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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodization</th>
<th>Inter-Scalar Articulation</th>
<th>New Spatial Imaginaries and (Re-)Organizations</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1841-1949</strong></td>
<td>Global-regional-local</td>
<td>• British trade empire and Hong Kong as a regional trade hub</td>
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<td>British colonialism and Hong Kong as a trading port</td>
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<td>• Rise of business compradors and elite in Hong Kong</td>
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<td><strong>1949-1979</strong></td>
<td>Global-urban</td>
<td>• American hegemony and the Cold War</td>
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<td>The Cold War and Hong Kong as an exportist-industrial city</td>
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<td>• Hardening of border between Hong Kong and the PRD/China</td>
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<td>• International division of labour and Hong Kong as an exportist-industrial city</td>
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<td>• Business-dominated compromise with limited support for industries</td>
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<td><strong>1979-2004</strong></td>
<td>Global-national-regional-local</td>
<td>• Post-Cold War and globalization of production, finance and knowledge</td>
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<td>Post-Cold War and opening of China: rise of Hong Kong and PRD as trans-border region</td>
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<td>• Opening of China in 1978 and northward march of Hong Kong’s industries to PRD</td>
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<td>• Service vs. industry debate in Hong Kong (Harvard and MIT brands)</td>
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<td>• Hong Kong’s political transition and 1997 Asian crisis</td>
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<td>• Strengthening of business-financial bloc and normalizing of service-competitiveness truth regime with industrial-technology gaining more visibility</td>
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<td><strong>2000-2007</strong></td>
<td>Global-national-regional-local</td>
<td>• China’s entry into the WTO and the SARS crisis</td>
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<td>Deepening of Hong Kong and PRD as a trans-border region</td>
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<td>• Techno-nationalisms and provincialisms in China</td>
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<td>• CEPA, ‘Greater PRD’, ‘Pan PRD’ and ‘marginalization of Hong Kong’ discourse</td>
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<td>• Politics of rescaling and ‘disciplinary integrationism’</td>
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<td>• Emergence of trans-border industry-technology bloc</td>
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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

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

HK Tourist Board
Invest HK
TDC
BSPU of the Commerce and Industry Bureau
FS’s Office
Greater PRD Business Council
International Chamber of Commerce
HK Chamber of Commerce
HK Coalition of Service Industries
Li and Fung
Vision 2047 Foundation
Other think tanks (e.g., 2022 Foundation)

Other International Business Schools
Academics from business school and economics department in HKU
Other think tanks (e.g., 2022 Foundation)
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’
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Inter-related Stages of Discursive Construction</th>
<th>Major Actors Involved</th>
<th>Examples of Knowledge Apparatuses</th>
<th>Knowledging Techniques in Meaning Making/Stabilization</th>
<th>Examples of (Re-)Invented Symbols</th>
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<td><strong>First stage 2003-4</strong></td>
<td>Chinese top officials, Chinese media and pro-China newspapers</td>
<td>Discussion session, Legco speech, think tank reports, etc.</td>
<td>Technique of affective hierarchy</td>
<td>CEPA as ‘gift’ and ‘opportunity’</td>
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<td>Privately-funded think tank, professional organizations and Legislative Councillor of the industry constituency</td>
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<td>Technique of performance</td>
<td>'Made in Hong Kong' under the CEPA</td>
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<td><strong>Second stage 2004-6</strong></td>
<td>Cross-border institutions, Commission for Innovation and Technology, Chinese Manufacturers’ Association of Hong Kong. University science &amp; technology researchers, professional bodies, pro-China political party/media, and think tanks in China</td>
<td>Funding schemes, consultation paper, strategy plan, national plan, research paper, media columns, etc.</td>
<td>Techniques of agency</td>
<td>‘Cross-border partnership and cooperation’</td>
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<td>Techniques of performance and judgement</td>
<td>Objects of technological upgrading and integration (e.g., RFID technologies)</td>
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<td>Technique of differentiation/othering</td>
<td>‘Marginalization of Hong Kong’</td>
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Technology-Upgrading-Integration Bloc: Techno-Nationalism

State Science and Technology Commission of the PRC + Ministry of Science and Technology

Mainland-Hong Kong Science and Technology Cooperation Committee

Expert Group on Cooperation in Innovation and Technology of the Hong Kong-Guangdong Cooperation Joint Conference

Hong Kong Productivity Council

Pearl River Delta research centres in Zhongshan and Jianan Universities

Guangdong Provincial Department of Science and Technology

DAB

Members of the PRC Consultation Committee

Xinhua News Agency and pro-China media (e.g., Ta Kung Pao)

University science and technology centres

R&D centres

Federation of Hong Kong Industries and Chinese Manufacturers’ Association

Professional associations and local academics

Hong Kong think tanks (e.g., PRI, One Country Two Systems Research Centre, and Savantas) etc.)
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