



**EU Framework Six DEMOLOGOS
Project: Newcastle Conference**

*Hong Kong/Pearl River Delta as a Trans-
Border Region: Structures, Strategies and
Discourses*

16th-17th Nov. 2007

Newcastle University

I - Lead Aims and Themes

- **DEMOLOGOS aims to:**
 - survey major theories in ABC and TSP papers
 - bridge between theories and case studies
- **Relevant ABC papers for this study**
 - Imperialism (Novy), world systems approach (So), historical geographical materialism (Swyngedouw), regulation approach (Jessop), Gramsci as a spatial thinker (Jessop) and cultural political economy (Sum)
- **Relevant TSP papers**
 - ASID (Agency, Structure, Identities and Discourses)
 - CHID (Culture, Hegemony, Ideology and Discourses)
- **Study socio-economic changes of Hong Kong/PRD with reference to:**
 - structural-strategic contexts of 4 stages
 - focus on 2 strategic-discursive moments in the production and negotiation of hegemony

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Table 1.1 Time-Space-Scale Relations of Hong Kong and the PRD from 1842-2007

<i>Periodization</i>	<i>Inter-Scalar Articulation</i>	<i>New Spatial Imaginaries and (Re-)Organizations</i>
1841-1949 British colonialism and Hong Kong as a trading port	Global-regional-local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •British trade empire and Hong Kong as a regional trade hub •Rise of business compradors and elite in Hong Kong
1949-1979 The Cold War and Hong Kong as an exportist-industrial city	Global-urban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •American hegemony and the Cold War •Hardening of border between Hong Kong and the PRD/China •International division of labour and Hong Kong as an exportist-industrial city •Business-dominated compromise with limited support for industries
1979-2004 Post-Cold War and opening of China: rise of Hong Kong and PRD as trans-border region	Global-national-regional-local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Post-Cold War and globalization of production, finance and knowledge •Opening of China in 1978 and northward march of Hong Kong's industries to PRD •Service vs. industry debate in Hong Kong (Harvard and MIT brands) •Hong Kong's political transition and 1997 Asian crisis •Strengthening of business-financial bloc and normalizing of service-competitiveness truth regime with industrial-technology gaining more visibility
2000-2007 Deepening of Hong Kong and PRD as a trans-border region	Global-national-regional-local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •China's entry into the WTO and the SARS crisis •Techno-nationalisms and provincialisms in China •'CEPA, 'Greater PRD', 'Pan PRD' and 'marginalization of Hong Kong' discourse •Politics of rescaling and 'disciplinary integrationism' •Emergence of trans-border industry-technology bloc

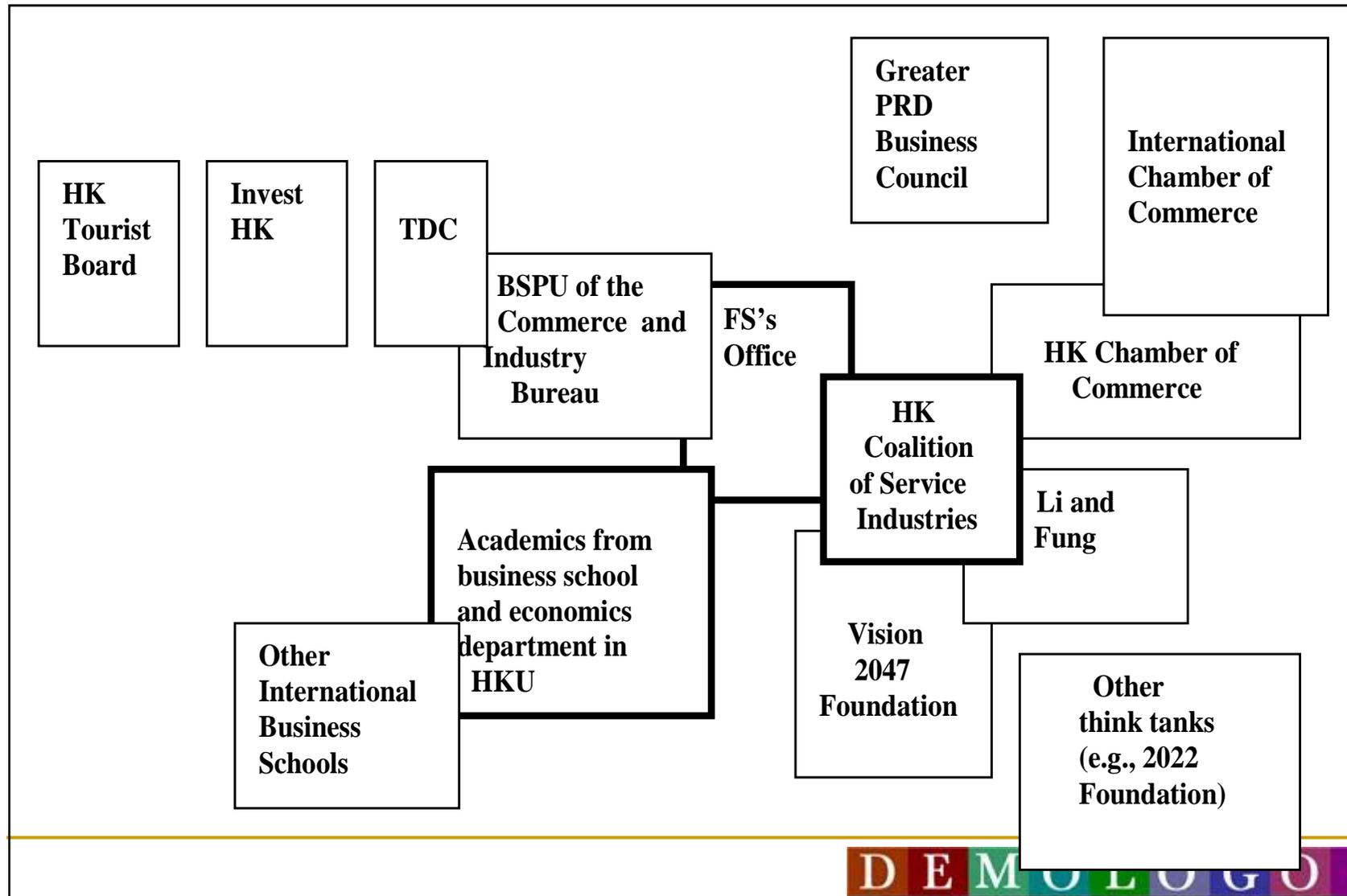
First Strategic-Discursive Moments: Stage 3

- **Restructuring of Hong Kong in face of the Northward march of Hong Kong's industry to China – the 'hollowing out' debate**
- **Drawing on global knowledge brands (e.g., Porter's *Competitive Advantage*)**
 - **A hegemonic meaning-making device promoted by “world-class” guru-academic-consultants who claim unique understanding of the economic world and translate this into pragmatic policy recipes and methodologies that address social contradictions as well as appeal to the pride and anxieties of the subject in the process of socio-economic changes**
 - **Recontextualized the cluster discourse/metaphor to Hong Kong's context by state managers, local academic guru, think tanks and top entrepreneurs – sponsoring the *Hong Kong Advantage* report – 5 service clusters to enhance Hong Kong's competitiveness**

Production of Service-Competitiveness Regime of Truth

	Major Actors Involved	Examples of Knowledge Apparatuses	Knowledging Techniques in Meaning Making/ Stabilization	Examples of (Re-) Invented Symbols
<i>First Stage</i> 1998-2005	Financial Secretary, economic leaders, Hong Kong Coalition of Service Industries, think tank, academic-consultants, Trade Development Council	Speeches in conference, commissioned reports, policy papers, blueprint	Technique of repetition Technique of marginalization (discursive closure) Technique of agency Technique of chaining	'Metropolitan economy' with a service orientation 'Technology as a means' 'Technology to follow (not lead) business' 'Tripartite', 'Quad' and 'Penta' Forums 'Quality of Life' sectors 'Management Consultancy' sector 'Asia's World City' 'Cultural Industries'
<i>Second Stage</i> 2000-6	Economic leaders, Hong Kong Coalition of Service Industries, think tank, Trade Development Council, InvestHK, academic-consultants	Study report, policy documents; commissioned reports	Technique of chaining Technique of rescaling Technique of calculated complementarity	'CEPA' 'Service metropolis' 'Greater Pearl River Delta' 'Combined advantages' 'Greater PRD as Regional Powerhouse' Synergetic 'clusters'
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Competitiveness-Service Bloc: Global Metropolitanism

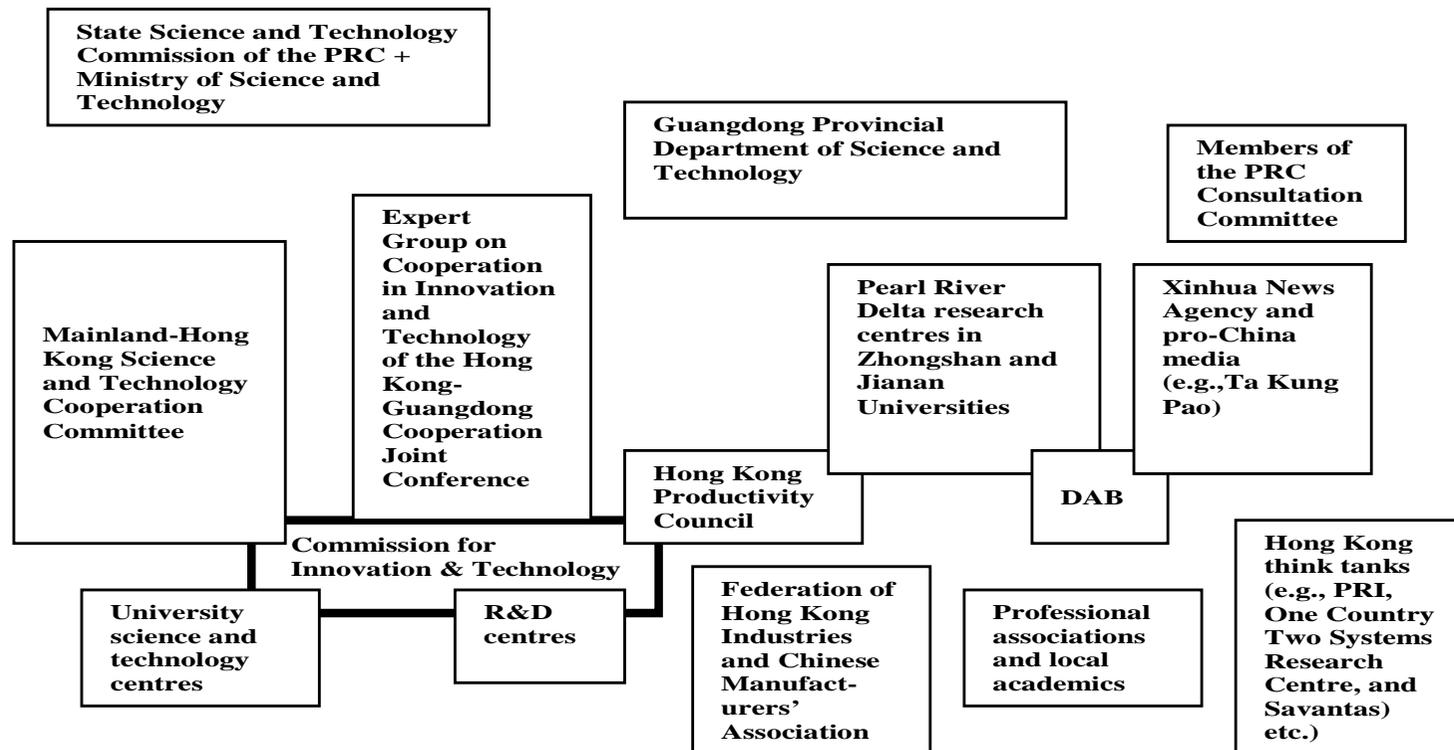


Second Strategic-Discursive Moment: Stage 4

- **Challenges coming from an alternative brand – technological upgrading – MIT’s ‘Made by Hong Kong’ Report**
- **Backed by Chief Executive and later on China (China’s techno-nationalism and Guangdong’s upgrading drive)**
- **Cross-border technology programmes (e.g., Hong Kong-Guangdong Technology Cooperation Fund)**
- **Micro-technologies of control – the art of governing through specifying conditions, targets, funding guidelines and the fear of being excluded**
- **Actors are encouraged to enter into an integrative mode of calculation – ‘disciplinary integrationism’**

Inter-related Stages of Discursive Construction	Major Actors Involved	Examples of Knowledge Apparatuses	Knowledging Techniques in Meaning Making/Stablization	Examples of (Re-)Invented Symbols
<i>First stage</i> 2003-4	<p>Chinese top officials, Chinese media and pro-China newspapers</p> <p>Privately-funded think tank, professional organizations and Legislative Councillor of the industry constituency</p>	<p>Discussion session, Legco speech, think tank reports, etc.</p>	<p>Technique of affective hierarchy</p> <p>Technique of performance</p>	<p>CEPA as 'gift' and 'opportunity'</p> <p>'Made in Hong Kong' under the CEPA</p>
<i>Second stage</i> 2004-6	<p>Cross-border institutions, Commission for Innovation and Technology, Chinese Manufacturers' Association of Hong Kong. University science & technology researchers, professional bodies, pro-China political party/media, and think tanks in China</p>	<p>Funding schemes, consultation paper, strategy plan, national plan, research paper, media columns, etc.</p>	<p>Techniques of agency</p> <p>Techniques of performance and judgement</p> <p>Technique of differentiation/othering</p>	<p>'Cross-border partnership and cooperation'</p> <p>Objects of technological upgrading and integration (e.g., RFID technologies)</p> <p>'Marginalization of Hong Kong'</p>

Technology-Upgrading-Integration Bloc: Techno-Nationalism



Concluding Remarks

- **Case study**
 - **Politics of rescaling – from Hong Kong to Hong Kong-Guangdong and Pan River Delta programmes – shift centre of gravity from Hong Kong to Guangdong and China**
 - **Struggle for democratization related to the ‘one country, two systems’ model**
- **Theoretical remarks**
- **CHID model – problematization of hegemonic struggles – mediated by knowledge brands**
- **Re-politicizing development/growth – the conflicts and contradictions emanating from economic and social relations lie at the heart of socio-economic change**
- **Politics of the possible - a sense of the hegemonic and the truth effects of knowledge brands – the search for alternatives**