

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

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How Hong Kong's History as a Globalized City Has Created Tensions with a Culturally
Hegemonic China

EVAN BECKIUS

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Reviewed and approved by the following:

Kirk Shaffer
Professor of Latin American Studies
Thesis Supervisor

Sandy Feinstein
Professor of English
Honors Adviser

Abstract

Since its handover to China in 1997, the city of Hong Kong and the Chinese Communist Party have been embroiled in a cultural conflict. While there are many causes for the outbreak of conflict, one stands over the others: globalization. Throughout their history, China and Hong Kong have had drastically different relationships with globalization, with China pushing against some accepts to keep full control over its society, and Hong Kong being created by a globalized empire for purpose of global trade and embracing that economic niche. To prove the importance of globalization in this conflict, this thesis seeks to unravel the history both entities have had with globalization, pinpointing important political, economic, and cultural facets within both Hong Kong and China, and then relating them to the modern conflict. Examples include economic planning, governance style, and responses to modern culture. Ultimately the thesis attempts to prove how as our world becomes more and more globalized there will become an increasing number of conflicts between political entities that embrace globalization and those that push against it, with Hong Kong and China being the prime example.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction and topic overview

Globalization is an ever-present force in our world. It is responsible for one's political views, it's responsible for the variety of media one consumes, it's responsible for a nation's constantly shifting economy, but it's also responsible for conflict. Nowhere else is this more true than in Hong Kong and China. Here globalization is the central cause of the political, economic, and cultural conflicts between the globalized lifestyle of Hong Kong's citizens and the Chinese Communist Party's culturally hegemonic plans. Despite the severity of these conflicts only reaching global mainstream media a few years ago, these conflicts have been brewing before the first British annexation of the territory in 1841. Ranging from the imperial Chinese tributary system to the first Opium War that concluded in Hong Kong's capture. The history of both of these entities is one surrounded by consistent globalized conflict.¹

However, to understand the effects of globalization in this conflict, one must first seek to understand the vast array of effects globalization has had on these nations in modern times. In fact, academics Ahmed Shafiiqul Huque and Rey Yep have concluded: "China and Hong Kong are both susceptible to the relentless impact of globalization".² Within these states these "relentless impacts "of globalization can be felt everywhere, seeping into politics, economics,

¹ Share, Michael. "Clash of Worlds: The Comintern, British Hong Kong and Chinese Nationalism, 1921 - 1927." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 4 (2005): 601-624.

² Huque, Ahmed Shafiqul and Ray Yep. "Globalization and Reunification: Administrative Reforms and the China-Hong Kong Convergence Challenge." *Public Administration Review* 63, no. 2 (2003): 141- 152.

and culture. For instance, much of Modern China's economy is based around obtaining resources from other nations and exporting finished goods (finished products) or intermediary parts (parts of finished goods) to the globalized market, with the nation accounting for 13.23% of the world exports in 2019.³

Despite this open approach to exporting goods and importing raw materials, the CCP is keen to tightly control the effects of globalization on the nation's local economy. Beijing pushes a "Made in China" policy for Chinese consumers to satisfy a vast array of Chinese corporate influence within itself.⁴ As a result, foreign brands such as Amazon, Microsoft, Google, and foreign car manufacturers have faced adversity establishing their products inside mainland China due to underhanded tactics set by the CCP, such as using government-controlled media to continuously slander foreign companies or media to ban companies' products or media such as a K-pop.⁵

In addition to limiting the effects of globalized companies within the nation, the CCP also attempts to regulate the amount of globalized culture their population consumes and interacts with. Such attempts are nothing new as Mao Zedong did the same during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, torturing directors who created films contrary to party beliefs such as the

³ Liu, Hui-Zheng, Shi-Long Li, and Kevin H. Zhang. "An Anatomy of China's Export Boom: An Approach of Trade Margins." *The Chinese Economy* 54, no. 2 (2020;2021;): 79-91.

⁴ Wang, Yuhua. "Beyond Local Protectionism: China's State-Business Relations in the Last Two Decades." *The China Quarterly* (London) 226, (2016): 319-341.

⁵ KIM, SUNG EUN. "Media Bias Against Foreign Firms as a Veiled Trade Barrier: Evidence from Chinese Newspapers." *The American Political Science Review* 112, no. 4 (2018): 954-970.

"Google to Open Artificial Intelligence Centre in China." *BBC News*, BBC, 13 Dec. 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-42334583>.

film *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*.⁶ Today many works foreign of media are still altered or banned within China such as Korean dramas, video games, and movies in a process called Sinification .⁷ This Chinese practice of Sinification has also rubbed off on many global media producers, with companies adding an increasing amount of Chinese culture into their media to stimulate sales in China, or the activities of the gaming company Activision-Blizzard who will not apologize for banning athletes that speak ill about China's human rights policies, or the NBA who has done the same.⁸

Globalization also has affected China's foreign policy with China spreading its economic and political influence with worldwide initiatives: the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank a Chinese-based multilateral development bank that seeks to rival the IMF, and the Belt and Road initiative a development strategy used by the CCP to invest in infrastructure within the nations developing trading partners.⁹ Using these globalized strategies, the CCP hopes to make itself a desirable economic and political ally.

⁶ Schoenhals, Michael. "Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution. By Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gaok. Translated and Edited by D. W. Y. Kwok. [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (SHAPS Library of Translations), 1996. Xxv 659 ISBN 0-8248-1695-1.]" *The China Quarterly* 156 (1998): 1045–47. doi:10.1017/S030574100005147X.

⁷ Park, Ji Hoon, Yong Suk Lee, and Hogeun Seo. "The Rise and Fall of Korean Drama Export to China: The History of State Regulation of Korean Dramas in China." *The International Communication Gazette* 81, no. 2 (2019): 139-157.

⁸ Snider, Mike. "Blizzard Bans Player for Pro-Hong Kong Protest." *USA Today* (Arlington, Va.),2019.

⁹ Thürer, Matthias, Ivan Tomašević, Mark Stevenson, Constantin Blome, Steven Melnyk, Hing Kai Chan, and George Q. Huang. "A Systematic Review of China's Belt and Road Initiative: Implications for Global Supply Chain Management." *International Journal of Production Research* 58, no. 8 (2020): 2436-2453.

Huang, Yiping. "Understanding China's Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment." *China Economic Review* 40, (2016): 314-321.'

While China seeks to move the context of globalization away from the West and into a form of Chinese globalization, Hong Kong shines as a bastion of all forms of globalization where a wide array of ideas from around the world can be expressed.¹⁰ It houses a wide variety of ethnic groups from around Asia. As a result, its malleable culture is willing to shift its traditions to fit its specific wants, such as weekly Filipino street festivities on Sundays.¹¹ All the while the free market practices from its past Western influence persist within the city, resulting in the rapid growth of businesses, willingness to innovate and compete, and a culture of consumerism.¹² As a result of this influence, Hong Kong has developed its own cultural identity within Asia, with many of its younger generation seeing themselves as Hong Kongers rather than Chinese.¹³

However, this growing sense of local nationality within the city interferes with the CCP's vision and goals for the region. A core CCP principle is the idea of a unified China with similar belief systems throughout, in hopes to prevent strife and the regional factionalism that befell other Chinese governments in the past. To accomplish hegemony the CCP has undertaken many extensive political campaigns to heavily influence Hong Kong's culture. The most notable of these campaigns was the cultural revolution where the CCP fought to remove "The Four Olds" -- old ideas' old customs, old habits, and old cultures.¹⁴ Outside of the Cultural Revolution, other

¹⁰ Wong, David W., Garrett Strang, Wai-Yin Tang, and Wangke Wu. "How Ethnically Diverse can a "Chinese City" be? the Case of Hong Kong." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56, no. 3 (2015): 331-355.

¹¹ "A Sunday Ritual for 300,000 Women." BBC Travel. BBC. Accessed November 27, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20161109-a-sunday-ritual-for-300000-women>.

¹² Veg, Sebastian. "The Rise of "Localism" and Civic Identity in Post-Handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-State." *The China Quarterly* (London) 230, (2017): 323-347.

¹³ *Ibid*, 323-347.

¹⁴ "The 'Four Olds' in China." *South China Morning Post* (1946-),1969.

instances of government-backed homogeny include the introduction of a simplified Chinese writing system, strict control of religion within the nation, the introduction of new national holidays, and “reeducation camps”. In the twenty-first century, Beijing pursued these policies under the name of Grand Minzu Fusion, which translates to national integration.¹⁵ While much of the Han (central and coastal) population within China is unaffected by modern policies, many of the cultures on the outer edges of China's borders are now under severe limitations.¹⁶ At the current moment groups such as the Hui, Tibetans, Mongolians, and now most infamously the Uyghurs have had their cultures influenced and attacked by the CCP who has used tactics such as Han settlements, reeducation camps, cultural censorship, on these cultures in its plans to homogenize China.¹⁷

The CCP is not just satisfied with the Sinoization of land it currently owns, as two pivotal locations still illude its grasp, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The existence of both societies is an insult to the CCP’s prospects of cultural hegemony, as both are Chinese-based cultures that hold beliefs that are the antithesis of the ideals held by the CCP. Currently, Taiwan is viewed as the most heinous blemish to the CCP’s plan for a homogeneous China due to it being the last remnant of the Republic of China, the former government of China before the civil war.

While Taiwan is spared from CCP occupation thanks to natural geography, a web of alliances, and escape from European colonization, the second location that illudes the CCP’s

¹⁵ Leibold, James. “Planting the Seed: Ethnic Policy in Xi Jinping's New Era of Cultural Nationalism.” Jamestown, December 31, 2019. <https://jamestown.org/program/planting-the-seed-ethnic-policy-in-xi-jinpings-new-era-of-cultural-nationalism/>.

¹⁶ Durneika, Erik. "Mechanisms of Ethnic Internationalization: The Uyghurs, Tibetans, and Mongols." *Asian Ethnicity* 21, no. 2 (2020): 186-210.

¹⁷ *Ibid* 186-210

grasp of Hong Kong, is not so fortunate. Being a society built on imperialism, free-market economics, and Western interactions, Hong Kong's existence stands as an insult to the CCPs original vision for China. Given to the CCP by the UK government in 1997, the citizens of Hong Kong have been given a time limit on the existence of their society with the “One country two, two systems” policy. This policy allowed Hong Kong to run semi-autonomously economically and politically and ran under the assumption it would continue to do so until fully annexed by China by 2047.¹⁸ However, either due to the increase in localism within the city or the CCP showing dishonesty in their agreement, the CCP began to ramp up its influence within the city. The CCP passed laws such as the 2019 extradition bill or the 2020 national security legislation act which vows to protect the nation’s security from banning pro-democracy candidates from running in elections to censoring films.¹⁹ By passing these laws, the CCP has shown it has no qualms about dishonoring their agreement, cutting the political independence of Hong Kong’s government, and trampling over the freedoms cherished by Hong Kong’s population.

Despite being directly in the shadow of the CCP, the people of Hong Kong have shown multiple times in the past 20 years that they are willing to protect their local culture from the grasp of the CCP. The first major protest against these policies was the 2014 Umbrella Revolution. During the lead-up to this protest, The Standing Committee of the National People's

¹⁸ Yeung, Sum. "The Review of One Country Two Systems of Hong Kong Over Two Decades from the Perspective of Social Development: The Challenges and Prospect." *Asian Education and Development Studies* 8, no. 4 (2019): 511-522.

¹⁹ "'United States Terminates Hong Kong's Special Status due to National Security Law Imposed by Beijing'." *The American Journal of International Law* 115, no. 1 (2021): 131-138.

“Amendments to Guidelines for Censors under Film Censorship Ordinance Gazetted.” The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region - Press Releases- Amendments to guidelines for censors under Film

Congress of China attempted to shut down the growing electoral reform movement that pushed for universal suffrage within the city. In order to counter this movement, The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China implemented further restrictions on Hong Kong's elections. Starting in the 2016 council elections and the 2017 Chief Executive election these restrictions allowed Hong Kong's people suffrage on CCP-approved counselors but in return let the CCP and pro-Beijing electoral college screen and vent candidates for Chief Executive of Hong Kong, the equivalent to a government figurehead.²⁰ Additionally, the Chief Executive now must be people who "love the country [China] and love Hong Kong" and must not be "ideologically opposed" to the mainland's Leninist system".²¹

Despite being given a form of universal suffrage in the new voting system the people in Hong Kong believed that these additional screening requirements would further move the city away from total universal suffrage and eliminate the possibility of pro-democracy and pro-independence candidates in the future.²² Not being one to stand idle, the people of Hong Kong took to the streets in 2019, starting a massive protest, occupying important sections of the city for over two months, with upwards of 100,000 protestors on any given day.²³ However, this protest seemed to do little for the protester's political agenda and in the 2017 election, another pro-Beijing Chief Executive was appointed.

²⁰ Ip, Eric C. "Constitutional Conflict in Hong Kong Under Chinese Sovereignty." *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* : HJRL 8, no. 1 (2016): 75-99.

²² *Ibid*, 75-99

²³ Roantree, Anne Marie, and Lisa Jucca. "Thousands Denounce HSBC Board Member's Likening of Hong Kong People to Freed Slaves." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 31, 2014.

From June 2019 to mid-2020, protestors again took to the streets to challenge an extradition bill pushed by the now-China-controlled Hong Kong parliament. The bill allowed the CCP to extradite people who they felt were criminals residing within Hong Kong and try them under CCP law in mainland China.²⁴ Expectedly this sparked a mass uproar from pro-independence groups within Hong Kong, as one could be on trial for breaking the mainland's cultural laws, despite living in drastically different cultures. It is estimated that as many as one million people from all walks of life (approximately 1/7th of Hong Kong's population) took part in the protests.²⁵

Due to the size of this protest, the current pro-Beijing government in Hong Kong was forced to act. They directed a large heavily armed police force into the city to quell the protest through fear. Yet this only added to the tensions as reports and videos of physical conflict and extreme police brutality arose from the public. A notable example of this was the police siege on Hong Kong Polytechnic University that left around 1,100 people arrested.²⁶ As the movement progressed during the 2019 summer, the protest grew into a more centralized movement that oriented itself towards five goals: suspend the extradition bill permanently, launch an

²⁴ Creery, Jennifer. "Explainer: From 'Five Demands' to 'Independence' - the Evolution of Hong Kong's Protest Slogans." Hong Kong Free Press HKFP, 25 June 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/06/25/explainer-from-five-demands-to-black-cops-to-independence-the-evolution-of-hong-kongs-protest-slogans/>.

²⁵ Darrach, Amanda. "How Many Really Marched in Hong Kong? and How Should We Best Guess Crowd Size?" Columbia Journalism Review, 14 June 2019

²⁶ Wong, Edward, Mike Ives, Tiffany May, Katherine Li, and Lam Yik Fei. "Hong Kong Violence Escalates as Police and Protesters Clash at University." The New York Times. The New York Times, November 17, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/17/world/asia/hong-kong-protests-chinese-soldiers.html>.

"Hong Kong Protests: 1,100 People Arrested in a Day, 3,900 Petrol Bombs Found at University." CNA. CNA, November 19, 2020. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/asia/hong-kong-protests-people-arrested-petrol-bombs-cuhk-polyu-850811>.

independent investigation into police brutality, release arrested protesters, recategorize the movement from riot to protest, and--most ambitious of all—have the current Chief Executive Carrie Lam step down from her post and allow universal suffrage for voting on members of the legislative council and for the office of chief executive.²⁷ These points served as a platform for many politicians running in the 2019 elections the Pro-Democracy party won the district council elections by a landslide.

Despite these election victories, Hong Kong protesters' progress regressed over 2020. While the people of Hong Kong were celebrating an electoral victory, Covid-19 was starting its mass spread within the city of Wuhan. After December 2019, people's participation in the physical protests dwindled either from cancellation or individuals wanting to prevent the spread of the virus.²⁸ Despite this, some protesters still took part in small-scale meetings or moved their actions further online. However, all the progress the people of Hong Kong made quickly crashed down. On June 30, 2020, the CCP congress passed the Hong Kong National Security law. This law would implement a slew of Orwellian laws, including criminal charges for discussing independence, censorship of media, and removing freedom of speech within the city.²⁹ Most insulting of all was how the original extradition bill that started the protests was added to the law,

²⁷ Creery, Jennifer. "Explainer: From 'Five Demands' to 'Independence' - the Evolution of Hong Kong's Protest Slogans." Hong Kong Free Press HKFP, 25 June 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/06/25/explainer-from-five-demands-to-black-cops-to-independence-the-evolution-of-hong-kongs-protest-slogans/>.

²⁸ Ramzy, Austin, and Elaine Yu. "Under Cover of Coronavirus, Hong Kong Cracks down on Protest Movement." The New York Times, May 21, 2020.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200920062416/https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/world/asia/coronavirus-hong-kong-protests.html>.

²⁹ "Marking One Year of Hong Kong's National Security Law - United States Department of State." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State, July 16, 2021. <https://www.state.gov/marking-one-year-of-hong-kongs-national-security-law/>.

but now also gave the government the ability not only to extradite citizens but also any non-Hong Kong citizens visiting the city, a critical blow to Hong Kong's globalized culture. Even the electoral victory the protesters gained in 2019 was erased as China clamped down on what ideas Hong Kong politicians could support as they held office. For example, on November 11th, 2020, the CCP congress banned Hong Kong council members from voicing support for independence, causing many politicians to resign in protest or be asked to leave.³⁰

As a result of oppression by the Chinese government, the culture of Hong Kong is at significant risk. Since 2019 China has already forcefully commenced its processes in homogenizing the city's culture by changing school textbooks, censoring online media and physical books, and banning cultural gatherings such as the annual Tiananmen Square memorial.³¹ While it is not certain how much of Hong Kong's globalized culture could be at risk, given the CCPs track record it is fair to presume that the city's culture might undergo forced alterations in the coming years by the CCP.

But why has the conflict between these two Chinese people's risen to this level? Why is the CCP willing to spend so much effort on policing the city's government? Why are they willing to go to such lengths to limit the media and ideas the people consume, and finally, why are they intent to unify China under one culture? The reason, globalization.

³⁰ Feng, Emily, and Scott Neuman. "Hong Kong's pro-Democracy Lawmakers Quit Legislature over Ouster of Colleagues." NPR. NPR, November 11, 2020. <https://www.npr.org/2020/11/11/933780136/hong-kongs-pro-democracy-lawmakers-quit-legislature-over-ouster-of-colleagues>.

Ho-him, Chan. "Hong Kong Schools Remove Books That May Pose National Security Law Risk." South China Morning Post, August 7, 2021. <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education/article/3144202/national-security-law-hong-kong-schools-remove-books-risk>.

In my research into the conflict between Mainland China and Hong Kong, I realized there is a piece to this conflict that is often not brought up in Western political science. That piece is the history and view of globalization within China. For thousands of years, China had seen itself as the center of the world economically, politically, and culturally. Imperial China believed most forms of interactions between itself, and the outside world was mostly pointless outside of relations with its neighbors through its tributary system.³² Hong Kong has had the opposite history, with over a century of Western globalization forced into it by the British Empire and the Western world. While the causes of the conflict are political in nature, I believe that conflict falls under the umbrella of globalization as the way their two governments' ideologies shape how they interact with other countries.

Over the course of this paper, I examine this conflict between Hong Kong and China by means of exploring both cultures' interactions with globalization throughout their history. Within Chapter II, I explore scholarly literature on globalization, China, and Hong Kong. Chapters II through III, discuss major aspects of globalization in the context of this conflict, including the ways that very different governments have engaged with globalization, the globalized history between the two nations' economies, and most importantly, how interactions with the wider world have shaped two different peoples who are now part of one country. I will conclude with a recontextualization of the conflict between Hong Kong and China using the information discussed in the previous chapters.

³² Chan, Kenneth S. "foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

Chapter II:

Literature Review

Understanding the different effects of globalization and its history within Hong Kong and China is no easy task. One must review a variety of sources from different perspectives. As a result, this thesis will review other academic works and arguments to introduce the vast intricacies within Hong Kong and Chinese culture and their history with globalization, such as trade, economy, politics, and culture.

The first of these intricacies comes from an article titled Foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China in *The Australian Economic History Review-Journal*. Within this article Kenneth S. Chan outlines one key intricacy, arguing that China closes itself off when doing well and opens as its social systems start to collapse.³³ Supporting his theory, the author uses the example of the Song and Ming dynasties. The Song dynasty, which stood in constant external danger, held a liberal foreign trade policy in stark contrast to the Ming dynasty which reigned during a time of Chinese hegemony in Asia when they closed themselves off to trade with the foreign world. However, as time passed, and the Ming dynasty came under threat from northern Manchurian armies, they reopened their trade. In addition, Chan describes the tributary trade system put in place by the old Chinese dynasties, explaining it was market inefficient as they were used to gain loyalty and to hold regional control rather than gather profit. This system led China to reinforce its belief that it was supreme over all forms of other kingdoms and did not need any other state for trade. As a result,

³³ Chan, Kenneth S. "Foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

China's opinions of trade are different from the West. Rather than viewing trade as a form of economic growth, trade within China was viewed as a method to display power, prestige, and stability--concepts heavily valued in China and hence its tenacity to restrict trade with Western powers.

The second work relates to the intricacy of trade and is called "Globalization and Resistance in Post-Mao China: The Case of Foreign Consumer Products" by Beverley Hooper. Hooper describes how in the late 1990s many studies found that Chinese consumers--even its wealthy citizens-- increasingly found local products preferable to foreign products. Hooper attributes this to an increase in local quality, a loss of infatuation with exotic goods, and government interference.³⁴ I found this fascinating, as often the more globalized a nation is the more inclined its population is to just get the most cost-efficient product rather than caring about its origin. This has once more led me to examine the way China and its cultural views interact with the globalized world and the potential conflicts that these views could cause with Hong Kong. However, as the article is over 20 years old, one must discover if the author's predictions about the rise of local bias towards Chinese goods were correct. Comparing their assertions to modern studies, the author's ideas were accurate in many ways.³⁵ Hooper believed that while imports would still flow into the nation and alter the way they are perceived by the public and government, this rings true today with many movies, tv shows, video games, or online content

³⁴ Hooper, Beverley. "Globalization and Resistance in Post-Mao China: The Case of Foreign Consumer Products." *Asian Studies Review* 24, no. 4 (2000): 439-470.

³⁵ Giulia Marchi for The Wall,Street Journal. "America is Losing the Chinese Shopper; China was Once Eager to Spend on U.S. Brands. then Citizens of the World's Biggest Country Shifted their Allegiances." *Wall Street Journal (Online)*, Oct 12, 2019.

Cheung, Man-Chung. "Five Consumer Trends in China We'll See in 2018." *Insider Intelligence*. Insider Intelligence, December 28, 2017.

adding elements of Chinese culture to attract a Chinese audience. Hooper also correctly predicted the growing trend of the Chinese boycotting Western goods. Using the example of the Chinese citizens boycotting McDonald's over the USA's bombing of Belgrade in the 1990s, Hooper stated that this idea of a politically minded Chinese consumer would grow, correctly predicting the trend of Chinese citizens boycotting foreign goods over political policies or economic policies such as Donald Trump's trade war, however, it is unknown if these were the citizen's real beliefs or if the protests were arranged by the CCP government.³⁶

Another valuable resource in answering this thesis's central questions about Chinese cultural globalization was by Ji Hoon Park, Yong Suk Lee, and Hogeun Seo who describes in the *International Communication Gazette* journal, "The Rise and Fall of Korean Drama Export to China: The History of State Regulation of Korean Dramas in China" describes steps taken by the CCP government to regulate or ban the ever-globalizing industry of entertainment, K-pop and Korean dramas.³⁷ The authors introduce the topic by discussing the origins of the Korean Wave (a term used to describe the growing consumption of Korean culture worldwide) within China and then analyze specific examples of its popularity within China. Focusing on Korean tv dramas as its main discussion point, the authors explain the popularity and influence these dramas have had within China, with large fandoms, merchandise imports, and investment. However, despite the popularity of these shows the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television (the CCP's department for regulation of media) started to interfere with the products

³⁶ Giulia Marchi for The Wall,Street Journal. "America is Losing the Chinese Shopper; China was Once Eager to Spend on U.S. Brands. then Citizens of the World's Biggest Country Shifted their Allegiances." Wall Street Journal (Online), Oct 12, 2019.

³⁷ Park, Ji Hoon, Yong Suk Lee, and Hogeun Seo. "The Rise and Fall of Korean Drama Export to China: The History of State Regulation of Korean Dramas in China." *The International Communication Gazette* 81, no. 2 (2019): 139-157.

and broadcasts. While originally fully policing these dramas on TV, the SAPPRFT had looser online regulations and there these shows flourished. This online success was temporary as political tension between Korea and China rose in 2016, with South Korea allowing additional U.S. military assets on its land to help protect against the possibility of North Korean nuclear strikes. However, China disapproved of allowing more American assets into the region and as a result diplomacy broke down between China and Korea with China implementing many bans on Korean products, and travel groups. One of these bans was media, where the state-controlled media banned Korean media, making these shows harder to access online. While political tensions between China and Korea have diminished over recent years, the restrictions have not, and the CCP continues to heavily regulate media from Korea using the justification that it does not promote CCP-approved ideas or social values. The authors give the example of the K-pop band EXO no longer performing in China and “The regular Korean cast on Chinese shows, such as popular Korean singers Psy and Hwang Chi-Yeol, were blurred out, or edited out entirely. In the credits, Korean stars’ names were replaced with Chinese names.”³⁸ In the conclusion, the authors explain that they believe these bans resulted from the CCP's belief in Chinese cultural superiority and the trend of the CCP attempting to mold China's culture to its vision, an increasingly difficult task in our globalized age.

The authors of the previous three essays demonstrated that one can understand China's interactions with modern globalization by studying the nation’s historical trends, economic positions, and modern culture. However, due to differences between culture and governing history, Hong Kong's interactions with modern globalization are considerably different and

³⁸ Park, Ji Hoon, Yong Suk Lee, and Hogeun Seo. "The Rise and Fall of Korean Drama Export to China: The History of State Regulation of Korean Dramas in China." *The International Communication Gazette* 81, no. 2 (2019): 139-157. Fourth period

cannot be used to make the same conclusions. For example, unlike the CCP attempting to give China a unified government-curated culture, the people of Hong Kong have created a localized identity that moves away from China.

The idea of localism within Hong Kong is described by Malte Philipp Kaeding in their journal article, depicting the emerging trend in 2016 of growing localism within Hong Kong's population.³⁹ With localism referring to the growing belief “that Hong Kong had distinct economic and social interests-much less a distinct identity-from China's”.⁴⁰ Kaeding describes how this modern-day localism has been centered around independence from China, and how China has responded to the political movement by banning or intimidating pro-independence and pro-democracy politicians to prevent them from running in elections for Legislative Council seats. Additionally, the author states their belief that in the future this sense of localism will rise, being championed by Hong Kong's younger generations, and how in response China will implement escalating restrictions on the city. With modern context, we now know Kaeding correctly predicted the trends and events around the 2019 protests three years before they happened. This idea of localism and the conflicts around it will be heavily featured within the paper.

To gather a better understanding of these modern conflicts between Hong Kong and Chinese cultures, one must recognize elements of protest and activism in Hong Kong's past, and there is no better source to learn from than Lam Wai-Man, *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: the Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization*. Within this book, the author seeks

³⁹ Kaeding, Malte Philipp. "The Rise of "Localism" in Hong Kong." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 157-171.

⁴⁰ Ibid

to dispel the stereotype that Hong Kong had no history of activism pre-handover. From reading Lam Wai-Man's argument one can obtain a vast understanding of the history of activism within Hong Kong and its relationship with China, especially in the later 1900s. Regarding the topics of this thesis, one of the most interesting periods was 1949-1980. During these three decades, Hong Kong's people used activism in attempts to steer government policies or implement their policies.⁴¹ Such examples include Hong Kong's people campaigning for democratic rights within the city, a CCP-backed labor riot around labor laws, and protests around tax increases. Despite this, there was a local backlash to these protests with some fearing a large amount of democracy would slow down productivity, economic growth, and destabilize the city. As a result, the author makes the paradoxical statement that while Hong Kong has had a history of political activism, it also has a history of depoliticization. While China may have hoped it would inherit an economic and non-political Hong Kong, its' wishes seem to have not been granted in recent years. This trend of depoliticization has seemed to dissipate with the threat of China looming over the city. More and more the size of protests within Hong Kong kept growing over the past 20 years, with the cries for independence and democracy becoming louder and still being influenced by its past, a trend this thesis will explore in the following chapters.

The final essay within this literature review is by Jianfa Shen, and Luo Xiaolong. This essay goes over the cross-border relations between Hong Kong and the city of Shenzhen which lies on the Chinese border.⁴² Shenzhen, being a free market zone within China, is allowed

⁴¹ Wai-man, Lam. *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: the Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization*. Armonk: Taylor & Francis Group, (2004): 65-186.

⁴² Shen, Jianfa and Xiaolong Luo. "From Fortress Hong Kong to Hong Kong-Shenzhen Metropolis: The Emergence of Government-Led Strategy for Regional Integration in Hong Kong." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 22, no. 84 (2013): 944-965.

additional economic privileges and has become the world's electronics production hub, with Shenzhen seeing massive economic growth in our electronic age. In recent years this growth has affected Hong Kong which has developed a close bond with Shenzhen, through people commuting into Shenzhen for employment and Hong Kong gaining investment and imports from Shenzhen in mass mixing the two cultures with positive results economically.

From reading these works one can discover the various complexities between Hong Kong's culture, as well as obtain a greater understanding of how China and Hong Kong in the past and modern eras have dealt with globalization. The remaining chapters in this thesis explore topics and elements of these works that will be expanded upon in the next three chapters, the three major aspects of globalization: with examples such as Chapter III examining the globalized history between the two nations' economies, referencing Chinese market trends and the significance of external investment into Hong Kong. Chapter IV exploring over how interactions in the wider world have shaped two different cultures, referencing localism in Hong Kong originating from globalization, and how the CCP in its quest for hegemony has attempted to force its people away from globalized culture.

Chapter III:

Chinese Economics

One of the most pivotal factors of globalization is economics. The economic policies of a nation's government and its businesses reach their hands into every single facet of globalization, ranging from policies on the ease of acquisition of foreign goods, tourism, media, investment, and trade, to the ability for multinational companies to produce goods with China then ship them to the rest of the world. Unsurprisingly this important facet of globalization holds true within China and Hong Kong as seen throughout their history with both governments and businesses influencing how these two entities interact with globalization.

China

Being the world's most populated nation for much of human history, China has been a hub of economic activity for the world. For over a thousand years Chinese dynasties participated in global trade, sending ships to Arabia, and east Africa, and using the silk road of central Asia to sell "exotic goods" to the various kingdoms of these regions.⁴³ As a result, many nations in the world grew to see China as a nation rich in valuable and exotic goods generating myths and superstitions about these goods in Western culture and other regions of the world. However, foreign nations' interest in China's economy was not well received by various Chinese dynasties.

⁴³ Sutton, J. E. G. "Eastern Approaches - East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times. Edited by H. Neville Chittick and Robert I. Rotberg. New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1975. Pp. 343. \$30; £15." *Journal of African History* 18, no. 3 (1977): 453-455.

For reasons such as Confucian culture, geography, and the ideas of the Mandate of Heaven, Chinese empires closed themselves off economically from the rest of the world at various points in history.⁴⁴ Typically used under the term of inward perfection, China used its isolationist periods to focus on lands in its already massive borders to improve economic strength rather than investing in initiatives like a naval fleet for trade. This was most true under the Ming dynasty 1368-1644 which raised heavy trade restrictions and the mothballing of its trading fleet unlike its predecessor the maritime Song dynasty. As a result, when the Spanish arrived in east Asia in the late 1500s, Spanish and Chinese merchants traded near the Philippines to get around Chinese restrictions.⁴⁵ Despite their original stance, the Ming liberalized their trade policy over time, formalizing trade with Spain to gain access to its silver.⁴⁶ By committing to this trade the Ming hoped to gain another source of income to use to combat the growing Manchu threat in the north, which would eventually cause the dynasty's downfall.

This theme of China opening itself up during times of threat is a recurring theme during the last millennia.⁴⁷ One explanation given for this correlation between threats and trade and the increase in trade is the tributary system.⁴⁸ For the majority of the past millennia, China used a

⁴⁴ Chan, Kenneth S. "Foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

⁴⁵ Chia, Lucille. "The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and their Impact on Southern Fujian (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 (2006): 509-534.

⁴⁶ Sun, L., G. Yang, R. Liu, A. M. Pollard, T. Zhu, and C. Liu. "Global Circulation of Silver between Ming–Qing China and the Americas: Combining Historical Texts and Scientific Analyses." *Archaeometry* 63, no. 3 (2021): 627-640.

⁴⁷ Chan, Kenneth S. "Foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

⁴⁸ Eszterhai, Viktor. "Searching for an Alternative Global Order: The Qing Tributary System and the Mechanism of Guanxi." *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 11, no. 4 (2017;2018;): 499-513.

tributary system to express its power around east Asia. Using its enormous power, China diplomatically or militarily vassalized surrounding kingdoms and required those kingdom's traders to travel to China to exchange gifts with the emperor. The gifts the emperor would give were often of higher value, but that was offset due to the trading many of the tributary caravans conducted during their travel. Utilizing this tributary system, China could not only exert its power in East Asia but also use it as a substitute for trade with outside nations. Though, the fatal flaw with this system was that it relied on China's power and stability. Many of the tributary kingdoms were quick to break their tributary status during moments of weakness in Chinese history to regain political autonomy. As a result, China would have to go out into the world to look for trade rather than having trade come to them. The prime example of this was the Song Dynasty, (960-1276) which was under constant attack by the Mongol Empire that had conquered massive portions of northern China in the 1100-the 1200s. With the Song Dynasty unable to establish tributaries due to these attacks, they instead looked to the seas to expand economically, developing a mercantile navy to conduct trade.

While this idea of foreign trade within China would come about in these times of crisis, it would often disappear once problems were resolved, or the dynasty was replaced. Seeking to reassert themselves as holders of the mandate, the dynasties reverted to the old system of tributary trade, as occurred under the transformation from the Ming dynasty to the Qing dynasty (1636-1912).⁴⁹

Despite the Qing's desire to use trade to project its political power around East Asia, the recent European arrivals into the region would have other ideas. While the Qing sold goods to its

⁴⁹ Chan, Kenneth S. "Foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

tributaries, the dynasty still banned importing goods and implemented high taxes on foreign non-tributary traders.⁵⁰ This trade policy did not sit well with the European traders who visited China that wished to offload their goods to pay for the high-priced Chinese goods they wanted to obtain. As a result, many Western powers in the 1700 and 1800s such as France, Germany, Portugal, the United States, and Great Britain tried to directly influence the Qing's trade policy. The most famous example of this interference being the resulting wars from the British Opium trade within China.

Hoping to offload goods from its Indian/Burmese colonies, the British Empire started to smuggle Indian-grown opium into China in the mid and late 1600s. By pushing this addictive substance into China, many Qing trade officials willingly allowed British merchants to enter ports in exchange for a bit of the substance.⁵¹ The resulting drug addiction within China from this trade eventually became so widespread that the Qing government banned the selling and smoking of opium nationwide in the 1720s before fully banning it in 1796.⁵² The ban proved ineffective however and smuggling only increased going into the 19th century. This tension spilled over in 1839 when Qing soldiers raided British mercantile warehouses in Canton, burning its opium stash and locking down the port. As a result, the enraged British Empire declared war on the Qing empire seeking reparations. When British ships arrived the next May, the Qing -- who had all but abandoned navel traditions--were crushed under the oppressive force of the world's strongest navy. With their victory secured, the British took control of Hong Kong Island

⁵⁰ Qing, Han. "Western Steamship Companies and Chinese Seaborne Trade during the Late Qing Dynasty, 1840–1911." *International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 537-559.

⁵¹ Keller, Wolfgang, Ben Li, and Carol H. Shiue. *Shanghai's Trade, China's Growth: Continuity, Recovery, and Change since the Opium War*: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2012. doi:10.3386/w17754.

⁵² Fogel, Joshua A. *Opium and China Revisited: How Sophisticated was Qing Thinking in Matters of Drug Control?* .Vol. 13 University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

and forced China to allow its merchants access to ports near major cities. This conflict throughout the 19th century with Britain taking more land around Hong Kong Island and other European powers like France and Germany taking ports of their own. This led to an era in Chinese history where the world's Western empires played a major role in the trade that took place in China during the 1800s and early 1900s.

This era of Western dominance in trade was not to last forever. The first sign of this was during the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in the 1910s. Lasting until 1949, this period of Chinese history saw constant conflict within the borders of the former Qing empire. Civil wars raged between the nationalists, the communists, and the numerous warlords.

As a result of these complicated conflicts, China existed in a constant state of economic uncertainty and was run by a variety of economic systems ranging from an industrialized system on the Nationalist coastline during the 1920s to collective farming in the PRC-held Shanxi.⁵³ Meanwhile, the Japanese Empire attacked the region three times, taking ports in the 1890s, annexing Manchuria in 1931, and attempting to fully subjugate China in 1937.

By 1950 the civil war had ended with the CCP in power. This China's economy functioned radically different than that of any Chinese society before it. Now rather than the economy being dominated by corporations, Western powers, or nobility, it became managed by the state and Communist party.⁵⁴ To consolidate its power, the CCP rapidly changed how the economy functioned, isolating China from most noncommunist powers in trade and investment. The Communists also pushed China to become a self-reliant economy in the so-called Great

⁵³ Pollard, T. Robert "The Economic Background of China's Nationalist Movement." *American Political Science Review* 21, no. 4 (November 1927): 835-871

⁵⁴ PERKINS, DWIGHT H. "Research on the Economy of the People's Republic of China: A Survey of the Field." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 2 (1983): 343.

Leap Forward (1958-1962), expanding its resource extraction, farms, industry, and removal of private property. Additionally, the government called for an increase in political violence by its supporters, telling them to rat out dissenters and supporters of the prior capitalist regime.⁵⁵

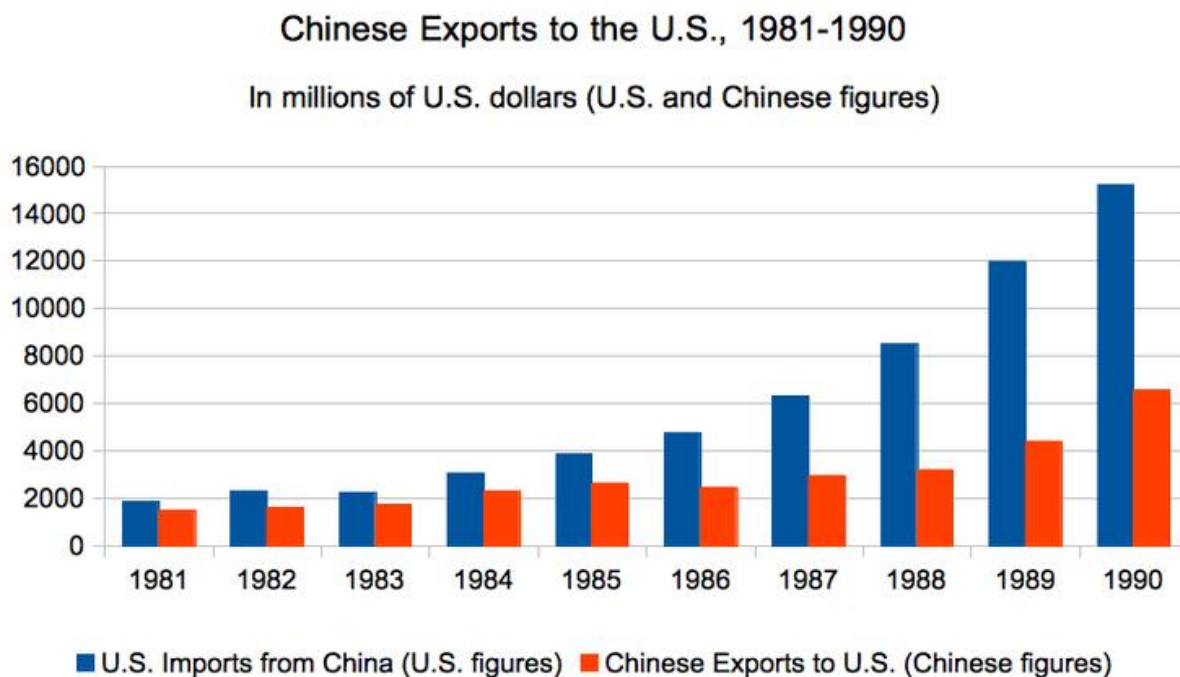
Following Mao's death in 1976 Deng Xiaoping, the new Chairman of the CCP rolled back many Mao-era economic policies. Some of these policies pushed for the relegalization of private property and returning production rights to farmers and some companies. In addition, Deng allowed the opening of Special economic zones with the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian where restrictions on business development were further lifted, and foreign investment by multinational companies was permitted.⁵⁶ As a result of these Special economic zones, China would experience globalization from companies such as Apple who after moving into these zones set up both retail stores and manufacturing plants influencing Chinese consumers and its economy.⁵⁷ China using its large population, cheap manufacturing costs, and industry gained from decades of isolation, attracted foreign manufacturing companies to set up within the country and attracted the multinational companies of the world to trade with it again. Examples are displayed in the below figures where exports to the United States have drastically increased over time.

⁵⁵ He, Qichun and Meng Sun. "central Planning Legacies: The Lingering Effects of the Great Leap Forward in China." *Bulletin of Economic Research* 68, no. 2 (2016): 182-203.

⁵⁶ Wang, Dong. "U.S.-China Trade, 1971–2012: Insights Into the U.s.-China Relationship." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, June 16, 2013. <https://apjif.org/2013/11/24/Dong-Wang/3958/article.html>.

⁵⁷Eran Dilger , Daniel. "Inside Greater China: An Exclusive Look at Apple in Shenzhen." *AppleInsider*. AppleInsider, March 19, 2015. <https://appleinsider.com/articles/15/03/19/inside-greater-china-an-exclusive-look-at-apple-inc-in-shenzhen>.

Figure 1, Chinese Exports to the U.S., 1981-1990

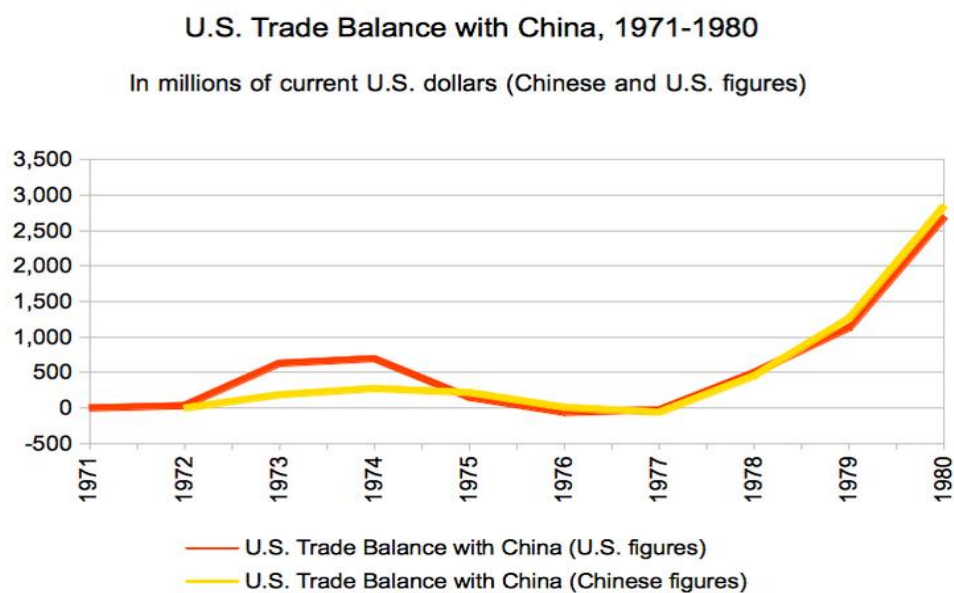


Source: Lovely, Mary E. and Zixuan Huang. "Foreign Direct Investment in China's High-technology Manufacturing Industries." *China & World Economy* 26, no. 5 (2018): 104-126.

However, the world's renewed interest in China was not the same as it had been years earlier. Now instead of providing exotic goods to the rest of the world, China uses its large population and lax labor laws to produce and export goods for cheap prices. These favorable conditions have led numerous foreign manufacturers such as Apple, Nike, and even Toyota to invest in China, creating their own factories in the nation or investing in Chinese manufacturers when allowed. One of the most notable sectors for foreign ownership or investment is high-tech

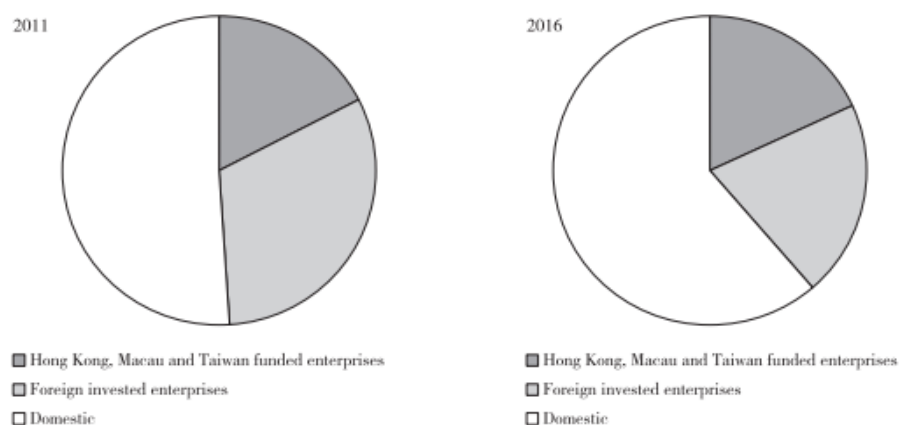
products.⁵⁸ While foreign ownership is not as large as it once was in these high-tech companies, assent ownership is still significant as seen in the subsequent diagram.

Figure 2, U.S Trade Balance with China, 1971-1980



Source: Wang, Dong. "U.S.-China Trade, 1971–2012: Insights Into the U.s.-China Relationship." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, June 16, 2013. <https://apjjf.org/2013/11/24/Dong-Wang/3958/article.html>.

Figure 3. Share of Assets of High-technology Companies by Ownership, 2011 and 2016



Sources: NBS et al. (2012), Department of Social Technology and Cultural Industry Statistics of National Bureau of Statistics (2017).

⁵⁹ Wang, Dong. “U.S.-China Trade, 1971–2012: Insights Into the U.S.-China Relationship.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, June 16, 2013. <https://apjff.org/2013/11/24/Dong-Wang/3958/article.html>.

A large reason for the decrease in foreign ownership is the growth of government-backed and influenced tech companies in recent years. Examples being the large phone manufacturer Huawei, online retailers Alibaba, JD.com, and social networking giant Tencent. These companies obtained explosive growth over the 2010s and as a result, many have started to reach out of their local market and invest in foreign projects putting influencing on China to interact with the wider world.

In addition to using China to satisfy the worldwide demand for cheaper goods, many nations have sought to import their goods into China to profit from its gigantic consumer

⁵⁹ Wang, Dong. “U.S.-China Trade, 1971–2012: Insights Into the U.S.-China Relationship.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, June 16, 2013. <https://apjff.org/2013/11/24/Dong-Wang/3958/article.html>.

population. This however was not an easy task as years of Chinese self-isolation, media propaganda, and national pride had made the Chinese population inclined to purchase from local sources.⁶⁰ Despite this opposition, several multinational brands have succeeded in establishing a presence within China, such as Walmart and McDonald's which have applied pressure on China to open itself up more.

With its current export-focused economy, China has good reason to stay on friendly terms with most of the world who purchases its goods. Leveling its large economic power and population, China has started the process of expanding its economic influence abroad, fostering better relations with and expanding international economic power within other countries. The CCP government has reimagined the tributary system of old, returning to the idea of a world economy centered around China. Evidence of this comes from China's willingness to create its versions of globalized institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank that acts like the International Monetary Fund, or starting projects like the Belt and Road Initiative where China has offered to build ports, roads, and other infrastructure in developing nations.⁶¹ Through these efforts, China has improved relations with developing nations and opened new opportunities for other nations to retrieve purchased goods from China while easily exporting raw materials back to China. For more nations to easily buy their goods, the CCP has also kept the value of its currency low to allow for more of its exports to be bought by other nations.⁶² This

⁶⁰ Wang, Yuhua. "Beyond Local Protectionism: China's State-Business Relations in the Last Two Decades." *The China Quarterly* (London) 226, (2016): 319-341.

⁶¹ Huang, Yiping. "Understanding China's Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment." *China Economic Review* 40, (2016): 314-321.'

⁶² Bénassy-Quéré, Agnès and Yeganeh Forouheshfar. "The Impact of Yuan Internationalization on the Stability of the International Monetary System." *Journal of International Money and Finance* 57, (2015): 115-135.

is in stark contrast to how the previous tributary system worked. Now instead of mainly focusing on political prestige, these new incentives are closer split between economic and political benefits, a possible reaction to a more globalized world.

Hong Kong

Despite all their similarities, one of the greatest divisions between Hong Kong and China is economic history. Up until its capture by the British in 1842, the island of Hong Kong and the Kowloon Peninsula held little economic power within China due to its small population, fishing-based economy, and the presence of the powerful city of Guangzhou near it.⁶³ Due to this absence of development, when the British took control of the island, they had the full opportunity to mold the economy of the island as they saw fit, building large ports on the island to facilitate the influx of Chinese and British goods at the island. As a result of this British policy, many of Hong Kong's residents worked in industries that benefited most from the British-focused policies, including fishing, developing port systems, ship repair, warehouses, and small-scale factories.

Over the next century, Hong Kong moved closer towards an industrially focused economy. By the mid-1950s, the city had become a major player in global manufacturing, shipping various goods all over the world. One reason for this successful change of economy was Hong Kong playing to its strengths. Unlike many other nations in the world, Hong Kong due to its small size was unable to grow enough food to feed its people. As a result, they obtained food from China, and thus the population shifted much of the nation's economic focus to

⁶³ Hui, Po-Keung. "The Development of Hong Kong Chinese Business in the MID-19TH to the Early 20TH Century: A Transnational Perspective." *China Information* 12, no. 1-2 (1997): 114-134.

industry.⁶⁴ By doing this instead of spreading their focuses across many different sectors, the city was able to further refine the processes of manufacturing and finance. In addition to this specialization, Hong Kong's government made doing business within the nation an easy task for foreign investors. Therefore, many foreign actors, such as 7-11, JPMorgan, Goldman Sachs, and Prudential moved into the city. These businesses used Hong Kong as a launch pad to develop a Southeast Asian presence, something that was close to impossible to do in Communist China during this period. In return, Hong has imported many products such as food from the USA, and Brazil.⁶⁵ Additionally, Hong Kong does not have as many of its national product brands as China, relying on both Western brands and Chinese brands to stock stores, thus creating a market where consumers are exposed to global products daily with things such as western fashion brands and fast-food chains.⁶⁶

As a result, Hong Kong has undergone another great shift in economic focus in the past half-century. Using its vast international and globalized position from its time as a manufacturing hub, Hong Kong redirected its economy towards a global finance, administration, and services economy that focuses on banking, investing, a vibrant consumer economy, and having branches of international corporations such as IBM, Apple, and JP Morgan.⁶⁷ While it may no longer be an important manufacturing hub, Hong Kong's service industry, powered by the global market,

⁶⁴ Newman M K Lam. "Development Strategies of Small Economies: Singapore, Hong Kong and Macao." *Asian Education and Development Studies* 4, no. 3 (2015): 265-281.

⁶⁵ Modern Farmer. "Hong Kong Imports over 90 Percent of Its Food, but That's about to Change." *EcoWatch*. Modern Farmer, October 7, 2021. <https://www.ecowatch.com/hong-kong-food-2628744565.html>.

⁶⁶ Wang, Jeff Jianfeng, Annamma Joy, Russell Belk, and Jr Sherry John F. "'One Country, Two Systems': Consumer Acculturation of Hong Kong Locals." *European Journal of Marketing* 54, no. 1 (2020;2019): 1-25.

⁶⁷ https://www.censtatd.gov.hk/en/data/stat_report/product/FA100099/att/B72112FA2021XXXXB0100.pdf

expanded to fill the void. In addition, many British and American companies also entered the city during this time, with fast food industries establishing a strong foothold with brands such as KFC, 7-Eleven, and McDonald's.⁶⁸

Hong Kong's interactions with these multinational corporations (MNCs) are far different than that of China. Rather than attempting to block or control the capitalist companies entering their economies like the CCP, the government of Hong Kong is willing to cooperate with them with far more flexibility.⁶⁹ They have allowed companies to be significantly less monitored by government agencies, allowed lower tax rates, and allowed companies to open bank accounts anywhere in the world. Due to these policies, Hong Kong has sat in the top ten of the World Bank's "Ease of doing business ranking" for many decades.⁷⁰

This does not mean Hong Kong and China have no similarities in multinational corporations and capitalism's influence. The most notable similarity is concerning worker exploitation from MNCs. Many factories in China work on commissions from MNCs to produce large amounts of goods for cheap and as a result, these firms force long hours, dangerous conditions, and low pay on their staff to fulfill these requests.⁷¹ While this abuse used to be considerably more common during the Hong Kong manufacturing era, it has slowed down due to

⁶⁸ Lan, Li and Mahmood A. Khan. "Hong Kong's Fast-Food Industry: An Overview." *The Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1995): 34-41.

⁶⁹ Wang, Yuhua. "Beyond Local Protectionism: China's State-Business Relations in the Last Two Decades." *The China Quarterly* (London) 226, (2016): 319-341.

Wang, Jeff Jianfeng, Annamma Joy, Russell Belk, and Jr Sherry John F. "'One Country, Two Systems': Consumer Acculturation of Hong Kong Locals." *European Journal of Marketing* 54, no. 1 (2020;2019): 1-25.

⁷⁰ World Bank, 2020. "Doing Business 2020," World Bank Publications - Books, The World Bank Group, number 32436, December.

⁷¹ Cheng, Joseph Yu-shek, King-lun Ngok, and Yan Huang. "Multinational Corporations, Global Civil Society and Chinese Labour: Workers' Solidarity in China in the Era of Globalization." *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 33, no. 3 (2012): 379-401.

the city's switch to a service industry. Nevertheless, it still does exist within the city in the form of domestic workers that serve the capitalist upper class. These domestic workers are often recently migrated Filipino women who instead of working long hours in a factory ran by the globalized elite, now obtain abysmal pay and work long hours running errands, taking care of children, and cleaning homes of the globalized elite. Displaying that worker abuse has not disappeared but evolved.⁷²

In conclusion, many differences between China's and Hong Kong's economies result from their history, with China holding stringent economic guidelines influenced by its past and Hong Kong being born out of a desire for trade. This difference contributes to the reasons that the two nations are incompatible with each other under current politics. While China has moved closer to capitalism in recent years, the potential policies the CCP will likely implement in Hong Kong could be devastating to the city and its culture with many large companies within the city being forced to work more closely with the government and many of the foreign companies being required to be under Beijing-imposed laws and surveillance. In addition, there could be the potential for the CCP government to disadvantage Hong Kong businesses by giving benefits to mainland businesses who move into the city, in which they have political and economic stakes, as the CCP government invests and influences its local corporations. By changing the way businesses and economic policies function within the city, the CCP cannot only change people's way of living economically, but also their culture.

⁷² Paul, Anju M. "The 'Other' Looks Back: Racial Distancing and Racial Alignment in Migrant Domestic Workers' Stereotypes about White and Chinese Employers." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 6 (2011): 1068-1087.

Chapter IV:

Culture

Being one of the largest and most populated nations in human history, Chinese culture has become extremely recognizable to people across the globe. Cultural icons such as the Great Wall, and the Shanghai skyline are recognizable worldwide, and practices like Kung Fu and chopsticks have become used globally. However, something to note is modern China is not the same as Chinese culture. Chinese culture is made up of a vast array of different subcultures, like the Han, Wu, and Lingnan. As a result, it is difficult to make judgments about the entire Chinese culture. However, since the end of the Chinese Civil War, the CCP has attempted to centralize Chinese culture, reshaping it during the Cultural Revolution into a more standardized culture, organizing the writing style into a stranded, style, making Mandarin Chinese the official language, creating a single political party for the nation, and influencing what products citizens consume to manipulate people's beliefs.

However, there still exist some remains of older Chinese culture within the city of Hong Kong. Being separated from China during the Cultural Revolution, the governance and political culture is different than those in Mainland China. Though, there does exist influence from Western nations like the British who ruled over the nation for over 100 years. During this time the UK created a culture that looked positively on the West and democracy. This is in stark contrast to mainland China where Western colonialism is a main factor for the poverty and the unstable political system China faced in the late 1800s and early 1900s. As a result, of this influence, the people of Hong Kong have had their beliefs shifted away from what was the standard in China, adding more Western views to their beliefs. Outside of its British influence, Hong Kong being a globalized city has become far more connected with globalized culture than

the rest of China, with foreign goods, media, and ideas being prevalent and easy to access by the population.⁷³

For its entire existence, the region of China has been surrounded by cultural conflicts. Many of these conflicts originate from pushback to outside cultural influences that have taken over the nation. For example, the Buddhist religion from South Asia, the Yuan dynasty founded by Mongolians, and the Qing dynasty founded by Manchurians. Each of these influences has changed the culture and the history of China to various degrees, ranging from a massive region entering the nation as with Buddhism, to an overall restructure of nobility culture as seen with the Qing dynasty. Over time China had cultural conflicts surrounding the involvement of Western culture, as seen with the Boxer rebellion and the Taiping rebellion that sought to fight against the spread of Western culture and influence. These cultural conflicts eventually boiled over with the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912 when a move away from imperial culture took place.

During this period after the fall of the Qing, culture started to heavily mix with politics, with one's political beliefs being displayed in culture consumed, such as films, books, and gatherings. The largest example of this was the communists, who sought to tear down the old cultural systems like religion, class, and land ownership to implement a new cultural identity for the nation.⁷⁴ Once the communists fully took over China in the 1940s, they swiftly started to alter the nation's culture to fit the political ideology they were attempting to spread.

⁷³ Huque, Ahmed Shafiqul and Ray Yep. "Globalization and Reunification: Administrative Reforms and the China-Hong Kong Convergence Challenge."

⁷⁴ "The 'Four Olds' in China." South China Morning Post (1946), 1969.

One of the most notable examples of this cultural manipulation was in the arts, especially film and theater, locations where criticism towards the government was more common and discussed.⁷⁵ One of the major increases of this censorship came with the CCP response to *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*. This opera by Wu Han focused on a Ming minister who criticized the emperor, who then removes the minister from his job for going against him. Many believed Wu's opera referenced Mao's rule by comparing him to the emperor who could not take criticism. In response, Mao ordered the arrest of Wu Han in 1965. He died during his imprisonment. The impact of this event was enormous with Mao using this criticism against him to purge more rivals and launching the Cultural Revolution.⁷⁶ Such persecution of the film industry continued for the next fifteen years with the CCP's Ministry of Culture of the Central People's Government torturing, imprisoning, or killing film directors who created films that opposed or did not support party beliefs. As a result of this violence towards film culture, film production stopped entirely until the 1980s out of fear of government prosecution.

Today, CCP-censorship of the film industry continues, especially against films centering on politics or non-communist economics. Some examples of these banned films are *V for Vendetta* (a 2005 film centered around an attack on a fictional fascist dictatorship within England) and *The Touch of Sin*, (a Chinese film that depicts social issues within China). The *Touch of Sin* was initially approved by the CCP but not given the final ok for release. Another notable banned film was *Call Me by Your Name* (an Italian film centered around a gay

⁷⁵ Williams, Philip F. "The Contemporary Chinese Historical Drama: Four Studies. by Rudolph G. Wagner. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990. Pg 226

⁷⁶ The Cultural Revolution and Post-Mao Reforms: A Historical Perspective. By Tsou Tang. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

relationship).⁷⁷ By continuing to ban these films, not only is the CCP removing criticism towards itself but also limiting the globalized ideas of human rights that their population could consume, such as the LGBTQ+ movement and anti-authoritarian ideas, reinforcing that the CCP will only accept culture that fits its political ideology.

In addition, both during the Cultural Revolution and today, the CCP has influenced, regulated, and controlled literature. The most notable example of party literature was that of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* or Mao's little red book. This book contained 200 quotations from Mao about how to live one's life within Communist China, the military doctrine of the party, and the culture of the party. This book provides interesting insight into the culture within the party with one quote stating, "to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."⁷⁸ These quotations show how open the CCP was about them influencing the culturing of the nation, with them claiming it is necessary to educate its citizens and destroy local and foreign enemies that wish to harm China and its people, further pushing back against globalized culture by promoting censorship

Once the Cultural Revolution slowed during the late 1970s and 1980s, the government's attacks on various points of culture slowed as well. However, as China started to reopen to the wider world during the 1980s, the CCP faced a new threat to its cultural influence: globalized culture. Seeing how much globalized culture had spread to other nations within east Asia such as

⁷⁷ Wong, Edward. "No Release in Sight for Film Exploring China's Violence." The New York Times. The New York Times, November 22, 2013.

⁷⁸ "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" By Mao Tse tung (May 1942), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 84

Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, China sought to limit the types and amount of foreign goods and culture that was brought into the nation. To accomplish this, the CCP implemented numerous policies that halted the potential increase of foreign culture within China such as manipulating state and local media to slander foreign companies, an example being newspapers overreporting on foreign car recalls compared to local car recalls.⁷⁹

In addition to slandering foreign companies, the CCP has made it difficult for foreign products to enter China without cultural change to further their agenda of a China-first policy. One of the prime examples of this is that of K-pop music and Korean dramas that are shown in China. Like most of the world, the Korean Wave has overtaken China to a degree with K-pop groups and Korean dramas booming in popularity. Despite this, the CCP seems to be quite unhappy with the cultural spread of Korean culture into China.⁸⁰ As a result, SAPPRT, (the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television) started to censor Korean culture imports by banning certain groups from performing within China. Korean dramas and films have also been affected with many of the actors having their names replaced with Chinese names in credits, or having characters' faces digitally changed in Chinese releases to have Chinese faces⁸¹.

Hoping to gain access to the large population of Chinese consumers, many companies have sought to appease the CCP by providing a large representation of Chinese culture,

⁷⁹ KIM, SUNG EUN. "Media Bias Against Foreign Firms as a Veiled Trade Barrier: Evidence from Chinese Newspapers." *The American Political Science Review* 112, no. 4 (2018): 954-970.

⁸⁰ Park, Ji Hoon, Yong Suk Lee, and Hogeun Seo. "The Rise and Fall of Korean Drama Export to China: The History of State Regulation of Korean Dramas in China." *The International Communication Gazette* 81, no. 2 (2019): 139-157.

⁸¹ Ibid

censoring topics controversial in China, or omitting content in different versions. Two examples that illustrate this type of pandering relate to the American-developed video games League of Legends by Riot Games and Hearthstone by Activision-Blizzard (Pre-Microsoft buyout). The first of these examples centers around a Pride Month event in League of Legends in 2021 where a short story that reveals a lesbian relationship between two of the in-game characters (Leona and Diana) was censored to remove any indication of the relationship between them.⁸² The second example that garnered much more mainstream attention took place in 2019 at a tournament for the online card game Hearthstone. During this tournament, participant Wai Chung was interviewed by event casters after his recent win. At the end of this interview, Wai yelled “Liberate Hong Kong. Revolution of our age.” The broadcast switched immediately to commercials.⁸³ After saying this, Wai was given a one-year ban from tournament entry by Blizzard and said he would lose any of the prize money that was being held for him, stating he broke the competition rules that stated “players aren’t allowed to do anything that “brings [them] into public disrepute, offends a portion or group of the public, or otherwise damages [Blizzard’s] image.”⁸⁴ In addition, Blizzard fired the two event casters that interviewed Wai. This act of political censorship led to mass player backlash worldwide and led to a halfhearted apology from Blizzard’s CEO who said they will return the prize money and “only” ban Wai and the two

⁸² “China Censors New Story about Diana and Leona.” Millenium US. Millenium US, June 21, 2021. <https://us.millenum.gg/news/24379.html>.

⁸³ Porter, Jon. “Hearthstone Player Banned for Supporting Hong Kong Protesters during Live Stream.” The Verge. The Verge, October 8, 2019. <https://www.theverge.com/2019/10/8/20904308/hearthstone-player-blitzchung-hong-kong-protesters-ban-blizzard>.

⁸⁴ Ibid

casters for 6 months, displaying how the greed of many companies outshines their belief to confront China's human rights abuses.

Many human rights abuses around cultural issues result from the CCP's policy of Grand Minzu Fusion or "national integration".⁸⁵ Under this program, the CCP seeks to create greater control over China and its culture by standardizing the nation's culture. Something that the CCP has not fully accomplished due to the vast population and size of the nation. There are three main groups attacked by the CCP's culturally centralizing policies: social minorities, Tibetans, and Uyghurs.⁸⁶ The first group has already been discussed in this chapter with LGBTQ citizens and people of color, having their rights and representation halted by the government with the CCP still not accepting same-sex marriage and the government itself perpetuating racist policies.

Meanwhile, both the Tibetans and Uyghurs have cultures vastly different from people groups lay at the borders of Chinese territory and have a culture that heavily differs from that of the Han cultural China as Chinese nations have only controlled these regions for a few hundred years. As a result of this cultural difference, the CCP has attempted to drastically change the culture of their regions. The first major way of doing this is by limiting state support for religion, something very central to the culture of the Tibetans and Uyghurs.⁸⁷ The CCP has labeled many Islamic Uyghur critics of the government as terrorists, sending them to work/prison camps that the government denies existing. However, leaks of government documents by disgruntled CCP

⁸⁵ Leibold, James. "Planting the Seed: Ethnic Policy in Xi Jinping's New Era of Cultural Nationalism." Jamestown, December 31, 2019. <https://jamestown.org/program/planting-the-seed-ethnic-policy-in-xi-jinpings-new-era-of-cultural-nationalism/>.

⁸⁶ Durneika, Erik. "Mechanisms of Ethnic Internationalization: The Uyghurs, Tibetans, and Mongols." *Asian Ethnicity* 21, no. 2 (2020): 186-210

⁸⁷ Ibid

members or hacks by outside forces have relieved the extent of this brutality within China with the leaked data showing in the province of Shufu 12% of its citizens were detained from 2016-2018.⁸⁸ If one assumes this incarceration rate is the same in all of Xinjiang it would mean that over 1.2 million citizens are housed within these camps. When questioned about the evidence provided by the leaks and hacks the American Chinese embassy issued the following statement “Xinjiang-related issues are in essence about countering violent terrorism, radicalization, and separatism, not about human rights or religion” displaying how the CCP is committed to their destructive policy despite the push back from the UN that it is violating the globalized ideas of human rights.⁸⁹

With the CCP creating this drastic pushback against globalized culture and the ideas of a homogenous Chinese culture, what will happen to Hong Kong, a city-based around globalized culture? The most impactful way the CCP attempts to change Hong Kong’s globalized culture is by changing its way of governance. Over the past two decades, the CCP has eroded the foundations of the Western and Asian mix of democracy present within the city by banning pro-independence parties, creating restrictions on who is eligible to run, and forcing pro-CCP politicians into office.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Sudworth, John. “The Faces from China's Uyghur Detention Camps.” BBC News. BBC, May 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/85qihtvw6e/the-faces-from-chinas-uyghur-detention-camps>.

⁸⁹ Ibid

“China Responsible for 'Serious Human Rights Violations' in Xinjiang Province: Un Human Rights Report | UN News.” United Nations. United Nations, August 31, 2022. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/08/1125932>.

⁹⁰ Ramzy, Austin. “Hong Kong Bans Pro-Independence Party.” The New York Times, The New York Times, 24 Sept. 2018

“United States Terminates Hong Kong's Special Status due to National Security Law Imposed by Beijing.” The American Journal of International Law 115, no. 1 (2021): 131-138.

By limiting the political power of the Hong Kong government, the CCP is directly trying to change the culture of the city by limiting the exposure the population gets to free governance and attempting to normalize Beijing's rule for the full annexation the party plans to have in the future. However, this influence has not gone unnoticed by the Hong Kong people who the past three years have pushed back against Chinese influence with protests that lasted for over a year and were only fully stopped by Covid lockdowns.⁹¹ Covid did not only just hurt the protests within the city, but it also affected the city's global culture. With Hong Kong emerging from lockdown in the summer of 2022, the two years of lockdown it endured reduced the amount of global commerce and community events within the city. For example, Hong Kong Seven's Rugby Tournament, a famous event within the city, has its sales down 30% from 2019, the last time it was hosted.⁹² Over the past decade, many global companies have moved regional HQs from Hong Kong to locations like Singapore as they have fewer restrictions or out of fear of China's influence in the city. Covid only sped up these processes as two years of strict lockdown policies made many companies like the New York Times moving out of the city in 2020. This exodus of foreign companies has not only worsened the job market and tourism industry in the city, but also impacted its cultures as foreign goods are now less likely to be found in stores due to businesses leaving, foreigner populations are less likely to be seen, and much of commerce centered around traveling workers may close due to lack of clientele.⁹³

Feng, Emily, and Scott Neuman. "Hong Kong's pro-Democracy Lawmakers Quit Legislature over Ouster of Colleagues." NPR. NPR, November 11, 2020.

⁹¹ Stevenson, Alexandra. "After Pandemic Barriers, Can Hong Kong Recover as a Global Metropolis?" The New York Times. The New York Times, September 28, 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/business/hong-kong-covid-international-city.html>.

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Ibid

This begs the question what will happen to the city of Hong Kong as it becomes further integrated into China. While it is suspected the city will not lose complete access to globalized culture or be under as strict censorship as mainland China, the impact of losing any amount of globalized culture in the city will be felt by each person living within the city as Hong Kongers have been free to consume any source of globalized culture. As a result, it could be very possible that the people of Hong Kong could start to protect the globalized culture in the city more and more fiercely as the CCP tightens its grip on the city. With examples being the recent protests and mass government resignations. The fight to protect globalized culture also has a mirror in mainland China with the younger population gaining more and more knowledge and access to globalized culture via social media. Many have already started to protest for open internet and television access. While currently, the CCP can suppress most of the access to globalized culture on the main Chinese internet, many people within China use a virtual private network (VPN) to access the greater web or smuggle banned goods into the nation, showing that the CCP's power is still limited. But this begs the question what will the CCP do when it can no longer combat globalism within China or the globalism within Hong Kong?

Chapter V:

Conclusions and Observations

In the modern world, globalization is something each person cannot ignore. Its influence is in everything one does, from the shoes one wears, the media one consumes, the job one works at, and the religion one follows. Both Hong Kong and China are filled to the brim with globalization's influences. While both Hong Kong and China have had globalization forced on them by the outside world, the ways they have responded to it are very different from each other. Hong Kong is such a small population when introduced to globalization had close to no choice but to accept its influences and embrace it. Slowly becoming a city filled to the brim with different religions, ethnic groups, multinational corporations, and foreign goods. Its people were forced to move away from the traditional Imperial Chinese way of governance and thrown into a government system of a colony that forced openness and capitalism onto its population. China on the other hand had a large history of isolation and a large population steeped in this isolationist tradition. So, when globalism started to enter China the government and its population were very hesitant to accept it. This reluctance to globalization eventually ended up creating wars with foreign nations who attempted to force it on China. This further caused reluctance to accept globalization within China, producing various rebellions against the growing globalized and Western influence within the nation.

However, some ideas of globalization did still make their way into the nation with some of the population pushing for a move away from the traditional imperial system, into a more republican system or for a communist government. When the CCP did take power their stance towards globalization was just as isolationist if not more towards globalization. While the CCP

has opened to globalization in the past forty years, becoming a world power in manufacturing, global politics, and finance, this history of halting the spread of globalization continues with the CCP seeming to only allow the parts of globalization they want into the nation. This begs the question how long can the CCP hold back globalization's full effects especially when they try and limit globalization in a city built on it, Hong Kong?

As explained in previous chapters, China's aversion to interaction with the outside world is not new dating back thousands of years to the imperial governments and the tributary systems of old.⁹⁴ Seeing itself as the center of the world, the Chinese government did not see many reasons to go out and explore the world unless they were in danger, as seen with the Song Dynasty who launched trade fleets during a Mongolian invasion. As a result, the culture of China and the products they consumed were much more inward-focused, and as a result, the nation further fell into isolationism that carried into the modern day with the Chinese government and population still weary of consuming goods from foreign sources.⁹⁵

However, this does not mean that many Chinese citizens are unwilling to consume outside products, especially when it comes to media. The CCP has pushed for the creation of Chinese replacements for many forms of global online media and products such as Bli-Bli instead of YouTube or Huawei, OnePlus, and Xiaomi branded smartphones. Despite this aversion, globalized culture has still appeared within Chinese media and technology. With the Western operation system Android running on a large majority of phones within China, the prevalence and following of K Pop, and the prevalence of global video games within China. In

⁹⁴ Chan, Kenneth S. "foreign Trade, Commercial Policies and the Political Economy of the Song and Ming Dynasties of China." *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

⁹⁵ Wang, Yuhua. "Beyond Local Protectionism: China's State-Business Relations in the Last Two Decades." *The China Quarterly* (London) 226, (2016): 319-341.

the past few decades, even the CCP has even made concessions by allowing free economic zones within some cities and has been loosening its censorship on media. As time goes on and the nation becomes involved in the global market, it seems that China's economy and culture are destined to become more and more globalized, no matter how much the government objects, and attempts to control its spread.

Does this slow shift to open globalization mean the city of Hong Kong has nothing to worry about, as at some point in time things could return to normal? The answer is no. As seen in the 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests, the CCP is still willing to squash any political dissent towards itself. As China modernizes itself further, the heads of the CCP find themselves battling for influence in China against both global and national corporations and the rising demands for more local representation and power in China.⁹⁶ In order to display its supremacy, the CCP uses Hong Kong as a demonstration of its power, by directly interfering with its globalized culture, globalized politics, and globalized economy. By suppressing the influence of globalization within Hong Kong, the CCP shows its mainland population what happens if they rebel against them but also sends a message to the wider world that they will not bow to the current globalized culture present within most of the world.

In conclusion, the conflict between Hong Kong and China is one centered around globalization. The ideas of globalization substantially affect the societies of each nation, but as one sees from this thesis, the ways each nation interacts with globalization are drastically different, with China attempting to control globalization, and the city of Hong Kong using globalization as a building block of its entire society. As the world and its population continue to

⁹⁶ Fan, Li. "Don't Give up on Chinese Democracy." *Foreign Policy*, July 8, 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/08/chinese-democracy-civil-society-coronavirus/>.

become more and more connected via globalization, one can only wonder how long until the people of Hong Kong and the CCP once more resume a large-scale cultural conflict like in 2019.

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Evan Beckius

Emb6028@psu.edu

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts in History - Penn State University

Expected Spring 2023

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Effects of globalization on different cultures and the conflicts that can arise from them

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Schreyer Honors Thesis in History

- Gathered a variety of sources to compile a thesis about globalization effects on Hong Kong and China

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Software Development Intern

May - August 2020 & 2021

PyraMED Health Systems, Berwyn PA

- Developed web portal for case tracking, client management, and customer communication
- Utilized C#, ASP.Net Core, Blazor, Oracle, Html, and CSS
- Mapped data from Oracle SQL database to Microsoft Entity Framework

TECHNICAL SKILLS

- Programming languages: C#, Java script, CSS

