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“Public Health Crises as a chance to reconstruct Social Identity - Taiwan and Hong Kong government's practices to ensure social cohesion through the construction of social identities during COVID-19”

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**“Long story short, I survived.”
- Taylor Swift**

Thank you to everyone who helped me do so.
You know who you are.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Objective & Question

Identity is something most people relate to struggle, insecurity or confidence (GoodTherapy: 2019). Not quite being secure in your identity during puberty or as a young adult, not really knowing what kind of person you want to be or being completely secure and confident in your identity and what defines you (Aspiro: 2018). The concept of identity in itself is a personal one, related to the individual. Our identities are what make us who we are, attributes, experiences, flaws and strengths. While there is an individual level to identity, there is also a social one. The parts of our identities related to our social environment, the friends we have, the groups we identify with, the family we were born into and that which we build and choose over time. On some levels, the social aspects of our identity can be shaped by us, we can more or less choose which people we surround ourselves with or which groups we want to be associated with. But who or what defines these groups? How are they named, accredited characteristics and norms to adhere to, mobilized for certain causes or related to other groups? This particular area of research is one where in a very interesting way, the fields of psychology and political science can overlap to form even more interesting research questions and objectives. The objective of this thesis is related to that very overlap. Social identities can be shaped and harnessed by political figures of power with certain aims depending on the challenge or situation at hand – specifically national or ethnic identities. The most recent challenge which universally effected and still effects all states and state-structured entities in the global community is the spread of the novel Coronavirus (COVID-19). Since the beginning of the pandemic COVID-19 has infected 522 million people and been the cause of death for 6,27 million of them.¹ Most world countries experienced economic recession as a consequence of the virus in 2020, with China being the only major world economy experiencing minor economic growth at a 2,5% growth rate. Most countries also experienced a growth in unemployment rate between 2019 and 2020, with areas such as tourism and hospitality being most strongly affected by the economic consequences of COVID-19 (Jones et al.: 2021). Effects of the pandemic are not limited to economic and demographic developments, however. It has also has devastating effects on mental health, with the WHO reporting an increase of 25 percent in cases of anxiety and depression worldwide. And the pandemic is still far from being over, fourth and fifth waves continuously hitting and effecting countries all over the world. Young people and women are the most affected, as they suffered the most from the effects of isolation, home schooling and caregiving responsibilities respectively (WHO: 2 March 2022).

¹ Our World in Data, 17th of May 2022: <https://ourworldindata.org/explorers/coronavirus-data-explorer>

Other public health crises with global effects have occurred before, however COVID-19 was early on named the most severe health crisis ever declared by the World Health Organization (BBC News: 2020). Secretary General of the United Nations Antonio Guterres warned that the world was facing the worst, most challenging crisis since the Second World War, specifically in reference to its long-term economic impact (Business Today India: 2020). A crisis of this extent implies that a certain need and necessity to unite citizens was experienced and exercised by governments, as it is an important component and instrument in trying to battle a virus – an invisible enemy and threat to public security. As previously mentioned, the construction of social identities and the interconnected possibility to shape individual norms, behavior and potentially mobilize for a cause has proven to be an efficient and relevant tool to manage a crisis of this size, and more importantly limit the inflicted damage as best as possible, through shaping individual behavior. Throughout the COVID-19 crisis the East Asian countries have become known for their superior crisis management and their ability to keep the numbers of new, locally transmitted infections relatively low through effective methods of pandemic management (Ma et al.: 2021). A later chapter of this thesis will outline the epidemiological development in both Taiwan and Hong Kong SAR in more detail, also giving an overview of the most recent surge in cases due to the spread of the more infectious Omicron-variant of the virus. The objective of this thesis therefore relates to both social identity construction and the management of the COVID-19 public health crisis by East Asian countries. Understanding how political leaders chose to construct social identity in this first modern-time global pandemic will give us a better understanding of which prioritizations regarding characteristics, norms, associations with out-groups or the construction of threats are considered effective means of political communication. In the context of East Asia this will thus offer a model of which norms of the respective social identities and which form of association with the People's Republic of China dominate the self-perception. The thesis will therefore analyze similarities and differences in how both Taiwan and Hong Kong constructed social identity through all forms of public communication during the COVID-19 crisis between 2019 and 2021. Additionally, it will take a look at how this construction is related to differentiating the respective countries from their regional neighbor – the People's Republic of China. The thesis at hand therefore poses itself the following Research Question:

What are similarities and differences in the construction of social identity in public communication by both Taiwan and Hong Kong government during the COVID-19 public health crisis between 2019 and 2021? To what extent are these constructions aimed at (re)defining the relationship between the respective societies and the PRC?

1.2 Relevance

Especially in moments of political crises and confrontation, which have constantly and repeatedly been present in the discussed region, the construct of social identity, through individuals establishing themselves as leaders, plays an important role. Be it in the field of LGBTQIA+ involvement in social movements (Pang: 2020), the development of anti-immigrant sentiments (Downes: 2018) or the differentiation between a Chinese and a Hongkong or Taiwan identity (Ortmann: 2018; Li. 2014), it repeatedly plays a role in researching relations in the region.

The means through which identities are constructed and how they are outlined and defined is essential to be aware of in as much detail as possible for anyone working in contact with Taiwan or Hong Kong, as it is a reflection of both the political and social climate in a country at a given time. Thomas et al. discuss this specifically in the case of political crises, identifying that phenomena like social cohesion, solidarity, trust, resilience in the face of trauma and construction of a collective memory all strongly influence the group emotional climate and therefore the overall social climate in the given country (Thomas et al.: 2009).

For the politicians in the researched countries an analysis of the highlighted and therefore popular characteristics of social identity on the national level gives them tools to optimize their own forms of communication and potentially profit politically from the insight. Political profit can occur in the form of getting re-elected, getting put up for election in the first place or gaining access to higher political offices. Research has shown that successful leadership is highly dependent on leaders being prototypical group members acting in the interest of the group and therefore also highly aware of the salient group identities in play at a certain point in time (Haslam & Platow: 2001; Hogg: 2001; Reicher et al.: 2005). As Haslam and Platow write: “(...) the key to a leader’s success is his or her ability to behave in a way that advances the interests of as many group members as possible.” (Haslam & Platow: 2001, 1477).

Additionally, diplomats or international businessmen and -women can potentially benefit from this research, as information on the current social and political climate through the assessment of social identity may be relevant to how they prepare for potential diplomatic or business negotiations and how they can ensure a successful outcome. Furthermore, it can be relevant for the international community to have more of an insight into the relationship in greater China, which is a global area of interest. International journalists, politicians or companies can benefit from being aware of these sensitivities to ensure good relations with Taiwan, Hong Kong and/or China. Most importantly, these applied forms of communication and ways of constructing social identity can potentially provide more insight into how governments should or should not communicate during public crises. Lastly, answering this Research Question can be beneficial especially to researchers covering the question of how social identity in Taiwan and Hong Kong differs from that of the PRC.

Identifying characteristics highlighted during a public health crisis gives a rare insight into the self-perception of states, as forms of leadership and self-perception often shift from what they would be in a “normal situation” and offer a different perspective on national identity construction of these states: “Consequently, citizens will look for and support leadership that is stronger, more action-oriented and perhaps more authoritarian than they would in normal times (...)” (Abrams et al.: 2021, 203). Researchers can benefit greatly from seeing how identity construction potentially shifts to a whole different focus in times of public crisis, as it can unveil potential for heightened conflict between the different groups of social identity. This can additionally serve as a basis to prevent stigmatization and conflict in the future by avoiding certain means of identity construction altogether.

1.3 Outline of relevant political context in Taiwan & Hong Kong SAR

Prior to entering the empirical and analytical part of this thesis, some basic definitions and clarifications on the political situation in both the Republic of China (from here on out referred to as Taiwan) and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (from here on out referred to as Hong Kong SAR) need to be set, as the situation in greater China i.e., between Taiwan, Hong Kong SAR and the People’s Republic of China (from here on out referred to as PRC) is rather complex and rich in legislative definitions, as well as disagreements, misunderstandings, and different interpretations thereof.

The main political divide in **Taiwan** has long been defined by either being considered part of the Pan-Blue or the Pan-Green camp, which are reflections of the colors associated with the two largest parties representing the two strongest, most relevant narratives in relation to a Taiwanese position towards the PRC. The Blue Camp represents the Kuo Min Tang (中國國民黨; KMT) Party, which at its political core stands for rapprochement policy in the face of the PRC and is often associated with thoughts of pro-unification and closer association with the PRC. The Green Camp represents the Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨; DPP), which in opposition to the KMT stands for upholding democratic values and the long-established Taiwanese democratic political system. It is therefore associated with being pro-independence and critical of the PRC and the adhering regime (Wu: 2016; Chen: 2016). Economically, dependencies and relations between the PRC and Taiwan are strong, as the PRC has become Taiwan’s largest trading partner and at the same time primary recipient of Taiwan’s outbound investment (Wu: 2016; Chen: 2016). The end of the Chinese civil war in 1949 brought about a division between a Nationalist and a Communist Chinese government, the former being the predecessor to today’s Taiwanese government and the latter to the PRC’s government. Consequentially, this forged two fundamentally different narratives on the

relationship and division of power between the two entities - the narrative of the PRC claims Taiwan to be a part of China and not a sovereign nation. Measurable consequences are, among others, Taiwan being denied a seat in the UN, as well as participation in almost all forums of international politics and is still only officially being recognized as a sovereign nation by 15 countries (Wu: 2016; Elleman: 2021; Wong: 2019). Due to its economic and political relevance, its relative weight in comparison to Taiwan, as well as the persisting ability to exert political and economic pressure on other countries, the PRC is considered the more relevant partner, the larger threat, the one who needs to be appeased at the same time as being kept close due to its influence on economic growth and stability in almost all parts of the world (Wu: 2016; Elleman: 2021; Wong: 2019).

The political situation and Taiwan's position in international politics outlined above, are rather dynamic and have shifted numerous times throughout the last decades. During the Cold War, Taiwan was part of the US-led anti-communist coalition and maintained one of five permanent seats on the UN Security Council with aid from the United States, as well as played important roles in various other international or regional organizations. In the late 1970s, in light of a perceived surge in power of the Soviet Union, the PRC was successful in incentivizing the United States to form an alliance in defense against a potential Soviet threat. This led to the de-recognition of Taiwan on almost all relevant international levels and the diplomatic leverage it had previously held was quickly delegitimized due to the power struggle dominating the Cold War (Wu: 2016; Wong: 2019; Chen: 2016; Chen: 2019). Consequently, the PRC received the permanent seat on the UN Security Council and the international recognition once courtesy of Taiwan in 1971. In return, Taiwan received the "One Country, Two Systems" promise by Beijing – a framework developed at that very point in time to create a possible model for reunification with Taiwan, while still promising it sovereign autonomy to some extent. Taiwanese government never officially agreed to be governed as part of the framework, however it was later used to define and legally solidify the relationship and dependencies between the PRC and Macau, as well as Hong Kong (Wu: 2016; Wong: 2019; Chen: 2016; Chen: 2019).

Tensions between the two countries remained high over the years, with different political leaders on both sides pushing different agendas and narratives regarding the relationship with one another. In the spirit of détente, both sides agreed on the "1992 Consensus" in 1992. It includes the wording and definition of the legitimacy of both states existing as respective sovereign nations, which still serves as a basis for justification and argumentation today. The document states that there is only one China to officially exist, and that it is at the discretion of both parties to define which version this refers to – a great China unified and ruled underneath the communist government with headquarters in Beijing, or one ruled by the democratically elected ex-nationalist government with

headquarters in Taipei. To this day, both parties maintain sovereignty claims over the other (Wu: 2016; Wong: 2019; Chen: 2016). The key characteristics therefore defining the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC are that 1) they are an example of a divided nation i.e., a leftover of the Cold War communist-democratic dichotomies, 2) it is defined by an inherent political and economic power asymmetry and 3) two main strategies (alias “Blue” or “Green”, “Stay” or “Exit”) dominate the narratives around the relationship with one being guided by arguments of primarily economic integration and the other by a rising sense of Taiwanese identity (Wu: 2016).

The nature and groundwork for the relationship between the PRC and **Hong Kong SAR** is inherently different. While the division between the PRC and Taiwan was the result of a domestic dispute, the division of a society and people who had belonged and lived together for centuries by the free choice of a group which identified with different key values and wanted to follow a different model for statehood and economic development, the division between the PRC and Hong Kong SAR was the result of colonialization. It was a consequence of the PRC (at the time the Chinese Empire) being defeated and partly colonized by western powers, which was, and still is to this day, seen as a great national humiliation. The contracts solidifying the “lease” of Hong Kong to the British Empire were signed in 1898, with the time of the lease being set at 99 years, creating the obligation for a return of the peninsula consisting of three different territories (Hong Kong Island, Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories) to the PRC in 1997. This led to the question of Hong Kong SAR’s long-term political future, possible threats, opportunities, downfalls, and potentials taking over the narratives surrounding Hong Kong in the early 1980s (Lui et al.: 2019). In 1972 the PRC representative to the UN convinced the body to take both Hong Kong and Macau off the list of existing colonies which were still expected to become independent or, at the least, self-determined at some point in the future. From that point forward, the settlement of the question of sovereignty for both Hong Kong and Macau in international law, was considered to be entirely within the PRC’s sovereign right (Lui et al.: 2019).

In 1984, a joint Chinese-British declaration was signed, declaring that the mode of transition was to return Hong Kong back to China as a “Special Administrative Region”, also known and referred to in this thesis as SAR. The declaration also highlighted that Hong Kong SAR was to enjoy a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defense affairs, and that the social and economic system, as well as the lifestyle people enjoyed in Hong Kong SAR, were to remain unchanged (Lui et al.: 2019; Chen: 2019). At the time, no specifications on what maintaining a high level of autonomy was defined as, were included in the declaration, but all characteristics constituted what is known as the “One Country, Two Systems” (from here on out referred to as 1C2S) framework, originally developed for Taiwan – as was explained in the previous paragraph. The plan was for Hong Kong

to become a capitalist SAR under the sovereignty of communist China (Lui et al.: 2019; Chen: 2019). Maintaining economic prosperity and political stability at the same time were important as the peninsula was to remain functional and valuable to the PRC. The application of 1C2S was therefore a clear compromise between the involved parties: Great Britain, the PRC, and the people of Hong Kong (Lui et al.: 2019).

In more recent developments, a clearer stance on what the autonomy of Hong Kong SAR means in practice and how it is interpreted by the PRC have taken place. As a response to the “Occupy Central” movement (also known as the Umbrella Movement) in Hong Kong SAR, the State Council of the PRC issued a policy paper entitled “The Practice of the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region”. It states that effective administration and jurisdiction within Hong Kong SAR are to follow both the Constitution of the PRC, as well as the Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR. It clarifies that the “high degree of autonomy” enjoyed by Hong Kong SAR, is to be under constant supervision of the PRC Central Government, with the central leadership directly exercising jurisdiction over Hong Kong SAR (Lui et al.: 2019; Ho & Tran: 2019).

In 2019 the most recent and prominent protests as a response to PRC interference with basic principles of 1C2S and the subsequent considered autonomy of Hong Kong SAR occurred. An amendment to the Hong Kong SAR Basic Law was to allow the extradition of Hong Kong residents to the PRC, putting the judgement of their actions and potential convictions under the jurisdiction of the PRC. The spawn of the introduction of this amendment were the largest marches and protests in Hong Kong SAR history, the peak being the summer of 2019 with some 2 million people protesting (Vines: 2021). Later that year, the PRC specified how its stance on the autonomy of the Hong Kong SAR and its legislative freedom had evolved. It was now perceived that Beijing had authority to “exercise full control over all aspects of policymaking” in Hong Kong SAR, which in execution meant that the ruling body of the PRC’s legislature (the National People’s Congress Standing Committee) would receive greater powers to interpret the Hong Kong SAR Basic Law. Interpretations of this explanation at the time stated this could mean possible amendments to the Basic Law, an imposition of legislation that the PRC feared would not otherwise be passed by the Hong Kong SAR legislative body and overall, the creation of potential to bypass the legislation of the SAR. The introduction of the National Security Law a year later solidified this (Vines: 2021). The full extent of the introduction of the National Security Law is yet to be seen, it does prove however, that Hong Kong SAR be part of a system of authoritarian political leadership by the PRC which fears all potential threats to national security and with that all threats to its own legitimacy and grasp on political and legislative power (Vines: 2021).

This overview shows that both Taiwan and Hong Kong SAR are defined by intricate, complex political and legislative situations, both primarily influenced by their relationship to the PRC and the extent of its agenda to assert its position in the region and define their respective relationships. The review of existing literature, development of an analytical framework, as well as the execution of both empirics and analysis to follow, will keep these definitions and complexities in mind and answer the research question as objectively and respectfully of the situation and its implications as possible.

1.4 Epidemiological Development in Taiwan and Hong Kong SAR

On January 4th of 2020, the PRC officially reported a cluster of atypical pneumonia cases to the World Health Organization. As we know now, this was the beginning of a global pandemic of Covid-19, a novel variant of the Coronavirus. To this day, the pandemic is still ongoing. The responses of Taiwan and Hong Kong SAR differed and were both praised and criticized during different periods of the pandemic between 2019 and 2021. To put the following empirics and analysis into a context of recent events, the epidemiological development in Taiwan and Hong Kong SAR for the researched period, will be outlined briefly.

As of 20 April 2022, **Taiwan** has had a total of 40.186 confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 856 deaths over the course of more than two years.² The first case was confirmed to have spread to Taiwan on 21 January 2020, initiating a government response coordinated through the National Health Command Center (NHCC) of the Taiwan Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Both the NHCC and the CDC are institutions originally established to as a response to battling the outbreak of SARS in 2003 and aid all issues of disaster management in general. The existence and coordination between these institutions, as well as past experience in battling the outbreak of a pandemic, and a relatively strict government response especially in the beginning of the pandemic, led to the outbreak being relatively controlled and small, with a total of seven deaths and a peak of 307 active cases of COVID-19 in 2020 (Cheng: 2021). Only five days after the first confirmed case, government suspended all travel to and from the PRC and put strict quarantine measures into place for anyone still entering from the PRC. Measures to ration masks, ensure their fair distribution, as well as postponing the opening of schools after spring holidays, ramping up the production of sanitizers, passing a special budget to aid the fight against COVID-19 and offer economic support for potential consequences and the mandatory wearing of masks in public spaces were among the measures introduced by government over the course of the pandemic (Cheng: 2021; Chen: 2021).

² Per Information from Taiwan CDC & Our World in Data: <https://www.cdc.gov.tw/en>; <https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus/country/taiwan>; last accessed: 20 April 2022

Contact tracing and quarantine were especially effective in preventing the spread of the virus, most relevantly due to Taiwan's advanced information and communication technology infrastructure and the public's willingness to engage with it, take precautionary measures seriously and report all data necessary to feed the information-based tools to fight the spread of the virus (Cheng: 2021). Amidst Taiwan being able to avoid a full lockdown, it was also able to mitigate economic and financial damage relatively well, with its economy growing in both 2020 and 2021 (Chiang: 2022). Regarding vaccinations, Taiwan is currently at a rate of 78,5 percent of the total population being fully immunized, with the main vaccines in rotation being AstraZeneca, BionTech Pfizer and Moderna.³ Most recently, a spike originating at Taipei Taoyuan International Airport has dominated the Covid response, with a new covid strategy being announced by government. In light of the recent surge in cases in the PRC and the strict adherence to "zero covid" by PRC government, which has led to massive economic and social consequences as well as large amounts of international concern and critique of the PRC's crisis management, Taiwan has chosen to distance itself from implementing "zero covid" themselves and instead moved toward its so-called "new Taiwanese model". The model is aimed at containing and responding as appropriately as possible to the spread of the new Omicron variant. It is to strike a balance between maintaining public health and economic well-being. While case numbers are currently still rising in Taiwan, few people throughout the course of 2022 reported significant symptoms which is why the newly chosen response prioritizes public interest and health, over achieving "zero covid" (Lee & Chin: 2022).

As of 20 April 2022, **Hong Kong SAR** has had a total of 1.199.706 cases of COVID-19 and 9.186 deaths over the course of the pandemic.⁴ Similarly to Taiwan, the epidemiological development in Hong Kong SAR started on 22 January 2020 with the first two confirmed cases of COVID-19. Due to the shared border between Hong Kong SAR and the PRC, as well as the existing close economic, political and societal ties between Hong Kong SAR and the PRC, the effects of the pandemic on Hong Kong SAR were larger than those on Taiwan. The initial measures introduced by the local government fell short of closing all border checkpoints, due to the large amount of Hong SAR and PRC citizens travelling to and from the PRC daily. Initially, only the high-speed rail service was suspended, while cross-border ferry, air travel and bus services were only reduced by 50 percent. Only two train and ferry stations, as well as two border checkpoints were fully closed. Public perception was that this was not sufficient to control the spread of the virus, which led to the closure of more border and transit points in February, as well as closure of all borders for non-

³ Per Our World in Data: https://ourworldindata.org/covid-vaccinations?country=OWID_WRI (last accessed: 20 April 2022)

⁴ Per data published by the Hong Kong SAR government: https://www.chp.gov.hk/files/pdf/local_situation_covid19_en.pdf (last accessed: 20 April 2022)

residents both for arrival and transit later in March 2020. Indoor and outdoor public gatherings of more than four people were also banned, entertainment venues were ordered to close, and restaurants required to operate at half capacity (HK Economics & Trade Office Jakarta: 2020). Following through on most of these measures and adjusting them according to the epidemiological situation allowed Hong Kong SAR to control outbreaks relatively well and steer clear from having to implement a full lockdown of the city. Case numbers were kept relatively low and numerous week-long streaks free of locally transmitted cases achieved (Tufekci: 2020). Additionally, the organization of societal groups, local mobilization and self-implementation of mask-wearing among citizens before it was officially mandated by the government had a positive effect on the success of containing the virus for a long time. Initial and overall skepticism of the Hong Kong SAR government, its choices and the motives behind them were helpful to ensure the prioritization of public health among citizens – especially in the beginning (Tufekci: 2020). With the arrival of the Omicron variant in late 2021 and early 2022 government decided to apply the PRC-model for a “Zero Covid” strategy. The rise in cases and development of clusters became harder to control and Xi Jinping took it upon himself to instruct the government of Hong Kong SAR to take the main responsibility in containing the pandemic and to place a top priority on both stability and the people’s lives (Tsoi: 2022). Despite the primarily transmitted variant being Omicron, which is known for the exhibition of milder to no symptoms and therefore enables individuals to recover on their own and mostly at home, government has not adjusted its strategy to fight the virus and is sticking firmly to “Zero Covid”. This has exhausted quarantine and care facilities at a maximum capacity (Tsoi: 2022). Currently, around 80 percent of the population is fully vaccinated against COVID-19. The economic consequences of the pandemic could not be avoided as well as in Taiwan, with the economy shrinking by around four percent in 2020, just as well as private consumption and social investment and combined with a rapid rise in the overall unemployment rate. The economy visibly recovered in 2021 however, with the economy growing by about six percent. Predictions for 2022 are still uncertain due to the recent surge in cases and the aforementioned consequences, but a growth of two to three percent is still expected to occur throughout this year (Hong Kong Economy: 2022; Bank of China: 2021).

1.5 Research Outline & Limitations

The first part of this thesis will focus on outlining the existing literature on the different realms affecting the chosen topic. A closer look will be taken at Social Identity Theory, intragroup and intergroup relations, as well as the role of Social Identity Theory during public health crises. From the outline of the existing theory, an analytical framework will be developed. This framework will

solely be based on the insights of the Literature Review and not be a deviation from a framework that has already been developed by somebody else. It instead represents a new, comprehensive approach to analyzing the construction of Social Identity through governments in public crises.

The empirical part will then apply the Analytical Framework to different forms of public communication chosen by the respective governments, i.e. press releases, speeches, informational material and others. It will extract how the process of constructing social identity is executed by the respective governments. The following analysis will then attempt to answer the research question, highlighting the similarities and differences in identity construction by Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as the concrete purpose of how they respectively chose to construct social identity.

There are several limitations to both the scope and the evaluation of the results of this thesis. With regard to scope, the selection of the analyzed communication materials was conducted according to three different criteria: 1) publication between January 2020 and July 2021, 2) content-related relevance to the thesis (i.e. pandemic response, international or regional relations, direct address of society) and 3) publication in English. This led to a total number of 46 communication materials being analyzed for Taiwan, and 31 for HKSAR. While these are significant numbers, guaranteeing a relevance and applicability of the results of this thesis, they most likely do not reflect the complete amount of government communication containing the construction of social identity. It is important to keep in mind that through the translation of the materials in most cases originally published or communicated in Chinese or Cantonese into English, the meaning of certain phrases, expressions and statements can shift and alter the outcome of analyses such as the one conducted in this thesis. The claim of this thesis is therefore to offer a peek into the construction of social identity by the two governments, creating a baseline for future interpretations of communication materials and groundwork for the expansion of the scope and applicability of the framework constructed as part of this thesis, onto different data sets.

2. Literature Review

2.1. How is Social Identity created?

To understand how the construction of social identity in public communication through governments works, we must first identify what Social Identity is defined as and how it is created in the first place – both through individual and public processes.

The most important basis of Social Identity Theory was created by Henri Tajfel and John Turner. Through a large number of publications, experiments and co-operations with other researchers they created one of the most established and prevalent theories of social studies (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Billig & Tajfel: 1973; Turner: 1975; Turner & Oakes: 1986). In “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict” Social Identity Theory (SIT) is outlined in its entirety (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). The theory explains the creation of in-groups and out-groups, as well as group behavior within and between them. The basis for SIT is social categorization, which defines cognitive tools that segment, classify and order the individual’s social environment. Social categorization serves as a system of orientation for self-reference and defines an individual’s place in society, an idea that is also reflected in Ricoeur’s definition of the process of self-attestation. (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner & Oakes: 1986; Ricoeur: 1996). Part of an individual’s self-categories are social and therefore construct the individual’s social self-image – its social identity. The basic assumptions here are that 1) individuals always strive for a positive self-image, which is largely based on knowing that personal beliefs, opinions and attitudes do not diverge largely to those of others, 2) this need for cohesion leads to a dependence on and influence from other individuals, which forms social groups, 3) these social groups are either positively or negatively evaluated by both the members and the outside and 4) the evaluation of one’s own group is always determined in reference to other groups and this either positive or negative evaluation influences the self-image (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner & Oakes: 1986; Stets & Burke: 2000). According to the theory, a group is therefore a collection of individuals who perceive themselves members of the same social category, share emotional involvement in their self-definition and achieve a degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). Groups only work when a process of depersonalization is involved, meaning that the individual activates its social identity and becomes a representative of their group. This is the basic process underlying group phenomena such as social stereotyping, group cohesiveness, ethnocentrism, emotional contagion or collective action (Stets & Burke: 2000; Turner & Oakes: 1986). The evaluation of groups being dependent on a direct comparison creates in-groups (own group) and out-groups (other’s group). According to the theory one needs to be dominant and the other consequentially subordinate, leading to the subordinate group rejecting its negative self-image and striving toward creating a positive group identity (Turner: 1975). The

dynamics between in-groups and out-groups will be discussed in more detail in a later part of this review. These basic understandings of the creation and dynamics of social groups reflects the groundwork for the following outline of intragroup and intergroup dynamics, the connected phenomena, as well as the role of social identities during times of crisis.

2.2. Which dynamics exist within Social Identities?

2.2.1 Social Change

It has now become clear that the definition and creation of Social Identities is strongly interconnected with the dynamics that exist between different Social Identities. Before we take a closer look at these however, we will use a magnifying glass to look inside Social Identity groups. The dynamics within them are the basis necessary to understand those between them. Grasping how members of one social identity interact with one another is additionally important to understand leadership dynamics, meaning how one individual or a group of individuals (i.e., government) gains the right to define key characteristics of a group and ultimately shape group behavior. This is knowledge we need, to understand how the construction of social identity through government takes place.

We left off with the insight that groups are dependent on in-group to out-group competition and comparative advantage. This can be achieved through one of two kinds of processes which take place within social groups, referred to broadly as forms of social change. There is social mobility or social creativity (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). Social mobility is possible in a society with flexible and permeable structures, allowing the possibility for the individual to dissociate from the negatively defined in-group into a higher-status out-group (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). Social creativity on the other hand is the mean of choice in rigid structures where it is hard to leave an underprivileged group and therefore necessary to redefine or alter comparative elements (such as comparing on new dimensions, changing the values assigned to specific attributes or changing the comparative out-group) in order to upgrade the group's status. The dominant group on the other hand always tries to maintain the status quo or invent new comparative elements to its out-group, so that it still comes out on top (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). Which one of these two forms of social change is chosen by the respective group is not only dependent on the existing external structures, but also on the pressures applied to the group from the outside, suggesting that it is not of a high enough level (Haslam & Reicher: 2006). The appliance of external pressure on Social Identity groups therefore drives the social processes which decide if a status quo is maintained or challenged in the first place. The sustainability of social groups is central to both pressures and social change because it

determines if these applied pressures change individuals or if individuals attempt to change the pressures, as well as whether or not the process of external pressure application is experienced as positive and enabling or negative and disabling to the group (Haslam & Reicher: 2006).

2.2.2 Group & Norm Consensus

Another level to the interaction and influence within the groups themselves is that of the creation of group norms and a group consensus through processes such as self-stereotyping and identity salience. An in-group consensus as such is what creates norms and leads to the individuals within the group to act accordingly (Turner & Oakes: 1986). The definition of group norms is also often referred to as category definition, or the basis of social power, which can then in turn be used by group leaders to construct social identity of a group based on situational needs, such as public health concerns. (Reicher et al.: 2005). As social identities provide the basic parameters for mass mobilization, who is included in a social category determines who can potentially be mobilized. The content ascribed to a social category determines what they will be mobilized for and the prototypical members (or leaders) of a category will be in a position to direct mobilization (Reicher et al.: 2005). Naturally, the consensus is not always the average or most common group opinion, as group polarization can also occur. While still dependent on the opinion of the prototype, polarization is therefore additionally influenced by a shift in the opinions of the social frame of reference – when reference responses shift, group responses do too (Turner & Oakes: 1986). These norms, be they the mean of the group opinion or polarized, are what make up the form of group responses to external influences (Turner & Oakes: 1986). Additionally, it is important to note that polarization, groupthink, concurrence in decision-making as well as the creation of a social movement are more likely the more individuals participate in group culture and use the group-label to describe themselves (Stets & Burke: 2000).

A common mechanism to identify with group norms on an individual level is that of self-stereotyping. It refers to individuals within a social group verifying the main attributes associated with their group by claiming them as part of their person. (Reicher et al: 2005). Identification with a social group and self-stereotyping according to group consensus, often leads individuals to see themselves as interchangeable parts of their category, because everyone shares the same norms, values and goals. It also provides a common perspective on reality, which leads everyone in the group expecting to agree with others on issues and seek agreement through processes of mutual influence. Additionally, it provides a motivation to align personal behavior with the group norms, as well as work collaboratively to advance the interests of the group as a whole, often to the damage of individuality (Haslam & Platow: 2001).

The phenomenon of self-stereotyping is often associated with the concept of identity salience, which describes the activation of a certain, specific part of identity in a situation. Whether or not a part of an identity is salient depends on several factors such as current tasks and goals being relevant to the activation of a certain part of an individual's identity, there being a comparative (in-group out-group comparison) or normative need to do so or debates in society influencing which parts of identity are relevant (Stets & Burke: 2000; Williams & Jesse: 2001; Abrams & Elmer: 1992). The differentiation between identity being salient for a personal or social goal is highly dependent on the prevalent discourse in the social group i.e., religious, ethnic, national or political opinion (Moore & Aweiss: 2007). Social identity salience also contributes to individual threat perception, as different parts of identity are interconnected with different levels of seeing an external influence as a threat, which will be discussed in more detail later on (Haslam & Reicher: 2006).

Referring back to the concept of social change, different parts of identity being salient can lead to different potentials to participate in and achieve social change. Not only because different norms for action within a group are connected to different parts of an identity, but also because identities need to be politicized before change can even be achieved. A group has to gradually become aware of their shared grievances and of the opponent to blame, highlighting a power struggle, for there to be active change connected to a part of identity (Thomas et al.: 2009). A direct and potentially negative outcome of this is that when individuals consider themselves stigmatized, discriminated against or disadvantaged as a group, they are more likely to reject government and authority, as well as believe in conspiracies and be non-compliant with social norms and rules (Rozenbeek et al.: 2020). All of this constitutes that identity salience in a social situation allows the individual, as well as the group to achieve some personal or social goal with different consequences (Stets & Burke: 2000). Identification with a group, as well as self-stereotyping and social identity salience are therefore the basis for key organizational phenomena within social groups (Haslam & Platow: 2001). Shared identity and norms have proven to have a positive impact on health, well-being and morale, as acting within a social identity increases group support, common spirit and cohesion (Haslam & Reicher: 2006). However, it also makes individuals vulnerable to influence from ideas and proposals which are in line with the key characteristics of their group. It is important to know who is influential and yields the power to define these ideas and proposals. Responsible are those who provide information about group definition – prototypical group members, also called leaders (Reicher et al.: 2005).

2.2.3 Leadership

To simplify the readability of this text, from now on “prototypical group members” will be referred to as “leaders”. An early insight into leadership is given by Weber, who states that charisma and

trust are not inherent to a leader but conferred on them from the rest of the group. This highlights that someone is only a leader if the others really do perceive him as such (Reicher et al.: 2005, Hogg: 2001). Reicher writes: “(...) ability to lead depends upon the ability to represent a group consensus which in turn is a product of shared identity (...) leaders and followers are bound together in a double sense.” (Reicher et al: 2005, 555). This thought constitutes the idea that leaders and followers within a social group must both believe they are partners in a shared social relationship and that this relationship is what positively differentiates them from comparison out-groups (Haslam & Platow: 2001; Hogg: 2001). A famous example for this mechanism is that of the BBC prison study, wherein the theory of leadership being dependent on group processes was tested in a live setting and scientifically evaluated by several researchers, who came to this very conclusion (Reicher et al: 2005; Hogg: 2001). Additionally, the relation between a leader’s promises and his or her actions have an effect on their perceived level of integrity, which in turn highly influences group behavior. Experiments have shown that leading-by-example, as well as following through on verbal promises and therefore being perceived as of high integrity, significantly increases followership and coherent group choices (Eisenkopf: 2020). Groups additionally perform best when they are led by someone who is already cooperatively inclined, a trait that is only enhanced through shared group identity (Eisenkopf: 2020).

As was identified in the previous part, norms play an important role in understanding group dynamics, as they make up group responses to external influences and represent what the group stands for as a whole (Reicher et al.: 2005). Leaders can only be influential and effective if they represent and define the groups’ social identity in context by either highlighting or redefining the group norms and objectives. Their ability to do so appropriately has the power to actively transform followers’ attitudes and behaviors (Reicher et al.: 2005). In general, research and existing theories show that group members will be most inspired by a leader who acts with the pre-existing ingroup-outgroup dynamic instead of against it. In practice this describes a leader who demonstrates willingness to support ingroup members, epitomizes what makes the ingroup different from the outgroup and whose actions imply that the ingroup is superior to the outgroup (Haslam & Platow: 2001). Reicher refers to group leaders as “entrepreneurs of identity”, as their power, once ascribed to them, is centralized in creating and shaping group norms, as well as using and mobilizing them for a cause (Reicher et al.: 2005, 556). Leaders of groups shaped by social identity can therefore also utilize their power to initiate sustainable social change (Thomas et al.: 2009).

Now, leaders must not only imagine new realities and identities, but also take the necessary steps of action to achieve these goals. The agency of a leader lies with that of the followers, as it is the leaders’ responsibility to offer a vision and bring people together to achieve it: “(...) the viability of a leader’s imagination is only as great as the ability of followers to bring it to fruition.” (Reicher

et al.: 2005, 560). Things such as social cohesion, solidarity, trust, resilience in the face of trauma and construction of a collective memory all strongly influence the group emotional climate, which in turn influences followers' willingness to create agency for a leader to build upon (Thomas et al.: 2009). Leadership dynamics within social identity groups are the basis for answering the research question at hand as they describe how governments gain the social power to define social identity.

2.3. Which dynamics exist between Social Identities?

2.3.1 Competition and Stigmatization

As was highlighted earlier, the creation and existence of social identities at their core is dependent on there being a relationship between ingroups and outgroups. The dynamics in between groups defined by social identity are therefore central to understanding more about how the construction of groups persists and how they influence their externalities. Additionally, dynamics between groups are essential to understand how ingroup construction may be aimed at differentiating oneself from a particular outgroup, as well as how different phenomena of intergroup interaction define intergroup ingroup characteristics. This is especially relevant to understand how construction of social identity in both Taiwan and HKSAR is interconnected with the goal of distinguishing or associating the respective societies from or with the PRC.

The evaluation of groups being dependent on a direct comparison creates in-groups (own group) and out-groups (other's group). According to Social Identity Theory one group needs to be dominant and the other consequentially subordinate, leading to the subordinate group rejecting its negative self-image and striving toward creating a positive group identity. Billig and Tajfel additionally found out through an experiment that social categories based on random attributes, which are in no relation to the individual, were enough to incite a creation of in-group bias, suggesting that developing any kind of distinctiveness between groups suffices to create discrimination (Billig & Tajfel: 1973). In an explanatory answer to this experiment however, Turner discusses that while the creation of categories may immediately lead to in- and out-group creation, the actual treatment as such is always dependent on there being a possibility for social competition and therefore a comparative advantage being essential (Turner: 1975). The research previously outlined also showed that groups only work when a process of depersonalization is involved, meaning that the individual activates its social identity and becomes a representative of their group. This is the basic process necessary to activate group phenomena such as social stereotyping, group cohesiveness, ethnocentrism, emotional contagion or collective action (Stets & Burke: 2000; Turner & Oakes: 1986). Stigmatization, stereotyping and an increased perception of otherness of

outgroups has most recently been highlighted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters (Abrams et al.: 2021; Esses & Hamilton: 2021). Research has shown that especially in case of disease, some very relevant intergroup behaviors are exhibited. For example, the creation of an association between specific behavioral patterns and the potential for disease transmission, leads to responses disease-avoidance and a stigmatization based therein (Oates et al.: 2011). Three pathways, which are highly relevant due to them being based in intergroup dynamics, lead to avoidance: disgust, knowledge and fear (Oates et al.: 2011). Disgust describes the purely emotional and reflexive reaction to disease threat, inciting individual measures to avoid contamination at all costs i.e., staying away from anything the threat has touched or is connected to it. Knowledge embodies the cognitive process wherein individuals detect deviations from typical body forms, draw attention to anything that seems abnormal to them and could therefore be a disease cue. Lastly, fear also describes a cognitive process wherein mental imagery based on experience and knowledge leads to anxiety at the thought of contact or contamination. Especially the element of fear can easily be abused by political ends to stigmatize certain groups of people or used for good to associate certain forms of behavior with the greater good (Oates et al.: 2011; Rajkumar: 2020). Negative attitudes toward an outgroup are also increased when ideological and situational factors combine. An example brought forth by Esses & Hamilton highlights this well through the case of public perception of immigrants. In their example, perception of the outgroup (in this case the group of immigrated people discussed in the study) is either defined by the in-group as being a competitive threat and competent, which leads to envious prejudice. Or they are perceived as a competitive threat and incompetent, which leads to contemptuous prejudice and dehumanization and ultimately exclusion and mistreatment (Esses & Hamilton: 2021). Oftentimes, these forms of stereotyping and its negative consequences are justified as conformity to ingroup norms. It can establish a highly contested intergroup relationship, leading to very specific behavioral patterns based in the assumption that simply not doing what the outgroup does, is right (Packer et al.: 2021). Deviation from these norms can occur not only by outgroup members (who are the frame of reference) but also by ingroup members. A group being more punitive to an ingroup member than an outgroup member who both diverged in the same way from the same norm, is dependent on the group's goals that are salient at that specific moment. More specifically it depends on whether a group wishes to uphold ingroup norms, maintain clear intergroup boundaries, protect the ingroups positive image and reputation or prioritize justice (Packer et al.: 2021). Generally, however, risk from an ingroup member is perceived as less dangerous as that of an outgroup member and research has shown that higher levels of trust, belonging and participation in ingroup activities leads to lower levels of anxiety and stigmatization of the outgroup (Rajkumar: 2020).

2.3.2 Potential for Cooperation

However, not all cases of intergroup relationships have to be competitive and punitive. Potential for sustainable attitude and behavioral change lies within prejudice reduction toward the perceived outgroup (Thomas et al.: 2009). Research has shown that when group norms are strongly related to emotion and efficacy, they have the potential to facilitate a more positive attitude toward the outgroup and potentially assist overcoming inequality between them (Thomas et al.: 2009). According to Thomas, three main emotional norms have the potential to promote social equality: guilt, sympathy and moral outrage at either a third party or a system of inequality (Thomas et al.: 2009). This is also recognized in the application of Social Identity Theory to nation-states. Adler and Barnett introduced the concept of we-ness, a pro-social identity which has the potential to connect states through shared values, trust and common fate. Understanding intergroup interaction between states as such is perceived as the basis for the emergence of non-violent security communities between states (Mattern: 2005). Through interactions and experiences states learn the nature of their relationship with one another, creating a spectrum of possible international social identities (Mattern: 2005). Mattern also highlights that connecting values, emotions, experiences and characteristics to intergroup relations offers an alternative explanation to Social Identity Theory, which originally only offered enmity as an option for relations between groups.

2.3.3 Mobilization (per example of Taiwan and Hong Kong)

When analyzing existing research on the emergence of leaders in social identity groups, it became clear that the power to mobilize groups for a cause is one of the most important elements of group leadership. Mobilization is however not only carried through one individual or a leadership group, but also strongly influenced by intergroup relations. As this thesis focuses on identity construction in Taiwan and HKSAR, the existing literature in relation to mobilization through intergroup dynamics in these two countries will be outlined next. Dynamics related to mobilization are also relevant to understand how construction of group identity in a public health crisis may be aimed at influencing group behavior so as to prevent the spread of a pandemic, as well as mobilize a social group to differentiate or associate itself from or with an outgroup (in the case of this thesis: the PRC).

A paper by Anson Au analyzes how both the Sunflower movement in Taiwan and the Occupy Central movement in Hong Kong both utilized and created new forms of social identity (Au: 2017). He argues that an identity-construction process plays a relevant part on the mobilization of these social movements, as they define, celebrate, enact and deconstruct identity (Au: 2017). In the case of Hong Kong this led to increased social division and in Taiwan it created a more apparent societal

focus on democratic ideals as the movement positioned itself within the continuation of Taiwan's long-lasting fight for democracy (Au: 2017). Expanding on the idea that Hong Kong's movements divide rather than unite, research shows that the division is enforced deeply along the lines of social identity – natives to Hong Kong vs. Chinese immigrants (Pang: 2020; Downes: 2018; Ortmann: 2018; Ku: 2019; Ho & Tran: 2019). Previous studies on this have also shown that people living in Hong Kong consider themselves as part of one of four main identities: Hong Kong, Chinese, Hong Kong and secondarily Chinese or Chinese and secondarily Hong Kong. The distribution between these categories fluctuates with social, political and economic changes, but highlights the division between the two main categories nicely (Kim & Ng: 2008). While the social identity of Hong Kong natives is being redefined as a symbol of resistance and political participation, those who consider themselves Chinese are the representation of the adversary, which has only been exacerbated through the spread of COVID-19 (Pang: 2020; Ip 2020). In Hong Kong, national identity has never been free of counter-collective memories and political disagreements as it has always been interconnected with a comparison to Mainland China (Ip: 2020; Ku: 2019; Ho & Tran: 2019). Over time, anti-Chinese narratives increased drastically in the public sphere with words such as “occupation” “reclaim/restore/recover” or “driving away” became prominent in reference to Mainland China. Social movements and mobilization through an identity that is inherently different from the attributes associated with Mainland China, politicized this narrative over time (Ip: 2020; Ma: 2018; Downes: 2018; Ortmann: 2018; Ku: 2019; Ho & Tran: 2019). Ethnocentrism is therefore predominantly used to mobilize and willingness to adhere to it in the name of democracy is strong, as it is in the interest of highlighting socio-cultural divisions between HKSAR and the PRC to strengthen the local identity (Ip: 2020). The main objective behind protecting a purely Hong Kong identity and diametrically opposing the PRC has always been to protect the values associated with Hong Kong nationals: democracy, high autonomy, human rights, rule of law and the overall Hong Kong lifestyle (Ma: 2018). Social movements and social mobilization over the past 60 years has also always been surrounded by the focus of protecting Hong Kong identity and its values, as well as demanding self-determination and the ability to decide over a political future free from the PRC (Ma: 2018; Ku: 2019; Ho & Tran: 2019).

A similar pattern can be observed in Taiwan where the division between Han-Taiwanese and non-Han-Taiwanese are the main criteria defining social identity (Li: 2014; Chu: 2004; Hsu: 2014; Wu: 2016). Increased democratization is a large part of defining Taiwanese identity and the clear separation from Chinese identity is made via characteristics such as language, bloodlines or national history and culture (Hsu: 2014; Chi: 2005). Taiwanese identity construction is also largely based on a historical construction, cultural explanation and ideological accounts. Overall, there is a lacking consensus in Taiwanese society on national identification, which leads to it happening on both an

ethnic and national level. Inconsistencies therefore arise not only on the personal but also the national level as everyone's personal history and identification is different (Chi: 2005). The employed Han and non-Han dichotomy is also present in narratives created and communicated by the PRC, focusing on Han being the superior identity and more deserving of support from the Chinese nation-state, wherever they may migrate (Ortmann: 2018; Wu: 2016).

Interestingly enough however, evidence suggests that this clear division along lines of social identity, in both Taiwan's and Hong Kong's society, allowed there to be the rise of a third overarching social identity connecting the two, which is their joint focus on opposing the People's Republic of China (Au: 2017). This can be explained by the fact that during times of social change, sociocultural systems such as norms, rules and values which guide how people function are altered and replaced to meet new needs. Therefore, social identities can easily be renegotiated if a new social challenge comes along (e.g. social uprising, a pandemic) (Kim & Ng: 2008; Li: 2014). The research by Kim and Ng also shows that during times of uncertainty, the motivation to focus on prototypical cues or exclusive forms of social categorization increases, which explains that single identities (such as only Hong Kong or only Taiwan) are preferred in these situations to simplify the challenges individuals face. This however also leads to increased polarization and attitudes endorsing stereotypes (Kim & Ng: 2008; Roberto et al.: 2020). The literature generally also observes that these particular national social identities are always changing and that this reflects shifts in power which are important and relevant to democratic societies (Hsu: 2014; Li: 2014; Kim & Ng: 2008). The fact that both Taiwan and Hong Kong in so many instances define their identity through separating themselves from or associating themselves with the People's Republic of China is an excellent basis for my Master Thesis. It gives me the initial tools to identify how social identity construction in these two countries during public health crises is defined by distinction or association.

2.4. Social Identities during Public Crises

2.4.1 Social Identity & Health Inequality

To understand how the construction of social identity during a public health crisis may or may not differ from that in times without a crisis dominating social narratives, it is highly relevant to take a closer look at the existing research on the connection between social identity and public crises. Starting with an analysis of how social identity and health inequality may be connected and how this may affect identity construction.

Bristow analyzed how different prescribed identities within society led to different effects of the Influenza pandemic in the early 20th century on individuals (Bristow: 2010). She highlights how

different forms of social categorization, such as according to gender, class and race, meant the pandemic had different consequences. Women found themselves without husbands and without primary income, making them have to find jobs and provide for their children or forcing their oldest children to start earning money. The inability to work when sick disproportionately impacted poorer families who then had to use up savings and ended up in a more insecure situation than they were in before. Race segregation remained and particularly black neighborhoods received inadequate resources to fight the pandemic, leading to worse effects on communities of color (Bristow: 2010). Berkhout and Richardson took a similarly intersectional approach when looking at the effects of COVID-19 with regard to social identities. They analyze specifically how social restrictions disproportionately impact women's financial and employment security (Berkhout & Richardson: 2020). Furthermore, their research stipulates that COVID-19 amplifies health inequality, especially with regard to Female, Black, Indigenous, Latinx and South Asian individuals, as they are more likely to be frontline workers and multigenerational caregivers (Berkhout & Richardson: 2020; Krings et al.: 2021). A study of Ontario also showed that 44% of all persons infected with COVID-19 were immigrants, despite them only representing about 25% of the population (Esses & Hamilton: 2021). In Hong Kong, a similar effect was observed where disadvantaging of the already economically weak social groups had an especially severe economic burden placed on them through things such as high prices of hygiene products and housing deprivation (Siu: 2020). These studies prove a direct correlation between social and health inequality as people with low socioeconomic status are more disadvantaged in both their health, as well as attainment of social resources like employment, education, face masks, disinfection products or use of public facilities (Siu: 2020).

2.4.2 Threat Perception

While these studies provide an intersectional look at the way pandemics affect different social groups, there is also research on how basic group behavioral psychology, including SIT, can help create the best possible crisis response by both government and society. This is highly relevant to understand how governments choose to construct social identity during crisis in order to control health crises.

Cruwys, Stevens and Greenway provide an interesting insight into how micro-level human behaviors, such as those influenced by group membership, critically impact the outcome of a pandemic (Cruwys et al: 2020). They argue, as was already outlined when discussing intergroup dynamics, that potential risk from in-group members is perceived as less dangerous and inspire greater risk-taking behavior than if a threat arises from an out-group (Cruwys et al: 2020). The elevated risk by in-group members needs to therefore be more clearly highlighted in public

discourse and a lack of physical touch rebranded as an expression of care (Cruwys et al: 2020). Threat perception is also influenced by the perceived likelihood of an undesirable outcome. If the threat is related to self-worth, self-affirmation becomes significant which in turn is achieved by reminding oneself about the level of commitment to social values and therefore overall coherence in social groups. This constitutes, that intragroup dynamics can lead to a growing relevance of social identity construction to overcome threat perception in a crisis (Kruglanski et al.: 2021; Abrams et al.: 2021).

Shared social identities among groups of societies can be harnessed to mobilize collective support within communities, and new social groups can be formed under the umbrella of a common fate, as well as new shared realities created to overcome a threat (Templeton et al.: 2020; Kruglanski et al.: 2021). In the case of COVID-19 observations have shown that this is both beneficial as well as dangerous, as a pro-social scientific narrative and a rebellious narrative have both been developed and stand opposed, leading to the emergence of great potential of fragmentation and social division (Kruglanski et al.: 2021).

Drury et al. additionally highlight the importance of shaping individual threat perception, as specifically with COVID-19 the threat is understood as being aimed at the individual. From this they derive that information on containment and public health protection needs to come from a reliable, trusted source for everyone (Drury et al.: 2020). In addition to highlighting the individual level of the threat, a direct connection between the perception of the threat and an adherence to communal values is also important. A threat that is perceived as health-related on both the individual and the social level leads to a higher tendency in emphasizing communal values, while one of economic nature has predicted reduced levels of willingness to stick to preventative measures and a low endorsement of communal values (Kruglanski et al.: 2021). Shaping threat perception to highlight the aspect of health is therefore important to ensure social cohesion. Additionally, social cohesion normally increases in the aftermath of natural or mass tragedies and often things such as “mutual aid groups” are formed. The theoretical principles of intergroup relations show us that these coherence in social groups should increase when groups are no longer primarily defined by being opposed to one another but united in the confrontation with a shared challenge (Abrams et al.: 2021). However, it also suggests that individuals are averse to being subsumed by overly inclusive superordinate categories. A focus on both of these levels to personal identity in public communication and therefore also this communication coming from a trusted source is therefore necessary to maintain positive intergroup relations during crises (Abrams et al.: 2021). This speaks specifically to utilizing community support groups and agencies to communicate the threat and measures, as the focus on a common interest, trust in the source and awareness of

the individual levels of identity of the addressed groups must be central to communication and this is best done on smaller community levels (Drury et al.: 2019).

These observations show that group dynamics can undermine containment due to intragroup processes, but also play a key role in an effective response to the crisis. A clear definition of the threat, with an awareness of the effects these definitions have on intra- and intergroup dynamics, can have significant outcomes in public crises. Responsible for these definitions are, once again, leaders.

2.4.3 Leadership in Crises

As we have seen, research shows that high-level government leadership influences group-behavior through their communication not only of social identities but also of the threat at hand. Clear government definition of normative (safe) and non-normative (unsafe) behaviors and clarifying that government is part of the in-group, acting in the group's interest as a prototypical member of the group, is essential (Templeton et al.: 2020; Bavel et al.: 2020; Carter et al.: 2018; West et al.: 2020; Krings et al.: 2021). Perceived legitimacy and trust can be increased by following fair procedures and distributing information and resources appropriately, as well as displaying prosocial acts publicly, referring to the relevant social category directly by using collective nouns or the group name and clearly communicating what is known and what is unclear (Templeton et al.: 2020; Drury et al.: 2019; Bavel et al.: 2020). Generally, research shows that in times of crises an action-oriented and more authoritarian form of leadership is preferred by citizens, greater trust in and acceptance of political decisions is likely and that shared national identity increases protective behaviors for the sake of community (Abrams et al.: 2021; Esses & Hamilton: 2021). Additionally, superordinate categorization by respected leaders can make them highly salient in times of crises, as well as framing the crisis as a universal issue, embodying the group and determining new behavioral trust can increase trust in leaders (Abrams et al.: 2021). However, if uncertainty persists, shared superordinate identities tend to fade which can lead to a questioning of the authority that implemented the norms in the first place (Abrams et al.: 2021). This can lead to forms of rivalrous cohesion, wherein group identity flourishes through competition or conflict with other groups. A higher degree of questioning government decisions and scrutinizing potential mistakes may result and carries potential for high polarization of society (Abrams et al.: 2021). This fracturing of social groups leads to more leaders of more groups representing more objectives and priorities, resulting in a higher susceptibility to misinformation on the crisis and less willingness to stick to regulation imposed by "other" leaders (Abrams et al.: 2021; Roozenbeek et al.: 2020).

Government policy and communication therefore play a huge role in battling the threat of a pandemic as they not only have the power to build community cohesion but also to polarize society,

reinforce bias, otherness and racial and class stereotypes (Roberto et al.: 2020). The greater the outside threat, the greater the identification with the ingroup and therefore also the greater the likelihood of outgroups being dehumanized and treated cruelly or aggressively, a phenomenon discussed in more detail in the next part of the review (Roberto et al.: 2020). There are therefore different forms of influence leadership can make use of during times of crisis to shape public behavior positively. Normative influence motivates people to conform to certain norms in order to maintain overall social acceptance, while informational influence uses other people's behavior as a source of information about sensible or appropriate ways to think and behave (Packer et al.: 2021). Informational influence is considered the strongest in crises when the overall level of uncertainty is high, and the outcomes are of high relevance, as it is based in the need of conformity in order to express identity as a member of a social group (Packer et al.: 2021). Therefore, high-level government and community-level communication with regard to forging social identity to combat the spread of a virus must always be interconnected with a high level of awareness of the social climate and cultural competence (Roberto et al.: 2020).

2.4.4 Stigmatization in Crises

One last area of research with regard to pandemic and SIT is that of stigmatization – a form of intergroup behavior caused by in- and out-group construction, as outlined during the discussion on intergroup relations and touched upon in the previous part. During pandemics the concept of “otherness” is highlighted more clearly, in the case of COVID-19 and pandemics in general this causes increased discrimination and stigmatization for people of Asian descent or immigrants in general (Roberto et al.: 2020; Esses & Hamilton: 2021; Yamagata et al.: 2020). Esses and Hamilton emulate that the perceived threat especially increases in situations when ideological and situational factors combine. In case of COVID-19 a zero-sum perception of employment opportunities is combined with pandemic-induced global and national economic challenges and then leads to an increased perception of threat emanating from the outgroup (Esses & Hamilton: 2021). Pandemics especially have the potential to heighten symbolic forms of threat and competition, meaning that specific religious or cultural practices can easily be perceived as being at fault for transmission, leading to a reaction of avoidance and rejection by other social groups (Esses & Hamilton: 2021; Yamagata: 2020).

3. Analytical Framework

3.1 Genesis and Structure

The goal of this thesis is to analyze the similarities and differences in the construction of social identity through Taiwan and Hong Kong government during the COVID-19 public health crisis. The literature review clearly showed that there are multiple levels to the analysis of social identity, its construction and effect. This is why, building on the key realizations in the Literature Review, the analytical framework of this thesis will take a multi-level approach to analyzing the construction of social identity. The four levels to constructing social identity are as follows:

1) Creation: As became evident through the basics of Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner, the essence of creating social identity is mentioning and **naming** a social self-category (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner & Oakes: 1986; Ricoeur: 1996). Furthermore, **emotional involvement** with the social self-category needs to be generated and a consensus on the **evaluation** of the group achieved (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). Lastly, according to SIT, the existence of a social group is dependent on there being a clear image of an **out-group** to compare oneself to (Turner: 1975).

2) Definition: Once a social identity for a group is created, clear definitions need to be made as to what characterizes the group. Firstly, the **norms** this group adheres to, influencing behavior opinions and potential mobilization need to be outlined (Turner & Oakes: 1986; Reicher et al.: 2005). Secondly, it is highly relevant to identify whether or not the social identity of the group is subject to **politization** or not as this is deeply connected to the potential utilization of social identity later in the model (Thomas et al.: 2009; Rozenbeek et al.: 2020). And lastly, especially relevant to analyzing identity construction in the context of crises, the connection between group identity and the outside **threat**, as well as the definition of the threat itself in relation to the group and its norms (Haslam & Reicher: 2006; Kruglanski et al.: 2021; Abrams et al.: 2021).

3) Differentiation: As has already been outlined, the creation of a group social identity is dependent on the existence of an out-group and differentiation an essential part of social identity construction. First, observation needs to be made on how leaders treat pre-existing ingroup-outgroup **dynamics** – do they choose to utilize them or deconstruct and act against them (Haslam & Platow: 2001)? A second look also needs to be taken at the **norms** that previously defined the social group – are they interconnected with differentiations from an out-group? And lastly, observations need to be made on whether the out-group is used to instill **fear or cooperation** within the social identity group (Oates et al.: 2011; Rajkumar: 2020; Mattern: 2005)

4) Utilization: The last level to constructing social identity is the utilization of what has been constructed to achieve certain ends. Social identity can be utilized with the purpose of conducting a **redefinition** of group norms due to an external challenge or specific circumstances (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Pang: 2020; Ip: 2020). Additionally, leaders can construct social identity with the ultimate goal of **mobilization** of their social group for specific goals and purposes (Reicher et al.: 2005; Au: 2017).

3.2 Creation

3.2.1 Naming

For social identity to be relevant to an individuals' self-image it first needs to be introduced, as to achieve the creation of a group individual members need to perceive themselves of members of this specific category (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). In the analysis of all verbal communication relevant to this thesis, an introduction of a social category by giving it a concrete name, will therefore be looked out for. In the case of Taiwan and Hong Kong this can occur in relation to either national identity or ethnicity as these overarching identities are relevant to the crisis at hand. However, other points of focus when naming the social group are also plausible. Concretely, the analysis of all materials searches for government giving the social group and social identity of the group a name by calling them i.e. "Hong Kongers", "Hong Kong natives", "Taiwanese", "Taiwan natives", "Han-Chinese", "non-Han-Chinese", "Cantonese", or others. Defining the social group by giving it a name is the basis for developing social cohesion within the group and then adding to the profile of the group through the following categories.

3.2.2 Emotional Involvement

Social Identity Theory has shown that for the creation and existence of a group emotional involvement of the members is an essential ingredient (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). The self-definition of being a member of a specific social group needs to be connected to an emotional experience in order for individuals to adhere to the group (Tajfel & Turner: 1976). The analysis will therefore inquire if leaders choose to interconnect the creation of a group (meaning the previous criteria of naming the group) with an emotional experience through choice of words. Particularly this means analyzing and searching the material for emotionally charged words when naming the group (e.g., words suggesting a positive or negative connotation of group membership, such as strength, togetherness, weakness, division, etc.) or if the process is much rather accompanied by a neutral,

objective description of the group or maybe even no further statements referencing emotional involvement at all.

3.2.3 Evaluation & Out-Group

Another highly relevant element to the introduction of social identity is the evaluation of the group. Group members must agree on the evaluation of their group both internally, as well as in comparison to other out-groups (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner: 1975). With the introduction of the social identity therefore, the verbal communication will be analyzed for concrete statements on how the in-group is perceived (e.g., positive or negative) and for the introduction of an out-group which serves as a comparative counterpart of the in-group. A more thorough analysis of the relation between in-group and out-group will be conducted under the point “Differentiation”.

3.3 Definition

3.3.1 Norms

After the creation of a social group based in shared social identity the next step is for it to be defined more explicitly so that individuals can understand more clearly what it means to be a part of this specific social group. The most important element here is the definition of group norms which shape group behavior (Turner & Oakes: 1986). Broken down they represent the main attributes associated with the group and therefore not only form a point of reference for group members but also define how a group responds to external influences as individuals tend to claim these attributes as part of their personal character (Turner & Oakes: 1986; Reicher et al.: 2005). Which characteristics are therefore associated with a social group is highly relevant to its existence and commonly shaped by group leaders (Reicher et al.: 2005). The analysis will therefore inquire which characteristics government leaders purposely associate with the social group they previously created. Additionally, there may be a difference between the norms and attributes associated to the group by leaders and those that are salient for the situation or crisis at hand, as salience changes depending on normative or comparative needs or debates in society (Stets & Burke: 2000; Williams & Jesse: 2001; Abrams & Elmer: 1992). Potentially, norms associated with the group will therefore be classified as either general, salient or both.

3.3.2 Politization

Another element to identity construction, which becomes especially relevant when it is the means to the end of potential mobilization or norm redefinition, is that of politization. Group identity needs to be politized before social identity can be utilized for a purpose. Therefore, shared grievances need to be highlighted, a threat needs to be defined, an opponent that is to blame for those grievances needs to be introduced (Thomas et al.: 2009). The analysis will therefore look out for forms of politization of the created group identity through the verbal communication of Hong Kong and Taiwan government. This being used as the means to an end will be discussed in the last category – utilization.

3.3.3 Threat

Lastly, in the category of definition and especially in relation to analyzing identity construction in the context of a public crisis, the definition of threats to the group identity needs to be analyzed. Research outlined in the Literature Review showed that threats are ideally introduced at an individual and social level in order to achieve better outcomes (Drury et al.: 2020; Kruglanski et al.: 2021). Additionally, as this thesis focuses on the construction of social identity in the face of the pandemic, part of the analysis will also be the evaluation of the introduction of COVID-19 as a health-related threat which can also be relevant at either the individual or social level. The analysis will therefore look out for the introduction of threats to the group and inquire if they are introduced 1) individual, 2) social or 3) both. Additionally, a focus on group coherence and uniting with potential out-groups in the interest of overcoming a common shared challenge may occur in verbal communication of the governments and will also be analyzed (Abrams et al.: 2021).

3.4 Differentiation

3.4.1 Dynamics

As has already been outlined in great detail, the existence of functioning social identities is dependent on there being a comparative out-group to establish the evaluation and justify the existence of the in-group in the first place (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner: 1975). The process of differentiation of the in-group from the out-group is shaped and executed by group leaders (Reicher et al.: 2005; Haslam & Platow: 2001). Within this process it is relevant to analyze if leaders choose to act with the pre-existing ingroup-outgroup dynamic or against it (Haslam & Platow:

2001). Particularly this means searching for statements that demonstrate a willingness to support in-group members, epitomize what makes the in-group different from the out-group and imply that the in-group is superior to the chosen out-group (Haslam & Platow: 2001).

3.4.2 Norms

The analysis will also take a second look at the norms that define the in-group in the context of differentiation from the out-group. It is essential to identify to which degree the norms and attributes that describe the group are based in a differentiation from the out-group. Leaders have the power to shape group norms according to the prevalent context, especially with the goal to mobilize the group for a specific cause, which would be the fight against the external threat of a pandemic in this particular case (Reicher et al.: 2005; Thomas et al.: 2009). It is therefore relevant to not only analyze if intergroup dynamics are overall highlighted by leaders, but also if they shape and define in-group norms as a whole.

3.4.3 Fear or Cooperation

According to Social Identity Theory, the relationship between an in-group and an out-group can only be of an antagonist nature (Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner: 1975). One particular pathway that leads to antagonistic intergroup relations is that of instilling fear of the out-group within the in-group. As a cognitive process, based in mental imagery of past experience, fear can be used both for negative and positive purposes by group leaders (Oates et al.: 2011; Rajkumar: 2020). It is therefore interesting to analyze if leaders purposefully create mental images which are based in common experience and knowledge to shape group opinion toward or awareness of both the out-group and the threat at hand (Oates et al.: 2011). The opposite of instilling fear of the out-group would be an attempt to enhance cooperation and create what is referred to as “we-ness” (Mattern: 2005). Highlighting shared values, trust and a common fate when referencing the out-group can ultimately lead to positive interactions and experiences between groups and a relationship of a cooperative nature instead of enmity (Mattern: 2005). Observing which one of these techniques is applied by leaders when referencing the out-group is highly relevant to understanding the overall construction of social identity.

3.5 Utilization

3.5.1 Redefinition

Lastly, group identity based in a shared social identity can be used as the means to an end. When analyzing and discussing the role of social identity during a public health crisis, this is especially relevant as intra- and intergroup dynamics can be both beneficial and detrimental to preventing the spread of a pandemic (Kruglanski et al.: 2021; Abrams et al.: 2021; Cruwys et al.: 2020). Redefining group norms according to the context and threat at hand can therefore have decisive consequences. A new differentiation of what is normative and non-normative behavior needs to be outlined, shared group identity under the same fate highlighted and the common challenge clarified (Templeton et al.: 2020; Drury et al.: 2019; Bavel et al.: 2020; Packer et al.: 2021). Referencing back to identity salience, the analysis will not only look at which specific attributes and norms that define group identity are salient at the given point in time, but also how they are potentially redefined in the context of battling a threats, such as the one to public health.

3.5.2 Mobilization

The final potential for utilization of social identity is mobilization for a cause. Depending on how group norms are redefined according to context, members can be mobilized for a specific cause (Reicher et al.: 2005). As was discussed in great detail in the Literature Review, both Hong Kong and Taiwan social movements have utilized constructed social identities in the past to mobilize society for causes primarily aimed at differentiating their respective societies from the People's Republic of China (Ip: 2020; Ma: 2018; Downes: 2018; Ortmann: 2018; Li: 2014; Chu: 2004; Hsu: 2014). Building on the result of how group norms are redefined in context and how norms are defined through differentiation (3.4.2 and 3.5.1) this final part will analyze for which causes leaders wish to mobilize their social groups and how the ultimate goals of mobilization are defined in the process.

3.6 Table Overview of the Analytical Framework (Table 1)

Multi-Level Analysis of Social Identity Construction		
Category	Criteria	Approach
Creation	Naming	Analyze material for use of concrete name to describe social group; potentially more than one name of the group, e.g., “Hong Konger”, “Taiwanese”, “non-Han-Chinese”, etc.
	Involvement	Search texts for direct connection between naming of social group and emotional connection (e.g., positive or negative connotation) to being a group member; or potentially neutral, objective context of naming the group
	Evaluation & Out-Group	Based on emotional involvement, how the group is perceived by the in-group in the material at hand will be analyzed (e.g., positive or negative); introduction and naming of an out-group as a comparative counterpart for the in-group
Definition	Norms	Characteristics knowingly associated with the group in analyzed material (e.g., adjectives describing the group and its behavior); potentially differentiated into general, salient in the specific situation or both
	Politization	Active politization of group identity in verbal communication through highlighting shared grievances and blaming an opponent or out-group for them
	Threat	Analysis of introduction of threats both in relation to COVID-19 and otherwise as 1) individual, 2) social or 3) both; analysis of potential connection between threat and stress of social coherence as means to overcome it
Differentiation	Dynamics	Analyze if leaders act within or against in-group out-group dynamics → willingness to support in-group members, epitomize what makes the in-group different from out-group and imply that in-group is superior to chosen out-group

	Norms	Analyze connection between previously highlighted norms that define the group and their relevance to enforce a differentiation of the outgroup i.e., how much of the group norms is based in differentiation
	Fear or Cooperation	Search for focus of painting the out-group either with the goal to instill fear of or cooperation with; fear through creating and highlighting common mental images with negative connotation of out-group, cooperation by highlighting shared values, trust and common fate by leaders
Utilization	Redefinition	Shift of group norms according to threat at hand; analyze how in communication differentiation of what is normative and non-normative behavior is outlined, shared group identity under same fate is highlighted and common challenge is clarified
	Mobilization	Which ultimate goal of defining social identity is presented by leaders in their communication? Based in analysis of norms highlighted by differentiation, as well as the redefinition of group norms through the crisis at hand

4. Empirics

4.1 *Taiwan*

4.1.1 Creation

As has been outlined in the construction of the analytical framework guiding the evaluation and analysis of the collected communication material, three main categories make up the creation of social identity: **Naming**, **Involvement** and **Evaluation of Out-Group(s)**.

In the evaluation of the material with regards to identifying cases of **naming**, meaning the concrete use of names to describe and identify the social group, three main trends were identified. One of the most common ways used to describe and establish a social identity, was instilling the thought and idea of a general public. Be it as “the public” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: January 2020; Taiwanese Center for Disease Control: May 2020; Tsai: January 2020), “Taiwanese public” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: January 2020), “members of the public” (Taiwan Center for Disease Control: May 2020) or “general public” (Tsai: January 2020), this way of creating a name for the social identity occurred across all formats of communicative materials, as well as was said and therefore created by all types of communicators and leaders. A second way of creating social identity through naming was a slightly more detailed description of society, forging a clear association with the idea of the group being identified through their common cultural and national identity – Taiwanese. Phrasings such as “Taiwanese people”(Tsai: May 2020; Tsai: October 2020; Ministry of Health and Welfare: December 2020), “Taiwanese community” (Tsai: May 2020), “people of Taiwan” (Tsai: May 2020; Tsai: June 2020; Tsai: December 2020), “Taiwanese society” (Tsai: June 2021) or “Taiwanese citizens” (Tsai: January 2020; Ministry of Health and Welfare: December 2020) are examples which occur for the most part in more direct addresses of society, such as speeches or opening remarks at events. This way of creating social identity creates a more limited ground of identification, as it clearly associates the belonging to a social identity with fulfilling one key characteristic – being Taiwanese. Lastly, a method of choice when naming the social identity as means of creating it, is to ensure one’s own inclusion into the defined in-group. This serves the purpose to clarify that the communicator is part of the in-group themselves and is therefore legitimately considered a leader of the same. Phrasings such as “my fellow citizens” (Tsai: January 2020; Tsai: May 2020), “our people” (Tsai: May 2020) or “my beloved fellow Taiwanese” (Tsai: January 2021) are examples of how the previous two forms of creation through naming can be combined with the additional element of creating leadership legitimacy through the use of only a few words. In this instance, the communicators are those considered leaders by the desired in-

group and the means of communication is again through speeches, opening remarks and other direct addresses of the in-group.

The second step in the creation of social identity is inciting a form of **emotional involvement** with the previously named and initially created in-group. The identified materials were searched for instances where the created social identity was directly associated with a form of emotion to belonging to this particular in-group. These emotive expressions have the potential to be both positive and negative, creating a direct context for the naming of the social identity. Needless to say, and as we have seen in the empirical analysis of naming, it often goes hand in hand with creating a form of emotional involvement. Directly associating emotional attributes to the introduction of the name of a social identity or category (such as the value a nationality holds to a society, or the idea of being considered equals with leadership or at least united with it) are rather common, which the three trends of naming in the case of Taiwan have already shown. While a pure, more objective form of categorization according to name such as “the public” does not carry much of an emotional value, the other two do. The case alone of including “Taiwan” in the name of a social identity is inherently emotional, as it creates a clear national association, clarifying that this identity stands entirely on its own and that being Taiwanese is what sets this particular group apart from others. The additional use of terms such as “fellow”, “our”, “community”, “beloved” or “society” as outlined above, also ensures an emotional involvement with the group as these terms instill feelings of association, being valued in the role of being a member of the social identity, as well as values directly connected to being a part of the group – such as solidarity and unity. This can therefore serve as a first introduction of the norms used to more specifically define the social identity later in the model.

Another direct form of emotional involvement with the social identity or in-group is that of needing protection from something or being at risk – fear can therefore be a very powerful form of creating emotional involvement. This is the first time in the empirical analysis that the at-hand confrontation with COVID-19 comes into play, as it is often framed as the most inherent risk to the safety of the created social identity – the details of which will be outlined in the empirics for the criteria “Threats” in the process of definition. Examples such as “minimize the impact of the outbreak on Taiwan, tackle the threats and challenges posed by the outbreak, and ensure the health of the Taiwanese public” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 21 January 2020) or “protect the health of the Taiwanese public” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 22 January 2020) show, that even when still creating the social identity, this negative association of having to be protected from this looming threat is also part of belonging to the created social identity. Fear for one’s own safety and

that of those belonging to the group is therefore one of the chosen ways to instill emotional involvement with the social identity.

There are however also examples of connecting positive emotional experiences and positively valued characteristics to the social identity while creating it. Some are purely emotional, such as “praised the Taiwan model” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020), “Taiwan’s participation would be a positive contribution” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020), “We are all family” (Chen: 19 April 2020), “children of Taiwan” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) or “proud of Taiwan” (Tsai: 16 December 2020). These examples simply connect a positive emotional association, such as solidarity, pride or family, with the creation of the social identity. As indicated before, some can also serve as precursors to the later associated norms and values the social identity is defined by. Examples for this instance are “Taiwan is a democratic country. We have a very vibrant democracy.” (Tsai: 8 May 2020), “pride in our country, our community’s shared destiny and the memories of these past months will live on in all of our hearts” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), “human rights at the center of Taiwan’s national ethos” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), “proud of our democracy and all that we have accomplished” (Tsai: 19 June 2020), “the Taiwanese people all hope for regional peace and prosperity that are stable and sustainable” (Tsai: 10 October 2020), “They can be proud of the culture and value of our homeland” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) and “have successfully turned the COVID-19 pandemic from a crisis into an opportunity” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: December 2020). These phrasings show that characteristics, norms and evaluations of situations or challenges can also in a first instance serve in the interest of creating emotional involvement with the social identity. Be it through the association of certain political values, a connection to cultural heritage, celebrating successes or articulating fears and hopes. These empirics show that there is more than one way of creating emotional involvement and that in some cases, it can serve as a precursor of other elements which make up the rest of a social identity, such as threats and norms.

The final element to the creation of a social identity is **introducing an out-group and associating it with an evaluation** in comparison to the in-group. As outlined in the literature review, to the creation and construction of a social identity and subsequently an in-group, the existence of an out-group is integral. Without the introduction and existence of a comparative element, a large part of what the construction of a social identity is based on (Differentiation) loses its value, weakening the potential identification with and therefore strength and relevance of the social identity. As the analyzed materials span a relatively long timeframe and cover different formats of communication as well as different communicators, more than one out-group and form of evaluation is introduced by representatives of the Taiwanese government.

One way of introducing an out-group is comparing Taiwan's performance and success in the fight against COVID-19 with other out-groups. Some are introduced as out-groups on the basis of their risk of transmitting COVID-19, such as "attentive to travelers from China, Hong Kong and Macau and maintains domestic prevention efforts" (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 25 January 2020). Others are measured according to their failures, flaws, and missteps in the management of this public health crisis in comparison to Taiwan as per example expressed by "In many countries, children have not been able to go to school, adults have not been able to go to work and many jobs have disappeared" (Tsai: 1 January 2021). As one of the dominating topics in the analyzed time frame is the management of COVID-19, it is highly relevant to, in this particular situation, associate the value of the constructed in-group with success measured according to other's missteps, as well as protection of the in-group from potential additional threats arising from out-groups.

Another form of introducing and evaluating an out-group occurs in the relation to the PRC being named through phrasings such as "the leader across the strait" (Tsai: 10 October 2020), "Beijing" (Tsai: 19 June 2020; Tsai: 10 October 2020), "Beijing authorities" (Tsai: 20 May 2020; Tsai: 10 October 2020) or "the PRC" (Tsai: 10 December 2020). Subsequent to merely naming them, they are associated with certain behaviors, norms and characteristics, which are evaluated as either negative or positive, depending on the statement at hand. Some express expectations the in-group has of the out-group, but all statements are in one way or another directly connected to the association with an out-group. This can either mean the out-group being described or it can be an outline of why the out-group is itself at fault for the position it is in. Examples for the outline of behaviors creating this evaluative effect are phrasings such as "In the South China Sea (...) traffic has become highly militarized. In Xinjiang, growing religious oppression has led to serious international concern" (Tsai: 10 December 2020), "The PRC has worked to shut the 23 million people of Taiwan out of international organizations despite our legitimate requests" (Tsai: 10 December 2020) or "They are also engaged in disinformation and malign influence campaigns that are designed to cast doubt on our institutions and test weakness in our democracy" (Tsai: 10 December 2020). Values or characteristics being ascribed to the out-group can also have a similar effect, with descriptions such as "malign" (Tsai: 10 December 2020), "fear, anxiety and instability" (Tsai: 10 December 2020) and "threats to free and democratic societies" (Tsai: 19 June 2020) being included in the introduction of the out-group and creating the intended effect.

Lastly, there are some instances where an out-group is introduced and evaluated as being something an opportunity of alignment. Positive evaluations and suggestions of possible cooperation and common ground can also occur in contrast to those examples guided by negative evaluations. Specifically thanking "our Cantonese-speaking friends" (Tsai: 14 February 2021) or highlighting an alignment with the United States through joint press releases could for example be identified. The

outline of the empirical analysis clearly shows that the creation of out-groups is an essential final step to the creation of a social identity, as it creates a framework the in-group can squeeze itself into, offering up a spot for the in-group within a larger construct, creating legitimacy and grounds for more precise association with certain characteristics or behaviors either in differentiation from or association with the out-groups. The relevance to the process of differentiation to the construction of social identity will be discussed in more detail in the third category to this framework.

4.1.2 Definition

Following the creation of a social identity, the next and previously already indicated step in the process of construction is the definition of certain characteristics of the identity, as well as a definition of its environment and influencing factors. As outlined in the analytical framework, the definition occurs at three different levels: **Norms**, **Politization** and **Threats**.

The definition of these identifiers occurs in a rather complex manner, with numerous different characteristics and **norms** being introduced, as well as them being of a different case-by-case nature. Some are generally associated with the social identity, some are only salient because of a challenge or situation at hand, and some are both. The first norm introduced in the evaluated material is that of *composure*. Especially in direct relation to achieving success in the fight against COVID-19, there are numerous cases within the materials at hand that highlight the importance of remaining calm, not panicking, doing things in an orderly fashion rather than falling into chaos and overall maintaining composure both as individuals and as a society. The definition of this norm occurs across all forms of communication and is articulated by all communicators. Some examples in this case are being “urged to remain calm” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 21 January 2020) or utilizing “past experience to reduce public panic” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 23 January 2020). Composure is the first example of a norm that becomes salient and more relevant due to the challenge at hand. It can be argued that this particular identifier would not be as relevant and salient in a situation without a global pandemic threatening the health and safety of the created social identity. It is made salient by leaders in this instance to ensure social cohesion and the overall protection of public health and safety.

Two other closely interconnected norms relevant to the definition of the Taiwanese social identity are *alertness and cooperation*. These also become more salient with the level of threat-perception from COVID-19, as being aware and alert of, as well as listening to government initiatives are an integral part of being able to control the virus. Following the introduced rules, regulations and taking advantage of initiatives (such as testing, vaccination, etc.) and cooperating with government

provisions is defined as being an important part of the created social identity. It ensures the successful implementation and overall success of counter-pandemic measures and highlights the relevance of acting in the best interest of the public (a norm defining the social identity which will be discussed in more detail later). Some examples of alertness and cooperation being highlighted as norms associated with the social identity in the context of COVID-19 are phrases such as urging “the public to understand its intent and cooperate with the measure” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 25 January 2020), expressing that “time calls for alertness to comprehensive prevention” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 25 January 2020) and urging “members of the public to observe disease prevention and control measures” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 21 May 2020). They are however also salient in a different context – cross-strait relations with the PRC. It is highlighted in more than one case that being alert, aware and respectful of the developments in this dynamic, as well as respecting the nature of cross-strait relations, the cultural and historical ties between the two countries and all relevant partners in play, is a relevant part of the Taiwanese social identity. Examples being among others “acknowledge the historical and cultural ties that exist across the strait” (Tsai: 19 June 2020), “watching with alarm the increasing provocation from across the Taiwan strait” (Tsai: 10 December 2020) or “aware of the importance of defending our homeland” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). Alertness and cooperation are therefore both general norms associated with the identity and can be specifically salient in the face of certain situations or challenges.

Cooperation is not only defined as being a relevant norm for the created social identity in the context of government measures or regulations, but also in the context of being willing to *cooperate internationally*. Serving as an international role-model, sharing expertise and experiences, offering humanitarian aid, and contributing to the international success of the fight against COVID-19, are all things defined as being inherent to the nature of the Taiwanese social identity. While these may all not be things those being included in the in-group can effectively do or adhere to, it is clearly being defined as something one inherently supports if wishing to identify with the Taiwanese social identity. Cooperating in a professional and pragmatic manner, as well as earning respect through these forms of behavior in an international political sphere and maintaining a certain image, also belong to this defining element. This becomes clear in phrases such as “offer humanitarian aid through bilateral and multilateral channels” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020) or “Taiwan’s successful experience can serve as a model for the global community” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020) being used by leaders in their communication with society. This norm is both salient at this specific point in time as it is also construed as being of essential value in the international success of fighting COVID-19, but also a general attribute as it speaks to the standard the Taiwanese social identity wishes to hold itself to.

A further norm associated with the in-group as well as identified as a basic expectation of both social and governmental behavior is *fairness*. The communication materials show that a large part of what guides governmental decisions and should guide social behavioral norms, is remaining fair in the treatment of one another, while at the same time effectively fighting COVID-19. This is oftentimes associated with other basic values connected to democratic thought (also outlined in more detail later), as it highlights the relevance of transparency, universality, and prioritization of people at high risk, of particular need or part of a minority. An example of the inclusion of fairness in the definition of the Taiwanese social identity is the mention of choosing to “prioritize them for these minority groups” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 4 February 2020) or saying that certain things were “prioritized for the people in great need” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 4 February 2020). Fairness is an excellent example of a norm that is considered both generally associated with the social identity due to its main origin being rooted in democratic values, but at the same time salient in the face of the pandemic as it ensures appropriate treatment of all.

In a direct relation to the norm of fairness stands the idea of *trust* as being a key norm defining the Taiwanese social identity. It is highlighted in more than one instance that a level of trust toward government, in the fact that it will make decisions in the right amount of time and implement measures which are in the interest of both the individual and the greater good, as well as putting trust in one another to do the same thing, are relevant identifiers. Statements such as “communicate directly with the public to clarify policies and fight rumors, building public trust” (Tsai: 16 December 2020) or saying that Taiwan relies on “our professional expertise, mutual trust, and social unity” (Tsai: 1 January 2021) show that this plays a large role in defining social identity and that it is considered both a general and a salient attribute of the in-group.

Looking at more norms which are strictly salient in the face of a context, the idea of *speed* is one of them. To achieve effective and successful response to the epidemic, a swift response and implementation of measures is constructed to be of essential value. In that regard, not just government response but also social behaviors are defined as needing to be prompt to ensure safety and success. Examples include phrases such as “rapid mobilization” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020) or “prompt decision-making” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020) being used to define both elements. Clearly, this is a salient norm associated with the Taiwanese social identity, only being considered relevant in the fight against COVID-19 and not otherwise highlighted in the evaluated materials.

Caution and prudence are also used as elements to define the Taiwanese social identity. These are two further examples of characteristics becoming salient in the face of challenges, as they are both introduced either in the context of COVID-19 or the relationship with the PRC. One element to caution and prudence being relevant in the face of COVID-19 is avoiding the spread of

misinformation about the pandemic, as well as overall caution with regards to disease prevention. These characteristics are defined as being of special value to protecting not only oneself but also others from the spread of the virus and effects of potential misinformation. Some concrete examples being “caution and prudence to prevent confusing and false information” (Taiwan Center for Disease Control: 21 May 2020), “prudently and very carefully monitor all this possible disease” (Chen: 19 April 2020) or “remain vigilant and not get careless” (Tsai: 29 June 2021).

The next norms directly associated with the Taiwanese social identity and constructed as both general and salient identifiers are *strength and resilience*. The thought of an everlasting national strength and willingness to stick through challenging times, emerging stronger and more united at the other end is perpetuated numerous times in the evaluated communication materials. Persevering through hardships and having the combined strength to get through difficult times is tightly intertwined with the perception of the Taiwanese social identity. Some examples of this being phrases such as “we also showed impressive national strength” (Tsai: 10 October 2020), “Taiwan can (...) weather any storm” (Tsai: 29 June 2021) or “we can always count on (...) our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times and stand steadfast in the world” (Tsai: 20 May 2020). Having the strength to survive difficult situations and challenges is in this case additionally associated with building and maintaining resilience. Calling oneself the “island of resilience” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) or clearly stating that “hardships have forged our resiliency and challenges have inspired our resolve” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) while highlighting how important it is to learn from challenges, disasters and mistakes, clearly perpetuates the idea that strength and resilience go hand in hand and are both highly relevant parts of the constructed Taiwanese social identity. These norms are perceived both as being generally applicable to the in-group, as well as salient in the face of both COVID-19 and cross-strait relations. This becomes clear through their inclusion and reference in statements directly addressing these two challenges such as “through unity and single-minded purpose, we held the line in the fight against the pandemic” (Tsai: 10 October 2020), “respond to PRC malign influence in our politics” (Tsai: 10 December 2020) or “we will not accept the Beijing authorities’ use of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ to downgrade Taiwan” (Tsai: 20 May 2020).

There is a second highly relevant level to merely being strong which is also an important norm defining Taiwanese social identity – *resistance*. The introduction of this idea takes the thought of merely having a strong national identity to another level, it indicates willingness to fight for the things the social identity represents and cares for. It is introduced as the ability to resist in the face of aggression and annexation, persisting in the defense of the values of democracy and freedom, as well as a willingness to defend one’s homeland. This norm is also directly associated with the resistance against living in permanent antagonism, wanting to safeguard one’s freedom and way of

life and it is strongly connected to the idea of people of the Taiwanese social identity having the courage to stand up for what they believe in and what matters to them. Phrases such as “we have united, because we are well aware of the importance of defending our homeland” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) or “Taiwan stands on the frontlines in the defense of democratic values” (Tsai: 19 June 2020) prove that this an inherently important norm to this social identity which becomes highly salient in confrontation with anything threatening the identity and its right to exist in the first place, but is also considered a general attribute of anyone belonging to the Taiwanese social identity.

The willingness to resist is constructed mainly as a form of defense against anything threatening the values most at the core of Taiwanese social identity – its *democratic nature*. The norms associated with this thought make up a rather large and therefore relevant part of the definition of the social identity at hand. Highlighting the value of “peace, parity, democracy and dialogue” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), as well as that of “our principles of religious freedom and human rights” (Tsai: 10 December 2020) and the transition “from authoritarianism to democracy” (Tsai: 20 May 2020) being framed as a success which ultimately resulted in Taiwan being “a full-fledged democracy” (Tsai: 19 June 2020) are how these norms are introduced. Both in the face of COVID-19 and potential threats coming from across the strait as challenges to society, the importance of “protecting these freedoms was at the core of our aims” (Tsai: 15 May 2021), meaning among others the freedom of religion, cultural expression, self-determination, and speech, is most often at the forefront of defining a Taiwanese social identity. The value of communicating transparently, honestly, and openly to fight potential rumors, prevent the spread of misinformation and build trust both among citizens and between citizens and government, is also highlighted in this context. Whilst resistance against external threats to these core values is also among the defining identifiers, the Taiwanese military is additionally constructed as being part of the force acting only in the interest of and protecting these values at all costs. Much like the introduction of this set of norms already suggests, these are not merely salient norms as they are defined and introduced as being part of the nature of the country and its citizens. Taiwan being a shining example of democratic and perceptively “eastern” values being compatible.

Part of identifying with regional norms and values is the relevance of *solidarity and selflessness* to the Taiwanese social identity. Especially salient in the context of the pandemic, the thought of being willing to put up with inconveniences and sticking to rules and regulations for the greater good is introduced in several instances. Showing solidarity and seeing the shared destiny of the greater community, as well as ultimately acting in its interest are constructed to also be at the core of Taiwanese social identity. This is highlighted in phrases such as “people from all walks of life put aside their differences and come together to work for the common good” (Tsai: 16 December 2020) or coming together “because there is strength in unity” (Tsai: 10 February 2021). Per the definition

of political leaders, a second level to the thought of solidarity is also relevant when identifying with Taiwan – “helping ourselves to help others” (Tsai: 20 May 2020) or “when we help ourselves, others will help us” (Tsai: 20 May 2020). Acting in the interest of international solidarity and taking care of one’s own community and well-being to be able to support others in their challenges and feats, is constructed in numerous instances to be an important identifier. The Taiwanese social identity is therefore associated with being helpful, showing solidarity and making selfless choices in the interest of protecting the greater good.

This goes hand in hand with the thought of individuals identifying with the social identity being inherently *kind*, kind-hearted, generous, warm, and wise. Communication includes among other expressing that “Taiwanese people are kind-hearted” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: December 2020), “the country you see is populated by kind and resilient people” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), using the terms “kindness, generosity and touching warmth” (Tsai: 29 June 2021) or asking the in-group to “pool our wisdom” (Tsai: 20 May 2020). All of these attributes are defined in one way or another to be part of the identity, both generally and as part of being successful in caring for one another and fighting COVID-19.

The final norm defining the social identity is that of *commitment*. Remaining committed to all the norms previously outlined and described, as well as to all of one’s central beliefs and values is highlighted through phrasings such as “our commitment to our sovereignty and our democratic values will not change” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). To this social identity these things mean being committed to the efforts necessary to maintain “regional peace and prosperity that are stable and sustainable” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) while continuously advocating “for the forces of good” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). At the same time as being committed and working hard to maintain and achieve things through persistent and concerted efforts, the importance of remaining responsive to changes is also highlighted by leaders.

The constructed Taiwanese social identity is therefore defined by the following norms: **composure, alertness & cooperation, fairness, trust, speed, caution & prudence, strength & resilience, resistance, democracy, solidarity & selflessness, kindness, commitment.**

The next level to defining social identity is **politization**, meaning the construction of a sense of unity within the in-group due to shared grievances, being united under the same fate and making an opponent, optionally an out-group, responsible.

There are numerous angles to the politization of a Taiwanese social identity, one of them most obviously being the shared grievance of having to deal with and prevent the spread of COVID-19. This is framed most often as being on the frontlines of a very important battle together to ensure

the health of not only oneself but the entire in-group. Even in times of distress caused by a public health crisis, the social identity stays united in its commitment to democratic and civic values. Another rather specific instance of having a common adversary politicizing the social identity is the case of the World Health Organization (WHO) excluding Taiwan from informational exchanges and other formats part of disease-prevention and coordination of the fight against COVID-19. Based in the norm of cooperation, the WHO is constructed as the adversary in the evaluated communication materials as it is preventing Taiwan from doing something that is at the core of their self-definition – helping others. Leaders communicate that the Taiwanese social identity is united in the fate of just wanting to help, “share our experience and expertise to show that Taiwan can help” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020) and prevent an overall worsening of the pandemic. In the meantime, the WHO is constructed as failing in one of its most central pledges – “its pledge to leave no one behind” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020). The communication materials also show however, that being united in this particular fate is in some instances extended to an international level, constructing that there are certain diplomatic allies (such as the US, Japan, Canada and the EU) extending support of Taiwan in this issue and therefore aligning themselves with the Taiwanese social identity in this fate. The communication clearly states appreciation for “the efforts made by the United States, Taiwan’s diplomatic allies, and other like-minded countries in support of its case” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020). The same thing applies to alignment with other parties in the region, which are constructed by leaders to be united with Taiwan in the face of democracy being at risk in the region. A large part of the definition of Taiwanese social identity is overcoming challenges together, both in the present, in the past and in the future. And as democratic values are constructed as being an integral part of being able to do so, one could argue that the Taiwanese social identity is inherently political: “No matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times, and stand steadfast in the world” (Tsai: 20 May 2020).

The last element to the definition of social identity is that of introducing and defining **threats**. Much like in the case of politicizing the social identity based on a common hardship or fate, one of the most relevant threats is COVID-19. In different communication materials and through different leaders, the threat is constructed as being relevant at both the individual and the social level through phrases such as “the coronavirus has profoundly affected our world” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), “urge members of the public to observe disease prevention and control measures (...) as to ensure epidemic prevention standards” (Taiwan Center for Disease Control: 21 May 2020) or “manage their own health and prevent the spread of the disease” (Tsai: 30 January 2020). As

introduced in the context of salient norms defining the identity, promptness and speed are constructed to part of the most essential characteristics of the social identity to successfully oppose the threat: “Taiwan’s successful response to COVID-19 lies in six key aspects: rapid mobilization, (...) prompt decision-making” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020). Leaders also oftentimes choose to construct the threat through drawing parallels and introducing comparative elements to fighting a war or battle, which needs to be won at all costs to protect both individual and social interests. This occurs in statements such as “preventing the spread of the coronavirus with the same gravity as a battle” (Tsai: 30 January 2020) or “held the line in the fight against the pandemic” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). The threat is also constructed as bringing out the best in the Taiwanese social identity, ergo procuring the salience of important norms at the right time by leadership expressing things such as “thank you for exemplifying humanity’s best qualities and helping us” (Tsai: 20 May 2020) or “no matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges” (Tsai: 20 May 2020).

The second threat relevant to defining social identity is the one that lives across the strait. Communication surrounding the PRC, Beijing or Xi Jinping is directly associated with aggression, annexation, an expansion of hegemony and extinguishing civil liberties. Some examples being “we have resisted the pressure of aggression and annexation” (Tsai: 20 May 2020), “concerned about China’s expanding hegemony” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) or “increasing provocation from across the Taiwan strait” (Tsai: 10 December 2020). Taiwan on the other hand is constructed as being the antithesis to everything the PRC and its government stand for – something that will be discussed in more detail in the next category. The norms most salient and relevant to opposing this threat are things such as resistance, being committed and guided by democratic values and staying resilient, as the listed examples show. The perception of and identification with this threat makes up a large part of Taiwanese social identity, as will be outlined in more detail when analyzing the element of differentiation when constructing social identity.

Lastly, several vague statements that numerous threats may still lay ahead for the social identity could also be identified in the materials. The identity is strongly intertwined with overcoming challenges and being resilient, therefore adding the construction that even if one threat subsides, another is likely to arise in its place, making vigilance, strength and resilience some of the most relevant identifiers in the face of constructed threats: “remember this as the year we grasped a generational opportunity, bravely forging ahead in rapidly changing times to overcome challenges and throw off our shackles, giving them a chance to determine their own future” (Tsai: 10 October 2020).

4.1.3 Differentiation

The second category in the construction of social identity is that of using means of differentiation to specifically distinguish the desired in-group from potential out-groups which have been previously introduced. As has been outlined in the literature review and development of the analytical framework, differentiation and the use of in-group out-group dynamics are an important part of social identity theory and ultimately the construction of social identity in practice. The three criteria differentiation will be evaluated on are **dynamics**, **norms**, and **fear/cooperation**.

The criteria addressing **dynamics** refers to the question if leaders in the process of constructing social identity and introducing out-groups generally choose to differentiate the in-group from the out-group while acting within existing dynamics, naming them and using them in the interest of setting the in-group apart, or go against them, questioning potentially existing structures and relationships between the in-group and out-group.

The main and only relevant in-group out-group dynamic which could be identified as being addressed and acted according to by leaders in their communication is that between Taiwan and the PRC. Being critical of developments in cross-strait relations, as well as with regards to the HKSAR guides a large part of communication aimed at achieving differentiation. As mentioned in earlier parts of this empirical evaluation, positioning oneself as the “antithesis” to the government of the PRC and making it clear that values such as “peace, parity, democracy and dialogue” (Tsai: 20 May 2020) are at the center of the Taiwanese response to and behavior in this dynamic. Leaders therefore seem to assume, that acting with this dynamic, positioning oneself strongly and sticking to a narrative which is critical of the out-group and enhances the values of the in-group, is important when constructing a Taiwanese social identity and therefore an opinion and stance most people of the desired in-group identify with.

The second element of achieving differentiation from the constructed out-groups is connecting the **norms** associated with the in-group to the idea of setting oneself apart. Enhancing the value of the in-group’s core norms and values by pointing out that they are defining elements of oneself but not of the out-group is a highly relevant step to achieving cohesion and valuation.

The largest and most important part of norm construction through differentiation is highlighting the value and reality of Taiwan’s commitment to *democratic values*. The out-group of the PRC, Beijing government or China is used to solidify Taiwan’s democratic nature by communicating through phrases such as “in dealing with cross-strait relations, we will uphold our principles and not act rashly. We are willing to facilitate meaningful dialogue under the principles of parity and dignity as long as the Beijing authorities sincerely want to resolve differences and improve cross-strait

relations” (Tsai: 1 January 2021) or “we can live in peace and coexist based on mutual respect, goodwill and understanding. As long as the Beijing authorities are willing to resolve antagonisms and improve cross-strait relations, while parity and dignity are maintained, we are willing to work together” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). These statements show that the importance of democratic norms and values to the Taiwanese social identity are highlighted and become more valuable in the face of an out-group potentially disrespecting them. A democracy-related norm also highlighted in the differentiation from the PRC and gaining salience through COVID-19, is the value of transparency. Numerous governmental statement highlight a perception of Taiwanese superiority in this regard by saying things such as “I think that China has to be open and transparent and provide all the information” (Chen: 8 May 2020), “Given the lack of clarity at the time, as well as the many rumors that were circulating, Taiwan’s aim was to ensure that all parties remain alert” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 11 April 2020), “even though Taiwan strongly suspected that human-to-human transmission of the disease was already occurring at the time, we were unable to gain information through existing channels” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 11 April 2020) or “Taiwan vigilantly kept track of information” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 11 April 2020). Part of differentiating oneself in the light of democratic norms and values also relates to the idea that several other countries around the world were forced to limit personal rights and freedoms in the interest of disease-prevention. In communication, Taiwanese leaders pride themselves and their society’s value of democracy on the fact that this is not something that had to be limited in the face of COVID-19. Statements like “at no point during the pandemic has Taiwan restricted people’s rights to free expression, assembly or participation in public life (...) protecting these freedoms was at the core of our aims” (Chen: 13 May 2020) or “while countries around the world have used the pandemic as a way to reign in control and strip the public of crucial data” (Chen: 13 May 2020) highlight that maintaining these norms and being able to identify oneself as one of the few countries being able to do so, is a relevant part to norm-definition of the Taiwanese social identity.

Another norm associated with differentiation is that of *international cooperation*. In communication, leader highlight that Taiwan is very willing and eager to cooperate internationally to defeat COVID-19. It is highly critical of the WHO for excluding them and uses the ability to blame the WHO for acting against its own values and pledges (being impartial, acting in the interest of global health) to enhance the salience of these values for itself: “Taiwan urges WHO to ensure independence from political pressure, abide by its own call to work for the highest attainable standard of human health and fully include Taiwan” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020). These statements in some instances also question the professionalism and neutrality of both the WHO and those stakeholders preventing Taiwan’s status as an observer in the organization, thus counteractively claiming these attributes as being part of the Taiwanese social identity instead. Receiving

international support in this claim helps increase the salience of the attributes associated with wanting to solidarily help the international community. This is expressed in statements like being “grateful other countries stand together to support Taiwan’s inclusion in the global health system” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 15 May 2020).

Furthermore, the salience of the defining norm of *composure* is also highlighted through a process of differentiation. Leaders point out that much unlike out-groups, meaning most likely social groups of other countries in the region and internationally, the Taiwanese social identity should remain calm, not fall victim to misinformation or spread panic. This is exemplified in the case of mass-purchasing of protective medical face masks, with leaders communicating that people should “refrain from making mass purchases out of fear” (Tsai: 30 January 2020) as “stringent measures to prevent people from hoarding masks” (Tsai: 30 January 2020) would be implemented, unlike in other parts of the world where “panic buying of face masks was spurred” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 4 February 2020).

In general, Taiwan’s *success in the fight against COVID-19* is a part of self-identification relying heavily on differentiation. Leaders say that their “successful experience can serve as a model for the global community” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: 19 May 2020) or that their approach and success “made Taiwan a global model” (Tsai: 10 October 2020) in the fight against the virus. It is therefore an integral part of self-perception to be highly successful in battling COVID-19 and leading in international comparison on the matter. The general perception being, that Taiwan “successfully turned the COVID-19 pandemic from a crisis into an opportunity” (Ministry of Health and Welfare: December 2020).

The final level to differentiation is defining whether in the face of out-groups, the social identity is associated more with letting fear and subsequently distance and protection dominate the dynamic, or whether a cooperative nature and thoughts are instilled and associated. This final criterion is called **fear or cooperation**.

We have already identified in the process of evaluating norms associated with the Taiwanese social identity and also those gaining salience through differentiation, that the idea of being of a cooperative nature and seeking cooperation, not only within the social group but also in relation to others, is an important part of the identity at hand. This is highlighted both in statements made about the relationship to the PRC, stating that Taiwan seeks cooperation on the basis of “peace, parity, democracy and dialogue” (Tsai: 20 May 2020) and that the social identity is “willing to work together in the interest of peaceful coexistence” (Tsai: 19 June 2020). Fear and alertness do however persist, with clear statements being made about not wanting to be downgraded in the name of implementing “One Country, Two Systems” and on alarmingly observing “the increasing

provocation from across the Taiwan strait” (Tsai: 10 December 2020). Fear of what the PRC might be willing and able to do also fuels the willingness and need to defend oneself “in the face of growing military tensions” (Tsai: 10 December 2020) or standing “on the frontlines in the defense of democratic values” (Tsai: 19 June 2020). Cooperation is also sought out in the exchange with the WHO and other international partners in the fight against COVID-19. While the WHO, as previously outlined, is to some extent constructed as an out-group and also harshly criticized, the willingness and need to cooperate in the interest of global health still stands at the forefront of these statements. Diplomatic allies such as the United States, Japan, Canada or the European Union are also constructed as being relevant partners for cooperation. The need to achieve exchange of experiences and expertise on all of these levels is in the end only fueled by the greater fear both uniting both the Taiwanese social identity and all of its potential out-groups – a worsening COVID-19 epidemic.

4.1.4 Utilization

The final step and level relevant to the construction of social identity and outlined in the analytical framework is its ultimate utilization for a certain end. Utilization can occur either in the form of **redefinition** or **mobilization**. The material at hand was evaluated and analyzed according to both and yielded the following results.

Searching the materials for instances of **redefinition** means being on the lookout of leaders active articulating or highlighting a shift in group norms, accepted behaviors or preferences due to an external influence, such as a potential threat. In the case of Taiwan, most often the opposite could be observed. As the extensive evaluation showed, most of the norms and behaviors associated with the in-group are considered to be of active positive influence to achieving common goals. The materials yielded few results of active redefinition being an element of communication. The only instances in which it made a small appearance is the attempt to redefine the relationship with the PRC – according to the norms represented by Taiwan, however. Leaders state that unlike what the nature of the relationship stands for currently and in opposition to the signals sent from across the strait, one is still engaged and interested in altering this relationship for the better. This is articulated through statements like “we will never stop believing that there can be a better future ahead, where both sides can share in each other’s successes and accomplishments” (Tsai: 19 June 2020) or “if Beijing can heed Taiwan's voice, change the way it handles cross-strait relations, and jointly facilitate cross-strait reconciliation and peaceful dialogue” (Tsai: 10 October 2020). In one instance, leadership also highlights that in exchanges and relations with the PRC “making concessions will not bring peace” (Tsai: 10 October 2020), suggesting perhaps that some cooperative elements to

the norms associated with the Taiwanese social identity need to be limited to some extent in the interest of defending oneself and achieving long-term peace.

For the most part, the **mobilization** of the Taiwanese social identity is limited to one ultimate goal: securing the country's and people's future. The idea that it is society's responsibility to pass on a strong, democratic nation to the next generation, as well as be a leader and advocate for democracy and its values in the region lie at the heart of mobilization. In the process leaders state things such as "being Taiwanese can be an honor that makes you hold your head high" (Tsai: 20 May 2020) or highlight that it is important to work together and unite everyone's strengths to "pool our wisdom and courage to make this country a better place together" (Tsai: 20 May 2020). The Taiwanese social identity is associated with speaking out and acting "against the demise of Hong Kong's freedoms" (Tsai: 19 June 2020) or playing an active role in "establishing new regional and international orders" (Tsai: 10 October 2020), forging "alliances based on shared values and friendly ties throughout the international community" (Tsai: 10 October 2020). At the heart of it all lies the ultimate goal of ensuring that a next generation "maintains their right to choose their own future" (Tsai: 10 December 2020) and to "maintain peace and stability, while protecting our freedoms and democracy" (Tsai: 19 June 2020).

4.1.5 Table Overview – Results Taiwan (Table 2)

Multi-Level Analysis of Social Identity Construction – Results Taiwan		
Category	Criteria	Results
Creation	Naming	1) General (i.e., "the public") 2) National (i.e., "Taiwanese community") 3) In-Group (i.e., "our people")
	Involvement	1) Nationality 2) Solidarity 3) Protection 4) Emotions & Norms
	Evaluation & Out-Group	1) Performance during COVID-19 2) PRC, Beijing, Xi Jinping 3) Cooperation/Alignment w/partners
Definition	Norms	1) Composure 2) Alertness & Cooperation 3) Fairness 4) Trust 5) Speed 6) Caution & Prudence 7) Strength & Resilience

		8) Resistance 9) Democracy 10) Solidarity & Selflessness 11) Kindness 12) Commitment
	Politization	1) COVID-19 2) World Health Organization 3) Challenges (generally)
	Threat	1) COVID-19 2) PRC, Beijing, Xi Jinping
Differentiation	Dynamics	1) Relationship PRC
	Norms	1) Democracy 2) Cooperation 3) Composure 4) Performance during COVID-19
	Fear or Cooperation	1) Cooperation: PRC 2) Fear: PRC 3) Cooperation: WHO/COVID-19
Utilization	Redefinition	1) Relationship PRC
	Mobilization	1) Securing future & values

4.2 Hong Kong SAR

4.2.1 Creation

The initial step of creating a social identity, as outlined in the previous chapter, is introducing a name for the desired in-group. In the evaluated communication materials of HKSAR the process of **naming** is also defined by three main trends. The first of them being the use of more general, all-encompassing terms such as “the public” (Lam: 25 February 2020; Lam: 25 March 2020; Lam: 25 September 2020), “people” (Lam: 25 June 2020) or “the community” (Lam: 25 July 2020). As was observed in the case of Taiwan, this form of naming is the most neutral and relatively distant one to be observed. The second trend includes the direct association to national identity, meaning an inclusion of “Hong Kong” in the name for the social identity. Examples include “Hong Kong people” (Lam: 25 May 2020), “Hong Kong community” (Lam: 25 July 2020; Lam: 25 November 2020) or “Hong Kong citizens” (Lam: 25 March 2020). The last trend is used to suggest the inclusion of leaders into the in-group through the use of names like “fellow citizens” (Lee: 1 July 2020), “our citizens” (Lam: 25 March 2020) or “our people” (Lam: 25 June 2020; Lam: 27 November 2020). Combinations of all three also occur, for example in “fellow Hong Kong citizens” (Lam: 12 February 2020). Simply through the process of naming it is difficult to differentiate if the use of terms such as “fellow citizens”, which lack a direct national association, mean to include

citizens of the PRC into the in-group. The context sometimes suggests this may be the case, it is not clear, up for interpretation and to be kept in mind for the rest of the evaluation.

The second element to creating a social identity is to inspire an emotional **involvement** with the social identity. In the evaluated materials, the most common form of associating emotion with the construction of social identity was the idea of waging a fight against COVID-19. The epidemic is, in numerous instances and across all forms of communications and communicators, constructed as the largest enemy and threat to the people of Hong Kong and their united safety. Fighting the virus with all means is considered a national responsibility, put best in the following statement: “We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people. What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and courage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge” (Lam: 16 June 2020). Additionally, emotions such as anxiety, gratitude, love, strength, endurance, burden, unity, and solidarity are introduced and associated with the Hong Kong social identity in its creation when referencing the epidemic. It is therefore one of the most relevant sources of emotional involvement for the social identity, at least in the researched time frame and selected materials. Also, in the spirit of protection from an external source, another source of involvement is the guarantee of social stability and security. The creation of social identity oftentimes goes hand in hand with mentioning the associated responsibility of safeguarding national security, protect Hong Kong as the social identity's home and individuals being law-abiding citizens to deserve this form of protection through solidarity in the first place. This is clarified through statements like “It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people” (Lam: 25 June 2020) or “protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security” (Lam: 1 July 2020). The details of both of these major sources of emotional involvement will be discussed in more detail later, as they both primarily also fall into another category – definition of a threat to the social identity. Somewhat similarly to the case of Taiwan therefore, for the most part, emotional involvement in Hong Kong is also reliant on the notion of needing to protect oneself from something. An additional emotional association is the creation of a positive self-image in alignment with the PRC. This happens in instances such as stating that China has become “a rare bright spot among major economies and has shown once again the shift of the global economic focus from the West to the East” (Lam: 1 October 2020) or that the PRC is helping “build Hong Kong together and contribute to our country” (Lam: 12 February 2021).

Receiving support from and being mentioned in association with the PRC is therefore constructed as a source of positive evaluation of and involvement in the created social identity.

The last criteria to creation of social identity are the identification and **evaluation of out-groups**. The first way of evaluating out-groups occurs in a comparison of performance in the fight against COVID-19. Those doing a worse job than Hong Kong in the prevention of both spread and worsening of the pandemic are both evaluated as out-groups and used to highlight the superior performance of Hong Kong in this case. Statements such as “see that Hong Kong’s situation is better than quite a number of regions in Europe, America and Asia-Pacific” (Lam: 25 March 2020) highlight this notion. The most commonly constructed and most relevant out-group to the creation of a desired Hong Kong social identity, however, are all those considered to be a threat to national security. Both nationally and internationally, those accusing Hong Kong of acting against democratic values by going through with the implementation of the National Security Law or those initiating social unrest in the name of these allegedly disrespected norms, are negatively evaluated as out-groups to what the created social identity stands for. The related behaviors and characteristics are defined by leaders to be “malicious” (Lam: 25 July 2020; 1 July 2020), as attempts to “smear and damage the relationship between the Central Authorities and HKSAR” (Lam: 25 July 2020), “unjustified accusations” (Lam: 1 October 2020) and attempts to “undermine the social stability of the HKSAR” (Lam: 25 November 2020) by “ill-intentioned people influenced by external forces” (Lam: 25 November 2020). This particular out-group is also associated with attempts to spread misinformation and “fake news” (Lam: 25 July 2020) about potential governmental interventions, as well as about the intentions of Beijing’s involvement in HKSAR’s battle against COVID-19. Those considered members of this out-group and still part of the population of Hong Kong are also associated with not being educated enough to understand both the PRC Constitution, as well as the Basic Law of Hong Kong and the principle of “One Country, Two Systems”. This is expressed by stating things like “some issues are politically manipulated due to the society’s inadequate understanding of the Constitution and the Basic Law and the fact that some people’s awareness of the ‘One Country’ principle has yet to be enhanced” (Lam: 25 November 2020). Both external and internal out-groups can therefore be part of the Hong Kong social identity construction if connected to the aim of protecting national security. As observed in the case of Taiwan, some out-groups can also be evaluated positively and contribute to the creation of social identity. In communication by leadership and government of Hong Kong this positively evaluated out-group is the central government of the PRC. It is constructed by leaders to be a helpful, supportive, selfless, and altruistic compatriot to Hong Kong. As outlined before, the

negatively evaluated out-groups are in contrast those trying to damage this valuable relationship to the HKSAR social identity.

4.2.2 Definition

The process of defining the social identity, giving members addressed by its construction the ability to associate themselves more closely with the construct, is structured according to three criteria: **norms**, **politization** and **threats**.

To start, the **norms** most closely associated with a HKSAR social identity and defined, as well as named by leaders, were evaluated. Repeatedly associated with the idea of a social identity were the identifiers of *determination and strength*. These are both generally associated, as well as salient in the face of the epidemic. Fighting the virus and being fueled by the determination of wanting to win that fight stands at the forefront of most cases of social identity definition. Highlighting that HKSAR is “determined to win the hard-fought battle” (Lam: 27 December 2020), among other things to “ensure that our hospital system will not collapse under the strain and, more importantly, to keep our people safe” (Lam: 27 November 2020) or stating that “it is definitely not the time to let our guard down, otherwise the hard efforts of Hong Kong citizens in the past two months will be undone and the consequences could be dire” (Lam: 25 March 2020), make up part of the construct that determination and strength are both inherent to and a currently salient parts of the HKSAR social identity.

Closely associated with the idea of being both determined and strong in the face of the pandemic and other challenges is the inclusion of *dedication and commitment* in the definition of HKSAR social identity. Also introduced as being highly salient in the context of the epidemic, leaders construe that being dedicated and committed to all efforts and measures aimed at fighting the virus is an integral part of belonging to the in-group. A strict observation of regulations, which is only possible due to another general attribute of the social identity, self-discipline, and not sparing any effort to do everything in one’s power both as an individual and as a group are all included in the definition. Concrete examples are behavior in the face of the epidemic being described as guided by “professionalism and whole-hearted dedication (...) unswerving commitment to duties (...) selfless devotion” (Lam: 25 February 2020), saying that “to win the battle against the disease, the continuous support and co-operation of every Hong citizen are of utmost important” (Lam: 25 March 2020) and accounting the perceived success in fighting the epidemic to “the togetherness of the community at large, the unswerving commitment (...) the collaborative efforts (...) and the understanding of all sectors of society” (Lam: 25 April 2020).

Also relevant in the face of the epidemic is the association of *resilience and endurance* with the HKSAR social identity. As attributes whose emergence is constructed as being especially relevant in the face of challenges, these two identifiers are also more salient than generally associated with the social identity. They are mentioned most often in association with being tested and challenged through both the pandemic and threats to national security. Leaders tend to highlight the relevance of remaining helpful and cooperative in the face of challenges, not losing confidence and eventually regaining energy and easing fatigue. These attributes are connected with being especially demanded at a certain point in time and not a stable, existing part of identity that can be relied upon. This is expressed in statements suggesting situations are “testing the resilience of Hong Kong people” (Lam: 25 March 2020), asking that “members of the public should not lose confidence” (Lam: 27 November 2020), being relieved to “see that our society has regained some energy and the public can ease their ‘anti-epidemic fatigue’” (Lam: 27 June 2021) or seeking “your endurance and ongoing concerted efforts to overcome this challenge” (Lam: 27 January 2021).

To be successful in remaining resilient and enduring through hard times, another relevant identifier is associated with the HKSAR social identity – *vigilance*. As another characteristic connected to the confrontation with COVID-19, leaders appeal to the social identity to stay vigilant, careful, and alert in the fight against the epidemic, suggesting this is not the time to let one’s guard down. Throughout the evaluated communication materials, it is suggested that “Hong Kong has remained vigilant and committed” (Lam: 25 November 2020) and that “the public should remain vigilant at all times and not let their guard down by strictly following the anti-epidemic rules” (Lam: 27 November 2020). Much like resilience and endurance, it is part of the definition of the social identity which becomes especially salient in the face of the epidemic and is both specifically demanded by leaders to be exhibited by the social identity, as well as praised for being part of public behavior.

Another identifier constructed to be part of the Hong Kong social identity is the adherence to *structure and management*. This is highlighted numerous times by pointing out the ability of both Hong Kong government and society to find the right balance in anti-epidemic efforts, being able to manage and face different crises at the same time. Not being able to stand chaos and making informed decision always in the best interest of protecting both people and growth are also defined as part of the social identity. This is highlighted in statements such as “Hong Kong cannot stand chaos” (Lam: 25 June 2020) or saying that a priority of governmental efforts is to “strike the right balance” (Lam: 25 May 2020). The associated need for structure, organization and management becomes more salient in the face of the epidemic and is therefore in its mentions closely associated to the challenge.

Also in the interest of the success of introduced anti-epidemic measures, is the association of a willingness and ability to act in the interest of *cooperation* with the Hong Kong social identity. Government leaders construct that it is inherent to the perceived in-group to be adherent to rules and regulations, respecting government decision and relying upon the fact that they are made in the in-group's best interest. This is expressed by leaders across communication materials by attributing the success of anti-epidemic efforts to the Hong Kong social identity's "togetherness of the community at large, the unswerving commitment (...) the collaborative efforts (...) and the understanding of all sectors in society" (Lam: 25 April 2020), or in the face of vaccine hesitancy asking that the community "make concerted efforts to encourage the elderly to get vaccinated" (Lam: 26 July 2021). The key in being successful in the fight against COVID-19 in the eyes of government leaders lies in cooperation across all levels – not just within the community but also with international and regional partners. This is summed up nicely in one statement made by the Chief Executive in a speech made in May of 2021: "The answer is therefore concerted efforts and co-operation, between governments at the global and regional levels and across different sectors at the local level" (Lam: 3 May 2021).

Another identifier connected to the idea of being cooperative within the in-group as an even more salient and relevant identifier to the social identity – *solidarity*. It is not only constructed that dedication is an important characteristic, but that full devotion and selflessness are also integral to fighting the epidemic. In the execution of these characteristics making choices in the interest of the greater good and acting according to people-oriented principles also make up part of the construct of solidarity. It is also a perceived notion that as long as everyone acts "in the same spirit of solidarity" (Lam: 25 May 2020) it should be easy "to get Hong Kong back to stability as early as possible" (Lam: 25 May 2020). The in-group is urged to do things "for themselves and others" (Lam: 25 September 2020), which is a construct utilized primarily in the context of promoting vaccination programs against COVID-19. Praise is expressed for those who "acted as one to fight the virus" (Lam: 1 October 2020) and "heartfelt gratitude" (Lam: 25 February 2020; 26 April 2021) is extended to all those who fulfilled "their civic responsibility and demonstrating the spirit of fighting the virus together" (Lam: 26 April 2020). While the core of Hong Kong social identity supposedly "is defined by the 'Lion Rock spirit', by which we join hands to pursue our dreams while putting aside our differences" (Lam: 29 May 2020).

Defined as being something inherently essential to the needs of members of the Hong Kong social identity are *safety, peace, and stability*. This identifier is closely associated with creating legitimacy for measures aimed at safeguarding national security – which is constructed as being the epitome of the aforementioned three concepts. In the interest of national development, restoring stability and guaranteeing the social identity's safety anything that threatens these basic needs of the social

identity is constructed as being deserving of suppression and punishment. This is aligned with the construction that a Hong Kong social identity represents the majority of the addressed in-group, which is defined by the need for safety, peace and stability and needs to be protected from the minority (i.e., out-group) at all costs. Statements much like “peace and stability have been restored in our city” (Lam: 25 March 2020), “safeguarding national security and ensuring Hong Kong’s stability and prosperity” (Lam: 20 March 2020) and saying that “it is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people” (Lam: 25 June 2020). All decisions made in the interest of national security and the protection of these three identifiers are constructed as being completely rational and in the interest of very basic needs like “a safe and stable social environment” (Lam: 1 October 2020) and the reason why “Hong Kong people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law” (Lam: 25 November 2020). These norms are therefore both generally associated with the identity and constructed to be especially salient in the face of external and internal threats to national security. This particular identifier is strongly interconnected with the construction of another norm associated with the Hong Kong social identity based in the idea of these norms only existing and being upheld for one particular reason.

And that is the co-existence of certain *rules and freedoms*. While they are never officially named as such, a lot of the norms constructed as part of the social identity under these identifiers are in their essence of a democratic nature. The belief in the Rule of Law, as well as rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the PRC or the Basic Law of HKSAR, guaranteeing certain freedoms and priding oneself of being a capitalist economy and society, are all part of this understanding. Upholding all of these principles and respecting them, once again, in the interest of safeguarding national security, is made an inherent part of the constructed social identity by leaders across all forms of communication and constructed to be a general part of social identity which becomes especially salient in the face of threats to national security. It is associated with ensuring that HKSAR “our home” becomes “an even better place” (Lam: 1 October 2020) and with the end of social unrests being the reason why “people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law” (Lam: 25 November 2020). Leaders do highlight however that guaranteeing national security is never to happen at the cost of these constructed freedoms. The Chief Executive clearly states in numerous instances that “the principle of respecting and protecting human rights will be upheld and the legitimate rights of Hong Kong people to exercise their freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstration and procession, etc. will not be compromised in safeguarding national security” (Lam: 25 November 2020). It is therefore clearly constructed that the threat to these integral rules and freedoms is those putting them at risk by threatening national security, not the measures put in place to protect the former – always to be enjoyed “according to the law” however.

The final level to the associations of norms with the constructed social identity is the addition of identifiers at the level of *nationality*. Hong Kong social identity is constructed by leaders in numerous instances to be closely associated with Chinese culture, a sense of patriotism, gratefulness to the support from the Mainland, as well as the sense of belonging radiating from this very support and connection. This is expressed in statements like “we should make our contribution to the Chinese dream by embracing patriotism, national pride, team spirit and hard work” (Lam: 16 June 2020), asking people to “learn more about the essence of Chinese culture for nurturing their moral character and cultural identity” (Lam: 25 November 2020), as well as “develop in them a sense of identity, belonging and responsibility towards the nation, the Chinese race and our society” (Lam: 25 November 2020). This nationality-related part of Hong Kong social identity is also associated with people’s ability to show *respect*, accept *responsibility* and act in the interest of *morality*. Being able to “respect and preserve the dignity of the national flag and national anthem” (Lam: 25 November 2020), being “quality citizens with a sense of social responsibility and national identity, an affection for Hong Kong” (Lam: 25 November 2020), feeling a “sense of responsibility to safeguard national security” (Lam: 5 July 2021), as well as prioritizing “moral development” (Lam: 25 November 2020) and the nurturing of “moral character and cultural identity” (Lam: 25 November 2020) are all constructed as part of the social identity and introduced in association with cultural or national elements of identity, something considered to a general part of social identity, more or less part of the DNA of members of the in-group due to their national heritage.

The constructed Hong Kong social identity is therefore constructed to be defined by the following norms: **determination & strength, dedication & commitment, resilience & endurance, vigilance, structure & management, cooperation, solidarity, safety, peace & stability, rules & freedoms, and nationality (defined by respect, responsibility, and morality).**

The Hong Kong social identity is **politicized**, and therefore constructed as being united in a common fate, in the face of two different scenarios. The first being the confrontation with and management of the COVID-19 epidemic. It is clearly framed by leaders in their communication as being “our fight”, constructing the idea that the common fate, destiny and battle of the identity is managing and fighting the epidemic, which is key in the politicization of social identities. As has already been outlined in the previous paragraphs, the war-analogy in relation to the epidemic is used and constructed in several instances, creating grounds for a very standard way of politicizing social identity – claiming that successfully winning a constructed fight is at the center of the identity’s social cohesion. Part of this politicization is also the idea that in the interest of winning, everyone part of the identity needs to be willing to accept limitations and compromises. Success is

attributed to everyone having “bit the bullet” (Lam: 25 April 2020) or “the entire Hong Kong community (...) fighting the virus together” (Lam: 25 July 2020), people are asked to “hold on for some more time” (Lam: 25 April 2020) and praised for “its unity and the spirit of mutual help in working towards a common goal” (Lam: 25 November 2020).

The second element to politicizing Hong Kong social identity is acting in the common interest of maintaining peace and stability in Hong Kong, protecting the basic rights given to all members of the in-group and keeping everyone part of the social identity, safe from anti-government or so-called anti-China forces. This is introduced by expressing that “it is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people” (Lam: 25 June 2020). In line with governmental responsibilities, members of the social identity are therefore constructed to be united in their fate of having to defend and safeguard the security of HKSAR. The identity is also constructed as being united in a common suffering in the face of this existing out-group, which is highlighted by leaders stating that “after a year of social unrest with fear of personal safety, Hong Kong people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law” (Lam: 25 November 2020). In some cases, the narrative around this level of politization does not shy away from even stating that the identity is united due to common trauma, by constructing the events related to destabilization and unrest as being the reason why “the Hong Kong community has been traumatized” (Lam: 29 May 2020).

The final element to defining social identity is introducing a **threat** to its existence, which can occur in different forms and act at different levels of the constructed social identity. As can be derived from the previous paragraph, in the case of Hong Kong social identity, politicization and threat are defined by a close association to one another. The constructed identity is politicized largely through the introduction of a threat, which is then used to define a common fate – suffering from or fighting against the introduced threats. The two main lines of communication defining in the construction of a threat to the social identity are therefore a) the COVID-19 epidemic and b) the out-group threatening national security.

With regards to the epidemic, the threat is constructed to be treated like a war or battle the social identity is fighting together, highlighting positively associated attributes of the in-group such as being determined to win, committing to this common goal, showing resilience and endurance in the fight, as well as acting in the interest of solidarity and coming out stronger at the other end. This becomes evident in leaders stating things such as “as long as we stay united, work together and support each other, Hong Kong will finally win the battle against the disease” (Lam: 25 March 2020).

The second element constructed as a threat to the Hong Kong social identity is the out-group creating chaos, disrupting national peace, and threatening both security and stability. Leaders clearly state that “activities such as vandalism, advocating for ‘Hong Kong independence’, illegal possession of explosives and firearms, etc. have clearly threatened national security” (Lam: 25 June 2020) and that it is an urgent priority to “restore HKSAR’s constitutional order and political system from chaos” (Lam: 25 November 2020). The constructed threat is coming from “anti-China disruptors and individuals with ulterior motives” (Lam: 1 July 2020) who are “undermining the relationship between the Central Government and the HKSAR, creating confrontation and obstructing governance” (Lam: 1 July 2020) and considered to be “the minority who attempted to undermine national security” (Lam: 1 July 2020). The threat is constructed as being particularly grave by leaders using phrases such as “smearing and malicious attacks” (Lam: 1 July 2020), “rioting mobs” (Lam: 20 March 2021), “the HKSAR was thrown into dark abyss” (Lam: 20 March 2021), calling protests “terrorist activities” (Lam: 29 May 2020) and stating that “Hong Kong has become a gaping hole in national security, and our city’s prosperity and stability are at risk” (Lam: 29 May 2020).

Both threats used to define the social identity are mostly constructed as threats to the in-group as a whole rather than just the individual. The idea of national security, peace and stability are highlighted as norms associated with the entire in-group and constructed to be achieved should the threats subside. Solidarity and common commitment to the ultimate goals of being free from the epidemic as well as those threatening national security are the key salient characteristics in the face of the threats. This shows that in the case of HKSAR social identity, threats defined to be endangering social rather than individualistic interests.

4.2.3 Differentiation

As outlined in the empirical evaluation of Taiwan, the following second category in the construction of social identity is that of using means of differentiation to specifically distinguish the desired in-group from potential out-groups which have been previously introduced. The three criteria differentiation is evaluated on are **dynamics**, **norms**, and **fear/cooperation**.

Starting off with **dynamics**, the question if leaders generally choose to differentiate the in-group from the out-group while acting within existing dynamics or actively go against and question them guides the evaluation of the material at hand.

As can be derived from the outline of the defined threats, leaders in the construction of HKSAR social identity choose to act with the dynamic of framing everyone criticizing the National Security Law, protesting increasing Mainland interventions into the HKSAR government and legal system

as threats to national security and enemies of HKSAR and its peace and stability. This creates a clear affiliation of HKSAR with all those accepting and tolerating government activities, and a dynamic against those advocating for more independence from the PRC. This also includes international parties expressing support for the “anti-government” or “anti-China” movement, accusing them of “creating confrontation and obstructing governance” (Lam: 1 July 2021), saying they “should be ashamed of themselves” (Lam: 25 August 2020) and calling international media coverage and attempted intervention in national processes “lamentable if not outright resentful” (Lam: 26 January 2021). Within this dynamic, citizens of the PRC are additionally idealized as a model for behavior all those acting against the dynamic should adhere to: “Mainland citizens have not said anything like ‘borders must be closed’, ‘spreading virus’ or ‘having ulterior motives’, which are often said by some Hong Kong politicians to smear others” (Lam: 25 August 2020). The dynamic used by leaders is therefore very clearly defined by one form of model behavior and in-group out-group construction – loyal, law-abiding citizens vs. betraying, dangerous threats to peace and security.

The second element to differentiating the constructed social identity from out-groups is using the associated **norms** and characteristics to highlight differences between the in-group and the out-group, creating a hierarchy between the two and elevating the in-group in its perceived value.

The first norm associated with the Hong Kong social identity defined on an additional element through the introduction of a level of differentiation, is the value of *structure* to the in-group. In opposition to what the “anti-government” forces are creating, those associated with the HKSAR social identity are identified with being prone to wanting to keep order and structure, not willing to tolerate chaos and respecting government activities in the interest of serving this need of the in-group. This is reiterated in statements such as “Hong Kong cannot stand chaos” (Lam: 25 June 2020) or by naming the out-group “anti-China disruptors” (Lam: 1 July 2021), suggesting that “disrupting” is something not to be associated with the in-group.

Closely associated is the construction that a need for *security* is inherent to the HKSAR social identity and something that clearly differentiates it from the out-group. Living in a safe environment and protecting the HKSAR are deeply rooted in the definition of the social identity and defined in differentiation from the out-group outlined as “rioters”, “mobs” or “anti-China disruptors”. Engaging in “terrorist activities that seriously endanger national security” (Lam: 29 May 2020), being part of “rioting mobs who vandalized shops, train stations and traffic lights, set fires to buildings, attacked police officers with bricks” (Lam: 20 March 2021), or identifying as part of the “opposition forces and organizations advocating ‘Hong Kong independence’ and ‘self-determination’” (Lam: 29 May 2020) are defined as being the source of instability, a threat to peace

and security and thus the clear opposite of what defines the HKSAR social identity. These activities, which according to the construction of political leaders the minority adheres to, provide the grounds for government efforts to protect the majority at all costs with help of the PRC which is expressed by saying that “the Central Government is determined to protect the majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security” (Lam: 1 July 2020).

Another element of the social identity defined through the means of differentiation are the values associated with *nationality*. First off having and showing *respect* to the government of HKSAR, the country itself, national symbols, and the relationship between the HKSAR and the PRC, are key elements associated with the social identity and highlighted through a differentiation of the in-group from the out-group. The out-group is constructed as being disrespectful of the law, harming the relationship between HKSAR and the PRC and disrespecting things such as the national flag and national identity in general through, among other things, them advocating for the independence of HKSAR. Leaders state that “mutual understanding and mutual respect are lacking” (Lam: 25 November 2020) in the out-groups and construct out-groups who “desecrated the national flag and national emblem and called for ‘Hong Kong independence’” (Lam: 20 March 2021) as the opposite of the HKSAR social identity. The differentiation is also induced in the context of external partners and forces, with leaders constructing the expectation of them to respect HKSAR and the government decisions just as they do in their relationship with partners. Respect is therefore used not only to differentiate the social identity from the most relevant out-group but also to highlight HKSAR government decisions and guiding principles in contrast to what they construct international partners to be doing. It is constructed as part of HKSAR government’s responsibility to “prevent, curb and sanction secession, the subversion of state power, the organization and carrying out of terrorist activities that seriously endanger national security, and interference by foreign and external forces in the affairs of the HKSAR” (Lam: 29 May 2020). Also associated with the concept of nationality is *knowledge* of the political and legal principles guiding both the existence of HKSAR and the relationship with the PRC. In communication through leaders, it is highlighted in more than one instance that at fault for illegal and disrespectful behavior of the out-group is, among other things, a lack of knowledge of and education in essential parts of their national identity, political processes, and the legal groundwork for the governance of the HKSAR. Promoting “national security education across the country” (Lam: 1 July 2021) is considered a means of preventing attacks on and threats to national security and the fact that “law-abiding awareness of some young people is weak” (Lam: 25 November 2020) and that positive norms and values such as “mutual understanding and mutual respect are lacking” (Lam: 25 November 2020) a reason for the large number of students protesting the introduction of the

National Security Law. One particular statement made by the Chief Executive however brings all of this to a peak when she says that “from time to time there are still divergent views on the basic issues pertaining to the political system, and some issues are politically manipulated due to the society's inadequate understanding of the Constitution and the Basic Law and the fact that some people's awareness of the 'One Country' principle has yet to be enhanced” (Lam: 25 November 2020).

The last norm largely influenced by the idea of differentiating the in-group from the out-group is part of *cooperation*, more precisely the willingness and ability to *trust* the HKSAR government and its motivation to be acting in the interest of the people it represents. Leaders highlight that it is considered part of the constructed social identity to trust government to make the right decisions in the interest of ensuring people's rights and freedoms, which is also highlighted in comparison to Mainland citizens. This instigates the question of why HKSAR citizens have difficulty adhering to this principle if those of the PRC do not, even though they are constructed to be of the same in-group based on understanding of national identity. Government activities are highlighted as never affecting “the legitimate rights and interests of Hong Kong people” (Lam: 1 July 2020) and those of the out-group as “disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country” (Lam: 29 May 2020) or “those who keep taking every chance to discredit the Central Government and damage the relationship between the HKSAR and the Central Government” (Lam: 25 August 2020) as needing to be “ashamed of themselves” (Lam: 25 August 2020). Trust is also expected of members of the social identity regarding getting vaccinated against COVID-19, mistrust of which is constructed as a something an out-group would be defined by. It is insinuated that “some people with ulterior motives have spread rumors, alleging that medical teams in the Mainland will provide clinical services in our public hospitals, DNA samples of Hong Kong people will be delivered to the Mainland, etc” (Lam: 25 July 2020) and associated with HKSAR social identity that “members of the public should view the vaccines in a scientific manner and not to fall prey to various lies about vaccines” (Lam: 27 February 2021).

The last level to differentiating the constructed social identity from potential out-groups is the question of using either the concept of **fear or cooperation** to forge a connection between the in-group and out-groups, both of which are possible options.

Much like in the definition of the threats associated with the social identity, fear is used in the context of two main elements as means to define the relationship between in-group and out-group, COVID-19, and anti-governmental protest, while cooperation is highlighted both in the context of the epidemic and the HKSAR's relationship with the PRC. Through leadership communication fear is instilled in relation to the epidemic through the previously outlined construction thereof as

a battle, a war, or a fight the identity needs to successfully win together. At the same time however, cooperation is highlighted as a relevant tool to overcoming the epidemic in the long run. Internationally sharing insights on successful epidemic management, implementation of anti-virus measures and instigating a transfer of knowledge across borders is highlighted as something the identity should associate with. This is revealed by leaders saying things such as HKSAR being “pleased to share with other regions around the world our experience in fighting the virus” (Lam: 26 July 2021) or highlighting that the answer to successfully beating COVID-19 is “concerted efforts and co-operation between governments at the global and regional levels” (Lam: 3 May 2021). The relationship of the in-group to those opposing the HKSAR government and the introduction of the National Security Law on the other hand is primarily defined by fear as they are constructed as being the largest most serious threats to national security, peace and stability. Fear also defines the relationship with all external forces reiterating the things this out-group is demanding, communicating, or doing. The out-group defined by these actions is constructed to be at fault for times when “our country’s sovereignty and security were clearly at risk and the HKSAR was thrown into dark abyss” (Lam: 20 March 2021) and “the foundations for Hong Kong’s stability were gravely shaken” (Lam: 20 March 2021). This is also associated with fear of members of this out-group and their behavior potentially undermining the relationship with the PRC. It is in turn is a relationship of the in-group defined by cooperation rather than fear as the country providing “a safe haven for Hong Kong in times of turmoil and giving us a shot in the arm when needed” (Lam: 16 June 2021).

4.2.4 Utilization

In the case of Hong Kong, it was rather difficult to identify instances of social identity being used for the **redefinition** of either norms or relationships in the interest of utilizing it for certain purpose. The only angle in which a redefinition takes place is in relation to the idea, thought and concept of independence, more specifically for HKSAR independence from the PRC. Rather than being something that is demanded by parts of society in the interest of increasing safety, ensuring prosperity and peace it is associated with the out-group constructed as rioters, mobs, vandalizers and enemies of security, peace and stability. Independence is redefined as a concept fueled by misinformation, hate and disrespect of everything the HKSAR social identity is constructed to stand for. Violent people willing to damage property and people are associated with anyone propagating independence for HKSAR, leading to the redefinition of the concept as something inherent to the “opposition forces and organizations” (Lam: 29 May 2020) threatening the in-groups security rather than to the in-group itself.

Mobilization of the constructed social identity as the means to achieve an ulterior motive or governmental goal once again occurs in two different contexts. The first of which being success in the fight against COVID-19. As was already insinuated in the outline of the norms used to define the social identity, determination, strength, dedication, commitment, resilience, endurance, vigilance, solidarity, and cooperation all make up relevant parts of the HKSAR social identity. All of them are in one way or another also associated with the achieving the ulterior motive of containing COVID-19 and acting as a global model in epidemic prevention. Staying vigilant in the face of the virus, making sure all the hard work put in not only by the government but also by everyone part of society was not for nothing, as well as working together and staying united until being able to “see the arrival of dawn” (Lam: 25 April 2020) are all necessary means to achieving the ultimate goal and all closely interconnected with mobilizing what is constructed to be part of the social identity for a certain cause. Members of the in-group are asked to “hold on for some more time” (Lam: 25 April 2020) and “endure all the inconveniences in life” (Lam: 25 July 2020) so that they “will soon see a bright tomorrow” (Lam: 25 April 2020).

The second motive dictating potential mobilization of the constructed social identity is maintaining national security. Leaders stipulate that to “have a safe and stable social environment (...) and safeguard national sovereignty and security” (Lam: 1 October 2020) individuals must “act in accordance with the Constitution and Basic Law” (Lam: 1 October 2020). The social identity’s association with safety, peace and stability, as well as their inherent need for and understanding of rules and freedoms and their national identity are thus all parts of using the in-group to mobilize for government decisions and initiatives taken in the interest of protecting all of these things. An understanding within the social identity of what is necessary to guarantee and achieve them in the long-term is therefore instilled and used to mobilize support in the opposition of all those constructed to be acting against them. This is additionally constructed to be necessary if wanting to secure “Hong Kong’s long term prosperity and stability” (Lam: 5 July 2021). The lengthy and complex construction of the Hong Kong social identity is therefore primarily used to mobilize members of the in-group to act according to what leaders consider to be in the interest of both their individual and their in-group’s safety and security.

4.2.5 Table Overview – Results HKSAR (Table 3)

Multi-Level Analysis of Social Identity Construction – Results HKSAR		
Category	Criteria	Results
Creation	Naming	1) General (i.e., “the public”) 2) National (i.e., “Hong Kong citizens”) 3) In-Group (i.e., “our people”)
	Involvement	1) Protection (COVID-19, national security) 2) Alignment with PRC
	Evaluation & Out-Group	1) Performance during COVID-19 2) Threats to national security 3) Alignment with PRC
Definition	Norms	1) Determination & Strength 2) Dedication & Commitment 3) Resilience & Endurance 4) Vigilance 5) Structure & Management 6) Cooperation 7) Solidarity 8) Safety, Peace and Stability 9) Rules & Freedoms 10) Nationality (Respect, Responsibility, Morality)
	Politization	1) COVID-19 2) National Security
	Threat	1) COVID-19 2) National Security
Differentiation	Dynamics	1) Loyal, law-abiding vs. betraying, threatening
	Norms	1) Structure 2) Security 3) Nationality (Respect & Knowledge) 4) Cooperation - Trust
	Fear or Cooperation	1) Fear: COVID-19 2) Cooperation: COVID-19 3) Fear: National Security 4) Cooperation: PRC
Utilization	Redefinition	1) Independence
	Mobilization	1) COVID-19 2) National Security

5. Analysis & Discussion

5.1 *The Epidemic Factor*

The empirical evaluation of the selected communication materials has shown a wide array of mechanisms, characteristics, and purposes in the construction of social identity in the cases of both Taiwan and HKSAR. With these insights in mind, the following analysis and discussion of the results will revert to the original research question posed at the beginning of thesis and attempt to answer it on the grounds of the existing results as diligently as possible:

What are similarities and differences in the construction of social identity in public communication by both Taiwan and Hong Kong government during the COVID-19 public health crisis between 2019 and 2021? To what extent are these constructions aimed at (re)defining the relationship between the respective societies and the PRC?

The empirical evaluation yielded seven key findings, which are all essential to finding an answer to the posed research question. They will serve as the structure to this analysis. The first being the relevance and influence of the COVID-19 epidemic on the construction of social identity in both country cases.

As was to be expected, the empirics showed that across all four main categories of social identity construction, the impact of the COVID-19 epidemic is evident. Both Taiwanese and HKSAR governments utilize the dynamic of the pandemic to influence specific factors of the constructed social identity.

In creating it, both country cases use COVID-19 as means to forge an emotional involvement with the identity by introducing it as an external factor to the in-group, which it needs to be protected from. Fear and alertness are therefore engrained into both identities. Now one could argue that these emotions would also be definitive to the identities if the pandemic was not an existing threat, as the need for protection is, in both cases, also introduced in relation to other external factors, such as threats to basic norms, existing systems or national security. The empirics show however that the inclusion of the “epidemic factor” enhances the relevance and salience of the emotional association with the in-group because it introduces an external threat which is all-encompassing. Both on the individual and on the social level, the pandemic poses a visible danger, that can be measured in numbers of cases, deaths, those suffering long-term effects. It is detachable from the question of identifying with ideology (which is what the other protection-based forms of emotional involvement rely on) and in turn something that affects everyone without exception, knows no borders or limitations and does not select based on certain criteria. The value of COVID-19 to the

creation of emotional involvement with the constructed social identity therefore creates an equal, all-encompassing groundwork for the identity, which ensures those who the respective leaders wish to address will not fall through any cracks, because in a first instance, this involvement is something everyone should identify with.

Managing the pandemic also has an influence on the grounds the respective governments use to introduce and evaluate out-groups relevant to the constructed social identity. Both country cases exhibited the introduction and evaluation of out-groups based on measurable performance in the management of COVID-19 (i.e., development of case numbers, extent of measures in the interest of disease prevention, etc.). Again, this offers the opportunity to base self-perception in measurable comparative elements, immediately associating the created social identity with a perceptible comparative advantage to other out-groups. This offers an additional level to the introduction and evaluation of out-groups, as the argumentation in the other observed trends within this criterion are mostly based in abstract observations rather than measurable facts. Introducing out-groups on the basis of finding them to be threats to national security or democracy or judging them according to their international diplomatic behavior demands those addressed by the construction of the social identity identify and associate with the normative judgement based in this evaluation. It also presumes a certain understanding of political and legal affiliations between the in-group and the out-groups. Evaluating out-groups according to their measurable success in the battle against COVID-19 however is something comparatively simple to understand and identify with as success in comparison to others is a basic dynamic in in-group out-group comparison across all social groups and categories – as discussed by Tajfel and Turner, social competition and the existence of a potential comparative advantage are an integral part to social identity construction (Turner: 1975; Tajfel & Turner: 1976; Turner & Oakes: 1986; Stets & Burke: 2000).

As was already touched upon in the empirical evaluation of the selected materials, in both country cases norms and characteristics ascribed to the constructed social identity during the phase of defining it more concretely reached a higher level of salience due to their association with the epidemic. In the case of Taiwan, ten out of twelve identified norms were closely associated to the epidemic and made more salient in the face of its reference (Composure, Alertness & Cooperation, Fairness, Trust, Speed, Caution & Prudence, Strength & Resilience, Democracy, Solidarity & Selflessness, Kindness). Much alike, the definition of norms in the HKSAR proved to be related to the epidemic in eight out of ten identified norms associated with the social identity (Determination & Strength, Dedication & Commitment, Resilience & Endurance, Vigilance, Structure & Management, Cooperation, Solidarity, Rules & Freedoms). Both cases connected the introduction of cooperation, solidarity, vigilance or alertness and caution, strength and the meaning of rules, freedoms and values to COVID-19. Being cooperative of government anti-epidemic

measures, acting in solidarity with all of society rather than in one's own personal interest, being vigilant, alert and cautious of the threats the pandemic poses, utilizing the in-group's strength to be successful in the fight against it, as well as protecting rules, freedoms and social values at all costs are norms defining both of the analyzed social identities. They are all considered to be inherent norms to the respective identities but achieve additional salience through their constructed function in the face of COVID-19. In some cases, the achieved salience of these norms is repurposed to utilize or mobilize them for a separate cause, such as legitimizing government measures taken against what are considered threats to national security (HKSAR) or instigate a line of argumentation to condemn the behavior of international organizations or other countries (Taiwan). Much like what could be observed in the role the epidemic plays in the creation of social identity, it creates much of the needed groundwork for its definition as well. Being something of a starting point for the introduction and relevance of the norms leaders want associated with the social identity and then sometimes repurposing them for another cause altogether.

The politization and introduction of threats follows a similar pattern. Naturally COVID-19 plays an important role in politicizing social identities because it is the most relevant and evident shared grievance for the social identities at the selected point in time. It is also evident that it has to be introduced as a threat to both social identities because it is in fact a measurable, relatable and experienceable threat to not only personal health, but economic growth and security, social stability and international cooperation. This observation can be made for both Taiwan and HKSAR. Additionally in the case of Taiwan, the exclusion from the WHO in the context of consultations on the epidemic plays a role in creating another level of politization of the social identity, utilizing a key associated norm (Cooperation) and using it to create the narrative that the in-group is being prevented from acting on its inherent need to help and cooperate by an out-group.

The process of differentiation on the other hand is not as reliant on COVID-19. In the case of Taiwan, it is used to highlight norms at the heart of the social identity, the focus of which is once again pushing the narrative that one is being prevented from following through on a very inherent need – to help in the context of international organizations. While leaders in the context of HKSAR refer to associating a relatively large amount of fear with the existence of COVID-19, those in Taiwan do not. Cooperation as an integral norm is however highlighted through differentiation in both country cases, suggesting that a fear of both a lack of internal and external willingness to cooperate in the interest of fighting the epidemic is of particular relevance. Especially in the interest of ensuring internal social cohesion it can create additional salience and relevance of the norm if introduced as something that very clearly sets the in-group apart from the out-group. One can argue that especially due to behaviors of the in-group being something the success of government measures relies on, putting such a strong emphasis on the value of cooperation suggests that it

carries overarching relevance in both of the analyzed cases. This is underlined in the case of Taiwan, where leaders choose to differentiate the in-group clearly by comparing its own success in fighting the epidemic with that of out-groups, forging the understanding that Taiwan is a model case – a positively associated status oftentimes triggering the need to maintain it as it goes hand in hand with receiving praise and acclaim.

As the epidemic has already played a role across all categories, it does so too in the context of utilization. Taiwanese leaders generally construct the social identity as a means to secure the country's future and values. This in turn is closely associated to successfully keeping COVID-19 at bay, so that lives are not affected, values and rights are not infringed upon, and futures are bright and promising. Utilization to fight COVID-19 is more explicit in the case of HKSAR, where the epidemic is continuously constructed as a battle or a war with its final goal naturally being a triumph over the virus. As the outline of the relevance of the epidemic to the associated norms showed, a majority of characteristics are salient in the face of COVID-19, suggesting that they are strategically purposed to ensure success of anti-epidemic measures and position oneself as a model state with regards to pandemic management.

5.2 Out ≠ External

As the literature review already suggested, the relationship between in-groups and out-groups does not have to be defined by them being externalities to one another. Out-groups can just as much be part of or mirrored in the structures the in-groups exist in, as be part of an external structure entirely (such as other nationalities or ethnicities which oftentimes are associated with being part to other states or countries i.e., different constructs). (Packer et al.: 2021)

The empirical analysis of the selected materials proves both parts to this theoretical assumption. The case of Taiwan proves the relevance of out-groups which are part to external constructs or entities. The introduced and evaluated out-groups are all presented in relation to those part of external entities (i.e., the PRC, the WHO, other countries with regard to their management of the epidemic), while internal social cohesion and the creation of one strong, internal Taiwanese identity stands at the forefront of identity construction. The analysis of HKSAR showed however, that out-groups which are still part of an existing internal construct (in this case being of HKSAR or Chinese origin) can also be relevant to the creation and definition of in-groups. The evident relevance of introducing and evaluating all those considered threats to national security as an out-group, independent of being considered internal or external members of the out-group, proves that depending on the challenge at hand, out-groups can be of different natures. It is important to not here however, that both mechanisms clearly aim at enhancing social cohesion. Taiwanese leaders attempt to achieve this goal by creating an all-encompassing social identity, while those of HKSAR

strategically create one that only includes all those they seemingly know to be in support of government efforts and decisions. This decision subsequently eliminates social unrest as a potentially threatening factor to the in-group altogether and creates the legitimization groundwork for treating all those associated with the out-group as potentially subject to different rules and regulations as they can be exclusively associated with all activities related to a loss of social equilibrium.

5.3 Strong, Resilient and United

It is important to note that in a lot of instances, the constructed social identities in Taiwan and HKSAR respectively exhibit a lot of similarities. The strongest evidence for this observation occurs in the norms associated with the identities.

Being defined by strength and resilience, carrying a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, being cautious and alert, as well as having a strong normative and ideological base within the identity are characteristics that make up both the Taiwan and HKSAR social identities. Despite them appearing in different contexts and carrying somewhat divergent names in the results of the empirical evaluation (which is largely due to their different natures and focuses), they are relevant in both cases.

In the case of Taiwan, strength and resilience are closely associated with one another and constructed as being deeply inherent to the social identity, among others evident in the self-given name “island of resilience” communicated by leaders. Communicators emphasize that all those associated with the social identity are defined by an incomparable strength and that their resilience, forged by facing and making it through numerous challenges, will continuously enable them to survive any other future challenge. While resilience plays a more important role for the social identity of Taiwan, strength does for HKSAR. As the narrative of both COVID-19 and threats to national security being challenges comparable to battles, wars or fights, an exhibition and salience of the strength associated with the social identity is more relevant in this case. For HKSAR, resilience is constructed and perceived more as an inevitable consequence of exhibiting strength in the face of challenges, and, as the empirics showed, also only salient in the face of COVID-19 rather than being deeply engrained in the identity like in the case of Taiwan. One could therefore argue that for the long-term goals of the Taiwan government, which are associated more closely with successfully maintaining a strong position in regional dynamics and in relation with the PRC, demand the salience of norms associated with long-term development and effect. While strength is a relevant norm in the face of challenges, it is related more closely to an explosive, one-time exhibition of force, it is something that is exhaustible, that can fade. Resilience on the other hand in itself suggests a need for a long history of struggle in order to be developed in the first place and

something that is associated with lasting, being infinitely available once achieved as an associated characteristic. The different challenges the two countries are facing therefore are rather accurately represented in their respective choices of highlighting either strength or resilience.

Another norm which is closely associated with both identities and in this instance also in a similar way, are cooperation and solidarity. Both governments apply similar mechanisms and phrasings to suggest that an integral part of the social identity is the spirit to cooperate both internally and externally, as well as act in solidarity with the other members of the in-group. It is evident that in the face of an epidemic, these norms are especially relevant as an identification with these principles lays the groundwork for social adherence to rules and regulations necessary to limit the spread of COVID-19. External cooperation is also a norm ascribed to both social identities as the governments of both Taiwan and HKSAR have an interest in establishing themselves as model regions for epidemic management and thus cooperating international with other countries on the exchange of knowledge and information on the matter. Highlighting this norm therefore in both cases serves primarily as a mean to ensure social cohesion, adherence to anti-epidemic measures and establish oneself as a relevant international player in the field of health policy.

A parallel between the two social identities most likely due to the exposure of both countries to COVID-19 is the salience and relevance of caution and alertness to the respective social identities. Leaders in both cases construct a willingness and need to be cautious of potential external threats as inherent parts of the social identity – primarily with the aim of containing the spread of the virus. In some instances, the construct is repurposed to apply to other threats the respective leaders find it relevant to include in the construction of the identities, such as those to national security in HKSAR and those to democratic norms and values in Taiwan. As was already outlined in the analysis of the influence of COVID-19 on the identities, the epidemic plays an important role in activating the salience of these norms as it is the most obvious and perceivable reason to justify the relevance of this norm. After being introduced as part of the identity on this basis it is then applied to the confrontation with other potential external factors. This is also a pattern that can be observed in both country cases, creating a similarity therefore not only in the fact that the norm applies to both identities but that repurposing it for another cause is also a practice adopted by leadership in both countries.

Lastly, an evident similarity, interestingly enough in itself then again defined by differences, is the relevance of political ideology to the respective identities. The case of Taiwan is, especially with regards to defining norms associated with the social identity, very strongly influenced by the democratic nature of the country's political and social systems. The value of democratic norms and practices is highlighted in numerous instances and constructed as needing to be protected at all costs as it is one of the greatest strengths the country and its people have to offer. Similarly in the

case of HKSAR political and social norms and values play an equally important role – the relevance of rules and freedoms, as well as safety, security and stability become evident across all forms of communication. It comes as no surprise that political leadership includes political ideology and the relevance of existing social contracts in the construction of social identity. It suggests that they respectively expect a large and clear identification with these norms, which in turn means that both identities must be closely associated to a certain degree of politization. As the outline of the historic and political background of both countries showed, their situations are equally complex and political identity thus closely engrained with the respective identities. This is thus proven through the relevance of ideology in the definition of norms associated with the identities.

5.4 Is it ... democracy?

Closely related to the just discussed relevance of political ideology to the construction of the respective identities is the question of how the two cases choose to identify with and express their association with democracy. As could be observed in the case of Taiwan the choice is clear – name and actively associate with democracy and democratic values. It is expressed not only as the groundwork for the political system but also constructed as an integral part at the core of the social identity. Leaders in HKSAR on the other hand choose to name values, concepts and basic ideas related to democracy as part of both the political system, social identity and existing social contracts governing community, but in no instance uses the term “democracy” to what is being described. This is a particularly interesting observation, as HKSAR in its construction of social identity very closely associates with the PRC, which in turn identifies strongly with being a “socialist democracy” (Chinese State Council Information Office, 2007). It is therefore in the context of the cooperation between these two countries not to be considered a concept that is off-limits or not to be associated with – yet HKSAR government very actively chooses merely to describe democratic values and not to call a spade a spade. A possible explanation thereof could be the fact that those considered to be threats to national security, loosely in the analyzed timeframe meaning all those protesting the introduction of the National Security Law, choose to argue their case in the name of democracy. Freedom of speech to express dissatisfaction with the legislative choices, as well as protecting political freedom within the political system are two of the key demands of the protestors (Soo, 2021). It is therefore an option that HKSAR leaders do not want to attempt to reframe or reconstruct democracy by applying a different perspective (like the PRC calling their political system a “socialist democracy”). Their method of choice is much rather focusing on economic growth and highlighting the importance of financial freedom and the advantages of living an open and capitalist society to personal values (Lam, 15 July 2021).

To some extent the two identities are thus defined by the same things – freedom, rule of law, equality, human rights, civil participation, balance of power. The key difference here is that one identity is given a name and concept to identify with while the other is supplied diffuse terms and promises without providing a framework. One could argue that the latter could potentially lead to a weaker identification with the constructed social identity, thus creating a power imbalance between the two if considered in opposition to one another.

5.5 What is actually at risk here?

Generally, the cases differ in their construction of out-groups – an observation that was already discussed in detail in a previous paragraph. They do not only differ in who they consider to be out-groups, they also forge different perceptions of what the constructed out-groups are threatening. As previously outlined, Taiwanese leaders focus on reiterating that the thing most valued to the social identity and most at risk – both in relation to Taiwan but also the greater region it is a part of – is democracy, the associated values and the social system and contracts it provides to the social identity. For the communicators of HKSAR it is most relevant to construct that security is most at risk. Everything else (such as personal freedoms, economic growth, and personal success) is considered to be, while of relevance, only secondary in comparison to security. This creates the idea that without a secure social environment, any other provision a government could make, or individuals could strive to achieve are irrelevant because they can no longer be guaranteed. It feels reminiscent of a statement made by Willy Brandt, German chancellor from 1969 until 1974: “Peace isn’t everything, but without peace everything is nothing.” (Brandt, 1981) The quote is a variation of a statement originally ascribed to Schopenhauer who used it to express the importance of one’s personal health. The narrative that much like peace or health, security is integral to ensuring everything else in life is of a similar value is not necessarily a new observation to be made in political communication, as the quote by Willy Brandt shows. Especially with regards to recent developments in the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the subsequent debate in all branches of German governments on an increase in military spending this narrative occurred time and time again (Scholz, 2022; Deutscher Bundestag, 2022) Both of these country cases make it clear that the construction of what threats are actually a threat to, it is merely a question of who can induce the most fear. Identifying what is most valued to the social identity that is being addressed and subsequently being able to find justified grounds for reasoning that this particular construct is at risk will eventually isolate the most relevant construct of threats in the respective constructs. Leaders in Taiwan seem to think democracy and democratic values are most likely to have the desired and largest effect, those in HKSAR are placing their bets on security. This thought creates an interesting idea for potential additional research within the scope of the topic of this thesis –

analyzing the effects of the constructed threats and risks to social identity through the evaluation of the trends in debates and discourses within the respective societies in the same time frame. Attempting to answer the question: Are leaders successful in identifying the most relevant fears and needs of their societies in their communication?

5.6 Costs of Alignment

Thus far the analysis of the empirical results of this thesis has focused largely on answering the first of two research questions. This part will now address the second half – redefining the relationship with the PRC.

The two country cases exhibit numerous differences with regards to this issue. Alignment with the PRC is an option for one, a clear strategy and practice that is long in place for the other. In one case there is room for redefinition, openness to restructuring and reshaping the relationship with one another, which is solidified in associated norms serving the purposed of remaining open to this form of redefinition of the relationship. In the other the relationship towards one another follows a clear outline and structure, one narrative about one another prevails and everything else subdues to it, in some cases is even considered threatening behavior.

Taiwanese leaders are inconsistent in their communication about the relationship with the PRC. In some instances, they enforce the clear image of a threat and enemy that lives across the strait. One that poses a risk to the things most valued by the country and its social identity. Communicators do highlight in some cases however, that an openness to redefine the relationship to one another prevails, that awareness of the cultural, historical, and ethnic ties exists and that willingness to enter into a balanced, equal dialogue with one another about the future of the relationship exists. This is enforced by norms such as cooperation, democracy, kindness, and commitment making up part of what defines the social identity. The willingness to reconstruct the relationship is dependent on one integral factor influenced by the value of these norms to the social identity however – that Taiwan be treated as an equal partner in dialogue. The relevance of COVID-19 as a factor to define the relationship or forge the public image of the PRC comes into play with regards to the relevance of the dependency. Part of the differentiation of the in-group identity from other out-groups is highlighting its respect and value of cooperation – something that is defined largely in contrast to the PRC. Instances of untransparent communication or attempts to exclude Taiwan from international formats of communication by the PRC are used to highlight one's own respect for cooperative behaviors and values. The use of these cases to define the willingness to communicate and cooperate by the Taiwan social identity stands in direct contrast to the defined willingness to enter equal, cooperative talks with the PRC. This therefore begs the question of how much realistic expectation stands behind these claims to be willing to redefine the relationship and how much of

it is just another form of differentiation, suggesting that Taiwan is not and has never been the problem in this relationship – all solidified by examples the epidemic provided. Additionally, leaders suggest that there are certain prices the social identity is not willing to pay in the interest of alignment or communication, and that is giving up the core values that define the social identity. In contrast, the relationship between HKSAR and the PRC follows a clear structure, is predefined by existing norms and understandings of the existing contracts between one another and questioning them is oftentimes associated with shameful, malign behavior. The PRC is constructed as a protector and supporter of HKSAR, acting always in the best interest of its interests and future development. Those questioning these basic assumptions are, in the analyzed time frame, associated with those protesting the introduction of the National Security Law and therefore framed as threats to national security. In the context of COVID-19 and its management the communication through political leaders also sees no need or attempts to redefine the relationship. Through the provision of vaccines and valuable mechanisms and approaches to the management of a pandemic the PRC is constructed as a strong supporter in helping HKSAR achieve its success in the fight against COVID-19 in the first place. In some ways there is no need to redefine the relationship because an association with and connection to the PRC is associated with one thing in particular – luck that the social identity should be grateful for.

5.7 Constructs Securing Constructs

Lastly, it is important to take a closer look at how the two cases construct social identities as means to the end of mobilizing them for a certain cause. In their groundwork, the cases of Taiwan and HKSAR are largely similar in this instance. The empirical evaluation showed that the leaders in both cases construct social identity to mobilize them in the interest of securing things.

While Taiwanese leaders more loosely base the legitimization of the constructed identity in securing its own future and values in the face of challenges and threats, this becomes more concrete in the case of HKSAR where securing public health in the face of COVID-19 and stability, peace and freedom in the face of threats to national security are the key mobilizers. This closer look already shows however that the things to be secured are in themselves also merely constructs. Constructs of what ideals or ways of life should look like, how a society should govern itself and visions of both personal and communal futures the identity is to identify with and wish for. With the additional level of needing to be secured from an external threat to security being relevant in the context of HKSAR. The previously constructed social identity therefore in the approach of the respective communicators serves one single purpose – to secure or protect from more constructs. This realization is not much of a surprising result after the application of constructivist theories to an issue and research question but nevertheless an interesting one to make. It is also one that forges

an additional connection between the two social identities as they are clearly united in the purpose they serve in the eyes of the leaders constructing them in the first place – creating the core of a world of issues, threats, norms, values, behaviors and relationships they are constructing to legitimize their own claim as leaders of the respective groups.

6. Conclusion

This thesis set out to identify and analyze similarities and differences in the construction of social identity through the communication of Hong Kong and Taiwan government during a selected period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The guiding research question was as follows:

What are similarities and differences in the construction of social identity in public communication by both Taiwan and Hong Kong government during the COVID-19 public health crisis between 2019 and 2021? To what extent are these constructions aimed at (re)defining the relationship between the respective societies and the PRC?

The thesis aimed at answering these questions by utilizing an analytical framework developed through an extensive review of existing literature on the subject and applying it to selected communication materials. The methodology of choice was thus a deductive content analysis with the framework providing the scientifically identified relevant categories and criteria to guide the analysis. The research question was extended by not merely looking at similarities and differences but also focusing on how the respective constructions served to (re-) define the HKSAR and Taiwanese relationships with the PRC respectively. The research question was posed because COVID-19 merely marked the beginning of a period in human history wherein society and political leaders will be challenged regarding epidemic management. Experts predict that in the future, numerous other and potentially more fatal pandemics are not unlikely to occur. Analyzing how political leaders have chosen to communicate in this first modern-time global epidemic can offer great insight into mechanisms at play in political crisis management, as well as offer up examples of best-practice or relative mistakes in communication.

The developed framework which was applied to the selected materials to answer the research questions provided eleven criteria across four categories which were all concretely operationalized. They covered the different phases of constructing social identity and thus provided an extensive framework for the analysis of communication materials in the interest of answering the research question. Empirical evaluation, analysis and discussion of the results yielded multifaceted results, carrying scientific insight across all predefined phases of social identity construction and utilization. The identities constructed by both HKSAR and Taiwanese governments respectively proved to be both similar to and different from each other in various respects. While the construction processes

in both cases were largely influenced by the relevance and effects of the pandemic, as well as government's interest in controlling the outbreak, both also relied heavily on highlighting the relevance of strength, unity and resilience as part of the respective identities. Differences persist most relevantly in the identification with and expression of democratic values as part of the respective identities. Another notable difference was observed in the inclusion of an alignment and association with the PRC into the identity constructs. The final and arguably most interesting result of the empirical evaluation and analysis is the realization that no matter the differences, both cases are united in the respective leaders' needs to secure what their constructs of a functioning society, system and world look like through the subsequent construction of a social identity serving this very purpose.

Identity as a political instrument and social phenomenon analyzed through the looking glass of the social sciences is a highly fascinating concept. Mainly because the parts we as researchers can identify, pick out, press into frameworks, and somehow try and make sense of through qualitative or quantitative analysis of content provided through statements, speeches, interviews, surveys, and others are for the most part external. We induce what we as researchers with a subjective perspective on issues and interpretations of what things mean think is the most objective, informed and extensively evaluated statement on how others feel, who they subjectively think they are and what defines them.

This is thus an attempt to place the results of this thesis into a larger context. The framework and analysis at the heart of this thesis offer an extensive, multifaceted approach to the analysis of the construction of social identity through leaders. They do not however provide the groundwork to induce what those who are the target of these constructions actually feel their identity is. It thus by no means makes statements on what the people living in HKSAR and Taiwan, being addressed by the analyzed leaders and their statements, associate as or feel their identity is constructed and defined by. It is merely an analysis of what leaders want the respective social identities to be constructed and defined by. In the case of this analysis this means the identity of the leaders' constituents, those potentially ensuring their popularity, chance to get (re-) elected to political office and maintain political power.

This analysis offers an indicator of what political orientation and trends in political and public debates look like, as well as which topics leaders feel are likely to harness public support and success on the behalf of their own political goals. This becomes clear in the largest difference between HKSAR and Taiwan, which is the alignment with the PRC. HKSAR leaders are aware of the fact that their own political success and future rely on showing support of, sympathy and to some extent subordination to their political stakeholders in the PRC and subsequently define the relationship and connection as positive, valuable and co-dependent. Taiwanese social identity on the other hand

is most relevantly defined through democratic values and a claim to be an independent, successful country without a relationship to the PRC, as leaders are dependent on public support and the votes of their constituents to ensure their career and success.

An interesting addition to the research and results provided by this thesis, which would offer a relevant extension to the insights on construction of social identity through political leaders, would thus be research on trends in discourse within society. Analyzing the same time frame with regards to communicative trends on relevant communication platforms such as Twitter and Facebook through members of the respective societies, would show if the social response to the attempts to construct social identities as seen by leaders are signs of success or failure in this regard. Combining these two fields of research would offer up a model of topics, themes, and trends which, at a point of public crisis, find the most resonance within society. This could subsequently serve as a useful communication guideline to be used by political leaders in the context of political elections potentially falling into a time of public crisis. It could guarantee a certain degree of successful positioning and social identity construction through the knowledge of relevant characteristics, trends and topics particularly salient and relevant during crises.

Another interesting extension of the original research conducted in this thesis would be the analysis of more recent time periods. The second research question could thus be altered to analyze how the relationship to the PRC is potentially (re-) defined in light of the government's most recent crackdown on their zero-covid-strategy and the subsequent social, economic and political consequences.

This thesis started by pointing out that identity oftentimes relates to insecurity. This thesis and the results thereof have delivered part of the explanation why. Throughout a lifetime, external influences repeatedly influence and try to define what individuals should feel their identities are defined by. Identity politics are part to these influences. They in turn are influenced by who is considered leader of a social group at a certain point in time, which challenges these groups are facing and which larger order and construct they are part of. This thesis has proven that identity construction through political leaders is a complex, multifaceted and a multi-level affair, which has the potential to be analyzed and looked at from numerous different angles. The angle this thesis offered holds relevance in the statements it was able to make on the similarities and differences between HKSAR and Taiwan, the influence of a public health crisis on the construction of social identity and the relevance of the relationship to the PRC to the respective social identities during the selected period.

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8. Annex

8.1. Abstracts

ENGLISH: The beginning of 2020 marked an incisive point in global history. The declaration of COVID-19 as a global pandemic through the World Health Organisation almost instantly changed political prioritization and communication across the globe. This had an observable effect on the construction of social identity through political leaders. The subject of this thesis is an analysis of this effect. It poses the question which similarities and differences can be observed in the construction of social identity through the respective Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Taiwan government during the pandemic and how this construction is potentially utilized to (re-) define the respective relationship to the People's Republic of China. This is highly relevant in the current political and social context: the COVID-19 pandemic is far from over and experts expect the future of humanity is likely to be burdened by several other pandemics in the future. Political leaders will thus likely be challenged to deal with and control similar situations as that of COVID-19 repeatedly. An extensive literature review discussing the different levels of social identity, outlines the most relevant parts of scientific discourse on how social identity is constructed, which dynamics exist within identities, which between and how it is utilized. Derived from the key realizations of the literature review, an analytical framework for a multi-level analysis of social identity construction is developed. It outlines eleven different criteria across the four main categories of construction: Creation, Definition, Differentiation and Utilization. The framework is then applied to selected communication materials by the respective governments and leaders, which in majority consist of press releases and speeches. The results are subsequently summarized and discussed. The main similarities in the constructed identities lie in the relevance of the COVID-19 pandemic to all levels of construction, most importantly the salience of relevant norms and characteristics, as well as the prominence of the norms of strength, resilience, and unity in both identities. The largest differences lie in the inclusion and definition of democratic norms for both identities, with them being a relevant and expressed part of the Taiwanese social identity, whilst secondary and incoherently named in the case of HKSAR. Furthermore, leaders in both instances utilize the construction of social identity to ensure the persistence of other constructs essential to their popularity in the face of political stakeholders. The thesis concludes with a summary of the most relevant points, ideas for additional research and a clarification of the limitations, extent and relevance of the results of this thesis.

DEUTSCH: Der Anfang des Jahres 2020 markiert bis heute einen einschneidenden Moment der Weltgeschichte. Fast augenblicklich veränderte die Erklärung von COVID-19 zur globalen Pandemie durch die WHO nicht nur politische Prioritätensetzung, sondern auch politische Kommunikation weltweit. Dies hatte spürbare Auswirkungen auf die Konstruktion von sozialer Identität durch politische Staats- und Regierungschefs. Der Schwerpunkt dieser Masterarbeit ist eine Analyse dieser Auswirkungen. Sie geht der Frage nach, welche Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede in der Konstruktion von sozialer Identität durch die jeweilige Regierung der HKSAR und Taiwans während der Pandemie zu beobachten sind und wie diese Konstruktion möglicherweise genutzt wird, um die jeweilige Beziehung zur VR China (neu) zu definieren. Dies ist im aktuellen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Kontext von großer Bedeutung: Die Pandemie ist längst nicht vorbei, und Expert:innen gehen davon aus, dass die Menschheit in Zukunft noch von mehreren anderen Pandemien heimgesucht werden wird. Politische Entscheidungsträger werden daher mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit immer wieder vor der Herausforderung stehen, mit ähnlichen pandemischen Situationen umgehen und sie kontrollieren zu müssen. Ein umfangreicher Literatur-Review, der die verschiedenen Ebenen der sozialen Identität erörtert, umreißt die wichtigsten Teile des wissenschaftlichen Diskurses darüber, wie soziale Identität konstruiert wird, welche Dynamik innerhalb der Identitäten besteht, welche zwischen ihnen und wie sie instrumentalisiert werden können. Abgeleitet aus den Schlüsselerkenntnissen des Literatur-Reviews

wird ein analytisches Framework für eine Mehrebenenanalyse der Konstruktion sozialer Identität entwickelt. Es besteht aus elf verschiedenen Kriterien in den die vier Hauptkategorien der Konstruktion: Entstehung, Definition, Differenzierung und Nutzung. Das Framework wird dann auf ausgewählte Kommunikationsmaterialien der jeweiligen Regierungen und Führungspersonlichkeiten angewandt, bei denen es sich mehrheitlich um Pressemitteilungen und Reden handelt. Die Ergebnisse werden anschließend zusammengefasst und diskutiert. Die größten Gemeinsamkeiten in den konstruierten Identitäten liegen in der Relevanz der COVID-19-Pandemie auf allen Ebenen der Konstruktion, vor allem in der Hervorhebung relevanter Normen und Merkmale sowie in der Herausstellung der Normen der Stärke, Widerstandsfähigkeit und Einheit in beiden Identitäten. Die größten Unterschiede liegen in der Einbeziehung und Definition demokratischer Normen für beide Identitäten, wobei sie ein relevanter und ausdrücklicher Teil der taiwanesischen sozialen Identität sind, während sie im Fall der HKSAR zweitrangig und unzusammenhängend eingebracht werden. Darüber hinaus nutzen die führenden Politiker:innen in beiden Fällen die Konstruktion der sozialen Identität, um den Fortbestand anderer Konstrukte zu sichern, die für ihre Popularität gegenüber den politischen Interessengruppen von wesentlicher Bedeutung sind. Die Arbeit schließt mit einer Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Punkte, Ideen für erweiternde Forschungsfragen und einer Erläuterung der Grenzen, des Umfangs und der Relevanz der Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit.

8.2 Results of the empirical evaluation and analysis (full tables)

Taiwan (Table 4)

Date	Format/Source	Direct Quote	Category	Criteria
20.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan CDC has increased vigilance for suspected cases..."	Definition	Threat
20.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...take appropriate precautions to ward off infection."	Definition	Threat
20.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...seek immediate medical attention."	Definition	Threat
20.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...timely diagnosis, prompt case-reporting, and comprehensive treatment."	Definition	Threat
21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...the patient did not lead to any contact in the community."	Definition	Threat
21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"The public" (x2)	Creation	Naming
21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"The public is urged to remain calm."	Definition	Norms
21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese public"	Creation	Naming
21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...in order to minimize the impact of the outbreak on Taiwan, tackle the threats and challenges posed by the outbreak, and ensure the health of the Taiwanese public."	Creation	Involvement

21.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...in order to minimize the impact of the outbreak on Taiwan, tackle the threats and challenges posed by the outbreak, and ensure the health of the Taiwanese public."	Definition	Threat
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...outbreak in China has obviously resulted in community transmission and spread."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"public"	Creation	Naming
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese public"	Creation	Naming
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...protect the health of the Taiwanese public."	Creation	Involvement
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"the public"	Creation	Naming
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...risk communication with the public and public awareness about the disease in order to reduce public panic."	Definition	Norms
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese public"	Creation	Naming
22.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...protect the health of the Taiwanese public."	Creation	Involvement
23.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...utilize past experience to reduce public panic."	Definition	Norms
23.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese businesspeople" (x2)	Creation	Naming
24.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...protect the health of the Taiwanese public."	Creation	Involvement
24.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"the public"	Creation	Naming
25.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...remains attentive to travelers from China, Hong Kong and Macau and maintains domestic prevention efforts."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...remains attentive to travelers from China, Hong Kong and Macau and maintains domestic prevention efforts."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
25.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...the period of time calls for alertness to comprehensive prevention..."	Definition	Norms

25.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"CECC urges the press and the public to understand its intent and cooperate with the measures."	Definition	Norms
26.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Chinese visitors", "Chinese citizens", "Chinese students", "Chinese spouse"	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
26.01.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...relevant restrictions on Chinese visitors..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
04.02.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...panic buying of face masks was spurred worldwide. In order to curb panic buying and the hoarding of face masks..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
04.02.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"universal access", "fairness", "transparency of resource allocation"	Definition	Norms
04.02.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...prioritize them for these minority groups." "...prioritized for the people in great need"	Definition	Norms
04.02.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...mistakenly (...) listed under 'Taipei, China'", "correct our country name"	Creation	Involvement
05.02.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"The entry of Chinese residents will be suspended."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
11.04.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan vigilantly kept track of information."	Definition	Norms
11.04.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Given the lack of clarity at the time, as well as the many rumors that were circulating, Taiwan's aim was to ensure that all parties remain alert..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
11.04.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan CDC also contacted Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention in a bid to obtain more information (...) China provided only a press release."	Differentiation	Norms
11.04.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Even though Taiwan strongly suspected that human-to-human transmission of the disease was already occurring at the time, we were unable to gain information through existing channels."	Differentiation	Norms
15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...praised the Taiwan Model for Combating COVID-19...",	Creation	Involvement

15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"support for Taiwans inclusion in the WHO", "supports Taiwan's participation in international organizations including th WHO (...) they are grateful other countries stand together to support Taiwan's inclusion in the global health system"	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwans successful response to COVID-19 lies in six key aspects: rapid mobilization (...) prompt decision-making, thorough implementation (...), well-coordinated distribution (...), transparent information and advanced technology"	Definition	Norms
15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...people in Taiwan can maintain normal life and daily activities..."	Creation	Involvement
15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan will continue to offer humanitarian aid through bilateral and multilateral channels, as well as share our experience and expertise to show that Taiwan can help and Taiwan is helping!"	Definition	Norms
15.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan will continue to offer humanitarian aid through bilateral and multilateral channels, as well as share our experience and expertise to show that Taiwan can help and Taiwan is helping!"	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan and the United States released statements on Taiwan's exclusion from the 73rd World Health Assembly..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan deeply regrets that the WHO continues to deny Taiwan's Observer status..."	Creation	Involvement
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan deeply regrets that the WHO continues to deny Taiwan's Observer status..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan deeply regrets that the WHO continues to deny Taiwan's Observer status..."	Definition	Politization
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan (...) deeply appreciates the efforts made by the United States, Taiwan's diplomatic allies, and other like-minded countries in support of its case."	Definition	Politization

19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan (...) deeply appreciates the efforts made by the United States, Taiwan's diplomatic allies, and other like-minded countries in support of its case."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"In more than 20 years of robust cooperation (...) Taiwan and the US..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan's successful experience can serve as a model for the global community."	Definition	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan's successful experience can serve as a model for the global community."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"By continuing to exclude Taiwan, a willing and responsible partner and stakeholder, WHO has failed in its pledge to leave no one behind and created a gap in the global health network."	Definition	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"By continuing to exclude Taiwan, a willing and responsible partner and stakeholder, WHO has failed in its pledge to leave no one behind and created a gap in the global health network."	Definition	Politization
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"By continuing to exclude Taiwan, a willing and responsible partner and stakeholder, WHO has failed in its pledge to leave no one behind and created a gap in the global health network."	Differentiation	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...more and more countries are realizing that Taiwan's exclusion from WHO poses a dangerous risk to global health and safety, and that Taiwan's participation would be a positive contribution to WHO."	Creation	Involvement
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...more and more countries are realizing that Taiwan's exclusion from WHO poses a dangerous risk to global health and safety, and that Taiwan's participation would be a positive contribution to WHO."	Definition	Norms

19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...more and more countries are realizing that Taiwan's exclusion from WHO poses a dangerous risk to global health and safety, and that Taiwan's participation would be a positive contribution to WHO."	Definition	Politization
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...more and more countries are realizing that Taiwan's exclusion from WHO poses a dangerous risk to global health and safety, and that Taiwan's participation would be a positive contribution to WHO."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...widespread international support that Taiwan has received in its bid to play an professional, pragmatic and constructive role in WHO."	Definition	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...widespread international support that Taiwan has received in its bid to play an professional, pragmatic and constructive role in WHO."	Differentiation	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...widespread international support that Taiwan has received in its bid to play an professional, pragmatic and constructive role in WHO."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...WHO should maintain a position of professionalism and neutrality."	Differentiation	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan urges WHO to ensure independence from political pressure, abide by its own call to work for the highest attainable standard of human health, and fully include Taiwan..."	Definition	Politization
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan urges WHO to ensure independence from political pressure, abide by its own call to work for the highest attainable standard of human health, and fully include Taiwan..."	Differentiation	Norms
19.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan will continue to (...) observe the principles of professionalism, pragmatism and making contributions as it seeks to broaden its international participation."	Definition	Norms

20.05.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan will continue to (...) observe the principles of professionalism, pragmatism and making contributions as it seeks to broaden its international participation."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
16.06.20	Press Release/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...establishing enhanced collaboration and concrete friendship with international partners..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
14.05.20	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"the public"	Creation	Naming
19.05.20	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"the public is urged not to panic"	Creation	Involvement
21.05.20	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"...urge members of the public to observe disease prevention and control measures (...) as to ensure epidemic prevention standards are consistent across the country."	Definition	Norms
21.05.20	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"...caution and prudence to prevent confusing and false information."	Definition	Norms
21.05.20	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"Members of the public"	Creation	Naming
23.06.21	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"people in Taiwan"	Creation	Naming
23.06.21	Press Release/Taiwan Center for Disease Control	"...in order to protect the health of the people in Taiwan."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"the public"	Creation	Naming
30.01.20	Speech/President	"fellow citizens" (x2)	Creation	Naming
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...enforce stringent requirements for truthful declarations upon entry to Taiwan, as well as rigorous follow-up."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...refrain from making mass purchases out of fear, and we will implement stringent measures to prevent people from hoarding masks and driving up prices."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...refrain from making mass purchases out of fear, and we will implement stringent measures to prevent people from hoarding masks and driving up prices."	Differentiation	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"general public" (x2)	Creation	Naming
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...people will understand, among other things, how to manage their own health and prevent the spread of disease..."	Definition	Threat

30.01.20	Speech/President	"We want citizens to be able to lead normal lives while being vigilant against the spread of the disease."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"We want citizens to be able to lead normal lives while being vigilant against the spread of the disease."	Definition	Threat
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...remind my fellow citizens once again not to spread untrue or unverified information."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...remind my fellow citizens once again not to spread untrue or unverified information."	Differentiation	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"Taiwanese citizens"	Creation	Naming
30.01.20	Speech/President	"bringing our citizens home"	Creation	Involvement
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...preventing the spread of the coronavirus with the same gravity as a battle..."	Definition	Threat
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...express our concern and condolences to citizens in China..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...provide necessary assistance where we are able."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...thank countries such as the US, Japan and Canada (...) grateful to our friends in the international community..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwan is indeed on the frontlines of disease prevention (...) so that we can do our part as the first line of defense and ensure the Taiwanese people's health."	Definition	Norms
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwan is indeed on the frontlines of disease prevention (...) so that we can do our part as the first line of defense and ensure the Taiwanese people's health."	Definition	Politization
30.01.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwan is indeed on the frontlines of disease prevention (...) so that we can do our part as the first line of defense and ensure the Taiwanese people's health."	Definition	Threat
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...we have to prudently and very carefully monitor all this possible disease..."	Definition	Norms
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...we have to prudently and very carefully monitor all this possible disease..."	Definition	Threat

19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...people always learn from disaster..."	Definition	Norms
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...our world is getting smaller and smaller into small villages. We are all family..."	Creation	Naming
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...our world is getting smaller and smaller into small villages. We are all family..."	Creation	Involvement
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"Although we did not get any so-called very informative information, based on their observations and personal dialogue, we found that the situation was quite severe."	Differentiation	Norms
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...we didn't get a very good response. To us, there's a very good way to do this..."	Differentiation	Norms
19.04.20	Interview/Vice President	"...this information was not taken into consideration very seriously."	Differentiation	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Whether it is from a laboratory or from natural infection sources needs further confirmation." "It's one of the possibilities. But we have to be cautious about this finding"	Differentiation	Dynamics
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"only severe pneumonia cases were isoated and treated", "the number, based on severe cases, was seriously underreported", "inadeuqacy of testing kits", "numbers of infected cases and deaths were definitely underestimated", "we still cannot find any official data on the number of COVID-19 tests"	Differentiation	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"We immediately sent an email to the WHO to report the information..."	Definition	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"I think that China has to be open and transparent and provide all the information."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"I think that China has to be open and transparent and provide all the information."	Differentiation	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Taiwan has done a very good job of containing COVID-19, and our knowledge, experience, technology and expertise should be shared with other countries in the WHO."	Definition	Norms

08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Taiwan has done a very good job of containing COVID-19, and our knowledge, experience, technology and expertise should be shared with other countries in the WHO."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Taiwan is a democratic country. We have a very vibrant democracy."	Creation	Involvement
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Taiwan is a democratic country. We have a very vibrant democracy."	Definition	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"...we've never had this kind of racism attack at all."	Differentiation	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"...I think we have to collaborate with each other, help each other."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"Taiwan Can Help and is helping all countries in need"	Definition	Norms
08.05.20	Interview/Vice President	"every country in the world has to collaborate with each other and help each other to contain the COVID-19 pandemic"	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.05.20	Speech/President	"A Taiwanese Community"	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"A Taiwanese Community"	Creation	Involvement
20.05.20	Speech/President	"Taiwanese people" (x2)	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we know how difficult it has been for us to get to this point."	Creation	Involvement
20.05.20	Speech/President	"I want to thank the people of Taiwan for making such a difficult feat possible."	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"I want to thank the people of Taiwan for making such a difficult feat possible."	Creation	Involvement
20.05.20	Speech/President	"I want to thank the people of Taiwan for making such a difficult feat possible."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"Thank you for your patience, and thank you for trusting the government. You have shown the world Taiwan's commitment to civic virtues, even in times of great distress."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"Thank you for your patience, and thank you for trusting the government. You have shown the world Taiwan's commitment to civic virtues, even in times of great distress."	Definition	Politization

Speech/President	"...putting up with inconvenience in your daily life to keep others safe and healthy. Thank you for exemplifying humanity's best qualities and helping us successfully..."		
20.05.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"...putting up with inconvenience in your daily life to keep others safe and healthy. Thank you for exemplifying humanity's best qualities and helping us successfully..."		
20.05.20		Definition	Threat
Speech/President	"This sense of pride in our country, this community's shared destiny and the memories of these past months will live on in all of our hearts. This is what solidarity feels like."		
20.05.20		Creation	Involvement
Speech/President	"This sense of pride in our country, this community's shared destiny and the memories of these past months will live on in all of our hearts. This is what solidarity feels like."		
20.05.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"This sense of pride in our country, this community's shared destiny and the memories of these past months will live on in all of our hearts. This is what solidarity feels like."		
20.05.20		Definition	Politization
Speech/President	"...the country you see is populated by kind and resilient people."		
20.05.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"No matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity, and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times, and stand steadfast in the world."		
20.05.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"No matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity, and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times, and stand steadfast in the world."		
20.05.20		Definition	Politization

20.05.20	Speech/President	"No matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity, and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times, and stand steadfast in the world."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...our democratic elections...", "...our success in the fight against COVID-19."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...our democratic elections...", "...our success in the fight against COVID-19."	Definition	Politization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"The Taiwanese people have the kindest hearts in the entire world..."	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"The Taiwanese people have the kindest hearts in the entire world..."	Creation	Involvement
20.05.20	Speech/President	"The Taiwanese people have the kindest hearts in the entire world..."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we will always offer help to the international community wherever we are able."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we will always offer help to the international community wherever we are able."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.05.20	Speech/President	"my fellow citizens" (x2)	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"helping ourselves to help others" "when we help ourselves, others will help us"	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"helping ourselves to help others" "when we help ourselves, others will help us"	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.05.20	Speech/President	"The coronavirus has profoundly affected our world."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...be prepared, because countless challenges and difficulties remain ahead of us."	Definition	Politization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...be prepared, because countless challenges and difficulties remain ahead of us."	Definition	Threat

20.05.20	Speech/President	"...only those who can end the pandemic (...) lay out a strategy for their country's survival and development and take advantage of opportunities in the complex world of tomorrow, will be able to set themselves apart on the international stage."	Differentiation	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"Leadership means calmly taking the right direction in a changing world."	Differentiation	Dynamics
20.05.20	Speech/President	"the people", "our people"	Creation	Naming
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...infectious diseases pose a serious challenge to the health of our people."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan has been deemed a democratic success story, a reliable partner, and a force for good in the world by the international community."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation with our allies, and bolster ties with the US, Japan, Europe, and other like-minded countries."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will also participate more actively in regional cooperation mechanisms and work hand-in-hand with the region..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...make concrete contributions to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"peace, parity, democracy and dialogue"	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will not accept the Beijing authorities' use of "one country, two systems" to downgrade Taiwan..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will not accept the Beijing authorities' use of "one country, two systems" to downgrade Taiwan..."	Differentiation	Dynamics
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will not accept the Beijing authorities' use of "one country, two systems" to downgrade Taiwan..."	Differentiation	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will not accept the Beijing authorities' use of "one country, two systems" to downgrade Taiwan..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation

20.05.20	Speech/President	"...continue to handle cross-strait affairs according to the Constitution of the Republic of China and the Act Governing Relations between the People of Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area. This has been our consistent position for maintaining the peaceful and stable status quo in the Taiwan Strait."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"leader on the other side of the Strait"	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...human rights at the center of Taiwan's national ethos..."	Creation	Involvement
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...human rights at the center of Taiwan's national ethos..."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...the Republic of China (Taiwan) has grown more resilient and unified through countless challenges."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...the Republic of China (Taiwan) has grown more resilient and unified through countless challenges."	Definition	Politization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...the Republic of China (Taiwan) has grown more resilient and unified through countless challenges."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We have resisted the pressure of aggression and annexation."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We have resisted the pressure of aggression and annexation."	Definition	Politization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We have resisted the pressure of aggression and annexation."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We have made the transition from authoritarianism to democracy."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we have always persisted in the values of democracy and freedom..."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"We will always remain committed to our common belief..."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we are a country that has persevered through even the greatest hardships. We, the 23 million people, have always been and will always be a community with a shared destiny."	Definition	Norms

20.05.20	Speech/President	"...we are a country that has persevered through even the greatest hardships. We, the 23 million people, have always been and will always be a community with a shared destiny."	Definition	Politization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"...come together to overcome the challenges of the past few months."	Definition	Threat
20.05.20	Speech/President	"The Republic of China can be united. Taiwan can be safe. Being Taiwanese can be an honor that makes you hold your head high."	Utilization	Mobilization
20.05.20	Speech/President	"I ask that the 23 million people of Taiwan act as our guides and partners. Let us pool our wisdom and courage and make this country a better place together."	Definition	Norms
20.05.20	Speech/President	"I ask that the 23 million people of Taiwan act as our guides and partners. Let us pool our wisdom and courage and make this country a better place together."	Utilization	Mobilization
19.06.20	Speech/President	"peace, parity, democracy and dialogue"	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...willing to work together in the interest of peaceful coexistence..."	Differentiation	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...willing to work together in the interest of peaceful coexistence..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...we have seen a growing effort to pose ever more challenging threats to free and democratic societies. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Hong Kong."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...we have seen a growing effort to pose ever more challenging threats to free and democratic societies. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Hong Kong."	Definition	Threat
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan holds deep and cultural ties with Hong Kong."	Differentiation	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"We are the only two Chinese-speaking societies around the world that commemorate June 4th and its profound significance for freedom and democracy."	Differentiation	Norms

19.06.20	Speech/President	"We are saddened and alarmed to see this beacon of civil liberties become extinguished, in violation of the promises Beijing had made..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
19.06.20	Speech/President	"We are saddened and alarmed to see this beacon of civil liberties become extinguished, in violation of the promises Beijing had made..."	Definition	Threat
19.06.20	Speech/President	"We are saddened and alarmed to see this beacon of civil liberties become extinguished, in violation of the promises Beijing had made..."	Differentiation	Dynamics
19.06.20	Speech/President	"We recognize the bravery of the people of Hong Kong."	Differentiation	Dynamics
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...obligation to speak out and act against the demise of Hong Kong's freedoms."	Utilization	Mobilization
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...establish a new Taiwan-Hong Kong Services and Exchange Office to provide humanitarian support and assist the people of Hong Kong in relocating to Taiwan."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwan is on the frontlines of freedom and democracy."	Definition	Politization
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...maintain peace and stability, while protecting our freedoms and democracy."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...maintain peace and stability, while protecting our freedoms and democracy."	Utilization	Mobilization
19.06.20	Speech/President	"'Peace' means we will seek continued peace with Beijing and call for the reunification of force to settle our differences. 'Parity' requires that both sides should not deny each other's existence. 'Democracy' means Beijing must recognize that Taiwan is a democracy whose future is decided by our own people. And 'dialogue' means we will not refrain from dialogue with Beijing that is not based on political preconditions."	Differentiation	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"We will always acknowledge the historical and cultural ties that exist across the Strait"	Definition	Norms

19.06.20	Speech/President	"...we will never stop believing that there can be a better future ahead, where both sides can share in each other's successes and accomplishments."	Utilization	Redefinition
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan has become a full-fledged democracy."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Our 23 million people have the right to determine our own futures, which is antithesis to the position Beijing has taken."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Our 23 million people have the right to determine our own futures, which is antithesis to the position Beijing has taken."	Definition	Threat
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Our 23 million people have the right to determine our own futures, which is antithesis to the position Beijing has taken."	Differentiation	Dynamics
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Our 23 million people have the right to determine our own futures, which is antithesis to the position Beijing has taken."	Differentiation	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"people of Taiwan", "Taiwanese", "people of Taiwan"	Creation	Naming
19.06.20	Speech/President	"The people of Taiwan could not be more proud of our democracy and all that we have accomplished."	Creation	Involvement
19.06.20	Speech/President	"The people of Taiwan could not be more proud of our democracy and all that we have accomplished."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"They exemplify how democracy is not a western phenomenon, or as some people claim, incompatible with certain cultures."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"They exemplify how democracy is not a western phenomenon, or as some people claim, incompatible with certain cultures."	Differentiation	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"The right of the people to choose how they are governed is a universal aspiration and an inalienable right."	Definition	Norms
19.06.20	Speech/President	"The right of the people to choose how they are governed is a universal aspiration and an inalienable right."	Definition	Politization

19.06.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan stands on the frontlines in the defense of democratic values."	Definition	Politization
19.06.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan stands on the frontlines in the defense of democratic values."	Definition	Threat
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...as a community of like-minded democracies..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
19.06.20	Speech/President	"...safeguard Taiwan as a bastion of freedom and democracy..."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...our fellow citizens (...) all extend their heartfelt congratulations to the Republic of China (Taiwan) for making it through a year full of challenges."	Creation	Involvement
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwans unique character and capabilities as an Island of Resilience."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We did not lock down our cities, or close down our schools."	Differentiation	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We also showed impressive national strength..."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...our international image has never been better."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"unity", "cooperation", "worked so hard", "developing", "helping", "following", "orderly", "provided"	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Through unity and a single-minded purpose, we held the line in the fight against the pandemic and made Taiwan a global model."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Through unity and a single-minded purpose, we held the line in the fight against the pandemic and made Taiwan a global model."	Definition	Politization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Through unity and a single-minded purpose, we held the line in the fight against the pandemic and made Taiwan a global model."	Definition	Threat
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Our successful response to the challenges of the pandemic has proven our nation's viability during times of adversity and boosted public confidence."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...we have united, because we are well aware of the importance of defending our homeland. (...) been decidedly difficult, but also very rewarding."	Definition	Norms

10.10.20	Speech/President	"...we have untied, because we are well aware of the importance of defending our homeland. (...) been decidedly difficult, but also very rewarding."	Definition	Politization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...we have untied, because we are well aware of the importance of defending our homeland. (...) been decidedly difficult, but also very rewarding."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We are aware that showing weakness and making concessions will not bring peace."	Utilization	Redefinition
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...to let citizens know that our military are our family and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom and democracy."	Creation	Naming
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...they are all children of Taiwan..."	Creation	Involvement
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...to let citizens know that our military are our family and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom and democracy."	Creation	Involvement
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...to let citizens know that our military are our family and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom and democracy."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...to let citizens know that our military are our family and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom and democracy."	Definition	Politization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...to let citizens know that our military are our family and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom and democracy."	Definition	Threat
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...it is clear that democracy, peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific are currently facing serious challenges."	Definition	Politization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...it is clear that democracy, peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific are currently facing serious challenges."	Definition	Threat

10.10.20	Speech/President	"...it is clear that democracy, peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific are currently facing serious challenges."	Differentiation	Dynamics
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We must turn this testing time into a historical opportunity."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Our commitment to our sovereignty and democratic values will not change, but we will also maintain strategic flexibility and be responsive to changes."	Definition	Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"Our commitment to our sovereignty and democratic values will not change, but we will also maintain strategic flexibility and be responsive to changes."	Utilization	Redefinition
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...advance preparation is the only way to exercise control over the future, and not just drift with the current or have others decide our fate."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We will play an active role in establishing new regional and international orders."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We will forge alliances based on shared values and friendly ties throughout the international community, and continue to enhance partnerships with like-minded friendly nations. We will also participate more actively in regional and international multilateral cooperation and dialogues."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
10.10.20	Speech/President	"We will forge alliances based on shared values and friendly ties throughout the international community, and continue to enhance partnerships with like-minded friendly nations. We will also participate more actively in regional and international multilateral cooperation and dialogues."	Utilization	Mobilization

Speech/President	"...the most important values the Republic of China (Taiwan) stands for in the region are upholding peace and promoting economic development. (...) advocate for the forces of good, and share our progressive and good faith values with the whole world."		
10.10.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"leader across the strait"		
10.10.20		Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
Speech/President	"...leader across the strait has publicly stated in a video message to the UN General Assembly that China will never seek hegemony, expansion or a sphere of influence."		
10.10.20		Differentiation	Dynamics
Speech/President	"...concerned about China's expanding hegemony..."		
10.10.20		Definition	Threat
Speech/President	"...if Beijing can heed Taiwan's voice, change the way it handles cross-strait relations, and jointly facilitate cross-strait reconciliation and peaceful dialogue..."		
10.10.20		Differentiation	Dynamics
Speech/President	"...we will not act rashly, and will uphold our principles. Maintaining stability (...) is the joint responsibility of both sides."		
10.10.20		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"...we can live in peace and coexist based on mutual respect, goodwill and understanding. As long as the Beijing authorities are willing to resolve antagonisms and improve cross-strait relations, while parity and dignity are maintained, we are willing to work together to facilitate meaningful dialogue."		
10.10.20		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"The Taiwanese people all hope for regional peace and prosperity that are stable and sustainable."		
10.10.20		Creation	Naming
Speech/President	"The Taiwanese people all hope for regional peace and prosperity that are stable and sustainable."		
10.10.20		Creation	Involvement
Speech/President	"...cross-party cooperation, uniting to express our point of view."		
10.10.20		Definition	Norms

Speech/President	"But for the nation's continued survival and development, and for the values of freedom and democracy, we should unify to Speech external issues, cooperating to lead the country to rise above adversity."		
10.10.20		Utilization	Mobilization
Speech/President	"...hardships have forged our resiliency and challenges have inspired our resolve. This pandemic can consolidate a sense of unity among Taiwanese and give us the courage to continue moving forward."		
10.10.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"...hardships have forged our resiliency and challenges have inspired our resolve. This pandemic can consolidate a sense of unity among Taiwanese and give us the courage to continue moving forward."		
10.10.20		Definition	Politization
Speech/President	"Because we want to pass on a strong country to our next generation."		
10.10.20		Utilization	Mobilization
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...Taiwan's diverse cultures..."	Definition Norms
10.10.20	Speech/President	"...free and democratic society.."	Definition Norms
Speech/President	"They can be proud of the culture and values of our homeland..."		
10.10.20		Creation	Involvement
Speech/President	"...remember this as the year we grasped a generational opportunity, bravely forging ahead in rapidly changing times to overcome challenges and throw off our shackles, giving them a chance to determine their own future."		
10.10.20		Utilization	Mobilization
Speech/President	"As we look at Hong Kong, we see what was one of Asia's most free and prosperous cities descend into fear, anxiety and instability."		
10.12.20		Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
Speech/President	"As we look at Hong Kong, we see what was one of Asia's most free and prosperous cities descend into fear, anxiety and instability."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Dynamics

10.12.20	Speech/President	"In the South China Sea (...) traffic has become highly militarized. In places such as Xinjiang, growing religious oppression has led to serious international concern."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
10.12.20	Speech/President	"In the South China Sea (...) traffic has become highly militarized. In places such as Xinjiang, growing religious oppression has led to serious international concern."	Differentiation	Dynamics
10.12.20	Speech/President	"We are also watching with alarm the increasing provocation from across the Taiwan Strait."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
10.12.20	Speech/President	"The PRC has worked to shut the 23 million people of Taiwan out of international organizations, despite our legitimate requests (...) They are also engaged in disinformation and malign influence campaigns that are designed to cast doubt on our institutions and test weakness in our democracy."	Creation	Naming
10.12.20	Speech/President	"The PRC has worked to shut the 23 million people of Taiwan out of international organizations, despite our legitimate requests (...) They are also engaged in disinformation and malign influence campaigns that are designed to cast doubt on our institutions and test weakness in our democracy."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
10.12.20	Speech/President	"The PRC has worked to shut the 23 million people of Taiwan out of international organizations, despite our legitimate requests (...) They are also engaged in disinformation and malign influence campaigns that are designed to cast doubt on our institutions and test weakness in our democracy."	Differentiation	Dynamics

Speech/President	"The PRC has worked to shut the 23 million people of Taiwan out of international organizations, despite our legitimate requests (...) They are also engaged in disinformation and malign influence campaigns that are designed to cast doubt on our institutions and test weakness in our democracy."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"We do not desire this sort of cross-strait relationship. What we seek is constructive cross-strait dialogue, in order to peacefully Speech differences of opinion and perspective without the need for preconditions."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"We do not desire this sort of cross-strait relationship. What we seek is constructive cross-strait dialogue, in order to peacefully Speech differences of opinion and perspective without the need for preconditions."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
Speech/President	"We see a necessity for both sides to find a way to co-exist peacefully, based on mutual respect, goodwill and understanding."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"...do not want to live in a state of permanent antagonism, we are also determined to safeguard our freedoms and way of life."		
10.12.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"...do not want to live in a state of permanent antagonism, we are also determined to safeguard our freedoms and way of life."		
10.12.20		Definition	Politization
Speech/President	"...do not want to live in a state of permanent antagonism, we are also determined to safeguard our freedoms and way of life."		
10.12.20		Definition	Threat
Speech/President	"...respond to PRC malign influence in our politics."		
10.12.20		Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
Speech/President	"...enshrine our principles of religious freedom and respect for human rights."		
10.12.20		Definition	Norms
Speech/President	"...enshrine our principles of religious freedom and respect for human rights."		
10.12.20		Differentiation	Norms

10.12.20	Speech/President	"...established our first-ever National Human Rights Commission to better monitor, secure and strengthen human rights protections within Taiwan."	Definition	Norms
10.12.20	Speech/President	"...established our first-ever National Human Rights Commission to better monitor, secure and strengthen human rights protections within Taiwan."	Differentiation	Norms
10.12.20	Speech/President	"...desire for Taiwan to shine brightly as a light of freedom in the region."	Definition	Norms
10.12.20	Speech/President	"...deter military adventurism and defend ourselves in the face of growing military tensions."	Definition	Threat
10.12.20	Speech/President	"The actions we have taken to strengthen our democracy, to enhance our defense capabilities, and to provide for greater economic security - the purpose of this is to better secure our future."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.12.20	Speech/President	"Taiwan is an indispensable example of freedom, democracy, and free markets."	Definition	Norms
10.12.20	Speech/President	"...ensure that our next generation maintains their right to choose their own future."	Utilization	Mobilization
10.12.20	Speech/President	"...we know that we do not stand alone in this purpose (...) our future is also related to the future of the free world..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...importance of creating a shared sense of purpose."	Definition	Norms
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...see people from all walks of life put aside their differences, and come together to work for the common good. Leadership means inspiring unity..."	Definition	Norms
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...communicate directly with the public to clarify policies and fight rumors, building public trust."	Definition	Norms

16.12.20	Interview/President	"...confident in our ability to adapt to changing circumstances and work together to protect our people while maintaining steady economic development amid serious global challenges."	Definition	Norms
16.12.20	Interview/President	"This capability makes us all proud of Taiwan."	Creation	Involvement
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...concerted efforts of the public..."	Definition	Norms
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...collaboration of our people..."	Definition	Norms
16.12.20	Interview/President	"...democracy and transparency were the keys to our success. (...) pandemic-related policies do not infringe on personal privacy or human rights."	Definition	Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"In many countries, children have not been able to go to school, adults have not been able to go to work and many jobs have disappeared. Economic activity declined sharply, and the number of deaths around the globe due to the pandemic continues to rise."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.01.21	Speech/President	"Fortunately, in Taiwan we are relying on our professional expertise, mutual trust, and social unity to combat the virus together."	Definition	Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"Fortunately, in Taiwan we are relying on our professional expertise, mutual trust, and social unity to combat the virus together."	Definition	Politization
01.01.21	Speech/President	"Fortunately, in Taiwan we are relying on our professional expertise, mutual trust, and social unity to combat the virus together."	Definition	Threat
01.01.21	Speech/President	"Taiwan has achieved what the whole world is longing for: a normal lifestyle."	Differentiation	Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"...thank everyone in Taiwan for your persistent efforts. (...) everyone played their part."	Definition	Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"...poses a threat to the peaceful and stable status quo in the Indo-Pacific."	Definition	Threat

Speech/President	"...in dealing with cross-strait relations, we will uphold our principles and not act rashly. We are willing to facilitate meaningful dialogue under the principles of parity and dignity as long as the Beijing authorities sincerely want to resolve differences and improve cross-strait relations."		
01.01.21		Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
Speech/President	"...in dealing with cross-strait relations, we will uphold our principles and not act rashly. We are willing to facilitate meaningful dialogue under the principles of parity and dignity as long as the Beijing authorities sincerely want to resolve differences and improve cross-strait relations."		
01.01.21		Differentiation	Norms
Speech/President	"...in dealing with cross-strait relations, we will uphold our principles and not act rashly. We are willing to facilitate meaningful dialogue under the principles of parity and dignity as long as the Beijing authorities sincerely want to resolve differences and improve cross-strait relations."		
01.01.21		Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
Speech/President	"My principles for dealing with cross-strait affairs have always been joint discussions, finding solutions, and pragmatically solving problems."		
01.01.21		Differentiation	Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"Taiwan can help"	Definition Norms
01.01.21	Speech/President	"As a force for good in the world..."	Definition Norms
Speech/President	"...continue to be an indispensable member of the international community, both now and in the future."		
01.01.21		Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
Speech/President	"...deeply grateful for the international community's continued support (...) Your willingness to stand together with us (...) Our democracy is stronger because of your support."		
01.01.21		Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
01.01.21	Speech/President	"My beloved fellow Taiwanese..."	Creation Naming
Speech/President	"...Taiwanese people will come together this year (...) because there is strength in unity."		
10.02.21		Creation	Naming

11.02.21	Speech/President	"...Taiwanese people will come together this year (...) because there is strength in unity."	Creation	Involvement
12.02.21	Speech/President	"Let's work together to turn the tide, beat this pandemic, and create a more prosperous economic outlook."	Definition	Norms
13.02.21	Speech/President	"Let's work together to turn the tide, beat this pandemic, and create a more prosperous economic outlook."	Utilization	Mobilization
14.02.21	Speech/President	"To our Cantonese-speaking friends, I want to thank you all for continuing to follow me on Facebook over the past year. Please remember that even though democracy may not be perfect, it is still the best form of government we have. Hold fast to your beliefs and don't give up."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
15.02.21	Speech/President	"To our Cantonese-speaking friends, I want to thank you all for continuing to follow me on Facebook over the past year. Please remember that even though democracy may not be perfect, it is still the best form of government we have. Hold fast to your beliefs and don't give up."	Differentiation	Norms
29.06.21	Speech/President	"...remain vigilant and not get careless."	Definition	Norms
29.06.21	Speech/President	"...follow (...) and work together..."	Definition	Norms
29.06.21	Speech/President	"...helping small businesses (...) using their power as individuals to support those most affected."	Definition	Norms
29.06.21	Speech/President	"...kindness, generosity and touching warmth..."	Definition	Norms
29.06.21	Speech/President	"Taiwanese society"	Creation	Naming
29.06.21	Speech/President	"...Taiwan can face every challenge with resilience and weather any storm."	Definition	Norms
13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"...cornerstone of our success (...) public's trust in an cooperation with the government's response (...) We have worked tirelessly to balance the public's right to know and personal privacy and freedom."	Definition	Norms

13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"While countries around the world have used the pandemic as a way to reign in control and strip the public of crucial data..."	Differentiation	Norms
13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"...openness of information has been at the core of our response. At no point during the pandemic has Taiwan restricted people's right to free expression, assembly or participation in public life (...) protecting these freedoms was at the core of our aims."	Definition	Norms
13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"...it is also through our global community that we can root out the vulnerabilities which allowed the virus to spread."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan will do its utmost to work with the WHO and global health leaders to ensure that all people enjoy living and working conditions which promote a healthy life."	Definition	Norms
13.05.21	Speech/Minister of Health and Welfare	"Taiwan will do its utmost to work with the WHO and global health leaders to ensure that all people enjoy living and working conditions which promote a healthy life."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...implemented a reinforced community-based surveillance program to conduct retrospective screening for COVID-19 (...) worked together to identify the source of infection through scientific, refined epidemiological investigation, successfully preventing the further transmission of the disease."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Solidarity has been the key to Taiwan's success against COVID-19. Each of the 23.6 million people has helped contribute to that success."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...many machine tool manufacturers put aside their business competitiveness and proactively responded to the government's proposal."	Definition	Norms

December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...many machine tool manufacturers put aside their business competitiveness and proactively responded to the government's proposal."	Utilization	Redefinition
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"cooperating", "assisting"	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Everyone in the nation has selflessly and passionately dedicated themselves to the implementation of public health policies..."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...every Taiwanese citizen.."	Creation	Naming
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"..demonstrated (...) civic virtue, the quality of a mature citizen through actively cooperating with government policies."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...fully support government disease prevention policies and voluntarily postponed..."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Everyone in the nation has treated the fight as their own personal matter."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Everyone in the nation has treated the fight as their own personal matter."	Definition	Politization
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Everyone in the nation has treated the fight as their own personal matter."	Definition	Threat
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"This model of engaging everyone has helped gel the nation together to jointly overcome the challenges, reaping the success against COVID-19."	Definition	Politization
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"This model of engaging everyone has helped gel the nation together to jointly overcome the challenges, reaping the success against COVID-19."	Utilization	Mobilization
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese people"	Creation	Naming
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...have successfully turned the COVID-19 pandemic from a crisis into an opportunity."	Creation	Involvement
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...have successfully turned the COVID-19 pandemic from a crisis into an opportunity."	Utilization	Mobilization

December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese people have adopted the good personal hygiene habits.."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"Taiwanese people are kind-hearted and believe in mutual assistance."	Definition	Norms
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"As a result, the disease prevention policies formulated by the government have been implemented smoothly."	Utilization	Mobilization
December 2020	Pamphlet/Ministry of Health and Welfare	"...Taiwan will remain a force for good in the international community and continue to work with like-minded countries in the pursuit of mutual benefits."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation

HKSAR (Table 5)

Date	Format/Source	Direct Quote	Category	Criteria
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Continue Our Fight - Determined to Win"	Definition	Threat
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"the public"	Creation	Naming
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"the public's anxiety"	Creation	Involvement
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong residents"	Creation	Naming
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"My heartfelt gratitude goes to all those involved in combating the epidemic."	Creation	Involvement
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...professionalism and whole-hearted dedication (...) unswerving commitment to duties (...) selfless devotion..."	Definition	Norms
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"So long as we love Hong Kong, we are sure to win this battle against the disease!" (...) with our love, Hong Kong will (...) come out stronger."	Creation	Involvement
25.02.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"So long as we love Hong Kong, we are sure to win this battle against the disease!" (...) with our love, Hong Kong will (...) come out stronger."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Two Months into Our Fight - Continue to Stay Vigilant"	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Two Months into Our Fight - Continue to Stay Vigilant"	Definition	Politization
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Two Months into Our Fight - Continue to Stay Vigilant"	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...see that Hong Kong's situation is better than quite a number of regions in Europe, America and Asia Pacific."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group

25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...see that Hong Kong's situation is better than quite a number of regions in Europe, America and Asia Pacific."	Differentiation	Dynamics
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...people-oriented principle (...) proactively supported Hong Kong people..."	Creation	Naming
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...people-oriented principle (...) proactively supported Hong Kong people..."	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"the public"	Creation	Naming
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...fight the disease at the forefront."	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"our citizens"	Creation	Naming
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"All of them are our anti-epidemic heroes."	Creation	Involvement
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong citizens"	Creation	Naming
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"To win the battle against the disease, the continuous support and co-operation of every Hong citizen are of utmost important"	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"To win the battle against the disease, the continuous support and co-operation of every Hong citizen are of utmost important"	Definition	Politization
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"To win the battle against the disease, the continuous support and co-operation of every Hong citizen are of utmost important"	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...testing the resilience of Hong Kong people..."	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the virus is a long battle and the process is arduous."	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...but it is definitely not the time to let our guard down, otherwise the hard efforts of Hong Kong citizens in the past two months will be undone and the consequences could be dire."	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...but it is definitely not the time to let our guard down, otherwise the hard efforts of Hong Kong citizens in the past two months will be undone and the consequences could be dire."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"members of the public"	Creation	Naming
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...continue to fight the disease together."	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...continue to fight the disease together."	Definition	Politization

25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...continue to fight the disease together."	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I have no doubt that as long as we stay united, work together and support each other, Hong Kong will finally win the battle against the disease."	Definition	Norms
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I have no doubt that as long as we stay united, work together and support each other, Hong Kong will finally win the battle against the disease."	Definition	Politization
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I have no doubt that as long as we stay united, work together and support each other, Hong Kong will finally win the battle against the disease."	Definition	Threat
25.03.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I have no doubt that as long as we stay united, work together and support each other, Hong Kong will finally win the battle against the disease."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Three Months into Our Fight - Seeing the Arrival of Dawn"	Definition	Politization
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Three Months into Our Fight - Seeing the Arrival of Dawn"	Utilization	Mobilization
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Although deeply anxious, we did not lose our composure but continued to respond promptly..."	Definition	Norms
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We bit the bullet and resolutely took stringent measures..."	Definition	Norms
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We bit the bullet and resolutely took stringent measures..."	Definition	Politization
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...due to the togetherness of the community at large, the unswerving commitment (...) the collaborative efforts (...) and the understanding of all sectors in society."	Definition	Norms
25.04.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...Hong Kong will come through the epidemic and the economic downturn. As long as we can hold on for some more time, we will soon see a bright tomorrow."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Four Months into Our Fight - Striking the Right Balance"	Definition	Norms
25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Four Months into Our Fight - Striking the Right Balance"	Definition	Politization
25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong people"	Creation	Naming
25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...understand the rationale behind this, and some are in favour of a 'stringent rather than loose' approach at the expense of organising or taking part in large scale leisure, cultural or festive events."	Definition	Norms

25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...let's continue to act in the same spirit of solidarity to get Hong Kong back to stability as early as possible."	Definition	Norms
25.05.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...let's continue to act in the same spirit of solidarity to get Hong Kong back to stability as early as possible."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Resuming Activities after Fighting the Virus for Five Months"	Definition	Politization
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Resuming Activities after Fighting the Virus for Five Months"	Definition	Threat
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We are fully prepared to fight an enduring battle against the virus and will continue to adopt the "Suppress and Lift" strategy to fight for the right balance."	Definition	Threat
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"help our people to better fight this enduring battle"	Creation	Naming
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"help our people to better fight this enduring battle"	Creation	Involvement
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"people"	Creation	Naming
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...hard earned stable epidemic situation which has allowed us to revive our economy and improve local employment."	Definition	Norms
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...Hong Kong cannot stand chaos."	Definition	Norms
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...Hong Kong cannot stand chaos."	Differentiation	Norms
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Activities such as vandalism, advocating for 'Hong Kong independence', illegal possession of explosives and firearms, etc. have clearly threatened national security."	Definition	Threat
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Activities such as vandalism, advocating for 'Hong Kong independence', illegal possession of explosives and firearms, etc. have clearly threatened national security."	Differentiation	Dynamics
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Activities such as vandalism, advocating for 'Hong Kong independence', illegal possession of explosives and firearms, etc. have clearly threatened national security."	Differentiation	Norms
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Activities such as vandalism, advocating for 'Hong Kong independence', illegal possession of explosives and firearms, etc. have clearly threatened national security."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of	Creation	Naming

		nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."		
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."	Creation	Involvement
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."	Definition	Norms
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."	Definition	Politization
25.06.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR to safeguard national security, and also the common obligation of nationals of the entire country, including Hong Kong people."	Definition	Threat
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Six Months - Battling Another Wave of the Epidemic Together"	Definition	Norms
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Six Months - Battling Another Wave of the Epidemic Together"	Definition	Politization
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Six Months - Battling Another Wave of the Epidemic Together"	Definition	Threat
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"the community"	Creation	Naming
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...false rumors on the internet saying that the Government will shortly implement 'lockdown'." (...) as far as pushing fake news in the name of certain media organisations. Such malicious rumors have made our anti-epidemic efforts even more difficult and should be condemned."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group

25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...false rumors on the internet saying that the Government will shortly implement 'lockdown'." (...) as far as pushing fake news in the name of certain media organisations. Such malicious rumors have made our anti-epidemic efforts even more difficult and should be condemned."	Differentiation	Dynamics
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...false rumors on the internet saying that the Government will shortly implement 'lockdown'." (...) as far as pushing fake news in the name of certain media organisations. Such malicious rumors have made our anti-epidemic efforts even more difficult and should be condemned."	Differentiation	Norms
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"The Central Government has been very concerned about Hong Kong's epidemic situation and supportive of the anti-epidemic work..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...all have shown the Central Government's care for Hong Kong people."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"But some people with ulterior motives have spread rumors, alleging that medical teams in the Mainland will provide clinical services in our public hospitals, DNA samples of Hong Kong people will be delivered to the Mainland, etc."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"But some people with ulterior motives have spread rumors, alleging that medical teams in the Mainland will provide clinical services in our public hospitals, DNA samples of Hong Kong people will be delivered to the Mainland, etc."	Differentiation	Norms
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is outrageous that such people continue to take any opportunity to smear and damage the relationship between the Central Authorities and the HKSAR."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"It is outrageous that such people continue to take any opportunity to smear and damage the relationship between the Central Authorities and the HKSAR."	Differentiation	Norms
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Over the past six months, the entire Hong Kong community has been fighting the virus together..."	Creation	Naming
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Over the past six months, the entire Hong Kong community has been fighting the virus together..."	Definition	Politization

25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Over the past six months, the entire Hong Kong community has been fighting the virus together..."	Definition	Threat
25.07.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...we must keep up our spirit and make active responses (...) I appeal to everyone to endure all the inconveniences in life and strictly follow..."	Utilization	Mobilization
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Battling the Epidemic for Seven Months - Fighting the Virus with Confidence"	Definition	Norms
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Battling the Epidemic for Seven Months - Fighting the Virus with Confidence"	Definition	Politization
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Battling the Epidemic for Seven Months - Fighting the Virus with Confidence"	Definition	Threat
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...reflects the support of the Central Government for the HKSAR and Hong Kong people."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Even in times when the Mainland was grappling with the severe epidemic, the Central Government had been providing supplies to Hong Kong and assisting Hong Kong residents stranded in the Mainland and overseas to return to Hong Kong."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Mainland citizens have not said anything like 'borders must be closed', 'spreading virus' or 'having ulterior motives', which are often said by some Hong Kong politicians to smear others."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Mainland citizens have not said anything like 'borders must be closed', 'spreading virus' or 'having ulterior motives', which are often said by some Hong Kong politicians to smear others."	Differentiation	Dynamics
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Mainland citizens have not said anything like 'borders must be closed', 'spreading virus' or 'having ulterior motives', which are often said by some Hong Kong politicians to smear others."	Differentiation	Norms
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Looking at the Central Government's altruistic support for Hong Kong, those who keep taking every chance to discredit the Central Government and damage the relationship between the HKSAR and the Central Government should be ashamed of themselves."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group

25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Looking at the Central Government's altruistic support for Hong Kong, those who keep taking every chance to discredit the Central Government and damage the relationship between the HKSAR and the Central Government should be ashamed of themselves."	Differentiation	Dynamics
25.08.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Looking at the Central Government's altruistic support for Hong Kong, those who keep taking every chance to discredit the Central Government and damage the relationship between the HKSAR and the Central Government should be ashamed of themselves."	Differentiation	Norms
25.09.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Eight Months - No Room for Complacency"	Definition	Norms
25.09.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Eight Months - No Room for Complacency"	Definition	Threat
25.09.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I sincerely urge members of the public and operators of business premises to, for themselves and others, strictly observe infection prevention and control measures..."	Definition	Norms
25.09.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"With concerted efforts and ongoing self-discipline..."	Definition	Norms
25.10.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Nine Months - Controlling the Epidemic with Precision"	Definition	Norms
26.10.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Nine Months - Controlling the Epidemic with Precision"	Definition	Threat
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Ten Months - Sparing No Effort in Combating a Rebound and Achieving 'Zero Infection'"	Definition	Norms
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Ten Months - Sparing No Effort in Combating a Rebound and Achieving 'Zero Infection'"	Definition	Threat
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Ten Months - Sparing No Effort in Combating a Rebound and Achieving 'Zero Infection'"	Utilization	Mobilization
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"As always, we are determined to win the fight to ensure that our hospital system will not collapse under the strain and, more importantly, to keep our people safe."	Creation	Naming
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"As always, we are determined to win the fight to ensure that our hospital system will not collapse under the strain and, more importantly, to keep our people safe."	Definition	Norms

27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"As always, we are determined to win the fight to ensure that our hospital system will not collapse under the strain and, more importantly, to keep our people safe."	Definition	Threat
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"As always, we are determined to win the fight to ensure that our hospital system will not collapse under the strain and, more importantly, to keep our people safe."	Utilization	Mobilization
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"One of the reasons why Hong Kong people feel upset is the great success of our neighbouring Mainland and Macao in strictly controlling the epidemic."	Creation	Naming
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"One of the reasons why Hong Kong people feel upset is the great success of our neighbouring Mainland and Macao in strictly controlling the epidemic."	Creation	Involvement
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"One of the reasons why Hong Kong people feel upset is the great success of our neighbouring Mainland and Macao in strictly controlling the epidemic."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...members of the public should not lose confidence."	Definition	Norms
27.11.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"The public should remain vigilant at all times and not let their guard down by strictly following the anti-epidemic rules."	Definition	Norms
27.12.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Eleven Months - Determined to Win the Hard-Fought Battle"	Definition	Norms
27.12.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Virus for Eleven Months - Determined to Win the Hard-Fought Battle"	Definition	Threat
27.12.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We appeal to members of the public to get vaccinated to protect themselves and help Hong Kong get through the epidemic, allowing members of the public to get back to life as normal again."	Definition	Norms
27.12.20	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We appeal to members of the public to get vaccinated to protect themselves and help Hong Kong get through the epidemic, allowing members of the public to get back to life as normal again."	Utilization	Mobilization
27.01.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...HKSAR is a society that believes deeply in the rule of law..."	Definition	Norms

27.01.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...we seek your endurance and ongoing concerted efforts to overcome this challenge. Let us continue the anti-epidemic work in a proactive manner and with unwavering confidence."	Definition	Norms
27.02.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Epidemic for 13 months - Get Vaccinated to Protect Yourself and Others"	Definition	Norms
27.02.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Fighting the Epidemic for 13 months - Get Vaccinated to Protect Yourself and Others"	Utilization	Mobilization
27.02.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We would like to thank members of the public for their support and co-operation."	Definition	Norms
27.02.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Members of the public should view the vaccines in a scientific manner and not to fall prey to various lies about vaccines."	Differentiation	Norms
26.04.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...the residents have been very co-operative."	Definition	Norms
26.04.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all of them for fulfilling their civic responsibility and demonstrating the spirit of fighting the virus together."	Definition	Norms
26.04.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...for the protection of the entire community, I appeal for their understanding and co-operation."	Definition	Norms
26.04.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...for the protection of the entire community, I appeal for their understanding and co-operation."	Utilization	Mobilization
26.04.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Continue to adopt a 'wait and see' attitude will not give you and your family members the needed protection, or the conditions for Hong Kong to return to normality."	Utilization	Redefinition
26.05.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...we must not let down our guard and must continue to keep up our efforts..."	Definition	Norms
26.05.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"Hesitating about vaccination, taking a wait-and-see attitude, or thinking that vaccination is not necessary as the epidemic situation is stable, is acting against the aspirations of the whole community."	Differentiation	Norms
27.06.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We are pleased to see that our society has regained some energy and the public can ease their 'anti-epidemic fatigue'."	Definition	Norms
26.07.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...and members of the public for their full co-operation."	Definition	Norms

26.07.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...the whole community must make concerted efforts to encourage the elderly to get vaccinated."	Definition	Norms
26.07.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"We are pleased to share with other regions around the world our experience in fighting the virus..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
26.07.21	Press Release/Chief Executive	"...I called on the leaders to step up collaboration..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"fellow citizens"	Creation	Naming
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...by vigorously suppressing and strictly controlling the epidemic..."	Definition	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"This has made China a rare bright spot among major economies and has shown once again the shift of the global economic focus from the West to the East."	Creation	Involvement
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"This has made China a rare bright spot among major economies and has shown once again the shift of the global economic focus from the West to the East."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"compatriots in the Mainland"	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...stayed at home and strictly followed all the rules (...) worked round the clock to treat patients (...) acted as one to fight the virus (...) fight against the epidemic was a race against time and a battle that required resolute courage and unwavering determination."	Definition	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The Central Government's assistance to Hong Kong in fighting the epidemic demonstrates, once again, that it has always given Hong Kong its full support in overcoming various difficulties and challenges since our return to the Motherland."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The Central Government's assistance to Hong Kong in fighting the epidemic demonstrates, once again, that it has always given Hong Kong its full support in overcoming various difficulties and challenges since our return to the Motherland."	Definition	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...creating a safe haven for us in times of turmoil..."	Differentiation	Norms

01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the Central Government always gives us strong backing and helps maintain Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, whether Hong Kong is facing good times or bad, difficulties or opportunities."	Differentiation	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...if we are to keep Hong Kong moving forward, overcome economic challenges, and meet public aspirations for improved livelihoods and democracy, we must have a safe and stable social environment (...) safeguard national sovereignty and security (...) act in accordance with the Consitution and the Basic Law."	Definition	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...if we are to keep Hong Kong moving forward, overcome economic challenges, and meet public aspirations for improved livelihoods and democracy, we must have a safe and stable social environment (...) safeguard national sovereignty and security (...) act in accordance with the Constitution and the Basic Law."	Utilization	Mobilization
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"So, no matter how severe some foreign governments, holding 'double-standards', are going to level unjustified accusations against the authorities in charge of implementing the National Security Law, or aggressively imposing further sanctions (...) will continue to discharge our duty to safeguard national security in accordance with the law without fear or anxiety."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"So, no matter how severe some foreign governments, holding 'double-standards', are going to level unjustified accusations against the authorities in charge of implementing the National Security Law, or aggressively imposing further sanctions (...) will continue to discharge our duty to safeguard national security in accordance with the law without fear or anxiety."	Differentiation	Dynamics

01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"So, no matter how severe some foreign governments, holding 'double-standards', are going to level unjustified accusations against the authorities in charge of implementing the National Security Law, or aggressively imposing further sanctions (...) will continue to discharge our duty to safeguard national security in accordance with the law without fear or anxiety."	Differentiation	Norms
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"So, no matter how severe some foreign governments, holding 'double-standards', are going to level unjustified accusations against the authorities in charge of implementing the National Security Law, or aggressively imposing further sanctions (...) will continue to discharge our duty to safeguard national security in accordance with the law without fear or anxiety."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
01.10.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...as long as we uphold the 1C2S principle and the Basic Law wholeheartedly, work together to seize the opportunities presented by our country's new development model, communicate in a sensible way and find common ground among differences, we can certainly make Hong Kong, our home, an even better place."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"fellow citizens"	Creation	Naming
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...building a better Hong Kong which is our home."	Creation	Involvement
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...and other anti-government acts..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...interference by external forces."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...undermined the social stability of the HKSAR, impeded its economic development and tarnished its international image, and for which our society has paid a high price."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the worries and anxieties of the people and their loss of confidence in the future are entirely understandable."	Creation	Involvement
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"Such strong policy support from the Central Government is conducive to Hong Kong's putting forward and implementing concrete measures in various areas."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation

25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...making it possible for Hong Kong to return to the embrace of our motherland, but also ensured the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...from time to time there are still divergent views on the basic issues pertaining to the political system, and some issues are politically manipulated due to the society's inadequate understanding of the Constitution and the Basic Law and the fact that some people's awareness of the 'One Country' principle has yet to be enhanced."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...from time to time there are still divergent views on the basic issues pertaining to the political system, and some issues are politically manipulated due to the society's inadequate understanding of the Constitution and the Basic Law and the fact that some people's awareness of the 'One Country' principle has yet to be enhanced."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"In addition, ill-intentioned people influenced by external forces have made use of the relatively complicated social and political situation in Hong Kong to deliberately mislead the public about the relationship between the Central Government and the HKSAR."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"In addition, ill-intentioned people influenced by external forces have made use of the relatively complicated social and political situation in Hong Kong to deliberately mislead the public about the relationship between the Central Government and the HKSAR."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"One of our urgent priorities is to restore HKSAR's constitutional order and political system from chaos."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"One of our urgent priorities is to restore HKSAR's constitutional order and political system from chaos."	Definition	Politization
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"One of our urgent priorities is to restore HKSAR's constitutional order and political system from chaos."	Definition	Threat

25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the onset of the disturbances arising from the opposition (...) we have seen escalating violence and damages as well as opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination'."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the onset of the disturbances arising from the opposition (...) we have seen escalating violence and damages as well as opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination'."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"Meanwhile foreign governments and legislatures have intensified their interference in Hong Kong's affairs which are squarely China's internal affairs, severely jeopardising our nation's security."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...restoring stability in Hong Kong."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"After a year of social unrest with fear for personal safety, Hong Kong people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"After a year of social unrest with fear for personal safety, Hong Kong people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"After a year of social unrest with fear for personal safety, Hong Kong people can once again enjoy their basic rights and freedoms according to the law."	Definition	Politization
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the principle of respecting and protecting human rights will be upheld and the legitimate rights of Hong Kong people to exercise their freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstration and procession, etc. will not be compromised in safeguarding national security."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...will also spare no effort in fulfilling our responsibility in exercising jurisdiction over criminal cases under the National Security Law to effectively prevent, suppress and punish acts and activities that endanger national security."	Definition	Norms

25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...will also spare no effort in fulfilling our responsibility in exercising jurisdiction over criminal cases under the National Security Law to effectively prevent, suppress and punish acts and activities that endanger national security."	Definition	Politization
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...will also spare no effort in fulfilling our responsibility in exercising jurisdiction over criminal cases under the National Security Law to effectively prevent, suppress and punish acts and activities that endanger national security."	Definition	Threat
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The rule of law is a core value and the cornerstone of Hong Kong's success."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...transparent, trustworthy and fair (...) without any interference (...) ensure that all Hong Kong residents are equal before the law."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...enhanced efforts in promotion and explanation to clarify misconceptions and misunderstandings (...) facilitate equal access to justice and sustainable development by creating synergy and momentum through through international and regional cooperation."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...relieving our people's burden."	Creation	Involvement
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...Hong Kong has remained vigilant and committed."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the Hong Kong community has shown its unity and the spirit of mutual help in working towards a common goal."	Creation	Naming
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the Hong Kong community has shown its unity and the spirit of mutual help in working towards a common goal."	Creation	Involvement
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the Hong Kong community has shown its unity and the spirit of mutual help in working towards a common goal."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the Hong Kong community has shown its unity and the spirit of mutual help in working towards a common goal."	Definition	Politization
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...should we have the support and co-operation of the general public..."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"While the US and European economies are falling into deep recession..."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the humanity features of people in Hong Kong where the cultures of East and West meet..."	Definition	Norms

25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The social unrest last year dealt a heavy blow to Hong Kong's image as safe city internationally and in the Mainland."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The social unrest last year dealt a heavy blow to Hong Kong's image as safe city internationally and in the Mainland."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...showcase Hong Kong's unique strengths and extraordinary charm to the outside world again."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...building a caring community..."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"My vision for education is to nurture our young people into quality citizens with a sense of social responsibility and national identity, an affection for Hong Kong as well as an international perspective."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...students must be law-abiding, able to respect different opinions and adapt to social life, in order to become a responsible member of the civil society."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"It is indeed heartbreaking that, among the more than 10,000 arrests suspected of violating the law (...), 40% are students, of which nearly 2,000 are primary and secondary students."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...students are drawn into political turbulence or even misled to engage in illegal and violent acts, for which they have to take legal responsibilities that will impact on their lives."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"The social incidents also reveal that the law-abiding awareness of some young people is weak and that positive values such as mutual understanding and mutual respect are lacking."	Differentiation	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...moral development is regarded as the most important one and the foundation of education."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...fostering their sense of national identity and awareness of national security."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...learn more about the essence of Chinese culture for nurturing their moral character and cultural identity."	Definition	Norms

25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...teach them to respect and preserve the dignity of the national flag and the national anthem as symbols of our country, to foster positive values among students as well as develop in them a sense of identity, belonging and responsibility towards the nation, the Chinese race and our society."	Definition	Norms
25.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...create an environment that enables young people to grow healthily, build a stable home, pursue a good career and unleash their full potential."	Definition	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong is one of the few places in the world in which every COVID-19 patient is being properly cared for, in terms of isolation and treatment, in public hospitals and related facilities."	Differentiation	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...courage and dedication."	Definition	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The answer is therefore concerted efforts and co-operation, between governments at the global and regional levels and across different sectors at the local level."	Definition	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The answer is therefore concerted efforts and co-operation, between governments at the global and regional levels and across different sectors at the local level."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...disappointing that contrary to this joint effort approach, some healthcare staff had chosen to politicise anti-epidemic measures and engage in spreading inaccurate information."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...disappointing that contrary to this joint effort approach, some healthcare staff had chosen to politicise anti-epidemic measures and engage in spreading inaccurate information."	Differentiation	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...a small group of people have repeatedly sought to undermine our anti-epidemic efforts, including distorting the purpose of the universal community testing programme last September on slandering Mainland vaccines."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...a small group of people have repeatedly sought to undermine our anti-epidemic efforts, including distorting the purpose of the universal community testing programme last September on slandering Mainland vaccines."	Differentiation	Norms

03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"It is through such trust and professionalism that we will overcome this challenge together."	Definition	Norms
03.05.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"It is through such trust and professionalism that we will overcome this challenge together."	Utilization	Mobilization
21.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"With the high compliance of Hong Kong people with infection and control protocols (...) Hong Kong has been able to keep the number of infections at a relatively low level."	Definition	Norms
21.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"A city cannot be livable or sustainable if it is not safe, both in terms of public health as well as law and order..."	Definition	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"anti-China disruptors"	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...preventing, suppressing and imposing punishment for acts and activities endangering national security and by promoting national security education across the territory."	Definition	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...preventing, suppressing and imposing punishment for acts and activities endangering national security and by promoting national security education across the territory."	Definition	Threat
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...preventing, suppressing and imposing punishment for acts and activities endangering national security and by promoting national security education across the territory."	Differentiation	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...human rights shall be respected and protected in safeguarding national security. Therefore, while national security is protected, our citizens continue to enjoy freedoms under the law, including freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of demonstration, and more."	Definition	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...anti-China disruptors and individuals with ulterior motives took advantage of the loopholes in the electoral system to worm their way into the HKSAR's political structure. They kept undermining the relationship between the Central Government and the HKSAR, creating confrontation and obstructing governance."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group

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01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...anti-China disruptors and individuals with ulterior motives took advantage of the loopholes in the electoral system to worm their way into the HKSAR's political structure. They kept undermining the relationship between the Central Government and the HKSAR, creating confrontation and obstructing governance."	Differentiation	Norms
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01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"'patriots administering Hong Kong'"	Creation	Naming
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"'patriots administering Hong Kong'"	Creation	Involvement
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"'patriots administering Hong Kong'"	Definition	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...protect yourselves, your family and friends, and the overall interests of the community."	Definition	Norms
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"...protect yourselves, your family and friends, and the overall interests of the community."	Definition	Threat
01.07.21	Speech/Acting CE	"fellow citizens"	Creation	Naming

05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...we need the public to abide by the law and in this regard, it is important for the public to understand the legal provisions and their application."	Definition	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding the country's sovereignty, security and development interests is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR. They are also the prerequisites for Hong Kong's long term prosperity and stability."	Definition	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding the country's sovereignty, security and development interests is the constitutional responsibility of the HKSAR. They are also the prerequisites for Hong Kong's long term prosperity and stability."	Utilization	Mobilization
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...foreign politicians and media with ulterior motives continue to query and even smear the National Security Law, claiming that it would undermine human rights, suppress freedoms of speech and of assembly, damage the rule of law, devastate Hong Kong as an international financial centre and weaken the city's business environment and more."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
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05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"They (...) only underscore the hypocrisy, bias and double standards of the critics."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"They (...) only underscore the hypocrisy, bias and double standards of the critics."	Differentiation	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The media and the general public exercise their right to monitor the Government's work and the freedom of criticising policies every day, while overseas media disseminate information about the National Security Law continuously, interviewing people with various stances without any interference. We all know that it was because of COVID-19 that public assemblies could not be held. It is the same as in other parts of the world. It should not be used as an excuse to accuse Hong Kong that people's rights have been undermined."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
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05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...independent judicial power..."	Definition	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the obligation to abide by the law among members of the public."	Definition	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...cultivating a strong sense of belonging towards the country and a sense of national identity as well as a sense of responsibility to safeguard national security..."	Definition	Norms
05.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...cultivating a strong sense of belonging towards the country and a sense of national identity as well as a sense of responsibility to safeguard national security..."	Definition	Politization
15.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive (separate doc)	"...people's long-standing demand for better living conditions."	Definition	Norms
15.07.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...with Hong Kong being a free and open capitalist society and an international financial centre..."	Definition	Norms

01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding national security is of even greater importance as this concerns the unity, territorial integrity and development interests of our country and is closely related to the livelihood of our people."	Definition	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding national security is of even greater importance as this concerns the unity, territorial integrity and development interests of our country and is closely related to the livelihood of our people."	Definition	Politization
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Creation	Involvement
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Definition	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Definition	Politization
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Definition	Threat
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...that the Central Government is determined to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens in Hong Kong from the minority who attempted to undermine national security."	Differentiation	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...in the face of all sorts of smearing and malicious attacks by foreign and local bodies and individuals..."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group

01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...in the face of all sorts of smearing and malicious attacks by foreign and local bodies and individuals..."	Definition	Threat
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...in the face of all sorts of smearing and malicious attacks by foreign and local bodies and individuals..."	Differentiation	Dynamics
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...in the face of all sorts of smearing and malicious attacks by foreign and local bodies and individuals..."	Differentiation	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...neither undermine the high degree of autonomy, the judicial independence and the rule of law in Hong Kong, nor will it affect the legitimate rights and interests of Hong Kong people."	Definition	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...neither undermine the high degree of autonomy, the judicial independence and the rule of law in Hong Kong, nor will it affect the legitimate rights and interests of Hong Kong people."	Differentiation	Norms
01.07.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...serves to protect the life and property, basic rights and freedoms of the overwhelming majority of our citizens."	Definition	Norms
30.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"Indeed I believe that global collaboration is the key to kick-starting our economic revival, particularly in the post-Covid-19 economy."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
30.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...share our home-grown, anti-epidemic technology with our overseas partners, supporting their fight against the virus, while strengthening our people-to-people bonds."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
30.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...Hong Kong has long been blessed with multilingual, multi-talented financial and related services professionals."	Definition	Norms
30.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"Alongside talent, Hong Kong's advantages include the rule of law, an open and efficient market, the free flow of capital, information and people, as well as a simple and low tax regime."	Definition	Norms
30.11.20	Speech/Chief Executive	"...untapped potential for your sustainable, inclusive and innovative businesses."	Definition	Norms
12.02.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"fellow Hong Kong citizens"	Creation	Naming
12.02.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...social stability has been restored in Hong Kong, and people's rights and freedoms have been upheld."	Definition	Norms

12.02.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...come back to build Hong Kong together and contribute to our country."	Creation	Involvement
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Equally lamentable if not outright resentful is the unilateral action taken by the former US administration against Hong Kong during that period."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Equally lamentable if not outright resentful is the unilateral action taken by the former US administration against Hong Kong during that period."	Definition	Threat
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Equally lamentable if not outright resentful is the unilateral action taken by the former US administration against Hong Kong during that period."	Differentiation	Dynamics
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Equally lamentable if not outright resentful is the unilateral action taken by the former US administration against Hong Kong during that period."	Differentiation	Norms
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The former US administration tried to justify its actions by referring to the enactment and implementation of the National Security Law in Hong Kong in June last year. Such argument cannot stand up to scrutiny."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The former US administration tried to justify its actions by referring to the enactment and implementation of the National Security Law in Hong Kong in June last year. Such argument cannot stand up to scrutiny."	Differentiation	Dynamics
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The former US administration tried to justify its actions by referring to the enactment and implementation of the National Security Law in Hong Kong in June last year. Such argument cannot stand up to scrutiny."	Differentiation	Norms
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...the enactment of the National Security Law by the Central Authorities was both necessary and rational."	Definition	Norms
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...upholding Hong Kong people's rights and freedoms."	Definition	Norms

26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...President Xi said that he 'hoped the two sides would uphold the spirit of non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win co-operation', that they would 'join hands with other countries and the international community to promote the noble cause of world peace and development'."	Definition	Norms
26.01.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...President Xi said that he 'hoped the two sides would uphold the spirit of non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win co-operation', that they would 'join hands with other countries and the international community to promote the noble cause of world peace and development'."	Differentiation	Norms
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"For 12 months, the streets of Hong Kong had been sieged by rioting mobs who vandalised shops, train stations and traffic lights, set fires to buildings, attacked police officers with bricks, petrol bombs and even genuine firearms, desecrated the national flag and national emblem and called for 'Hong Kong Independence'."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"For 12 months, the streets of Hong Kong had been sieged by rioting mobs who vandalised shops, train stations and traffic lights, set fires to buildings, attacked police officers with bricks, petrol bombs and even genuine firearms, desecrated the national flag and national emblem and called for 'Hong Kong Independence'."	Definition	Threat
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20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"For 12 months, the streets of Hong Kong had been sieged by rioting mobs who vandalised shops, train stations and traffic lights, set fires to buildings, attacked police officers with bricks, petrol bombs and even genuine firearms, desecrated the national flag and national emblem and called for 'Hong Kong Independence'."	Differentiation	Norms
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20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Our country's sovereignty and security were clearly at risk and the HKSAR was thrown into dark abyss. The foundations for Hong Kong's stability were gravely shaken."	Definition	Threat
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"Our country's sovereignty and security were clearly at risk and the HKSAR was thrown into dark abyss. The foundations for Hong Kong's stability were gravely shaken."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding national security and ensuring Hong Kong's stability and prosperity."	Definition	Norms
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...safeguarding national security and ensuring Hong Kong's stability and prosperity."	Definition	Politization
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...mob violence has disappeared and peace and stability have been restored in our city."	Definition	Norms
20.03.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...mob violence has disappeared and peace and stability have been restored in our city."	Definition	Threat

16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and ourage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Creation	Naming
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and courage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Creation	Involvement
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and courage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Definition	Norms

16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and ourage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Definition	Politization
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and ourage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Definition	Threat
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"As pointed out by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, '... We must put people and their lives first. The battle with COVID-19 is one for the people and by the people, What has happened proves that to completely defeat the virus, we must put people's lives and health front and centre, demonstrate a great sense of political responsibility and courage and make extraordinary responses to an extraordinary challenge. No effort must be spared to attend everey case, save every patient, and truly respect the value and dignity of every human life."	Utilization	Mobilization
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"The country provides a safe haven for Hong Kong in times of turmoil, and giving us a shot in the arm when needed."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"'patriots administering Hong Kong'"	Definition	Norms

16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...we should make our contribution to the Chinese dream by embracing patriotism, national pride, team spirit and hard work and putting people's interests first."	Definition	Norms
16.06.21	Speech/Chief Executive	"...we should make our contribution to the Chinese dream by embracing patriotism, national pride, team spirit and hard work and putting people's interests first."	Utilization	Mobilization
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong, the home we all treasure, is defined by the 'Lion Rock spirit', by which we join hands to pursue our dreams while putting aside our differences."	Creation	Involvement
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong, the home we all treasure, is defined by the 'Lion Rock spirit', by which we join hands to pursue our dreams while putting aside our differences."	Definition	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Over the past year, the Hong Kong community has been traumatized."	Definition	Politization
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"..posing a terrorist threat."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"The opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination' have blatantly challenged the authority of the Central Authorities (...), pleaded for interference in Hong Kong's affairs by external forces and even begged for sanctions against Hong Kong and thus disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country."	Creation	Evaluation Out-Group
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"The opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination' have blatantly challenged the authority of the Central Authorities (...), pleaded for interference in Hong Kong's affairs by external forces and even begged for sanctions against Hong Kong and thus disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country."	Definition	Threat

29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"The opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination' have blatantly challenged the authority of the Central Authorities (...), pleaded for interference in Hong Kong's affairs by external forces and even begged for sanctions against Hong Kong and thus disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country."	Differentiation	Dynamics
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"The opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination' have blatantly challenged the authority of the Central Authorities (...), pleaded for interference in Hong Kong's affairs by external forces and even begged for sanctions against Hong Kong and thus disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country."	Differentiation	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"The opposition forces and organisations advocating 'Hong Kong independence' and 'self-determination' have blatantly challenged the authority of the Central Authorities (...), pleaded for interference in Hong Kong's affairs by external forces and even begged for sanctions against Hong Kong and thus disregarding the interests of Hong Kong people and our country."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong has become a gaping hole in national security, and our city's prosperity and stability are at risk."	Definition	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong has become a gaping hope in national security, and our city's prosperity and stability are at risk."	Definition	Threat
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong has become a gaping hope in national security, and our city's prosperity and stability are at risk."	Differentiation	Dynamics
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Hong Kong has become a gaping hope in national security, and our city's prosperity and stability are at risk."	Differentiation	Fear/Cooperation

29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"...prevent, curb and sanction secession, the subversion of state power, the organisation and carrying out of terrorist activities that seriously endanger national security, and interference by foreign and external forces in the affairs of the HKSAR."	Definition	Threat
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"...prevent, curb and sanction secession, the subversion of state power, the organisation and carrying out of terrorist activities that seriously endanger national security, and interference by foreign and external forces in the affairs of the HKSAR."	Differentiation	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"...prevent, curb and sanction secession, the subversion of state power, the organisation and carrying out of terrorist activities that seriously endanger national security, and interference by foreign and external forces in the affairs of the HKSAR."	Utilization	Mobilization
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"Citizens will continue to enjoy the freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly of demonstration, of procession, and to enter or leave Hong Kong in accordance with the law."	Definition	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"fellow citizens"	Creation	Naming
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"...to safeguard national security aims to enable Hong Kong society to find a way out of the impasse, restore stability as soon as possible and resume development of the economy and livelihoods."	Definition	Norms
29.05.20	Letter/Chief Executive	"...to safeguard national security aims to enable Hong Kong society to find a way out of the impasse, restore stability as soon as possible and resume development of the economy and livelihoods."	Utilization	Mobilization