, the rule of law, social disorganization, violent protester, unjust persecution, and anti-misinformation. The following results include all the listed frames except for "debate" because no article published during these times fit the description of "the article shows viewpoints from both sides of the protest in a non-biased manner," as defined during the first stage of coding.

The coding references from the articles generated seven temporal categories based on various sources(BBC News 2014a, 2014b; Connors 2019; Lo 2016; Tong 2019) and recognized essential turning points in the movement: (1) September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014: Occupy Central Begins; (2) October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters; (3) October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes; (4) November 1, 2014 – December 2, 2014: Escalation of Protests; (5) December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender; (6) December 11, 2014 – December 16, 2014: Police Clearance Operations In Admiralty and Causeway Bay (End of Protest); and (7) December

17, 2014 – December 31, 2018: Post-Occupy Central Reflections. These categories were generated to evaluate the temporal change in news outlets' frames through and after the movement.

1. September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014: Occupy Central Begins

The first temporal category stretches from September 28, 2014, to October 2, 2014. On the morning of September 28, 2014, Benny Tai, University of Hong Kong (HKU) Law Professor, announces the beginning of the Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement outside of the Government Headquarters. A total of 87 canisters of tear gas are deployed in response to the civil assembly. Over 80,000 people take to the streets of Admiralty, Causeway Bay, and Mong Kok (Connors 2019; Tong 2019).

In the first category, September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014: Occupy Central Begins, the most utilized frame in all of the newspaper articles collected was "Social Disorganization." 58 of the coding references out of 150 coding references were recognized as the "Social Disorganization" frame, defined here as "the article displays concern about financial, business, or infrastructure degradation due to protests." An example of this frame is used by China Daily – Beijing on September 29, 2014:

[Occupy Central Protesters] are doing this with threats of taking Hong Kong's economic well-being and social stability hostage.

This quote displays that the newspaper is framing the protest events as both a threat to and an act of violence against the social stability of Hong Kong. China Daily – Beijing's sister newspaper outlet. China Daily – Hong Kong, conveyed similar remarks on October 1, 2014:

Henry Tang Ying-yen, former chief secretary for administration, said it was unlawful for people to occupy roads and paralyze traffic. He backs police enforcement in accordance

with the law. This is because the occupation affects people's livelihoods and Hong Kong's international image, economy, finance, and tourism.

Appealing to Hong Kong citizens, the newspaper outlet focuses on addressing issues of travel, the economy, and people's livelihoods. The message conveyed in this quote is that the "unlawful" assembly of protesters directly affects the social structures needed to keep the country running smoothly. The Global Times, also located in Beijing, uses a similar tactic by legitimizing their frame through academic authority on September 28, 2014:

Qi Pengfei, a professor from the Hong Kong and Macao Research Centre at the Renmin University of China, said the protest will affect Hong Kong's international position as a financial center. "Hong Kong has been becoming less competitive among other cities in recent years. The continuous protests will only make the local political situation even worse and more unstable, which will affect the public interest as a result," Qi said.

As an economic hub for China, Hong Kong's financial standing is paramount to its social success (Davis 2015; Du et al. 2018; Feng 2017; So 2017a). By expressing, through academic support, that the economic effects of Hong Kong are at risk due to the protest, the newspaper outlet succeeds in creating a marginalization of the protesters from the rest of Hong Kong. Hong Kong Government News, an online platform operated by the Information Services Department of Hong Kong, also upheld the social disorganization frame on October 2, 2014:

The "Occupy Central" movement has taken up various districts on Hong Kong Island and in Kowloon for five consecutive days, causing increasingly severe impacts on people's livelihood, Hong Kong's economy, and even government operations. Those who participated in "Occupy Central" have claimed publicly that they will escalate their actions to surround government premises, including the Police Headquarters, Central Government

Offices (CGO), and Chief Executive's Office (CEO). Protesters have been gathering around these buildings, and operations have already been affected.

This quote demonstrates the protests' media framing as negatively affecting the livelihoods of everyday Hong Kongers via disruption of lawful government operations. This report states that due to the occupy central movement, there is a disruption on government functions, affecting Hong Kong people in different ways besides financial. South China Morning Post, Hong Kong's newspaper of record and originally owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, demonstrated their support of the Hong Kong government on September 29, 2019:

[Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying] said the civil disobedience movement aimed to coerce the central and Hong Kong governments through unlawful action to paralyze core areas of the city... The State Council's Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office said the central government firmly opposed all illegal activities that could undermine the rule of law and jeopardize social order. The central government offered strong backing to the Hong Kong government in its efforts to maintain social stability and protect residents.

The article stresses the importance of maintaining social order and avoiding social disorganization, which benefits the status-quo's overall homeostatic structure. However, it begins to evoke the significance of the "Rule of Law" as a solution to the movement and the disruption to everyday activities it has caused.

This leads us into the second most utilized frame in this temporal category: "Criminal," defined in this study as "the article displays how protesters violate the law, and the police are trying to maintain the rule of law." The Hong Kong Government News demonstrated this frame on September 28, 2014:

The HKSAR Government is resolute in opposing the Central Government Offices' unlawful occupation of the Central District by "Occupy Central." The police are determined to handle the situation appropriately in accordance with the law.

By stating that the protests are an unlawful occupation, the news outlet directly labels the behavior "illegal" and legitimizes police action. On September 29, 2014, China Daily – Beijing also labels the protester's as "illegal" and "extremists":

A group of political extremists made good on their threat to paralyze Hong Kong's central business district by kicking off their illegal "Occupy Central" campaign on Sunday.

This quote also exhibits the "Moral Decay" frame because it establishes the "radical" mentality of protesters that is different from the mainstream moral platform of the Chinese Communist Party. By establishing that protesters are straying from the socially normative guidelines, the newspaper outlet defines what "moral" is and what is "deviant." This newspaper outlet is actively participating in the normative discourse and meaning-making process. Because normative definitions are subjective to the culture they inhabit, one must consider the clashing of definitions that can occur when China exerts normative meaning-making on Hong Kong residents.

Apple Daily, an independent and Pro-Universal Suffrage newspaper in Hong Kong, had an extremely contrasting view of September 28, 2014. Their publications painted a scene of students being brutally forced out of occupied zones. The frame employed in this instance is the "Unjust Persecution" frame. The definition for this frame originates from media, where "the article displays a collection of civil rights violations and acts of police brutality against protesters." This frame is demonstrated as published by Apple Daily on September 28, 2014:

The government sent riot police with batons, long shields, and pepper spray to overthrow and drag the demonstrators. Many students were bleeding and injured, crying and

screaming. The more the totalitarianism suppressed, the more stubborn the resistance became.

This quote allows us to view the protesters from a sympathetic perspective, recognizing their injuries and violence against them by the Hong Kong police that were portrayed as excessive. In the same report, Apple Daily expresses the emotional turmoil of the situation:

Mr. Hu, a Ph.D. student from the University of Hong Kong, arrived late the night before to witness the police's brutal treatment of the demonstrators. He sobbed when he took the stage to share yesterday, promising to do his best to protect the students.

By showing the protesters' human emotions, Apple Daily is appealing to the pathos of Hong Kong's public. They want their readers to feel empathy for the protesters of Occupy Central. This is a stark contrast to the other newspapers in this study. In an article published on September 29, 2014, Apple Daily expressed the same empathetic perspective:

In the afternoon, 30,000 people rushed to the streets around Tim Mei Avenue to surround the police, chanting "free students." The police fired tear gas canisters on the unarmed people, and the choking smoke burned from day tonight. After the demonstrators evacuated briefly, more people returned to the scene. At night, more than 60,000 people occupied the main traffic road from Causeway Bay to Central and spread to Kowloon at midnight. The police held an AR15 semi-automatic rifle and lived ammunition to intimidate peaceful demonstrators, unprecedented in history.

This quote shows the violence of police officers against protesters. The idea of peaceful protesters facing police officers armed with semi-automatic rifles seeks to convey emotions of fear and doubt in the use of force among readers. This quote aims to appeal to readers, promoting an empathetic response to the violent scene. By discussing the crowds' size, Apple Daily establishes that this is

not a marginal and small demonstration against the unjust persecution of activists. In this way, Apple Daily establishes the legitimacy of the movement.

2. October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters

The second chronologically bound category encapsulates articles published from October 3, 2014, to October 11, 2014. This period is marked by the emergence of the Anti-Occupy individuals that called for an end to the occupation so life in Hong Kong could continue, unhindered. On October 3, 2014, Anti-Occupy individuals attempt to dismantle barricades set up by protesters in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay, leading to violent clashes between the two groups (Connors 2019; Tong 2019). Witness reports express the Hong Kong police's tepid response and refusal to intervene (ABC News 2014; Time Staff 2014).

In the second category, October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters, newspaper outlets' most common media frame was the "Rule of Law" frame. The "Rule of Law" frame is defined as "the article portrays protesters as challenging the Rule of Law or attempting to destroy it." This frame was recognized in 25 of the 67 coding references within this category. An example of this frame can be found in China Daily – Beijing on October 4, 2014:

Wang Jun, of the China Center for International Economic Exchanges, said falls on the stock market had reflected investors' worries about the situation. He said that as well as the fine tradition of rule of law, Hong Kong attracts investment through a sound and fair market order.

Invoking the same financial worries as before with the "Social Disorganization" frame, this article aims to place the "Rule of Law" and "Fair Market Order" on the same pedestal. The comparison

stresses the need for the "Rule of Law" so that the region can regain social stability. The Hong Kong Government News on October 4, 2014, show support of Hong Kong police to restore the "Rule of Law":

Police are dealing with the situation at the scene and urge the people there to comply with the police officers' instructions. Police will take appropriate action to restore public order.

This quote also employs the "Criminal" frame, showing that the police are in place to bring stability back to the municipalities. The police and the "Rule of Law" are labeled as the solution. On October 6, 2014, China Daily – Hong Kong released an article by a veteran, current affairs commentator, Lau Nai-Keung:

Everybody wants "Occupy" to end peacefully. Who doesn't want to wake up and find life back to normal again? But looking at the situation objectively, the chances of this happening are becoming increasingly remote. There is little room for compromise unless one or both sides are willing to change things quickly. Violent crackdown or not, the wounds will remain, and they will bleed for a long time. The protesters are getting what they want. They have torn society apart by asking everyone to take sides. In the process, friends have become enemies. They have discredited the police, one of the few remaining groups which normally command everyone's respect. We treasure Hong Kong as a place with the rule of law. But the occupiers are ensuring this is not the case. What good does all this do?

This article appeals to the public with several of the frames mentioned above, including "Social Disorganization," but focuses on Hong Kong being "a place with the rule of law." This phrase is not uncommon in the articles gathered for this study. The rhetoric of the "Rule of Law" is a democratic principle that citizens and politicians are not ruled by a king but are servants of the

law. In the context of the Pro-Universal Suffrage occupy central movement, the phrase functions as a call for punishment for those who break the law. This evokes the idea that the protesters who violate the law deserve the full extent of punishment under the auspices of the "Rule of Law."

Although the "Rule of Law" was the most common frame used during this time period, a new frame emerged from the South China Morning Post. The "Protester's Story," defined here as "the article has quotes or interviews with protesters to gain insight into their motivations, feelings, and experiences." This is demonstrated several times by the South China Morning Post in this interval. One example appears on October 4, 2014, following the attack in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay:

A protester with a head injury complained of having been beaten by anti-Occupy activists and that officers did not help him. "I was kicked ... People kept beating me after I fell," he said, his head wound still bleeding. "Officers were just standing there"... Scholarism convener Joshua Wong Chi-Fung said: "The police clearly have double standards. We are very angry, but we will keep the protests peaceful." Icarus Wong Ho-yin, a convener of the Civil Human Rights Front's Police Powers Monitoring Group, also slammed the force for having double standards. "When we had confrontations with police ... they took decisive action to maintain order," he said. "But they were very tolerant [towards anti-Occupy activists] and did not use force to stop or arrest them."

This article expresses sympathy for the protesters by appealing to civil rights ethos to stress the importance of human and civil rights within the Umbrella Movement context. The graphic description of victimization and the lack of police officers' response shows that the protesters are not receiving equitable protection alongside the anti-occupy individuals. This frame's social tone can plant a seed of doubt within readers regarding whether state officials are supporting all citizens

and potentially working against calls for universal suffrage or the adherence to the Basic Law established in the Joint Agreement.

Apple Daily had an analogous perspective on police involvement in the Anti-Occupy attacks on Mong Kok protesters. On October 4, 2014, a day after the clash, Apple Daily published an article outlining the attack and the lack of police response:

Some students were beaten to the point of bleeding. The police obviously neglected their duties and failed to fulfill their duty of maintaining public order and protecting citizens' safety. The police have deployed more than 1,000 police and anti-riot police to forcefully suppress the peaceful occupation of citizens, but at 3 pm yesterday, only dozens of military uniforms were present in the face of the impact of anti-occupiers.

The quote above from Apple Daily is an example of the "Unjust Persecution" frame. The police are actively protecting anti-occupy individuals and ignoring the security of occupy protesters. The police force exhibits bias in its application of protection among Hong Kong citizens. The Occupy protesters are not receiving the same public service protection as other citizens. Apple Daily takes on a very sympathetic perspective to occupy protesters over the subsequent few days. On October 5, 2014, Apple Daily published an article describing the gathering of various speakers and over 100,000 people in Admiralty outside government headquarters:

[Joshua Wong] said that when he was arrested, he was worried that the occupation movement would be futile, but when so many people came forward, he believed that the efforts were not in vain. He also said that people from unknown sources claimed to surround his home and announced his address, "although it is wrong." He continued: "You have to tell me that Jin Zhong will tell me, don't mess with my parents, not to harm them."

The above quote exemplifies the "Protester's Story" frame by discussing one of the Occupy leaders' emotions and experience, Joshua Wong. Apple Daily is expressing a sympathetic frame to the Occupy protests. They are not portraying the protesters as dangerous, criminal, or immoral.

On October 8, 2014, Apple Daily published an editorial entitled "China's Invasion of Hong Kong's Rule of Law." The article outlines how the reliance on the "Rule of Law" from the anti-occupy perspective is not as functional as it is presented. They express that the "Rule of Law" can be militarized, destroying true law and order in Hong Kong:

The ongoing demonstrations have highlighted the damage that the rule of law and social injustice can cause to Hong Kong. Hong Kong economist Guan Zhuozhao pointed out that the Hong Kong government does not use the rule of law but uses tear gas to suppress the demand for genuine universal suffrage. This is the reason why the international community is worried that Hong Kong's legal system will be damaged.

This is an interesting quote because not only does it evoke the same law and order ideal, but it attacks anti-Occupy commentaries that champion the justification of police victimization as lawful. In this sense, the many definitions of the "Rule of Law" come into play. On the anti-occupy side, "Rule of Law" is used to justify the suppression and violence against protesters. That the "Rule of Law" is being threatened and requires protection from the Occupy protesters. On the other side, the Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective that uses the "Rule of Law" to categorize the violent use of police force to silence peaceful protesters as unlawful. These examples display the stark contrast between the two perspectives of the sympathetic and marginalizing argument.

Apple Daily takes the Pro-Universal Suffrage argument further by publishing an article on October 9, 2014, that addresses the public complaints that have been made against the police use

of force, or in their perspective, the Rule of Law. The article implies that complaints made against the Hong Kong police squads are the direct result of the use of excessive force:

The police's handling of Occupy Central activities has caused controversy over the past few days. The Police Complaints Office has received nearly 345 complaints involving nearly 400 allegations. Involved in the police handling of Occupy Central complaints.

By presenting the narrative of excessive force on peaceful protesters, Apple Daily evokes the "Unjust Persecution" frame. The Hong Kong police are using excessive, even illegal force against peaceful protesters. This illuminates a story of a totalitarian state against Pro-Universal Suffrage activists. While many frames come together to differentiate the sympathetic perspective of Apple Daily from the broader range of marginalizing narratives, it is the nexus of police failure to protect occupy protesters while actively engaging in the excessive use of force that is most notable. Up to this point in the timeline of events, news outlets that deployed marginalizing media frames obfuscated the degradation of law and order in Hong Kong as a methodology support Chinese central authority over citizens' sovereign rights.

3. October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes

The third stage of the Occupy Central Movement is categorized in this study from October 12, 2014, to October 31, 2014. On October 12, 2014, police began to clear a protest site in Admiralty that was left unmanned by protesters. Following the police's lead, anti-occupy individuals immediately remove barricades and seize a delivery truck for Apple Daily. On October 15, 2014, "At 3 am, Ken Tsang, a social worker and Occupy activist, is handcuffed and assaulted in a dark alley by seven plainclothes police. A TVB cameraman records the incident, and the video goes viral" (Tong 2019:198). Over the next few days, police attempt to reopen protest areas in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay, resulting in violent clashes as protesters retake areas. On October

21, 2014, a televised meeting between the Hong Kong Federation of Students and Chief Secretary Carrie Lam occurred with no resolution between the two groups (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019; Tong 2019).

In this category, October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes, the "Rule of Law" was still the most common frame used. The "Rule of Law" was recognized in 39 coding references out of 90 coding references. China Daily – Hong Kong reported on October 15, 2014:

Leung's remarks came after Zhang Xiaoming, director of the central government liaison office in Hong Kong, described the street protests as a "socio-political event" that challenged Beijing's authority. Zhang told the city's legislators on Tuesday that the central government is deeply concerned about the situation in Hong Kong, as the protests have jeopardized the city's rule of law, relations with the mainland, and its global reputation.

The above quote emphasizes the relationship between the "Rule of Law," authority, and global reputation. This quote implies that Hong Kong will only be respected globally if they maintain a "Rule of Law" that punishes civil disobedience. The Global Times builds upon this theory of geopolitical standing relating to the rule of law on October 16, 2014:

Having lasted for nearly 20 days, Occupy Central has brought nothing but chaos to Hong Kong society. The central government is unwavering in its attitude. There are growing voices criticizing Occupy Central for impinging on the rule of law and calling on the Hong Kong government to resume order as soon as possible. Occupy Central has no future as it is based upon wrong geopolitical calculations... The Chinese central government has multiple ways to macro-control the Hong Kong situation, and if the US openly confronts China, it will not stand a chance. It is not in Hong Kong's interests to slide into the Western

camp. Every time the West's forces instigated efforts to push Hong Kong into the Western camp, the whole of Hong Kong pays the price.

The quote asserts that the Occupy Central leaders rely on gaining support from other countries to bolster their movement and political position. It fosters conspiracies that the western media outlets and governments are attempting to affect the Occupy Central movement's actions or perhaps are responsible for its creation. This tactic aims to reassure citizens that they should denounce the Occupy Central movement because it will not be beneficial financially or geopolitically. The CCP is also putting forth the theory that the movement was initiated by western colonial power and against the general interests of Hong Kongers and mainland Chinese civilians. China Daily – Hong Kong expands upon the same idea on October 20, 2014:

Political views aside, there is a striking contrast between reports by foreign media and Hong Kong's mainstream media. According to our accounts, what has really been happening in the past three weeks in Hong Kong is this: The majority of protesters, mostly young and idealistic students, were cajoled by some radicals into believing the "Occupy" movement was for the greater good of Hong Kong. This unrest - the worst in Hong Kong since the 1960s - has wreaked havoc on city life and taken a heavy toll on the city's once-vibrant economy. The high-stakes political gamble staged by the protesters has also undermined the rule of law. Our highly disciplined, world-class police are fully stretched, and the SAR government has come under considerable pressure. Despite this, they have both exercised considerable restraint. The public's anger and frustration is now reaching boiling point.

As western countries began to report on the Occupy Central Movement's events, the Chinese led media outlets to critique them for false commentaries. Along with denial of the protester's victimization, the newspapers now make veiled threats that the force exercised by the Hong Kong

police and the HKSAR government is the retrained version of its potential. The South China Morning Post gives more information regarding the tension between the US and China regarding Occupy Central Movement on October 20, 2014:

The US and Britain had pushed the unrest to its current level, challenging China's national dignity and interest, it said. State Councilor Yang Jiechi discussed the Hong Kong crisis when he met US Secretary of State John Kerry in Boston for two days of talks. A senior US State Department official said Yang and Kerry had engaged in a "non-combative" yet "direct and candid" exchange over a range of issues, including Hong Kong. Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang said Yang had asked the US to refrain from supporting Occupy Central, Xinhua said. "We are resolutely opposed to all kinds of illegal activities that undermine Hong Kong's rule of law and social order and firmly support the SAR government in handling these in accordance with the law so as to safeguard Hong Kong's social stability," Yang was quoted as saying.

To keep Western nations from intervening in China and Hong Kong's affairs, US & Chinese state officials meet to discuss Hong Kong. The message from the Chinese central government being, "Do not interfere; we are going to restore the rule of law." This is a connection between geopolitical relationships and the rule of law sought by Hong Kong government officials. Although this quote does not directly label protesters as criminals, the notion that they can no longer appeal to foreign entities for support is present. On October 20, 2014, The Hong Kong Government News reported on the talks between HKFS and Chief Secretary Carrie Lam, adding a commentary regarding the continued protests:

The movement has been somewhat messy and gone out of control, a judgment also echoed by local business unions. Before launching the movement, the organizers were fully aware that the protests were against local laws and would bring negative effects to the region's

rule of law. But as the occupied areas expand to more places and people from other sectors and even external forces join, they may have not expected the movement to be so extensive and cause so many losses.

The commentary on the HKFS's actions in starting the movement paints a picture of uneducated, juvenile students incapable of understanding their actions' consequences. This legitimizes the use of force through the rule of law. In contrast to this depiction, Apple Daily reported on the same event on October 22, 2014:

Although this "intergenerational dialogue" was not fruitful, the students' humility and sincerity obviously knocked down the bureaucracy and rigidity of the government, and won many points in the hearts of the public...In the face of Carrie Lam's sharp eyes, the students were not timid, citing legal provisions and polling data to refute the government's views...Current affairs commentator Liu Ruishao pointed out that the overall performance of the five students of the ACSF is better than that of the government. The students are well prepared, and the government is relatively bleak."

This opposing narrative of the talks between students and Hong Kong officials describes a group of young, yet prepared, students. They are honest and humble, yet ready with reports and polling data to back up their arguments. The article describes the government officials as powerful in demeanor only. This article is sympathetic to the protesters and denies any viable information given by government officials as practical or useful.

The South China Morning Post, again, began to aim its narrative in a different direction. They began reporting on the differences between Occupy Central protesters and Anti-Occupy activists, bring up the "Protester's Story" once again. On October 26, 2014, the South China Morning Post reported:

The gatherings – one at the newly dubbed "Umbrella Square" and the other at the Tsim Sha Tsui Clock Tower – came as Occupy leaders geared up to poll supporters on the way forward while anti-Occupy activists began a signature campaign to end the protests and back the police. The Alliance for Peace and Democracy said it had collected 321,827 signatures. Food and Health Secretary Dr. Ko Wing-man and other senior officials said they would also sign it. Spokesman Robert Chow Yung urged protesters to retreat: "They are ignoring the rule of law and disrupting public order. ... Is that democracy?" Last night's anti-Occupy gathering in Tsim Sha Tsui – which included "blue ribbon" activists – was marred by attacks on reporters and cameramen.

While still offering anti-occupy activists' views, the newspaper outlet still focuses on the Occupy protesters and the violence aroused by anti-occupy individuals. This is the closest any article came to the "Debate" frame while still failing to provide an unbiased assessment, citing the violence on news reporters and cameramen. On October 26, 2014, The South China Morning Post also reported on the Occupy Central leaders' reflections on how the movement has become leaderless:

Former Democratic Party lawmaker Cheung Man-Kwong said the Hong Kong government should learn from the protests. "It should engage in sincere dialogue with students and other sectors in future to prevent a repeat of such a stunning campaign," he said. While he praised the movement as an inspiration, Cheung admitted Hong Kong society had paid a heavy price for the campaign, which had unavoidably torn the community.

This article demonstrates the South China Morning Post's dedication to the "social disorganization" frame while transitioning to a "Protester's Story" frame. The article aims to appeal to Pro-Universal Suffrage supporters to end the movement and resume business as usual.

As police begin clearance attempts in Admiralty, Apple Daily gives a narrative like a war zone report, depicting riot police dismantling barricades with chainsaws and bolt cutters. On December 15, 2014, Apple Daily reported:

Volunteer Mr. Gao pointed out that the number of police officers who cleared the field was very disproportionate with the number of people left behind. The occupied area was greatly reduced. However, he temporarily refused to withdraw to Admiralty and would reinforce the defense line. Zhou Yongkang, secretary-general of the Federation of Students, questioned that anti-occupiers invaded the occupied areas after the police cleared the venue. After the police raided Causeway Bay, they took advantage of their victories and pursued them.

This depiction of the clearance operations illustrates the protesters "at war" with the Hong Kong government to pursue democracy in Hong Kong. The article continues to get eyewitness testimonies from protesters, upholding the "Protester's Story" frame. As the Hong Kong police denied their involvement in the clearance operation, Apple Daily reported:

Student Wang from the Department of Cultural Studies of CUHK stayed at Causeway Bay yesterday. He criticized the police for refusing to recognize the clearing of the scene as a pure lie.

By reporting testimonies of protesters and pictures of uniformed Hong Kong police with chainsaws, Apple Daily uses the "Unjust Persecution" frame. The protesters are being pushed back, their barricades destroyed, all as the state denies the police actions. The state is purposively obfuscating its actions used to counter the Occupy movement. Apple Daily continues using the "Unjust Persecution" frame when reporting on police brutality. On October 17, 2014, Apple Daily reported the suspension of seven police officers involved in a police brutality incident:

Seven police officers suspected of abusing, lynching, and beating occupier Zeng Jianchao aroused public outrage. The police announced yesterday that the seven police officers involved in police districts such as Kwun Tong and Kowloon City have been suspended from their duties. The police have followed the criminal direction to investigate. Zeng Jianchao also filed a petition in the High Court yesterday, requesting information such as the names of the seven police officers involved in the case in order to initiate a private prosecution. Some Legislative Council members said that with clear evidence, the police should immediately arrest these officers.

Even though the Legislative Council had elected to suspend and arrest the officers involved in the police brutality case, the reports of police violence against protesters is still present. The persistence of the police force in clashes against protesters demonstrates the on the ground criminalization of the movement beyond the statements of the government.

4. November 1, 2014 – December 2, 2014: Escalation of Protests

The umbrella movement's fourth period is categorized from November 1, 2014, to December 2, 2014. This period includes continued protests and civil disobedience across major business areas of Hong Kong. On November 15, 2014, new restrictions on travel visas were put on the Hong Kong Federation of Students leaders that prevent them from entering China. Clearance operations are carried out in Admiralty and Mong Kong in late November. Admiralty is re-occupied by protesters, and Mong Kok is flooded with flash mob shopper protests in lieu of occupation (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019; Tong 2019). On November 30, 2014, protesters created a blockade around the government offices of Admiralty in response to the clearance operations. Police fend off the blockade with water cannons and batons a day later (BBC News 2014a).

The most frequently employed frame for this period, from November 1, 2014, to December 2, 2014, was the "Rule of Law" frame. The "Rule of Law" frame was recognized 71 times out of 137 coding references. On November 5, 2014, China Daily – Hong Kong published an article by a Hong Kong-based journalist entitled: "It is the End of the Road for 'Occupy Central' Movement." This article outlined the illegal aspect of the movement and the influence of "external forces":

History has an uncanny way of repeating itself. I believe it is doing this in Hong Kong with the illegal "Occupy Central" movement, which is being orchestrated and directed by external forces from the US and the United Kingdom, with the assistance of allies in the region. Despite an international media campaign to cheer the obviously unpopular "occupiers" on, the ill-conceived "umbrella revolution" is dying.

The article goes on to illustrate the "Rule of Law" frame by describing the people of Hong Kong as upholders of the ideal:

Hong Kongers have always been law-abiding citizens who respect the rule of law. Now that the democratic guise of the illegal campaign has gone, more people have learned what "Occupy" is really about. They have rightfully turned against it.

This quote reenforces a definition of Hong Kong citizens as law-abiding and protesters as criminal. It also asserts that the movement is not about democracy but has an underlying goal to disrupt Hong Kong's international reputation. On November 17, 2014, China Daily – Hong Kong published an article that goes in-depth into the epistemology of the "Rule of Law":

The universalistic nature of the rule of law requires the submission of all citizens, irrespective of race, religion, political belief, and social and economic status ... "Occupy Central" has been promoted as an act of civil disobedience. But civil disobedience is always

passive in the sense that the resistance to certain laws of the government is not provocative and accepts the need to submit to the rule of law at the end of the day.

Although the quote uses the definition of "Rule of Law" put forward by democracy advocates, it also defines civil disobedience as submissive to the rule of law. The rule of law becomes an authoritarian argument against resistance. On November 19, 2014, The Global Times of Beijing reported on Hong Kong support for the end of the movement:

Priscilla Leung Mei-fun, a Hong Kong legislator, told the Global Times that protesters, as well as their leaders, should consider withdrawing because the movement is not doing any good to society or the protesters themselves. "They can continue to pursue their political demands through various legal means. Their decision to occupy main roads was wrong originally because it is affecting the lives of other people and overriding their rights. Hong Kong is a city that values the rule of law, and anyone should obey laws," she stressed.

The "Rule of Law" now becomes a strong rhetorical device used by media and politicians alike. The concept becomes a slogan for anti-occupy discourses. This quote also stresses the "Social Disorganization" frame by addressing the effects the movement has had on Hong Kong's way of life. The "Rule of Law" is not addressed as not only a democratic ideal but a virtue among Hong Kong and China that the Occupy Central movement is threatening. On November 20, 2014, the China Daily - Beijing publishes an article with quotes from scholars and government officials and their thoughts about the movement's consequences:

For the uncertain, dreamed, take-for-granted and imponderable future, the "Occupy Central" protesters, have exacted a real, existing, certain, and ponderable price. This seems not the way capitalist Hong Kong people should behave. "Occupy Central" has its balance sheet. If it continues, the cost will dwarf its benefits. The debit side is building up rapidly

with each passing day until no one will dare to promise the campaign's benefits will cover its costs. Then the protest will lose its rationality completely. Their irrational and illegal struggle for rights harms the whole society and is against the overall trend of the times which emphasizes law and order.

The above quote from Rita Ran, a member of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress, reflects the idea that the protesters are juvenile and naïve in their efforts to change politics through public social action. Their actions go against the "trend of the time," which enculturates the rule of law, not revolution. An article published by China Daily – Beijing on December 2, 2014, calls for a strong response to the protesters' actions:

Various articles in the laws of the Hong Kong SAR clearly state that a rally must receive approval first and the participants should not incite violence or occupy areas by force; doubtlessly, the "Occupy Central" campaign has broken them and even their organizers know they are doing something illegal. Hong Kong is proud of its rule of law, and now it is time they pay for their illegal deeds.

A call for legal action against protesters in response to their breach of the rule of law suggests that the rule of law framework has now transformed into a national ideal, comparable to Freedom in the United States of America. The rule of law is touted as something that binds the fabric of democracy in Hong Kong.

Apple Daily points out the clashing of meaning behind the "Rule of Law" frame on November 12, 2014 in an article written by Li Yi:

The Hong Kong Government will strive to uphold and defend the rule of law. It seems that the Liang regime is conspiring to use court injunctions as a tool to mark the clearing as an act of upholding the rule of law and implementing the "ruling Hong Kong according to

law" as explained by the CCP. Following the previous "Ping Theory" discussing "support for [Leung Chun-ying] to govern Hong Kong by law," I will try to further discuss this topic today and introduce the distinction between "rule of law" and "rule by law." The ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle put forward the concept of the rule of law in 350 BC, saying that "the law should govern" and that "the rule of law is better than the rule of any one person." The rule of law in modern civilized countries emphasizes the separation of powers and believes in creation. The core institutions for legal interpretation and interpretation are three major departments: fair and independent judiciary, democratic legislation, and responsible administration. The fair and independent justice is symbolized by the goddess of justice. Her blindfolded eyes symbolize equality under the law that only recognizes the law but not people. Holding a scale represents the balance between people's interests under the law, while the sword means that reason is in the law. China's power, and the country's ability to enforce laws. Democratic legislation means that the formulation of laws must comply with the wishes of the people. Responsible administration means that government actions must be permitted by law and cannot override the law. The 17th-century British political philosopher John Locke put forward the classic rule of law principle: the government only has legitimacy when it obtains the consent of the ruled and guarantees the people's natural rights to life, freedom, and property; individuals can do anything. Things, unless prohibited by law; but the government cannot do anything unless permitted by law. The rule of law in China is also called rule by law, which uses law as a tool for the government to manage the country and society. It is not the same concept as the rule of law. The purpose of the rule of law is to provide people with a platform and framework for seeking justice, but the essence of the legal system still cannot get rid of the notion that the regime is above the law. The legal system refers to those in power governing the country through laws, but these laws are not necessarily enacted by the elected legislature. According to the official interpretation of the Chinese Communist Party, the law is the

embodiment of the will of the ruling class and therefore serves the ruling class rather than being equal to all. The law is the rules and regulations that the ruler enacts for the ruled and the ruler himself must abide by. But because the legislature is not elected by the people, it is actually a tool developed by the ruler to regulate the ruled.

This quote is incredibly important in defining the different meanings behind the “Rule of Law” ideal in both mainland China and Hong Kong. This article expresses the established historical terminology for rule of law in Hong Kong and identifies similarities to that of Western Nations. The article also explains how mainland China is allegedly using their definition of the “Rule of Law” to suppress dissent and gain control over the SAR. The last part of the quote “Because the legislature is not elected by the people, it is actually a tool developed by the ruler to regulate the ruled” expresses the critical criminology and cultural criminology perspectives. The contestation to define the meaning of the rule of law in Hong Kong holds the potential to format future authoritarian actions, divestments, and restrictions if the Chinese communist party holds the ideological high ground.

The South China Morning Post takes a different route in addressing the Occupy Central Movement during this period. They attempt to present a more bipartisan angle to the events. On November 7, 2014, The South China Morning Post published an article outlining a survey study done in Hong Kong that claimed that 77% of citizens call for an "immediate end" to the protests. However, Occupy Central organizers disagreed:

Daisy Chan Sin-Ying, convenor of the Civil Human Rights Front, said: "According to our volunteers, some residents or business owners in the protest sites are actually sympathetic towards the Occupy movement." She dismissed the call for protesters to leave, as Beijing had failed to retract its restrictive framework for the 2017 chief executive election.

The newspaper is still stating the movement's original objective as a reaction to the framework for the 2017 Chief Executive election. The article has no mention of Occupy Central protesters' activities being illegal or in violation of the Rule of Law. On November 8, 2014, the South China Morning Post released an article entitled "Occupy Central threatens 'Hong Kong security,' Beijing advisers warn." The article summarizes an academic article published by two mainland academics who advise Beijing on Hong Kong affairs. The academic article explains how the Occupy Central Movement threatens "Hong Kong Security," a newly coined term by the academic authors. Instead of only publishing this view that sheds a negative light on the Occupy Movement, the South China Morning Post wraps up the article with a quote from a Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective:

Political commentator Johnny Lau Yui-Siu, who covered the drafting process of the Basic Law in the 1980s as a journalist, said that compared with constitutional development, the concept of national security, let alone "Hong Kong security," was not the focus of discussion then. "The two academics simply invented a new term to serve the political needs of targeting Occupy Central," he said.

Although the article is not explicitly "Pro-Universal Suffrage," it is not "Anti-Occupy" either. The middle ground of perspectives shows a turn in reporting compared to the other newspaper outlets of the region. South China Morning Post remains bipartisan on the topic of Occupy Central without taking sides explicitly. On November 30, 2014, the South China Morning Post reported on the police violence on protesters in Mong Kok during the clearance operation:

Pro-Universal Suffrage activists and student leaders yesterday recounted the police hostility they experienced during the two-day clearance operation at the occupied zone in Mong Kok. "Officers pinned me down on the floor, limiting my movement, causing wounds to my face and neck," said student group Scholarism convenor Joshua Wong Chi-

Fung, who was among the 169 people arrested. "They even attempted six to seven times to hurt my body, including my private parts." Federation of Students' Lester Shum said officers used a baton to smack him on his head, punched him, and kicked him in the waist while trying to arrest him on Tuesday. His head was also pushed against the ground, he added.

Using quotes from protesters, South China Morning Post supports the "Protester's Story" framework and appeals to audiences with acts of police brutality against students. This stance provides pro-protester influence on South China Morning Post's reporting. In contrast to the stance taken by the South China Morning Post, on December 2, 2014, China Daily – Beijing reports on the protest barricade of government offices in Admiralty due to police clearance violence in Mong Kok and utilizes the "Criminal" frame:

In yet another premeditated move, protesters stormed the city's key business district and laid siege to government headquarters in Admiralty on Sunday night and early on Monday. The radicals took action after HKFS leaders called for an escalation of their protests... The protest leaders were, in effect, openly challenging the authority of the nation's top legislature. By resorting to violence to press for unconstitutional and unrealistic demands, they have made it crystal clear that they have no intention of helping solve the current political stalemate by working within the legal boundaries.

The rhetoric displayed in this quote generates a portrait of violence, criminality, and unrelenting deviance on the part of the protesters. There is no mention in the article about the clearance operation and police brutality reported in Mong Kok. China Daily – Beijing focuses only on the violence put forth by protesters.

Apple Daily focuses on November 15, 2014, in which four students set to travel from Hong Kong to Beijing to express the people's demands for Universal Suffrage were denied access to Mainland China. The students had visit permits they had used earlier that year to travel back and forth between Mainland China and Hong Kong. Their permits had since been "cancelled" by the Beijing government. Apple Daily describes what the student's met at the airport:

The Beijing authorities blocked the students from going to Beijing, and the Hong Kong government was ready to wait. Nearly 30 police officers were stationed at the gates after the customs. Some police officers also carried the red and yellow flags that were often raised during the Occupy Movement, as if they were ready to suppress the conflict at any time.

The denial of travel between Hong Kong and China expresses the "Unjust Persecution" frame. If the students are not allowed to travel between the two regions, they are denied rights due to their involvement in the Occupy protests that other citizens possess. This indicates that protesters are being criminalized for their involvement, through the deprivation their freedoms. The Pro-Establishment news views this same situation as an enforcement of the "Rule of Law." The "Rule of Law" and "Unjust Persecution" frames develop a contention with one another. The "Rule of Law" frame depicts the need more criminalization, policing, arrests, and prosecutions. The "Unjust Persecution" frame calls for a reevaluation of the use of criminalization on Pro-Universal Suffrage activists.

5. December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender

The fifth temporal category of the protests in this study stretches from December 3, 2014, to December 10, 2014. On December 3, 2014, Occupy Central Organizers (Benny Tai, Chan Kin-Man, and Chu Yiu-Ming) decided to surrender and turn themselves over to the Hong Kong police.

The surrender came following the violent clashes with police over the previous weekend. The founders of the Occupy Central movement called for a retreat of protesters for their own safety. The leaders were released without charges at that time, as the Hong Kong government developed a future course of action. (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019).

The most utilized frame in the fifth category, December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender, is "Law Violation." The "Law Violation" frame was recognized in 11 out of 34 coding references. This is a shift from the "Rule of Law" framework because Pro-Establishment newspaper outlets shifted to evaluating how the state would prosecute protesters. There is no longer a call for the end of protests or an attempt to convince citizens that the rule of law of Hong Kong needs to be upheld. An example of this frame is used by China Daily – Beijing on December 3, 2014:

The three [Benny Tai, Chan Kin-Man, and Chu Yiu-Ming] may also be charged with unlawful assembly under section 18 of the public order ordinance, said Lawrence Ma Yan-Kwok, a lawyer. Under Hong Kong law, unlawful assembly occurs when three or more people assemble and conduct themselves in a disorderly manner, provoking anyone to commit a breach of the peace or causing a person to fear so doing.

In this perspective, definitions of punishments and law violations are now the focus. However, the "Rule of Law" frame persisted in publications. On December 3, 2014, China Daily – Hong Kong published an article entitled "Hong Kong Needs Rule of Law, Not Rule of Violence":

Those who are dissatisfied with the August 31 decision of the National People's Congress Standing Committee should improve their understanding of the current political and economic situation in Hong Kong. They should seek other means to express their discontent instead of occupying public areas, disrupting daily life, and damaging the

economy. The "Occupy" campaign has resulted in a drop in projected GDP growth from 3.4 to 2.2 percent. This is the price Hong Kong's economy is paying as a result of the ongoing tug of war between the rule of law and the rule of violence.

The above quote comes from an article written by Wang Shengwei, the founder and president of the China – US Friendship Exchange, Inc. By stating that the protest movement was violent, the news outlet can dismiss the demands for democracy and undermine the political nature of the movement. In a contrasting perspective, the South China Morning Post released an article the same day (December 3, 2014) that expressed the views of Occupy Central leaders and protesters alike:

"Our young people have used their bodies to withstand the blows of police batons, their blood and broken bones have brought us the deepest sorrow," Tai said as he read the trio's open letter. "For the sake of the occupiers' safety ... we three urge the students to retreat," Chan said he did not agree that the movement had failed or that its tactics had been naïve. "If we were naïve, it would be in our naïve beliefs towards 'one country, two systems' and the government's conscience," he said. "It is the government – which refuses to answer." Chu, a 70-year-old veteran activist, held back tears as he touched on police use of batons, pepper spray, and tear gas in an attempt to disperse protesters.

The quote exemplifies the "Protester's Story" frame. The sympathetic appeal to protesters reflects a perspective neutral, if not supportive, of the movement and call for democracy. Apple Daily presents a sympathetic view of the three Occupy leaders' surrender and their call for peace. On December 3, 2014, Apple Daily reported:

Occupation took place for more than two months. The initiators [Benny Tai, Chan Kin-Man, and Chu Yiu-Ming], who proposed the peaceful occupation, went to the police station to surrender today to show respect for the rule of law and embody the spirit of bearing legal consequences. The police violently treated the occupying people, causing the movement to

deviate from love and peace, saying that the Umbrella Movement has awakened a generation, and even if it fails to win true universal suffrage immediately, it is considered a success. They called for the occupiers in Admiralty and Causeway Bay to evacuate and cultivate the spirit of democracy in the community, but the pan-democratic lawmakers have reservations about surrendering and evacuation.

The narrative presented here is one of reflection and sympathy for protesters of the Occupy movement. It is a call for change for the future. The article also states that the movement was a success, which contrasts to the anti-Occupy articles calling it an utter failure.

As reports of Occupy Central leaders surrendering spread, police began dismantling protest sites in Admiralty. On December 4, 2014, the Global Times reported:

Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun-Ying declared an end to the illegal Occupy protest Monday after police dismantled the last Occupy protest site and arrested more than a dozen protesters. Leung said in a press conference that following the completion of clearance work at the last protest campsite, the illegal protest, which has lasted for more than two months has come to an end. Hongkongers should consider what kind of democracy the city should pursue, he added. "Universal suffrage should follow the decision made by the National People's Congress and the Basic Law," he said. "Democracy without the law is not a real democracy but anarchy."

This quote shows a drastic comparison to the perspective South China Morning Post had the day before. Global Times upholds the criminal, law violation perspective of protesters, promoting a "Rule of Law" and "Law Violation" framework. This quote undermines the movement's democratic goals by defining them as anarchy. To juxtapose this perspective further, Apple Daily

reports on December 4, 2014, the scene of protesters turning themselves into police and signing confessions:

Yesterday, outside the Waterfront Police Station in Central District, Sheung Wan, at about 2 pm, a number of people who prepared to surrender were waiting outside. Occupy Central volunteers and lawyers who were present at the scene distributed a letter of surrender to those who prepared to surrender, asking them to write their names and signed, confessing to the crime of participating in an illegal assembly. The supporters who came to support the field kept chanting, "I want true universal suffrage." Some of them held yellow umbrellas while others sang hymns and prayed. A large number of local and overseas media were present to interview the scene, and the police were also rigorously prepared. The process was not chaotic.

This report of the scene is peaceful, yielding to the police and government. The image is the antithesis of the scene reported by Global Times, outlining the protesters as violent and radical.

6. December 11, 2014 – December 16, 2014: Police Clearance Operations in Admiralty and Causeway Bay (End of Protest)

The sixth category of the Occupy Central movement outlined in this study begins on December 11, 2014 and ends on December 31, 2014. On December 11, 2014, police begin the final clearing of the Admiralty occupation site with heavy machinery. On December 15, 2014, police reopen Causeway Bay, signalling the Occupy Central Movement's end (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019; Tong 2019). Throughout this time frame, the most common news frame used was the "Rule of Law" frame. This frame was coded 17 times out of 26 coding references. An example of this frame is given by Global Times- Beijing on December 11, 2014:

Thursday's street clearance will test the level of the rule of law in Hong Kong society. Will the students remain respectful of the law? Will the police resolutely implement the court-ordered injunction? If a conflict erupts, which side will the majority of the public stand by? All this may set the tone for Hong Kong society in the post-Occupy era. In the future, Hong Kong society may have nostalgia over either the Occupy era or its past glory as Asia's financial center.

This quote shows Hong Kong police's challenge to uphold the "Rule of Law" to keep Hong Kong at its financial glory. There is a lack of confidence in the protesters to remain peaceful, perpetuating the "Violent Protester" frame. The Hong Kong Government News echoes this uncertain perspective when quoting the Government Spokesman on December 11, 2014:

The Government spokesman said, "The police enforcement action has been both professional and restrained in restoring public order and protecting citizens' rights to use the roads. The government expresses gratitude to the police officers for their hard work and appeals to occupiers to respect the rule of law and not to re-occupy the roads. The public should abide by the law when expressing their views. Doing so by illegal means should not and could not be accepted by the society, and the government will deal with it in accordance with the law."

This article expresses the need for "Rule of Law" and condemns the "illegal" nature of the Occupy protesters, dismissing their beliefs and demands for reformations to Hong Kong democracy. By stating, "illegal means should not and could not be accepted by the society," the government spokesman proposes a definition to the moral alignment of the Hong Kong people. If you accept the movement's illegal demands and occupation, you are not a moral part of society. This engages the meaning-making process that socially format normative discourse in action. By defining what is moral, illegal, and deviant to the public, the publication is contributing to the communist Chinese

party's definition of norms in the community. The spokesman in this case is acting as a moral entrepreneur for the benefit of authoritarian Chinese governance.

South China Morning Post describes the Admiralty occupation's end in a different light, expressing the movement's success. On December 11, 2014, South China Morning Post reported:

The uncompromising measures were revealed last night as thousands gathered on the 74th day of Occupy, in expectation of a dramatic end to the sit-ins that have been dubbed the "umbrella movement." Leaders of Scholarism and the Federation of Students appealed to supporters to stay overnight and rally peacefully this morning to make their last stand.

This is the first time the newspaper outlet refers to the movement as the "Umbrella Movement," marking a change in its portrayal of the protesters. The moniker "Umbrella Movement" was coined by Western media outlets due to the use of umbrellas to counter police tear gas. Although the umbrella became the symbol of the movement, many media outlets would not call the occupation or protests by this name. This quote also expresses the peaceful nature of the movement. South China Morning Post published an article on December 12, 2014, explaining how student protesters planned to leave peacefully following the end of the occupation:

Student leaders at the core of the two-month-long Occupy protests say they will not put up any physical resistance to the police's clearance operation in Admiralty tomorrow, which they expect will mark the end of the occupation... "We will sit outside the injunction area. We will stay true to the spirit of civil disobedience – remain peaceful and bear the legal consequences of our action," [Alex Chow Yong-kang] said yesterday.

Again, South China Morning Post expresses the "Protester's Story" by quoting protest leader Alex Chow. The peaceful nature of the newspaper article solidifies South China Morning Post's

sympathetic viewpoint. This is a large shift from their views at the beginning of the occupation that highlighted the resulting social disorganization.

On December 12, the day after Admiralty was cleared, China Daily – Beijing and China Daily – Hong Kong ran a similar article entitled "Umbrella Revolution Defeated." The article explained that the clearance operation was successful. The paper restated polling numbers that expressed how the majority of Hong Kong residents favored an end to the protests. The article reports:

The "Occupy" movement has inflicted great damage on the Special Administrative Region. Aside from causing huge economic losses, it has also torn the SAR's social fabric apart. Even worse, it has attacked established beliefs about the rule of law - one of the cornerstones of the city's stability and prosperity. But every cloud has a silver lining. Some misinterpretations of, or misconceptions about, the "One Country, Two Systems" principle were straightened out during the protests. By now, Hong Kong people know better that the "high level of autonomy" doesn't mean full autonomy, and nor is "Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong" in conflict with the central government's comprehensive jurisdiction over the SAR.

To Beijing, the protests' end did not mark a peaceful retreat and overall success for the Umbrella Movement. The end of the protests marked a victory for Mainland China as a sovereign authority in Hong Kong, expressing the importance of the Rule of Law as defined by the CCP and defining the language of the Joint Agreement to their advantage. This displays the complex nuances hidden within the highly contested cultural understanding of the Joint Agreement between Beijing and the people of Hong Kong. To Beijing, the end of the protests showed the Umbrella Movement's weakness and the supremacy of CCP ideologies.

On the same day, December 12, 2014, Apple Daily published a news report entitled "Don't Forget the Cause, We'll Be Back." The article displayed the final comments from the Umbrella Movement leaders, providing a contrasting opinion of hope for a reignition of the Umbrella Movement in the future, not a complete surrender as China Daily proposed. The article explained the operations of the "ultimate clearance" in Admiralty and the voices of protesters saying, "this is not the end." The article reports:

In the past six months, the ACSF has been holding high banners "Hope lies in the people, and change begins with resistance." It once again stands among the disobedience. In response to Shuangxue's call for "not cooperating to the end," 200 people stayed behind at the junction of Tim Wah Road and Harcourt Road, facing the police blue chain. The police postponed the formal arrest until 4:20 pm, and the disobedience was carried away one by one, but no one fiercely resisted. The police began to take away a number of members of the Federation of Students and the Scholars and then began to take away members of the Panmin. Mao Mengjing, a member of the Civic Party Legislative Council, stood up and chanted loudly "We'll be back" and other slogans and sang "We shall overcome" with people on the scene.

The above quote depicts civil disobedience without violence and calls for a future return to the cause of universal suffrage in Hong Kong. The scene, one all too familiar to Western audiences, is one of revolution and the fight for civil rights. The article appeals to Western audiences by invoking readers' pathos to sympathize with protesters and their cause. There is an ideological shift in Apple Daily from a stubborn occupation to one of future resilience.

Police reopen Causeway Bay on December 15, 2014. According to various sources, this marks the end of the occupation (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019; Lee and Sing 2019; So 2017a;

Tong 2019). China Daily – Hong Kong publishes an article with the title "Umbrella Revolution Finally Ends in Failure" on the same day:

The clearance of the Admiralty "Occupy" zone was an anti-climax. It was totally uneventful, with no resistance whatsoever. Short of the symbolic gesture of our dissidents putting their hands up in the air, it was an unconditional surrender. The umbrella has now been folded, and the revolution using its name has been proved to be a total failure, forsaken by the very Hong Kong citizens it claimed to represent. This time, a color revolution plot has been foiled on Chinese soil. This is a feat never accomplished anywhere else in the world. It should have hopefully inoculated our 1.3 billion people from another attempt for the next two decades.

This quote compares the Umbrella Movement to the Color Revolution across China and the former Soviet Union. This article utilizes a very marginalizing frame to describe protesters "forsaken by the very Hong Kong citizens it claimed to represent." It implies that the protesters are not like other Hong Kong citizens and do not represent their values or ideals. The threat that "hopefully inoculated our 1.3 billion people from another attempt for the next two decades" is a direct response to the calls for a future return of the Umbrella Movement.

The South China Morning Post reported on December 15, 2014, that protesters were encouraging a shift in the movement's tactics from occupation to different forms of civil disobedience. The article reads:

Students and civic groups are launching a "non-cooperation movement" – urging people to delay paying their public-housing rent and to pay tax bills in small and symbolic amounts – as an offshoot of the Occupy Pro-Universal Suffrage protests. Alex Chow Yong-Kang, secretary-general of the Federation of Students, said yesterday the actions were legal and

busy workers unable to join previous protests could take part. "Occupy is taking on different forms. While the government has no timetable for universal suffrage, we do have a timetable to fight for it and challenge the legitimacy of the government," Chow said. Secretary for Justice Rimsky Yuen Kwok-Keung called on the public not to follow the groups' suggestions, saying it was not "a wise act" and he would not agree to "any suggestion to act in breach of the law."

The article expresses the "Protester's Story" frame and the "Criminal" frame by expressing that such disobedient tactics would be illegal. This is a very middle-road argument, stressing the neutrality of the South China Morning Post. The quote from Alex Chow also expresses the movement's survival despite the clearance operations and the occupation's end. Movement leaders establish that the fight for universal suffrage still exists and will not end on this note.

On the day after the clearance operation, December 16, 2014, Apple Daily reports that the Commissioner of Police hopes to arrest the occupation movement leader within three months of investigation. The article states:

The dust turned up by the busy traffic cannot stop us from looking up at the stars. The occupied area of Causeway Bay and the legislative council demonstration area were cleared very quickly yesterday. The 79-day occupation operation came to an end. A total of 955 people were arrested and 75 people surrendered. The Commissioner of Police, Zeng Weixiong, yesterday pledged to complete the Occupy Central investigation within three months and vowed to "apprehend and bring to justice" the dominant figure in the occupation. The Secretary-General of the Federation of Students [Alex Chow] Yong-Kang and the student's trend of thought Huang Zhifeng pointed back that they were prepared to bear criminal responsibility "righteously."

From a sympathetic perspective, Apple Daily delivers the above summary of the occupation. Still, the publication leads with a line inspiring hope: "The dust turned up by the busy traffic cannot stop us from looking up at the stars." The Secretary-General of the Federation of Students, AlexChow's, response to the call for detainment expresses the peaceful and "righteous" nature of the Umbrella Movement.

7. December 17, 2014 – December 31, 2018: Post-Occupy Central Reflections.

This section of the analysis focuses on the time frame from December 17, 2014, to December 31, 2018. Because the official end of the occupation occurred on December 15, 2014, this section focuses on analyzing post-Occupy Central reflections by the major news outlets selected for this study. I do not use articles past December 31, 2018, because I do not want to extend the research into the 2019 Pro-Universal Suffrage protests, which changed focus to the newly proposed Chinese extradition law. The most common frame used in this section of data is the "Rule of Law" frame, with 163 coding references recognized out of a total of 280 references.

On December 22, 2014, The South China Morning Post published an interview with Benny Tai, the co-founder of the Occupy Central movement. This article displays the "Protester's Story" frame as well as the "Anti-Misinformation" frame. The article states:

The Occupy Central campaign has not backfired despite recent polls showing support for Beijing's reform framework, the movement's co-founder says. In an interview with the South China Morning Post reviewing the impact of the 79 days of protest, Benny Tai Yiu-ting said that the campaign had, in fact, widened the support base of the Pro-Universal Suffrage camp. "Occupy has achieved the goal of social awakening far more than was intended," Tai said. "Occupy did not end with a loss – we have expanded the Pro-Universal Suffrage camp." He said that the tough stance taken by Beijing towards Hong Kong could

be "a strategic consideration" and he has not lost hope for genuine reform in the next few years.

The interview given by Benny Tai is an attempt to correct accusations by Beijing media outlets that the Umbrella Movement had failed. In a contrasting perspective, China Daily – Hong Kong published a "Season's Greetings!" article warning of the violence that may happen due to upset and violent protesters. The article summarizes the events of the protests:

It is that time of year when people celebrate Christmas and welcome the dawn of a new year. While tunes such as "Tis the season to be merry" remind people of the Christmas and New Year holiday season, many Hong Kong people realize some radical groups may try to disturb the peace. These groups may attempt to launch some outrageous stunts this week or next week...Hundreds of protesters violently charged police lines in Admiralty. This prompted officers to use tear gas to repel the attackers. The "umbrella revolution" immediately degenerated into a physical confrontation. This is despite the insistence of its organizers to pursue "Occupy Central with Peace and Love." The violent behavior convinced many members of the public that the campaign was not what it originally claimed to be. Considering that public opinion polls consistently found local residents overwhelmingly opposed the illegal movement throughout the year, it came as no surprise that the ranks of "occupiers" shrank soon after it began... This proved once again that schemes to undermine Hong Kong's rule of law are doomed - no matter what excuses their instigators use.

The above quote expresses many of the previously described frames: "Violent Protesters," "Criminal," "Moral Decay," "Radical," and "Rule of Law." This quote stands as a good summary of China Daily – Hong Kong's framing of the 2014 occupation and its protesters. It marginalizes the protesters by describing them in a fearsome, violent way that must be forced out of civil society.

On January 1, 2015, Apple Daily published an article outlining the results of a survey conducted by the University of Hong Kong's Public Opinion Research Project in Mid-December of 2014. The results expressed an increase in Hong Kong citizens' political awareness and less worry about economic issues. The article reports:

The 8.31 decision made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress last year shattered many Hong Kong people's democratic dreams. According to a survey conducted by the University of Hong Kong's Public Opinion Research Project in the middle of last month, the net value of Hong Kong people's satisfaction with Hong Kong's development last year fell to a 12-year low. The number of citizens who believed that the government's most important issue in the new year was political issues rose sharply to 27%, reaching a 20-year high. Economic problems dropped sharply to 9%, a 20-year low. Some scholars have pointed out that the citizens are affected by the occupation, and their attention to the political system has increased sharply than before.

This New Years' reflection expresses the Hong Kong people's overall pressure on the government to fix political issues related to the Joint Agreement and China as a sovereign nation. The 20-year low in economic problems being reported as the most important issue expresses the shift in the cultural meaning of Hong Kong's future. This article affirms the views given by Benny Tai in his South China Morning Post Interview on December 22, 2014.

As the new year of 2015 began, concerns over the August 31, 2014 decision of the NPCSC (National People's Congress Standing Committee) arose. Student protesters began filing for the decision's appeal, but the NPCSC responded that this would be impossible. Global Times of Beijing reported on March 5, 2015, the decisions finality:

Henry Tang Ying-yen, a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said the application is "a waste of time" because only the NPCSC has the authority to interpret the Basic Law. "A Hong Kong court does not have the authority to handle this issue," said Tang, a former chief secretary for administration. CPPCC Standing Committee member Chan Wing-kee agreed, saying Hong Kong had wasted too much time already and there should be no more delays. CPPCC member Lau Siu-kai said it is highly unlikely that a judicial review will overturn the August 31 decision. "The NPCSC is the nation's highest legislature," Lau said. "Its decisions cannot be challenged outside the mainland." Bernard Chan Chi-Sze, a Hong Kong deputy to the NPC, said, "The central government had stated very clearly that the August 31 decision is final."

This quote solidifies Mainland China's government's authority over interpretations of the Basic Law and Joint Agreement. Hong Kong cannot interpret the Basic Law itself, and decisions made by the NPCSC are final. This shows the difference in cultural perspectives and definitions of the Basic Law.

On March 10, 2015, Global Times released an article entitled "Radical Students Must Pay for Defiance." The article describes an interview by Global Times of "Lau Siu-Kai, a member of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and vice president of the Chinese Association of Hong Kong & Macao Studies." The article brings up the question of punishment for occupiers. Global Times reports:

The Occupy Central evoked a deep sense of concern among more Hong Kongers about the city's future stability and prosperity. It is this conservative backlash that has curbed the expansion of the protests. The mounting public demand for resuming the order of the rule of law and stability paved the way for a relatively peaceful end of the Occupy movement.

The movement did not bring the protesters to fruition but instead diminished the public trust in them, so it's unlikely that another large-scale Occupy Central would happen again... They need to recognize that they have to pay the price for their violations of the rule of law, being reprimanded by the public or even punished by the law.

This quote exemplifies Global Times' anti-Occupy perspective by utilizing the "Radical," "Criminal," "Social Disorganization," and "Rule of Law" frames to describe the actions of Occupy Central protesters and the effects it had on Hong Kong. This quote also states that "it's unlikely that another large-scale Occupy Central would happen again," a foreshadow of the 2019 Pro-Universal Suffrage protests.

In August of 2017, three prominent leaders of the Hong Kong Umbrella Movement were arrested and convicted. This included Alex Cow, Nathan Law, and Joshua Wong. They received a range of six-months to eight-month prison sentences for inciting an illegal assembly (BBC News 2017; Phillips 2017; Wong 2017). On this day, Hong Kong Government News reported on the statement issued by the Department of Justice. The statement from the Department of Justice reads:

DoJ notices that certain people in the community allege that the prosecution in this case was politically motivated, or that this case is a case of political persecution. Such kind of allegations are utterly groundless and choose to ignore the existence of objective evidence. In all criminal cases (including this one), DoJ deals with them in accordance with the Prosecution Code, the applicable law, and relevant evidence. Further, the state of judicial independence in the HKSAR cannot be doubted.

The Department of Justice assures the public that the decision to convict and sentence the three leaders of the Occupy Central movement to prison was based on evidence and in accordance with

the law. This displays the "Criminal" frame when discussing the protesters. On August 18, 2017, China Daily – Beijing reported on the imprisonment of the protest leaders:

The court held that immediate imprisonment was the only appropriate punishment, as the three sabotaged public order and social stability while claiming that all they did was "exercise their rights of organizing assembly and protests"... Starry Lee Wai-king, chairwoman of the city's biggest political party, the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, said the increased sentences have sent a clear message to society. Some people may have a wrong perception that one can do anything to pursue an ideal or a purpose, but the misconception is hazardous for society, Lee said. The sentence would reaffirm the rule of law, she said.

This quote reinforces the "Rule of Law" and "Criminal" frames by showing that the protesters' punishment is appropriate to reinstate and uphold the rule of law in Hong Kong. This quote also reinforces the "Social Disorganization" frame by stating that the protest leaders were responsible for disrupting public order and social stability.

Apple Daily published an article on August 17, 2017, in response to the imprisonment of the Occupy Central leaders that outlined an interview with Joshua Wong. Apple Daily reports:

[Joshua Wong] expects that in the Northeast case and Civic Square's recapture, more and more young people will be sent to court in the future anti-interpretation demonstrations and Mong Kok conflict. When entering prison, Hong Kong people must re-understand how to deal with the authoritarian government system that completely blocks young people inside and outside the system. "The younger generation wants to make changes within the system. They advocate that Hong Kong independence is not allowed to elect, and if they advocate civil disobedience, they will be kicked out of the Legislative Council. If they want to promote changes outside the system, prisoners will be sentenced for years. (The regime) is

thinking about Hong Kong. If you go back and forth, you will not use non-violent resistance. Any resistance is related to riots."

This article and interview with Joshua Wong show the "Protester's Story" and "Unjust Persecution" frames by expressing that the Beijing government will not go easy on protesters and young activists. Joshua Wong believes that if civil disobedience is punished in this manner, young activists will continue to be arrested for halting social progress. Joshua Wong argues that if you try to promote social change outside of the government, you will be reprimanded in Hong Kong and China.

2017 saw more Pro-Universal Suffrage protests and civil disobedience in response to the three leaders' imprisonment (Alex Cow, Nathan Law, and Joshua Wong). On December 7, 2017, China Daily – Hong Kong released an article titled "Democracy Before Rule of Law is a Dangerous Trap." The article outlined the "Rule of Law" by a Japanese-American political scientist, Francis Fukuyama. The article states:

Xiao-Ping quotes Fukuyama's steps of political development - which specify the rule of law must come before democracy. A group of people who call themselves "anti-autocracy activists" held a rally here in Hong Kong the other day. As soon as they brought out the slogan of "No Democracy, No Rule of Law," they also exposed the "pan-democrat" camp's ignorance on democratic politics. By advocating democracy before the rule of law, they have laid down a trap that can bury Hong Kong alive. The rule of law protects democracy; and orderly democracy already indicates the rule of law is crucial. If we must decide which one comes first, it has to be the rule of law...In *The Origins of Political Order*, Fukuyama traces human history over 2,000 years to pick out the intrinsic logic of political development. He believes political order comprises three elements: government efficiency, the rule of law, and democracy. The government provides public resources, and people

cannot be happy and content if the government is inefficient. The rule of law is tasked with maintaining social order, and society will fall apart without it. The core of democracy is accountability, which ensures the government follows popular will, rather than a simplistic model of "one person, one vote." Fukuyama's retrospection led to his idea of the logical order of political development: First, the government must be capable of doing its job well; second, a rule of law system must be established from the top down; and, under the regulation by the rule of law, comes democratic accountability and public participation (in democratic exercises). This "political order" must not be reversed, or democracy will become populism and out of control, leaving social order in shambles as a result. The "great democracy" during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) and the mess in West Asia and Northern Africa were all nightmarish examples of social disorder when the political order was reversed.

This quote shows the cultural definition of the "Rule of Law" in China and how it must be applied in Hong Kong. If it is not upheld, then society and public order will fall apart. By defining how the political system must work and which steps must be taken before democracy is met, the China Daily – Hong Kong article defines "Rule of Law," "Democracy," and what it means to disrupt the public order. This is a direct definition of moral guidelines that should be upheld in a democratic government. In contrast to the Beijing "Rule of Law" definition, Apple daily publishes an article on February 23, 2015, that describes the difference in definitions between the two regions:

The rule of law in Chinese is the rule of law, and in English, there is a difference between the Rule of Law and Rule by Law. Tao Jie can explain the subtle difference between 'of' and 'by.' Hong Kong people are accustomed to seeing, listening, and accustomed to it, and are very supportive. Rule of Law, but the rule of law in the central leadership population is Rule by Law, which has different meanings.

The above quote sets up the two dynamics behind the “Rule of Law” ideal in Hong Kong and mainland China. Similar to the quote from Apple Daily on November 12, 2014, this quote shows the definitional differences between Beijing’s “Rule By Law” and Hong Kong’s “Rule of Law.”

Summary of Results

In this study, a total of 11 frames were employed to perform a content analysis of 499 newspaper articles. The frames utilized in the study included the "Debate," "Criminal," "Moral Decay," "Protester's Story," "Protest Reaction," "Radical," "Rule of Law," "Social Disorganization," "Violent Protesters," "Unjust Persecution," and "Anti-Misinformation." The most marginalizing frames include "Criminal," "Moral Decay," "Radical," "Rule of Law," "Social Disorganization," and "Violent Protesters." These frames were primarily used to create a negative portrayal of the protesters and their immoral values. The most sympathetic frames utilized by newspapers included the "Protester's Story," "Protest Reaction," "Unjust Persecution," and "Anti-Misinformation." These frames were produced by news media outlets to create a positive picture of the protesters and their fight for democracy. The "Debate" frame was never found during the NVivo-Assisted content analysis; however, it was present in a more in-depth analysis of the South China Morning Post articles. This discrepancy is due to the lack of contextual understanding algorithmic computer-coding can produce compared to human interpretative content analysis. A few occurrences of the South China Morning Post discussed the views of protesters and anti-occupy individuals' views while keeping an objective tone. The "Debate" frame was never found within any of the other news media outlets' publications.

The most common frame used throughout the entirety of the analysis was the "Rule of Law" frame. The meanings and definitions of the "Rule of Law" create a massive portion of the Occupy Central movement publications. In Chinese newspapers and Pro-Establishment Hong

Kong newspapers, the “Rule of Law” was defined as a “Rule by Law” standard that represents the foundation that all of society rests on. In Hong Kong Pro-Universal Suffrage newspapers, the term “Rule of Law” can be understood similarly to western democratic definitions. The rule of law is a standard in which everyone is judged equally in accordance with the law, which is made to support citizens. The contention between this concept's meaning is key to understanding the contrasting perspectives surrounding the Umbrella Movement. The “Rule of Law” provides a contextual understanding for how police action, criminalization, government rule, and meaning-making all define elements of legitimacy for social movements.

Both the quantitative and qualitative content analysis results found that each newspaper outlet had strong ideologies that they maintained for the majority of the Occupy Central Movement in Hong Kong during 2014. The only one that had a shift in ideology was the South China Morning Post, which began covering the occupation with a strict "Social Disorganization," "Rule of Law," and "Moral Decay" perspective, that later developed into support for the Occupy Central movement. This shift occurred as the South China Morning post began publishing more interviews with protesters and adopting an overall sympathetic frame to the occupation's events. Anti-Occupy (Pro-Establishment) news media outlets included China Daily – Beijing, China Daily – Hong Kong, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News. Pro-Universal Suffrage (Pro-Universal Suffrage) news media outlets included Apple Daily and South China Morning Post. Apple Daily exceeded South China Morning Post when it came to having a sympathetic perspective on Occupy Central. Apple Daily presented sympathetic frames throughout the movement's length, while South China Morning Post only became sympathetic during the second phase of the Umbrella Movement.

While my results establish patterns in media narratives, they do not completely contextualize the Umbrella Movement's importance displaying processes of selective criminalization. The following section will evaluate the effects of media framing in Hong Kong and China across the 2014 Umbrella Movement, utilizing critical criminology, cultural criminology, criminal selectivity, and protest paradigm perspectives. My analysis allows for a discussion on the importance of the "Rule of Law" in Hong Kong and Chinese culture, focusing on civil disobedience's legitimacy under authoritarian rule.

DISCUSSION

News Media Frame Analysis

Following the critical news media frame analysis, one can now examine the theoretical insights outlined in the literature review regarding the observed patterns or themes. In regard to the frames utilized in the data, it was found that two main types of frames were employed, “Sympathetic” and “Marginalizing.” From the frames studied, three main narratives were identified, Pro-Establishment, Pro-Universal Suffrage, and Pro-Status-Quo. The most applied frame was the “Rule of Law,” present in all newspaper outlets and all narratives. The term “Rule of Law” demonstrates the importance of cultural meaning-making processes and how media directly affects them. The contentions between the “Rule of Law” definitions show the contrasting perspectives regarding how governments handle dissention and social movements.

Frames and Narratives

First, I must discuss the frames and their frequencies. In this study, 499 newspaper articles from 6 various newspaper outlets from mainland China and Hong Kong were analyzed using 11 frames. The frames broadly covered narratives of (1) Debate, (2) Criminal, (3) Moral Decay, (4) Protester’s Story, (5) Protest Reaction, (6) Radical, (7) Rule of Law, (8) Social Disorganization, (9) Violent Protesters, (10) Unjust Persecution, and (11) Anti-Misinformation throughout the 2014 Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong until the end of 2018. The frames were formed inductively and deductively based on the data collected, with a referential knowledge of previous research on social movements and media coverage (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012; McLeod 1995, 1995; McLeod and Hertog 1999). In the first step of the analysis, 50 of the articles were manually coded to build

the coding parameters. Computer-assisted coding through NVivo was then performed to code all the articles according to the first-step coding parameters. Finally, a third in-depth analysis was performed manually to reveal any hidden information or definitions across all the articles. This third analysis was performed to accommodate the lack of sophistication in NVivo in capturing the nuances and underlying meaning-making tactics embedded in the data. An inter-coding reliability test was performed between me as the primary research and a research assistant who is a native Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese speaker and reader. Their thematic coding matched with an inter-coder reliability score of 93% on a sample of 30 articles.

The coding references from the articles generated seven temporal categories: (1) September 28, 2014 – October 2, 2014: Occupy Central Begins; (2) October 3, 2014 – October 11, 2014: Clashes Between Anti-Occupy and Occupy Protesters; (3) October 12, 2014 – October 31, 2014: Police and Protester Clashes; (4) November 1, 2014 – December 2, 2014: Escalation of Protests; (5) December 3, 2014 – December 10, 2014: Occupy Central Organizers Surrender; (6) December 11, 2014 – December 16, 2014: Police Clearance Operations In Admiralty and Causeway Bay (End of Protest); and (7) December 17, 2014 – December 31, 2018: Post-Occupy Central Reflections. These categories were generated to evaluate the temporal change in frames utilized by news outlets throughout and after the movement's conclusion. The events and dates that form the categories were generated from news and academic sources, which recognized them as significant turning points in the movement (BBC News 2014a; Connors 2019; Lo 2016; Tong 2019).

After examining the text, the next step was to filter the news frames and associated newspaper outlets into broader, encompassing narratives that unify the otherwise separate news outlets. The three narratives constructed from the analysis were Pro-Universal Suffrage, Pro-

Status-Quo, and Pro-Establishment. Pro-Establishment news media outlets included China Daily – Beijing, China Daily – Hong Kong, Global Times, and Hong Kong Government News. Pro-Universal Suffrage news media outlets included Apple Daily and South China Morning Post. Apple Daily exceeded South China Morning Post when it came to having a sympathetic perspective on Occupy Central. Pro-Status-Quo narrative only included South China Morning Post. The Pro-Establishment perspective is non-sympathetic to Hong Kong's sovereignty or dissent and movements against the Chinese Communist Party. The Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective is sympathetic to protesters, supports the movement against mainland China's authority over suffrage, and reports cases of unjust persecution of activists. The Pro-Status-Quo perspective is concerned with the economic and social stability of Hong Kong during the movement, wanting to maintain the homeostasis of economic growth. Establishing these narratives is vital to understanding the exertion of social control on the citizens of Hong Kong and China to influence social movement outcomes. The narratives can influence criminalization (policing, sentencing, legislation); deviant labeling; definitions associated with the movement (“Rule of Law,” “Illegal,” “Criminal,” “Radical,” “Activist,” “Rioter,” and “Democracy”); public view of the movement; government actions; foreign or international relations; and the formation of cultural identities.

Rule of Law (法治, fǎ zhì)

The analysis results concluded that the most utilized frame among all stages of the movement was the “Rule of Law” frame. This frame used in 153 out of 499 articles and 343 out of 784 coding references. This frame was present in all time stages, all newspaper outlets, and all three established narratives. During the initial analysis, I assumed that the “Rule of Law” was just a standard way of referring to law and order. However, on deeper analysis, I discovered that the “Rule of Law” holds a much deeper cultural significance that differs between the narratives

identified. Within the analysis, I discovered varying definitions of the “Rule of Law.” From the Pro-Establishment perspective, the “Rule of Law” is seen as the pillar upon which democracy rests. From the Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective, the “Rule of Law” is understood to be the tool the CCP used to undermine universal suffrage and democratic participation. Within an article published by the China Daily – Hong Kong edition on December 7, 2017, an academic breakdown of the “Rule of Law” referring to a Japanese-American political scientist, Francis Fukuyama, is presented:

By advocating democracy before the rule of law, they have laid down a trap that can bury Hong Kong alive. Rule of law protects democracy; and orderly democracy already indicates the rule of law is crucial. If we must decide which one comes first, it has to be the rule of law... The rule of law is tasked with maintaining social order, and society will fall apart without it... First, the government must be capable of doing its job well; second, a rule of law system must be established from the top down; and, under the regulation by the rule of law comes democratic accountability and public participation (in democratic exercises). This "political order" must not be reversed, or democracy will become populism and out of control, leaving social order in shambles as a result. The "great democracy" during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) and the mess in West Asia and Northern Africa were all nightmarish examples of social disorder when the political order was reversed.

The Pro-Establishment narrative is often supported by academic sources and references that support the Chinese communist party's political opposition to the Occupy Central movement. When the Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative refers to “Rule of Law,” it means the long arm of the law, an appendage of the Chinese central government used to suppress sedition. The article from Apple Daily on November 12, 2014, explains:

The rule of law in modern civilized countries emphasizes the separation of powers and believes in creation. The core institutions for legal interpretation and interpretation are three major departments: fair and independent judiciary, democratic legislation, and responsible administration...The rule of law in China is also called rule by law, which uses the law as a tool for the government to manage the country and society. It is not the same concept as the rule of law. The purpose of the rule of law is to provide people with a platform and framework for seeking justice, but the essence of the legal system still cannot get rid of the notion that the regime is above the law... According to the official interpretation of the Chinese Communist Party, the law is the embodiment of the will of the ruling class and therefore serves the ruling class rather than being equal to all. The law is the rules and regulations that the ruler enacts for the ruled and the ruler himself must abide by. But because the legislature is not elected by the people, it is actually a tool developed by the ruler to regulate the ruled.

The Pro-Universal Suffrage definition of the “Rule of Law” more closely represents the critical Marxist perspective of the elite and the masses. Those in power create laws to keep themselves in power and suppress a rebellion. The “Rule of Law” in the Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative is used to express concerns over police brutality and potential criminalization of participation in the movement. In the article *Rule of Law with Chinese Characteristics*, Ignazio Castellucci (2007:92), an analysis of the “Rule of Law” concepts in China compared to western conceptions is performed:

Understanding the specificity of the role of law in China as a tool of governance- interacting with non-legal factors for producing final outcomes- helps to understand socialist and Chinese "rule of law." This understanding implies the development of the (non-western, to a big extent) ability to identify operational rules and foresee results in this different and more complex environment. This process includes learning to take into

account, when reading the law, all the non-strictly legal factors such as tradition, policy, economy, affecting its interpretation, application, enforcement.

The Chinese “Rule of Law” is often portrayed as a “Rule by Law” framework (Castellucci 2010). These varying definitions of the “Rule of Law” allow a connection to be drawn between cultural definitions purposed by media outlets that have the potential to affect the criminalization process during the movement. By proposing definitions of what is illegal, criminal, or deviant, media actors become the moral entrepreneurs involved in the normative discourse surrounding the actions and behaviors of Pro-Universal Suffrage protesters. Once criminalized definitions have become normative to the public, the government gains legitimatization for use of force across the criminal justice system (policing, prosecution, and legislative suppression) against movement actors.

Protest Paradigm

When discussing the media’s role in criminalization and meaning-making, one should also consider the methods journalists use to represent the protests' events. The Protest Paradigm provides a theoretical concept for the means of marginalization against the protesters. The protest paradigm supports the “status quo” and alienates the groups who question or challenge that status quo. Instead of focusing on the protest group’s goals, the mainstream media focuses on the spectacles and cherry-picked dramatic actions of the group (McLeod and Hertog 1999). The degree to which a protest group plans to disrupt the status quo (on a range from radical reform, to moderate, to maintain the status quo) determines how unfavorably news outlets will portray the group (Boyle et al. 2012; Harlow and Johnson 2011; Hertog and McLeod 1995; Peng 2008; Shoemaker 1984; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). The more radical the group, the more negative news stories appear (McLeod and Hertog 1999). The perceived radical ideology of the movement is what matters, not the literal radical actions. If a group is perceived to be extreme with intentions

to overthrow the current regime, the media reacts by marginalizing the protest actors. This is because of the direct link between news media creators, ownership, and government interference. In the case of the Umbrella Movement of 2014, the protest paradigm is supported in the Pro-Status-Quo narrative presented by the South China Morning Post. This narrative focused on the social disorganization and moral decay caused by the Occupy Central movement in Hong Kong. The South China Morning Post frequently reported on the decline in economic activity, tourism, and profit due to the movement in the financial districts of Hong Kong. The movement was pushing against the status quo and causing disruptions to the homeostasis of the social order.

The protest paradigm is also present in the Pro-Establishment narrative. There is more pushback and marginalization of the Occupy Central movement within this narrative because it disrupts the status-quo that Hong Kong had been functioning under since 1997. The use of state and academic definitions (such as “Rule of Law” by Francis Fukuyama) and official sources (Government officials, police chiefs, and economists) demonstrates one essential characteristic of the protest paradigm, the reliance on approved official sources and politically constructed official definitions (McLeod and Hertog 1999). The reluctance to include protester narratives and stories demonstrates the push to silence dissenting voices. This creates an unsympathetic portrait of the protesters, which allows for criminalization to be achieved without public consensus, opposition, or outcry.

When it comes to the Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective, the protest paradigm is not present. Because this perspective uses sympathetic frames, there are few to no coding references that depict the protesters negatively. However, the Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective frequently blames the government for actions taken, such as criminalization, dismantling of barricades, fruitless discussions between students and government officials, and lack of objective support

violent clashes, and police brutality. Instead of using official sources and quotes from government actors, the Pro-Universal Suffrage news utilizes interviews with protesters and individuals within the movement, giving it legitimacy.

Newspaper Outlets and Meaning-Making

The newspaper outlets used in this study demonstrate the creation of 3 narratives surrounding the Umbrella Movement of 2014: Pro-Establishment, Pro-Universal Suffrage, and Pro-Status-Quo. The formation of these narratives comes from framing techniques of events, definitions of critical subjects (“Rule of Law,” “Suffrage,” and “Democracy”), and effects on the criminalization process. These narratives shaped the perceptions of citizens from both Hong Kong and Mainland China. The production of meanings associated with the movement affects the cultural understanding of the movement across these regions. These cultural meanings affected the movement's public view, the creation of the anti-occupy movement, justification for subsequent government action to suppress the movement forcefully, and the criminalization of the movement. Finally, the narratives and cultural meanings serve as the foundation for forming diverse identities in citizens of Hong Kong and China.

How Meaning Affects Mobilization and Social Movements

Public View of Movement

The narratives proposed by the media outlets in Hong Kong and China during the Umbrella Movement of 2014 affected how the public viewed the movement, whether unsympathetic or sympathetic. The public view of the occupation has great effects on the outcome of the movement. If polls show there is no longer support for the movement across Hong Kong, then the protests are likely to fail in their goals for universal suffrage and changes to government decisions. However,

if polls conclude that there is majority support for the movement, there is added pressure on government entities to consider demands. Apart from polls, un-sympathetic narratives purposed by news media outlets can also fuel dissatisfaction that exists with the movement. The Anti-Occupy movement that developed was powered by the Pro-Establishment and Pro-Status-Quo narratives against the Occupy Central movement. An example of this is found in the November 5, 2014 article by China Daily – Hong Kong titled “It is the End of the Road for ‘Occupy Central’ Movement.” The article states,

Hongkongers have always been law-abiding citizens who respect the rule of law. Now that the democratic guise of the illegal campaign has gone, more people have learned what "Occupy" is really about. They have rightfully turned against it.

The article states citizens of Hong Kong have “rightfully turned against” the Umbrella Movement, justifying the actions of anti-occupy individuals. The violent clashes between Occupy protesters and anti-occupy individuals resulted in injuries, arrests, and growing divides between Hong Kong citizens. On October 6, China Daily – Hong Kong released an article following the clashes between anti-occupy and occupy protesters,

The protesters are getting what they want. They have torn society apart by asking everyone to take sides. In the process, friends have become enemies. They have discredited the police, one of the few remaining groups which normally command everyone's respect. We treasure Hong Kong as a place with the rule of law. But the occupiers are ensuring this is not the case. What good does all this do?

By mentioning the discrediting of the police and the rule of law, China Daily – Hong Kong reinforces the justification for anti-occupy movements. Pro-Establishment media shows that the

mediated narratives (social control messages) surrounding the Umbrella Movement are directly tied to the criminal selectivity of protesters by justifying the actions of the government.

The Pro-Establishment narratives presented in mainland Chinese media also affect mainland citizens. Due to censorship by the Chinese Communist Party (Chen and Yang 2019; King, Pan, and Roberts 2013; Lorentzen 2014; Xu and Albert 2017), there is limited access to outside media sources, leaving mainland news outlets (such as China Daily – Beijing and Global Times). The narratives presented by these newspapers give a biased and one-sided perspective on the events of the Umbrella Movement to mainland citizens. Mainland citizens consume narratives that criminalize protesters, marginalizing Hong Kong citizens in Chinese society. This creates a rift between the citizens of each region. By utilizing marginalizing frames and Pro-Establishment narratives, the mainland Chinese media outlets are able to promote nationality and civil obedience among their citizens. In this way, China is able to socially control citizens, deterring them from acting disobediently toward the Chinese Communist Party.

The Pro-Establishment narratives generated by newspapers (acting as moral entrepreneurs) created a moral panic among Hong Kong and mainland China citizens. By portraying the protesters as dangerous, violent, and criminal, the Pro-Establishment narratives applied marginalizing labels to them. In turn, the negative labels applied to the group created a state of fear among citizens. An example of this in the data is represented by China Daily – Beijing's September 29, 2014 article:

A group of political extremists made good on their threat to paralyze Hong Kong's central business district by kicking off their illegal "Occupy Central" campaign on Sunday.

The moral panic created surrounding the movement actors justified any criminal sanctions, sentencing, and police brutality against them. In this way, the Chinese central government and

Hong Kong government protected citizens from the “moral decay” that the Umbrella Movement symbolized. By legitimizing action against protesters, the governments also justify future government actions to prevent dissension movements.

Government Action

News media narratives also have effects on government action taken against and in support of social movements. The media can provide added pressure to a situation in which a government must decide one way or another. In Hong Kong, the Umbrella Movement of 2014 was a reaction to a decision made by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress in June of 2014 (Lee and Sing 2019). This decision asserts that the Hong Kong people must be governed by “Patriots.” In Part V, the report states, “In a word, loving the country is the basic political requirement for Hong Kong’s administrators” (Information Office of the State Council of The People’s Republic of China 2014). Reuters (2018:1) explains what the CCP means when it refers to “Patriots”:

‘Patriots’ included those who loved China, its constitution and the Communist Party and excluded anti-China ‘troublemakers,’ said Xia Baolong, director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, China’s cabinet. One direct reason for ‘anti-China’ movements in Hong Kong was that the principle of patriots ruling the city was not fully implemented, Xia said. ‘Relevant legal loopholes’ should be plugged to improve Hong Kong’s electoral system and ensure only patriots gain important office, said Xia, according to a transcript of his remarks posted online by his office. He said those who violate the national security law or challenge the leadership of the ruling Communist Party are not patriots, he said, referring to the contentious legislation Beijing imposed on its freest city in June last

year. Patriots would also resolutely oppose foreign interference in Hong Kong, he said. ‘Under no circumstances should important positions be held by elements who are anti-China or who bring chaos to Hong Kong.’

There is a divide between what mainland China and Hong Kong believe the policy of “One Country, Two Systems” should mean. Mainland China is on the side of “One Country,” and the idea that all land that the People’s Republic of China exercises sovereignty over should have unifying factors such as laws and governance. Hong Kong, however, is on the side of “Two Systems” and believes that even though the People’s Republic of China exercises sovereignty over them, they have its system of governance (Rueters Staff 2021; Zha 2018). The report also stated that the central government of mainland China had “comprehensive jurisdiction over Hong Kong, and the ‘Two Systems’ was subordinate to ‘One Country’” (So 2017b:378).

The 2014 decision made by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress represented a rift in what the people of Hong Kong understood the Joint Agreement purposed. Michael C. Davis (2015:101-102) explains:

At bottom, the protesters’ message was simple: Beijing had failed to fulfill key commitments under both the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law. This failure can be seen not only in the NPC Standing Committee’s decision to reject genuine universal suffrage, but also in Beijing’s recent cabinet White Paper on how the “one country, two systems” concept is now to be applied to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR)...By going back on the promise of universal suffrage, the White Paper, and the NPC decision to undermine critical foundations of the rule of law upon which Hong Kong’s survival as a distinct legal system has long depended. These

actions have made it increasingly difficult for Hong Kong people and the international community to take Beijing's commitments at face value.

The Joint Agreement and Basic Law also outline a "high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defense affairs" (Davis 2015:103). This means that Hong Kong also maintains its own "Rule of Law" and legal framework, without influence from China in any criminal justice processes, except in foreign and defense affairs. China's actions to pressure Hong Kong to suppress the Umbrella Movement shows a violation of this agreement. Michael C. Davis (2015:109) remarks about the influence of China on Hong Kong during the Umbrella Movement:

With the complete lack of democratic progress, Hong Kong people are left with no way to voice their objections other than their free-speech right of resistance through public protest. Civil disobedience is generally considered more justified in the face of a lack of democracy. Through its systematic interference and denial of democratic reform, Beijing has caused not less but more protest, thereby undermining its desire for a more placid Hong Kong.

In the views of Apple Daily and South China Morning Post, the lack of democratic processes in Hong Kong results in the civil disobedience demonstrated by the Umbrella Movement. The perceived injustice from the Chinese government's denunciation of the Basic Law's principles led to the Umbrella Movement and the radicalization of the masses under the Pro-Universal Suffrage perspective. Simultaneously, incidents of violence performed by the protesters and the prolonged occupation of central roads in Hong Kong led the Chinese central government to tighten social and crime control, providing justification and legitimization of police force, intensification of sentencing, and eventual legislation criminalizing dissent. This only sets the stage for the resurgence of Pro-Universal Suffrage movements in Hong Kong.

How Meaning-Making Affects Criminalization and Social Control

Criminal Selectivity

The 3 narratives presented by the news media outlets of Hong Kong and China during the 2014 Umbrella movement present different challenges to the criminalization process deployed on protesters and anti-occupy individuals. Frames within the Pro-Establishment narrative that affect criminalization include the “Criminal,” “Rioter,” “Violent,” and “Rule of Law” frames. These media frames present a picture of the Occupy Central protesters as law violating, dangerous, radical, and anti-government. This promotes an un-sympathetic public view of protesters and puts pressure on Hong Kong criminal justice and government officials to prosecute them. An example of criminal-defining rhetoric is present in a September 28th, 2014 article by China Daily – Beijing:

A group of political extremists made good on their threat to paralyze Hong Kong's central business district by kicking off their illegal "Occupy Central" campaign on Sunday.

The frames within the Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative that affect criminalization include “Protester’s Story,” “Rule of Law,” and “Unjust Persecution.” These frames present a contrasting view of protesters to the Pro-Establishment narrative. The Pro-Universal Suffrage frames promote a sympathetic view of the protesters and outline human rights violations, police brutality, and lack of equality among police protections. An example of the “Unjust Persecution” frame is present in an article published by Apple Daily on September 28, 2014:

The government sent riot police with batons, long shields, and pepper spray to overthrow and drag the demonstrators. Many students were bleeding and injured, crying and screaming. The more the totalitarianism suppressed, the more stubborn the resistance became.

This side of the narrative calls for an end to protesters' criminalization, where China Daily- Beijing calls for heightened criminalization. These two narratives demonstrate the concept of Criminal Selectivity (under-criminalization and over-criminalization).

The comprehensive and socially systematic inequality in the criminal justice system is coined as “criminal selectivity” by Valeria Vegh Weis (2018). Vegh Weis utilizes classical Marxism and Neo-Marxism to situate the phenomenon of criminal selectivity in a historically informed context that focuses on the capitalist system and class inequalities. Criminal selectivity includes the dimensions of over-policing, under-policing, and the creation of definitions relating to criminal labels. As the media outlets purpose their definitions of criminality during the Umbrella Movement, they affect the criminalization process by promoting forms of criminal selectivity. In this case study, there is an over-criminalization of protesters and an under-criminalization of Anti-Occupy individuals fueled by Pro-Establishment narratives. For the Pro-Establishment narrative, there is an adherence to the idea that all protesters are criminals because they commit acts of civil disobedience. For this narrative, the “criminal” label of protesters is used as a blanket term that includes all protesters. There is little to no reference to legal codes of which protesters violate. It is not until Benny Tai, Chan Kin-Man, and Chu You-Ming are arrested on December 3, 2014, that the Pro-Establishment news outlets begin reporting actual charges and legal code violations. The Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative has a different view of the criminalization process. The Pro-Universal Suffrage narrative promotes a view of the “Unjust Persecution” of protesters. This includes police brutality, unequal policing, and arrests compared to anti-occupy individuals, as well as unwarranted arrests, prosecution, and sentencing. This promotes a western ideal of public protest and exercises of democratic rights. For the Pro-Universal Suffrage camp, this concept would be promoted in western nations but is suppressed within southeast Asia.

Judicial Decisions

According to Hong Kong's Public Order Ordinances, individuals who plan to perform a protest must obtain a "notice of no objection" from the jurisdictional police to carry out the plan. If the notice is not obtained, those who participate can be charged with "unlawful assembly." This would represent the "primary criminalization" element of Vegh Weis' (2018) criminal selectivity. However, under the United Nations' International Human Rights Law, "anyone who wishes to hold a demonstration should be able to do so without requiring permission or authorization from the authorities" (Amnesty International 2018:6). Many subsequent arrests took place. Following the first march against the decision made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on July 1, 2014, 511 participants were arrested. By the end of the protests in December 2014, the Hong Kong government had arrested 955 protesters. After the protests had concluded, there were 45 additional arrests. Amnesty International (2018:9) reports:

According to a letter from the government in reply to Amnesty International, as of 31 August 2017, 225 people who were arrested during or after the Umbrella Movement either had had or were undergoing judicial proceedings. More than four years on from the start of the Umbrella Movement protests, scores of the protesters remain in legal limbo, uncertain if the police will proceed with the charges against them.

The Hong Kong Watch's Protest Prosecution Database concludes that as of January 31, 2021, "the accumulated number of arrests is 10,294 and more than 2,300 charged" concerning protesting in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Watch 2021:1). The news media narratives have influenced these secondary criminalization outcomes during the Umbrella Movement of 2014.

Pro-Establishment narratives affected the sentencing and ultimate criminalization of protesters involved in the Umbrella Movement. Conservative (Pro-Establishment) narratives

called for revisions to be made to the sentencing of three students involved in creating the movement (Joshua Wong, Alex Chow, and Nathan Law). After the Department of Justice of Hong Kong revised the students' sentences, China Daily – Beijing reported on August 18, 2017:

The court held that immediate imprisonment was the only appropriate punishment, as the three sabotaged public order and social stability while claiming that all they did was "exercise their rights of organizing assembly and protests"... Starry Lee Wai-king, chairwoman of the city's biggest political party, the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, said the increased sentences have sent a clear message to society. Some people may have a wrong perception that one can do anything to pursue an ideal or a purpose, but the misconception is hazardous for society, Lee said. The sentence would reaffirm the rule of law, she said.

The Pro-Universal Suffrage media had a different view on the sentencing revision, applying the "Unjust Persecution" frame. In an article published on August 17, 2017, Joshua Wong tells Apple Daily:

The younger generation wants to make changes within the system. They advocate that Hong Kong independence is not allowed to elect, and if they advocate civil disobedience, they will be kicked out of the Legislative Council. If they want to promote changes outside the system, prisoners will be sentenced for years. (The regime) is thinking about Hong Kong. If you go back and forth, you will not use non-violent resistance. Any resistance is related to riots.

The dichotomy of views surrounding the judicial decision to sentence the students to prison demonstrates the moral discourse that continued past the movement's end. This moral discourse influenced secondary criminalization (sentencing).

Revisiting Theoretical Foundations

This research provides a bridge between deviance, critical media analysis, criminal selectivity, and cultural criminology in an East Asian authoritarian, 21st-century context. Deviance is defined as a violation of social norms. Norms are defined as “shared convictions about the patterns of behavior that are appropriate or inappropriate for the members of a group” (DeFleur, D’Antonio, and DeFleur 1977:620). What is important to note in the definition of norms is the term “shared.” This term implies a consensus among the group to define an act as normative or deviant. As critical theorists, one must ask, “whose consensus is it?” There is no list of questions on the census every decade asking the public what is deviant and what is not. The consensus for a “shared” definition of a norm is made up of the ruling elite – a social unit that carries disproportionate weight in decisions regarding norms. However, the ruling elite is not the only one involved in the normative discourse. A key mechanism used to reinforce normative definitions is mass media. Mass media is used as a tool by the elite and ruling class to exert their definitions of norms on the public, legitimizing the use of enforcement.

McLeod and Hertog (1999:308) explain that the first step to critically analyzing media’s role in normative definition making, you must “Define mass-mediated social control messages that reinforce some behaviors and punish others.” To do this, one must understand news frames employed by news media outlets as social control messages that contribute to the normative discourse. As news media outlets publish articles utilizing news frames that define behaviors as normative or deviant, they reinforce the subsequent criminal selectivity through a cultural criminology context. By defining norms in the media, the definition is legitimized. The use of formal force against deviance is then justified because the norm definition is legitimate. The “Law Violation” or “Criminal” frames used by news outlets strengthen the norm's legalization. These

frames focus on legal issues instead of moral issues to solidify the criminalization of protesters, delegitimizing the goals and actions of the movement.

The concepts of criminal selectivity through mass-mediated messages fit into cultural criminology by connecting normative definitions in media to the direct process of criminalization. Mass media works as an agent of the state to perpetuate moral panic surrounding protesting groups. Adhering to the protest paradigm, media outlets are able to marginalize protesters from the general public, demonizing them as a social detriment. Media acts as the engine for the conveyance of moral panics. Mass media can “visualize deviance, concentrate and publicize public outrage about wrongdoing, and offer a perspective on social control” (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2010:89). I propose that within authoritarian nations, moral panics are created in response to any dissenting movement. The state then employs the mass media to perpetuate the moral panic, spreading it to the public. This is a tactic used by authoritarian governments to suppress movements against the ruling class to stay in power.

Within authoritarian regimes, media ownership and censorship play a prominent role in how protest groups are portrayed in mass media. The more radical a group, the more negative the portrayal. This changes the dynamics of the protest paradigm defined in previous research. The authoritarian government structure creates a state-sponsored and censored version of the protest paradigm that exceeds the levels found in democratic and western nations. In this research, it was found that state-sponsored media (Global Times, China Daily – Hong Kong, China Daily – Beijing, and Hong Kong Government News) reinforced the protest paradigm to an extreme, making up a majority of frames used. In the more independent news outlets (South China Morning Post and Apple Daily), I see more focus on protester stories, moral issues within the movement, and unjust persecution of protesters. This phenomenon shows that in authoritarian nations, the

protest paradigm is reinforced in media portrayal of protesters as deviants are along party lines (Pan-Democratic and Pro-CCP in the current research). This is something that has not been researched within authoritarian government and eastern national protests. While this analysis is just a small step into understanding the interplay between meaning-making and social control, the contestation for protestor legitimacy found across mainland Chinese and Hong Kong journalism does display patterns of authoritarian control and purposive abuses of democratic & human rights.

Culturally-informed, socially learned, and mass-mediated definitions have significant impacts on the contextual understandings of actors. The different meanings behind the “Rule of Law,” “Democracy,” and “Freedom” in the context of Hong Kong and Chinese relations are essential when deciphering ideologies and perspectives surrounding political dissention. In Hong Kong, a tradition of British rule, western democratic philosophy, and capitalistic economy have shaped the meaning of “Democracy.” However, in China, the question of democracy remains one of contention. The concept of authoritarian deliberation allows us to unpack China’s cultural definition of “democracy.” Through authoritarian deliberation, the government allows citizens to feel a sense of democracy without full participation in legislation, election processes, and the allocation of resources. By restricting and criminalizing political dissention, the CCP restricts deliberative democracy to the ruling elite. The government then justifies its actions by creating narratives that portray democratic demonstrations of political dissent as criminal, morally decaying, and the cause of social disorganization. The Pro-Establishment narrative displays this authoritarian meaning-making process.

CONCLUSION

Mass media plays an essential role in the creation and maintenance of norm definitions. By reinforcing definitions with news media frames, mass media can build justification for the application of deviant labels. In this way, media outlets act as moral entrepreneurs and control a moral panic targeting the deviant individuals. Criminal law is created once a deviant behavior is deemed “too dangerous” by the ruling elite. Drawing on critical criminology, I established the theoretical groundwork supporting the idea of the ruling elite controlling the masses through the use of criminal law. According to cultural criminology, the process of meaning-making behind definitions of “criminal,” “radical,” or “deviant” affects real-life chances. The normative discourse, in turn, impacts the criminal selectivity process and criminalization of deviant actors.

The findings of this study had similarities with research performed on media coverage in China by previous researchers (Chen and Yang 2019; Du, Zhu, and Yang 2018; Feng 2017; Lee 1998, 2014, 2019; Lee and Ting 2015), allowing me to make the claim that the media coverage of the 2014 Umbrella Movement heavily motivated the normative discourse surrounding protesters’ actions and their subsequent criminalization. By analyzing 499 newspaper articles from 6 different newspaper outlets across Hong Kong and mainland China, I was able to demonstrate three narratives: Pro-Establishment, Pro-Status-Quo, and Pro-Universal Suffrage. The Pro-Establishment narrative directly influenced protesters' criminalization by founding normative definitions in favor of the Chinese Communist Party’s control over Hong Kong. The definitions proposed by the Pro-Establishment narrative had temporal effects on sentencing, Pan-Democratic political involvement, and legislation barring dissent against the Chinese Communist Party. The

Pro-Establishment narrative legitimized the actions of the Chinese central government and Hong Kong government in response to the movement.

One significant finding in this research was the differing cultural definitions of the “Rule of Law” in Hong Kong and China. This study found that the “Rule of Law” was the most common frame applied in the data. Pro-Establishment narratives posit that the “Rule of Law” is the foundation of democracy and must be upheld at all costs. However, Pro-Universal Suffrage narratives suggest that the Pro-Establishment version of “Rule of Law” is actually “Rule by Law,” changing the philosophical framework in which the “Rule of Law” is conceived. “Rule by Law” is reinforced as a tool for governments to control their nations. For Pro-Universal Suffrage narratives, the “Rule of Law” is understood similarly to western Democratic definitions: Law governs all peoples' actions in a democracy with a separation of powers and religion. The cultural differences in the definition of the “Rule of Law” can potentially affect the criminalization of protesters and the growing tensions between Hong Kong and China.

While I believe that my thesis stands up to the rigors and expectations for an investigation in the social sciences, my deeper intention was only to observe and report the natural phenomena of the world. The contestation for control over Hong Kong engages much deeper political authoritarianism from the Chinese communist party than I could cover in a single analysis, thesis, book, or career. While the sheer volume of my research establishes the credibility of my work, the undeniable truth is that people in Hong Kong are losing their sovereignty, their freedom, and their lives. My heart goes out to them.

Limitations

This research included many limitations due to funding, university resources, and personal resources. As the primary researcher, I am not a native Cantonese or Mandarin speaker or reader. To conduct most of the research, there was a heavy reliance on Google Translate tools, and my excellent research assistant providing insight as a native Cantonese reader and speaker. To overcome this limitation, I frequently invited critique from my Mandarin and Cantonese speaking colleagues (my research assistant and my thesis Chair), solicited feedback of my presentation in Asian Studies conferences, and discussed my finding with Hong Kong immigrants in the United States involved in academia.

Another limitation was access to news databases. Colorado State University did not have a subscription to Lexus Nexus at the time of data collection, restricting the availability of newspaper articles and newspaper outlets that could be included within the dataset. If the research were recreated, it would be helpful to include more Hong Kong newspaper outlets that were more conservative but not state-sponsored, such as Wen Wei Po. This would have provided a much-needed third perspective of independent Hong Kong news.

Future Directions

The framework and theoretical statements within this work can be applied to various social movements across the globe and throughout history. An evaluation of the 2019 Pro-Democracy protests in Hong Kong would help understand the temporal changes in tactics, frames, and portrayal of protesters in Hong Kong and China. The early 2021 Pro-Navalny protests in Russia are a very similar movement against an authoritarian government with communist roots, calling for democratic reform. When it comes to western democratic nations, this same framework can be

applied. In early 2021, the United States Capitol occupation had a strong mass media response, calling for liberation and criminalization of individuals involved. All of these movements can be evaluated with the framework discussed in the appendix. However, there needs to be more research into diverse factors, ideologies, and ownership influences within news media and frame production. The connection between the ruling elite, government, and mass media outlets also requires deeper exploration. Large-scale global social network analysis between these three entities could benefit the field by providing insights into the flow of power and money to arrive at criminal selective frames and narratives.

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APPENDIX 1

Building a Framework:

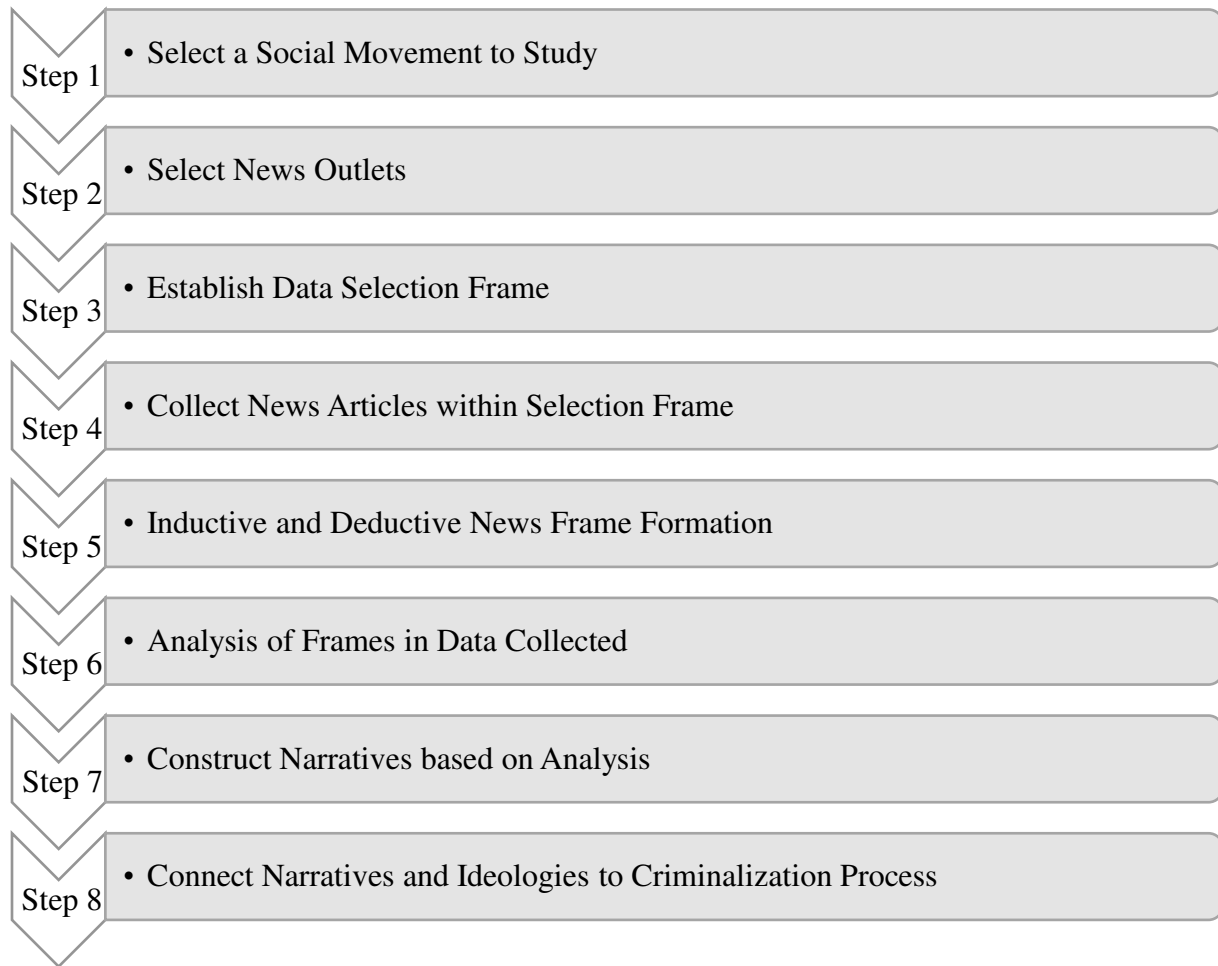
Criminal Selectivity Through Social Movement Media Coverage Framework

Using the lens of social movements, one can expose the interconnectedness and social control mechanisms behind news media and the ruling elite. Social movements provide an access point that reveals underlying biases and motivations behind mass media in an attempt to control the masses, keeping those at the top in power. The framework discussed in this section is intended to utilize any social movement in history in which print media has been deployed. By analyzing ideologies, influences (both internal and external), frames implemented, and reactions to important movement events, I can unlock the underlying meaning-making process and its effects on criminalization and the success of the movement. This methodological framework is meant to bridge the gap in the literature between social movements, cultural criminology, and critical criminology. Through social control mechanisms of the media, criminal selectivity is deployed in the meaning-making process and turn, affects the criminalization of social movement actors. This framework allows researchers to connect the elite ruling class of a nation-state to the media, the criminal justice system, and social movement actors.

When employing this proposed framework, you have to select a social movement to study in which mass media was deployed (Step 1). This framework will not work on social movements before newsprint media. However, you can employ this framework on social movements that have international news attention and analyze internal and external news sources. When selecting news outlets to study (Step 2), make sure to select a variety of news sources with different political

ideologies, ownership, and scope, and aim. By keeping variety in news sources, you can establish different narratives and frames surrounding the social movement. Without variety, you cannot contrast divergences in frames. It is also essential to include a news outlet associated with the governmental organization in which the social movement is happening. This adds a pro-government perspective. Including independent news outlets also allows for a non-government-associated perspective. For Step 3: Establish Data Selection Frame; you need to establish a time frame in which you are going to collect your articles. If the movement has a finite timeline, make sure to expand across the entirety of that period. Going past the “end” of a movement can also allow for reflection news articles to be collected. Reflection articles may show a temporal change in frames from single news outlets. You also want to establish a timeline of important events that occur within the social movement. This will allow you to compare and contrast the frames utilized by newspaper outlets surrounding a single event.

Step 4: Collect News Articles within Selection Frame requires the researcher to gather data from available news archives. Your university will provide access to specific databases that allow this to flow smoothly. Helpful databases are Lexus Nexus (or Nexis Uni), Access World News, and online free databases often offered by government organizations. This can be one of the most challenging steps in the process because of availability and access to newspapers. This can often limit your options and requires a revision of newspaper selections.



The formation of news frames (Step 5), both inductive and deductively, involves manual coding and reading of your selected articles. The reason this process is inductive and deductive is that you can pull on frames from other research in the field of news media framing and create your frames. Douglas M. McLeod and James K. Hertog (1999) propose a variety of frames that are very helpful in beginning your frame construction. McLeod and Hertog (1999) identify several frames that can be applied in the event of a protest. They begin with marginalizing frames that separate the protesters from the rest of society. These include the *violent crime story*, *property crime story*, *the carnival frame*, *the freak show frame*, *the “Romper Room” frame*, *the riot frame*, *the storm watch frame*, and *the moral decay frame*. They go on to describe composite frames: *the showdown frame*, *the protest reaction frame*, *the dissection story*, *the psychoanalysis story*, *the association*

frame, and the comparison frame. Next are the sympathetic frames: *the creative expression frame, the persecution frame, the unjust frame, and the “Our Story” frame* (McLeod and Hertog 1999). These frames are great to consider, but often you may need to create frames that are more specific to the social movement you are studying. Step 6: Analysis of Frames in Data Collected requires content analysis, either manual or computer-assisted or both. For my study, I initially began the frame analysis manually, then transitioned to computer-assisted (via Nvivo) once coding parameters were established. After the computer-assisted coding was performed, I performed another in-depth analysis of the articles to pick up any information that may have been left out. This analysis produced more detailed information concerning cultural definition differences in the “Rule of Law” frame.

For Step 7: Construct Narratives based on Analysis, the research has to consolidate frames analyzed into succinct categories that express a single ideology. In the case of the Umbrella Movement, I was able to filter all 11 of the frames into 3 concise narratives: Pro-Universal Suffrage, Pro-Status-Quo, and Pro-Establishment. These three narratives reflect the ideologies of the newspaper outlets studied and the frames used to promote this narrative to the public. Often, the narratives will have a pro-movement, an anti-movement, or a neutral narrative presented in social movement media coverage. Once you build these narratives, you enter Step 8: Connect Narratives and Ideologies to Criminalization. This is the most important step when it comes to social movements and social control research from a cultural criminological perspective. You need to find how the narratives expressed by social movement media coverage affected the criminalization (over-policing, under-policing) of social movement actors. Were sentencing judgments, arrests, acquittals, or dropped charges influenced by the media coverage? How did certain news outlets that are associated with each narrative cover criminalization of social

movement actors? Were specific laws and codes cited to justify or attack charges? Do the news outlets refer to social movement actors as criminal or unjustly persecuted? These questions allow the researcher to unravel the connections between media, social movement actors, crime definition creators, and the elite class. This interconnectedness shows the direct influences of the elite on the suppression of social movements to maintain the status quo, keeping those with power in the position of power.