



# Narrative of governing emigration: a case study in Hong Kong

Ka Wang Kelvin Lam, Eric Fong & Xinxin Wang

To cite this article: Ka Wang Kelvin Lam, Eric Fong & Xinxin Wang (04 Sep 2025): Narrative of governing emigration: a case study in Hong Kong, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544087

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544087>



Published online: 04 Sep 2025.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



# Narrative of governing emigration: a case study in Hong Kong

Ka Wang Kelvin Lam <sup>a</sup>, Eric Fong <sup>b</sup> and Xinxin Wang<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Department of Social Work and Social Administration, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong; <sup>b</sup>Research Hub of Population Studies and Department of Sociology, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong;

<sup>c</sup>Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

## ABSTRACT

Understanding media narratives helps us better understand how diverse actors in society attempt to shape public opinion. The reports of government officials' announcements and discussions, as well as articles published by political figures and opinion influencers in major newspapers, provide an important complement to policy narratives about an event. Our study examines the media narrative surrounding the recent emigration wave in Hong Kong following the large-scale social unrest in 2019. We utilised the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a generative statistical model, which provides an efficient and effective method for the analysis of large-scale textual data. Analysing reports and articles from five major Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong, published between January 2020 and December 2022, we identified five major themes. These themes shed light on the strategies used to interpret the emigration phenomenon.

## KEYWORDS

Media narratives; emigration; Hong Kong; Latent Dirichlet Allocation

## Introduction

Mass media play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing policy decisions through various narratives presented to the public (Pan, Shao, and Xu 2022). These narratives, crafted by political figures, opinion influencers and aligned newspapers, can either support or conflict with government perspectives (Duan and Miller 2021). This dynamic interaction can impact public understanding and governance outcomes, with governments sometimes using narratives to manage public perception and respond to crises swiftly (Widmaier, Blyth, and Seabrooke 2007). Ultimately, the alignment of media narratives with government views can lead to control over public discourse (Hasselbalch 2019).

Within a spectrum of societal events, migration is one subject that often is featured in media narratives (Bauder 2008). Analysing these narratives provides insight into the ways that public attitudes toward migration are formed. When migration is featured in media narratives, the focus often is on the perceptions or sentiments of local residents towards new arrivals, particularly during large waves of immigration (Blinder and Jeannet 2018; Verkuyten 2021). However, it may not be widely recognised that these views can also be shaped by narratives from governments, along with those newspapers aligned the view

with the government (Pan, Shao, and Xu 2021). Without a comprehensive understanding of the narratives that shape these views, we cannot grasp the full picture of how local residents develop perceptions and sentiments about immigration issues.

In this paper, we focus our analysis on media narratives surrounding emigration from Hong Kong between 2019 and 2021. The prevailing public discourse suggests that the recent wave of emigration is related to the large-scale social movement of 2019 and the perceived societal changes that followed. This discourse further suggests that the people who emigrated were dissatisfied with the government of Hong Kong and held a pessimistic view of the future of Hong Kong (Lui, Sun, and Hsiao 2022). Not only may such a view be unfavourable to the government, but an emigration wave could evolve into a crisis of governance (Tessema 2010; Wong 1992). Given the situation in Hong Kong, we expect that the government, along with those newspapers aligned with the government's view, have attempted to shape the public view of the emigration situation in Hong Kong. Their views may be reflected in media narratives.

Against this backdrop and following Triandafyllidou's (2025) approach to narratives discussed in the Introduction to this Special Issue, we propose to address two questions. First, what are the major themes in the narratives from the government, pro-government political figures, and pro-government opinion influencers shaping the public's understanding and interpretation of the emigration wave? The analysis allows us to understand the strategy taken by the government to shape the interpretation of a social event that local residents may not view favourably. Second, how do these narratives substantiate the views they advocate? The answer will help us understand the government's perspective on the development of the emigration wave. Their media narratives will be critically important to exploring public sentiment about the issue.

In short, through addressing these questions, our study provides empirical evidence that shows how policy actors attempt to shape public perceptions of migration issues through their framing of events in media narratives. Although our study focuses on emigration, the findings also may be relevant to situations involving large waves of immigration or other social and political issues.

Drawing from our analysis of newspaper articles in Hong Kong, we have identified six major themes. Two of them minimise the significance of the emigration wave, while the others emphasise that the emigration wave is under control, highlight the negative experiences of emigrants and the positive impact of emigration to the Hong Kong society, and assert that Hong Kong is a land of opportunity. The fact that many people left Hong Kong suggests more opportunities for those who stayed. These themes in media narratives frame the current emigration wave with an alternative focus. The intention is to downplay the negative consequences of the emigration wave for Hong Kong, and to emphasise that emigration may not be the best option for individuals.

## **Emigration from Hong Kong after the social movement of 2019**

Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of China that operates under the principle of 'one country, two systems'. This principle, implemented after the end of British rule in 1997, gives the city a high degree of autonomy, including its legal and economic systems. However, the city's unique political status has been a source of instability. Since the hand-over, concerns over China's increasing influence have triggered a series of protests, with

the social movement of 2019 being one of the largest and most prolonged protests in Hong Kong's history. This history serves as the backdrop against which we examine the current emigration wave. The wave of emigration from Hong Kong followed the social movement of 2019 protesting the proposed Extradition Law Amendment Bill, and the passage of the National Security Law in mid-2020. In February 2019, the government proposed a contentious Extradition Law Amendment Bill in response to a murder case in Taipei involving two visitors from Hong Kong. According to the government, the purpose of the proposed law would be to close the gap in the city's extradition system by enabling the transfer of criminal suspects from Hong Kong to other jurisdictions, including mainland China. The proposal was met with widespread concern among the public. The business and legal sectors expressed concern that the proposed changes could negatively impact the city's international reputation, given that China's legal system often is perceived as lacking independence from the government. Pro-democrat lawmakers worried that the bill would be used as a means to suppress political dissenters by sending them to mainland China for trial. Many Hong Kong residents echoed these concerns (Purbrick 2019).

As the government insisted on proceeding with the legislation despite widespread public concerns, the controversy sparked some of the largest and most prolonged protests in Hong Kong's history, with about one quarter (2 million) of the city's population participating. The society was highly polarised by political ideology during this period. The social movement eventually subsided in 2020 due to the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic and the passage of the National Security Law in the middle of the year which aimed to deter interference from hostile forces (Lau 2021).

Although the social movement subsided, its aftermath persisted. The enactment of the National Security Law was felt in many aspects of society. Some people felt they could no longer express their views, and political figures with opposing views were arrested. With these developments, some Hong Kong residents formed a pessimistic view of the city's future. They are particularly dissatisfied with the city's political arrangements (Lui, Sun, and Hsiao 2022).

Simultaneously, as the situation in Hong Kong received increasing global attention, Western countries responded by introducing new immigration schemes or relaxing immigration requirements for Hong Kong residents. For instance, the British government introduced the new British National (Overseas) visa, allowing Hong Kong residents who were British Overseas Territories citizens to live, work and study in the United Kingdom (Government of the United Kingdom 2020). They could apply for permanent residence after residing there for 5 years. A large number of Hong Kong residents have benefited from this scheme. Australia and Canada also offered similar pathways for Hong Kong residents who were recent graduates of their universities to work and settle in their countries (Australian Government 2021; Government of Canada 2021).

It is against this backdrop that an increasing number of residents have emigrated or considered emigrating from Hong Kong in search of better opportunities elsewhere. According to data from the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong, the population of Hong Kong decreased from 7.5 million in 2019 to 7.33 million in 2022 (Census and Statistics Department, 2020, 2023). These are significant numbers, given that Hong Kong is a city with a population of about 7 million. The recent Policy Address of the Hong Kong government also showed a decrease in the local workforce by about

140,000 over the past 2 years (Hong Kong SAR Government 2022), adding pressure to some industries already experiencing labour shortages. A total of 105,200 Hong Kong residents have arrived in the United Kingdom using the new British National (Overseas) visa scheme (Home Office of the United Kingdom 2023). A random sample survey of BNO visa holders indicates that many of them are highly skilled, educated and of working age (Home Office of the United Kingdom 2022). Canada also has approved about 17,560 applications for the new open work permit targeting recent university graduates from Hong Kong (Government of Canada 2022). Given the situation, we are interested in examining the ways that the government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers frame the emigration wave and how they substantiate the views they advocate.

### Framing of events as crisis management

We draw from political science literature to identify the processes through which government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers frame events to shape public perceptions. This body of literature indicates that governments often engage in the framing of events, particularly when facing emerging crises, or when public discourse is unfavourable to the current government (Adugna 2025; Bisong 2025; Widmaier, Blyth, and Seabrooke 2007). Such persuasive practices also are referred to as strategic social construction (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998) or colloquially as spin-doctoring (Quinn 2012). Regardless of the terminology used, the aim remains to shape the public's understanding and interpretation in a way favourable to the government of the day (Hasselbalch 2019).

Framing of events cannot be detached from objective reality. There need to be 'real things' happening that can be framed (Hasselbalch 2019; Ho 2025). When a fundamentally ambiguous situation arises, the government first defines the situation, particularly to determine whether it is a crisis. Some scholars suggest that the government's definition and response to a situation are contingent on the public's reaction. They suggest that the speed with which events gain attention (tempo) and the perceived importance and sentiment they are given by the public (intensity) are significant determinants of the government's response (Seabrooke and Tsingou 2019). However, other scholars argue that the public's reaction to a situation is a result of framing (Hasselbalch 2019; Olakpe 2025): How a government frames an event influences the public's perception of it. Regardless of the direction of influence, central to this body of literature is the understanding that the perception of crises matters. The public's perceptions and their subjective experiences can be changed through framing of events, even though the objective impact of the events on society may remain unchanged (Hasselbalch 2019). Thus the government framing of events can be seen as a form of crisis management.

It is important to note that, in a pluralist society, there are voices beyond the governmental view. Other actors, including different political figures and opinion influencers, may perceive societal events differently. They too may engage in shaping public understanding and interpretation of events as they disseminate their views. Sometimes their narratives highly aligned with the government's efforts, but at times they may conflict with them (Duan and Miller 2021). In a society where some newspapers aligned with the government's views, the government and these newspapers together shape narratives

can be perceived as a way to maintain or regain control over the public's perception of events. Such efforts can play an important role in governance, particularly when an event has the potential to evolve into a crisis, or when public discourse is unfavourable to the government's actions (Widmaier, Blyth, and Seabrooke 2007). In these situations, a swift response from the government to rebut existing narratives and offer alternative interpretations can counteract negative perceptions and prevent existing narratives from gaining more support or causing further damage (Quinn 2012). The government may define the situation in a way that best serves its interests (Best 2008), whether by 'problematising' or 'de-problematising' it.

For example, when there are large waves of immigration that the government considers unfavourable, it may frame the situation as problematic, highlighting the negative consequences for society and residents, e.g. predictions of added pressure on already limited resources, heightened community tensions, and worsening security conditions (Pattison 2022). On the other hand, if the government considers increased immigration to be in its best interest, it can gain public support by framing the situation as a desirable achievement of the regime. A successful framing facilitates a new understanding of the event among the public. As governments frame events in ways that are favourable to their governance, they open up more possibilities for policy innovation (Boampong and Mouthaan 2025; Hasselbalch 2019). Overall, studying these narratives enables us to better understand how government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers attempt to shape public perceptions through their framing of events.

In Hong Kong, where public discourse tends to associate the current wave of emigration with the social movement of 2019 and the perceived societal changes that followed, people have become increasingly reluctant to voice dissent. Therefore, we expect the reports of government officials' announcements and discussions with the views presented by pro-government politicians and pro-government opinion influencers in the media as reflecting the view of the government will continue to reinforce their views on the emigration wave through media narratives, but will frame it in a way that supports or favours the current government's policies and actions. Drawing from the literature, we expect that the government and its allies may rebut the public discourse to prevent the negative narratives from gaining more support or causing further damage. Their alternative narrative may then focus on (1) denying that there is an emigration wave, (2) offering a different explanation to 'de-problemise' the emigration wave, (3) denying the negative consequences of the emigration wave or (4) framing the emigration wave as beneficial to Hong Kong and its residents. Each of these possible narratives can be seen as a measure to maintain or regain control over the situation through changing public perception of the current emigration wave.

## Data and methods

### Data

We analysed newspaper articles to understand how the reports of government officials' announcements and discussions, along with articles published by political figures and opinion influencers in those newspapers aligned with the view of the government in Hong Kong frame the current emigration wave there. We focused on newspaper articles

because they encapsulate diverse viewpoints (Duan and Miller 2021). The government often uses newspapers to disseminate information, including its views on societal events. While information from the government may be communicated through official reports and statements, many news stories are built around quotes from government sources. Pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers may use newspapers to share their views on societal events through press conferences, interviews, letters to editors or their newspaper columns. Their views can be seen as representing public intellectuals and may be able to shape public opinion (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei 2013).

Despite an overall decline in newspaper readership, DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei (2013) contended that newspapers remain a prevalent source of news. Many newspaper articles are cited or disseminated among the public. Even if some people do not follow the news regularly, repeated exposure to the narratives of an event in day-to-day scenarios can shape their perceptions of it. For instance, individuals who are more exposed to information about the positive aspects of emigration may gradually develop a favourable view and may not perceive an emigration wave as problematic. Repeated exposure to narratives in newspaper coverage may encourage members of the public to connect them to the broader societal context. For instance, they may associate the emigration wave with discussions about its potential effects on the labour market and housing demand. As individuals read newspaper articles about an event, they construct an understanding of the event, which can be further reinforced through daily conversations on the topic. Even if the readers are not so passive in receiving information, Budd, Entman, and Steinman (1990) suggested that readers use the media message to empower themselves. In other words, the information received still shapes their newly formed view. As DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei (2013, 574) summarised, ‘press coverage both reflects and represents one stream of influence in the formation of elite and public opinion’. In our context, press coverage reflects and represents the influence that the government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers exert on issues surrounding emigration.

There were about 61 Chinese-language daily newspapers in 2023. Among them, about 43 cover local and overseas news, while the rest are subject specific (e.g. finance news) (Hong Kong SAR Government 2024). The government also has the information services department that provides information to the public. Their released information usually will be covered by the local media. Our analysis focuses on articles published by five mainstream Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong, including Apple Daily (which ceased publication after 24 June 2021), Oriental Daily News, Ming Pao, Sing Tao Daily News and HK01. We focus on Chinese-language newspapers because Chinese is the primary language in Hong Kong. These newspapers cater to a broad audience. The five newspapers were selected because of their significant readership, indicating that they have considerable reach and influence in society. We selected Apple Daily, Oriental Daily News, Ming Pao and Sing Tao Daily News because they have some of the highest overall readership among paid newspapers. According to a report in 2019, printed newspaper occupied about 72% of the news media market with 28.5% the web version (Adintime Hong Kong 2025). The included four paid newspapers in the analysis occupied about 60% of the news media market share, and the HK01 has the highest readership among online newspapers (So 2020). We excluded free newspapers from our



analysis, since a significant proportion of their content consists of advertisements. Among the five selected newspapers, Apple Daily is generally considered to be a mass-oriented newspaper with an anti-China stance. However, it stopped publication in the middle of the period of our study, so the number of articles included in our analysis are very limited. However, including a small number of articles from this newspaper can provide context for the government's opposition arguments. The other four newspapers generally are considered to be aligned with either pro-China or pro-government stances. Articles published by these newspapers largely reflect the major narratives of the government or pro-government opinion leaders, which shape the opinions of a substantial portion of the population.

Our analysis covers newspaper articles published between January 2020 and December 2022, spanning a total of three years. This period was chosen because it follows the subsiding of the 2019 social movement. People often begin to reflect on important life events, such as migration, when society stabilises. To identify relevant newspaper articles, we used the online WiseNews platform to search for articles containing one or both of two sets of keywords in either their titles or content: 'emigration wave (移民潮)', or both 'Hong Kong (香港)' and 'migration (移民)'. This process yielded a final sample of 12,120 newspaper articles. We then conducted a screening to ensure that the selected news articles were relevant to the current emigration wave in Hong Kongs, resulting in a final sample of 1561 newspaper articles most relevant to our topic. Of these, 454 articles are published in 2020, 663 in 2021 and 444 in 2022.

## Methods

For our analysis, we used Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (Blei, Ng, and Jordan 2003), a generative statistical model. Using LDA enables us to analyse large-scale textual data by examining the data objectively with statistical validation by reducing the complexity and bringing out major themes. The function of LDA in machine learning is to discover topics and classify documents according to the extent to which they are relevant to the discovered topics.

As an unsupervised machine learning technique, LDA represents a key advancement in text analysis using computational methods. The overall workflow begins with data pre-processing, where each newspaper article is treated as a document and serves as the unit of analysis. This ensures that the content retains meaningful information at the word level. Second, we use a data-driven method to determine the optimal number of topics for categorising the documents, with each topic represented by a list of relevant words extracted from the text. Once the number of topics is established, the program analyses the words within each topic and assign a dominant topic to each document by identifying the topic with the highest probability score. This process allows us to determine the primary theme of each newspaper article in the dataset.

We began by processing data in PDF format, retaining only the Chinese characters and saving them in TXT format. In English-language LDA projects, each word in a sentence is separated by a space, but due to the unique structure of the Chinese language, we had to segment Chinese words using Chinese word segmentation toolkits. Specifically, we used the 'jieba' package for sentence segmentation. We also needed to filter out stopwords, i.e. words that do not carry much semantic meaning. We imported a stopword list



from the ‘stopwordsiso’ library. The ‘jieba’ function was configured to retain only nouns, verbs and adverbs, thereby eliminating meaningless parts of speech.

We then created a dictionary of all the words remaining. The LDA process constructs a ‘bag of words’ that includes all words found in the cleaned documents, with each unique word assigned a unique identification number. We removed the words [‘香港’, ‘移民’, ‘港人’, ‘潮’] from the dictionary, as these were the keywords used to select the articles.

For each document, LDA creates a term frequency matrix, which records the number of occurrences of each word in the text (i.e. the bag-of-words vectorisation). We created a term frequency dictionary for each document.

We ran the LDA model using Gensim, an open-source library for unsupervised topic modelling and natural language processing using statistical machine learning. We tuned only the number of topics and kept the other parameters, such as chunksize, alpha, eta and passes, at their default Gensim values.

To evaluate the model, we used a coherence score with ‘u\_mass’. We suggest that the optimal number of topics is 6. The concept of topic coherence assesses how well the underlying text data supports a topic, particularly examining the co-occurrence frequency of words belonging to the same topic within the text corpus. Gensim supports four types of coherence scores: ‘u\_mass’, ‘c\_v’, ‘c\_uci’ and ‘c\_npmi’. Due to some known issues with ‘c\_v’, we adopted ‘u\_mass’, which is the second most popular index. The key principle of ‘u\_mass’ is that the likelihood of a top word appearing should be higher if a document already contains a higher-order top word from the same topic (Mimno et al. 2011). A higher coherence score often suggests a better model. We conducted LDA models with the number of topics varying from 3 to 14 and determined that the optimal number of topics is 6, yielding the highest coherence score of -1.14. For each model, a u\_mass coherence score is calculated by averaging coherence scores of all topics (Mimno et al. 2011, 270). The formula for one topic’s coherence score is as follows (Mimno et al. 2011, 265):

$$C(t; V^{(t)}) = \sum_{m=2}^M \sum_{l=1}^{m-1} \log \left( \frac{D(v_m^{(t)}, v_l^{(t)}) + 1}{D(v_l^{(t)})} \right)$$

where  $D(v_m^{(t)}, v_l^{(t)})$  refers to the co-document frequency of a pair of words ( $v_m, v_l$ ),  $D(v_l^{(t)})$  refers to the document frequency of a single word, ( $v_l$ ) refers to the most probable words in topic.

After determining that the optimal number of topics is 6, we trained a new LDA model to extract these 6 topics from a dataset of 1561 newspaper articles. Since each document can encompass multiple topics, we obtained a vector of six probability scores for each article, indicating the likelihood of the document belonging to each topic. To calculate these probabilities, we utilised the get document topics() function from Gensim, enabling us to extract the topic mix for each article. Subsequently, we identified the primary theme of each article by selecting the topic with the highest probability score. This approach facilitated the determination of the dominant theme and the primary focus of each article. Specifically, the get document topics() function applies variational inference updates detailed in Hoffman, Bach, and Blei (2010) to approximate the posterior topic distribution, calculating topic probabilities through a combination of the Dirichlet prior and word-topic responsibilities weighted by word frequencies.

**Table 1.** Article distribution across dominant themes and publication years.

	Total number of articles	Articles published in 2020	Articles published in 2021	Articles published in 2022	Articles with dominant theme >50% contribution
Theme 1	143	47	55	41	131
Theme 2	234	82	104	48	226
Theme 3	267	53	115	99	257
Theme 4	495	163	191	141	473
Theme 5	188	43	86	59	172
Theme 6	234	66	112	56	218
Total number of articles	1561	454	663	444	1477

The six identified topics encompass specific recurring themes within the articles. Our analysis unveiled an uneven distribution of these themes across the articles. Notably, as depicted in Table 1, 94.6% of the articles exhibited one dominant theme contributing more than 50%. This observation suggests that most articles strongly emphasise a single theme, leaving little room for significant secondary or coexisting themes.

## Results

From our analysis of the media narratives, we identified six major themes, described below:

### *Themes 1 and 2: minimising the significance of the emigration wave (for two different reasons)*

The first two themes in the media narratives both aim to minimise the significance of the emigration wave, but for different reasons. The first set of articles suggests that the loss of population is a natural phenomenon, whereas the second set suggests that it is a temporary phenomenon, attributable to the policies associated with infection control during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This group of articles includes the interpretation given by government officials and political figures of the emigration wave. One article quoted the Hong Kong government's view that an emigration wave does not exist. The term 'net migration' includes Hong Kong residents leaving Hong Kong for different reasons. Net migration encompasses Hong Kong residents entering and leaving the city for various purposes such as work and study, which is conceptually different from emigration. Furthermore, as an international city, Hong Kong has always experienced high population mobility (Ming Pao 2021a). Thus the population outflow is a natural phenomenon. The public should not overinterpret a natural phenomenon. It is clear that terms are being used to downplay the significance of people leaving Hong Kong.

Opinion influencers, such as newspaper columnists, also joined in providing 'evidence' to minimise the perceived effect of the emigration wave. When an accident occurred during a concert in July 2022, community members voiced the opinion that it was due to the lack of skilled workers. Columnists rejected the argument that the accident was the consequence of a large number of skilled workers leaving Hong Kong, stating that such interpretation was incorrect. The columnist claimed that, although

there is an emigration wave in Hong Kong, there is no evidence to suggest that the accident involved workers filling vacancies left by emigrants (Oriental Daily News 2022a). In fact, this particular discussion reflects the public perception that many skilled and experienced workers have left the city. The quality of professional services in Hong Kong in turn may have declined. The columnists' repudiation of the argument about the cause of the accident served as a means to challenge the view shared by many residents regarding the consequences of the emigration wave.

As the discussion of emigration in Hong Kong was based largely on surveys conducted by different agencies or university research centres, one article published in Sing Tao Daily in March 2022 commented that survey results indicating that a high percentage of residents in Hong Kong intended to emigrate may be biased because of the wording of the questions, and therefore the survey results should not be taken too seriously (Poon 2022). Similarly, the former Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Mr Leung Chun-ying, also suggested that some of the so-called 'emigrants' should not be classified as 'emigration' but rather as 'relocation'. This is because the majority have not relinquished their Hong Kong passports, indicating that they do not wish to sever ties with Hong Kong (Sing Tao Daily 2022a). These reports targeted the source of concern directly. By discrediting the source, it made way for an alternative view.

Other reports also offered an alternative explanation that the majority of emigrants left Hong Kong because they preferred to stay in mainland China, which had better COVID-19 policies (Oriental Daily News 2020d). This explanation implies that those individuals will return when COVID-19 is no longer of concern. Similar explanations include expatriates leaving Hong Kong because of the strict COVID-19 policies locally. This argument also implies that those emigrants will return once the restrictions are lifted.

In short, the government clearly downplayed the seriousness and extent of the population decline. Different reasons were provided to explain the decline, from natural decrease to the strict COVID-19 policies. At the same time, columnists tried to suggest that social issues that occurred during the period were not related to emigration, survey results were discredited.

### ***Theme 3: highlighting the negative experiences of emigrants***

The third theme in media narratives highlights the negative experiences of individuals who have emigrated, or the potential negative consequences for those intending to emigrate. Throughout the pandemic, articles reported that many Hong Kong emigrants were considering or had already decided to return to Hong Kong amidst safety concerns. As the UK is one of the population destination, some articles expressed the worry of the inadequate pandemic control and led to surge in infection cases or the economic crisis in the UK (e.g. Oriental Daily News 2021a). Compounded by the rise of anti-Chinese sentiment, these emigrants faced discrimination and grew increasingly concerned for their personal safety, leading many to believe that they would be safer returning to Hong Kong (Tong 2020).

Media narratives continued to highlight the difficulties and challenges faced by emigrants after the pandemic. One article, written by a columnist, shared their experience of an old friend planning to emigrate to Malaysia with their family. The author struggled to understand their friend's decision, suggesting that Malaysia's development is not as

advanced as Hong Kong's (Oriental Daily News 2020a). The author pointed out that while Hong Kong is an international financial centre, Malaysia faces issues of low-skilled labour, low productivity, and low added value. The author expressed concern that their friend may struggle to find employment in Malaysia. Furthermore, their friends noted that conflicts between Chinese and other ethnic groups are common in Malaysia, which can easily escalate into anti-Chinese sentiment. Although their friend and many Hong Kong emigrants may not want to identify themselves as Chinese, they are still regarded as Chinese by the residents at their new destination. The author anticipated that their friend may not enjoy their time in Malaysia as much as they did in Hong Kong.

Another article suggested that Hong Kong emigrants, including those who are highly qualified, often find themselves becoming 'second-class citizens' at their new destination (Oriental Daily News 2021c). The article cited an ancient Chinese saying that 'People away from home are degraded'. They often have to take up lower-tier positions in the overseas labour market and, regardless, were not considered 'natives' by other residents. Sometimes, they are even viewed as 'refugees'. The author questioned why Hong Kong emigrants would prefer to be 'second-class citizens' rather than be recognised as genuine 'Chinese' in Hong Kong. Echoing this view, another article documented the experience of a Hong Kong resident who migrated to the US in earlier years and then returned to Hong Kong. They advised Hong Kong residents that maintaining a living standard comparable to that of Hong Kong is unlikely. The author claimed that 'There is no perfect society in the world. People who have never lived in a colony or abroad always have a fantasy: the grass is greener on the other side. Perhaps these people need to experience living abroad first hand to understand that there may not be a better place than Hong Kong' (Tong 2020). One author even suggested that those who emigrated find it difficult to secure a comparable job in Hong Kong (Tong 2021). These narratives focus on the negative experiences of Hong Kong emigrants or the potential negative consequences for those intending to emigrate. They describe the misfortunes that may befall them at their new destination and the loss of the positive aspects they enjoyed in their homeland.

#### ***Theme 4: emphasising that the emigration wave is under control***

A major concern about the emigration wave is the negative consequences for the society of Hong Kong. The fourth theme addresses these concerns. Housing is the most critical concern in Hong Kong. Property is the major investment for almost every resident because of the high cost of housing. Although people emigrated with their family, housing values did not drop, partly because of the government policy to maintain price stability. As well, most Hong Kong residents want to invest in things that have reliable return, such as property. One article stated that most emigrants choose not to sell their properties in Hong Kong, recognising their value (Chan 2020). They retain the option to reside in them should they one day return. Even if they do not personally use the properties, they can be rented out to generate additional income. Thus the housing market in Hong Kong remains stable.

The labour market is another aspect of society that can be deeply affected by the emigration wave. However, some articles reported that the labour market had not been

affected, largely due to policies introduced recently by the Hong Kong government. The Top Talent Pass Scheme aims to recruit highly skilled and educated migrants to replace those who have left Hong Kong. Individuals with annual income over HK\$ 2.5 million or who have graduated from the world's top 100 universities and who have at least 3 years of work experience will immediately be granted a stay of 24 months in Hong Kong without any conditions. Chief Executive, John Lee, suggested to recruit at least 35,000 individuals around the world. The government claimed that many individuals applied for the Pass and were approved. At the same time, the government strongly promoted the development of high-tech industries with the goal of creating high-quality jobs to attract highly skilled and educated migrants (Sing Tao Daily 2022b).

As many teachers, social workers and medical caregivers left Hong Kong, schools for children with special needs developed staffing shortages. If positions could not be filled, the Department of Education kept the positions frozen rather than closing them and returning the funding to the government. At the same time, the government addressed the current teacher shortage by issuing certificates to a large number of non-certified teachers to replace the certified teachers who left Hong Kong (Oriental Daily News 2022c). This flexibility of regulations initiated by the government helped to maintain a steady number of teachers in schools. In the medical sector, the Hospital Authority has announced plans to recruit Mainland doctors who previously came to Hong Kong to assist during the fifth wave of the COVID-19 pandemic to address shortages of local doctors (Ming Pao 2022).

The number of applicants to universities may decrease because of emigration. However, the government has neither reduced the funding nor the admission quotas for these institutions. Thus, opportunities have expanded for those students who may not have previously succeeded in the competitive admission process, ensuring that enrolment figures remain stable (Oriental Daily News 2021b). The same opportunity extends to applicants to prestigious secondary schools. Parents are thrilled to learn that the competition has become less intense, increasing the likelihood of their children gaining admission to their dream schools.

All these articles portray the government as doing a great job to reduce the impact of the emigration wave so that the stability of the housing and labour market is maintained and social institutions function as usual.

### ***Theme 5: highlighting the positive impact of emigration***

Also addressing the public's concerns about the negative consequences of emigration on Hong Kong society, this set of articles not only downplays the significance of the emigration wave but also highlights its positive impact. In particular, the articles address the public's concerns about the issues of 'brain drain' and the loss of capital from foreign investment respectively.

On one hand, the articles suggest that most of the emigrants were active participants or staunch supporters of the 2019 social movement, often labelled as rioters (暴徒) or belonging to the yellow-ribbon (黃絲) faction, which was anti-government during the 2019 social movement (e.g. Oriental Daily News 2020b, 2022b). One article attempts to explain their motives for participating in the 2019 social movement and later emigrating from Hong Kong. It states that many emigrants had long been wanting to move to

Western countries, aspirations dating back to before the handover of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China in 1997 (Oriental Daily News 2020c). However, they were unable to meet the immigration requirements of those countries due to limited financial resources or low social status. After the 2019 social movement, foreign governments introduced special immigration schemes that provided Hong Kong residents with opportunities to emigrate. Now that these individuals have achieved what they desired, the author expresses a hope for a 'peaceful breakup', wishing that the emigrants will not cause further troubles for Hong Kong in the future (Oriental Daily News 2020c). With their departure, it suggests Hong Kong has the chance to return to normality and concentrate on development. Moreover, it presents the situation as an opportunity for the government to attract talent from mainland China and other parts of the world, particularly individuals who are eager to contribute positively to Hong Kong society.

Articles suggest that the departure of many individuals who are members of the yellow-ribbon faction is welcomed. It is expected that members of the yellow-ribbon faction will 'leave as soon as possible' (e.g. Oriental Daily News 2020b). Their departure is perceived as a means to stabilise Hong Kong society. It is also expected that the capital from foreign investment, which decreased during the 2019 social unrest, will return to Hong Kong. The author cites Singapore as an example to support the argument that foreign investors prioritise stability over democracy and political openness. Despite not being a democratic society, Singapore successfully attracts foreign investment.

In short, these narratives frame the emigrants as undesirable, and suggest that their departure will be beneficial for Hong Kong. The expectation is that as they emigrate, Hong Kong will gradually stabilise. Therefore, the Chinese and Hong Kong governments and the individuals who stay will be happy to see an emigration wave.

### ***Theme 6: asserting Hong Kong as a land of opportunities***

Articles on this theme suggest that the government of Hong Kong re-established social stability through the passage of the National Security Law. The articles remind people that they should treasure the current stability as it took a lot of effort to suppress the unrest (Chan 2020). Another report observed that stability had returned, and that because many children had moved elsewhere, many elite schools in Hong Kong were recruiting new students (Oriental Daily News 2022d). They framed it as an unusual opportunity and encouraged parents to prepare documents for their children to apply. Some articles suggested explicitly that, because COVID-19 has resulted in the suffering and death of so many, people should treasure what they have and enjoy being with friends and close relations. Finally, there was a report that Hong Kong still ranked the top free economy in the world. The author of that article commented that such an achievement was not easy, and that the government and business community should be proud.

### **Discussion and conclusion**

Studying media narratives is an effective way to understand how different actors in society intend to shape public views. As social scientists often explore the perceptions and sentiments of local residents about different issues, including immigration or

emigration, it is important to understand any significant force that shapes their views. Our study is based on understanding the media narratives about the emigration wave that has occurred recently in Hong Kong. Using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a generative statistical model, we analysed large-scale textual data, from which we generated major themes. We identified the major themes from five major Chinese newspaper articles on the emigration wave in Hong Kong. They include minimising the significance of the emigration, highlighting the negative experiences of emigrants, emphasising that the situation is under control, highlighting the positive impact of emigration on the society of Hong Kong, and asserting that Hong Kong is a land of opportunity.

We noted the strategies taken by the government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers to interpret the emigration wave in a way that favours the government. First, the narratives establish credibility for their views while discrediting opposing views. To establish credibility to the views they propose, some articles emphasise that their views are evidence-based. They utilise statistics in their narratives to establish credibility. They also manipulate key terms in the discourse to discredit opposite views. For instance, some articles have stated that the emigrants are not ‘emigrating’ but ‘relocating’, all the while retaining the passport of their homeland.

Second, the narratives downplay the negative impact of the emigration wave on the home society. They emphasise that the government has been doing a great job to minimise any negative effects by highlighting the policy measures introduced to address the situation. They also change the criteria of assessment. For instance, the narratives frame the decrease in the number of university applicants as good news, suggesting it creates more opportunities for students who previously did not secure a university place, rather than addressing the issue of ‘brain drain’. They even suggest that the emigration wave has had positive outcomes. To achieve this, the narratives redefine ‘us’ and ‘them’, or ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. They emphasise that those who stay are individuals who genuinely want to contribute to society, whereas those who have emigrated or intend to emigrate are portrayed as troublemakers or as individuals who have long been keen to leave.

Third, the narratives link to daily life and provide personal stories about the negative experiences of emigrants in their new destinations. Readers can easily relate these stories to their daily lives. These narratives emphasise that the decision to emigrate is not rational, as the cost is high and the benefits are limited. Last but not least, the narratives point out the positive aspects of remaining in Hong Kong. With the social unrest quelled and the troublemakers having departed, Hong Kong has resumed normal. The narratives encourage those in Hong Kong to cherish the current stability in the city and maintain that Hong Kong is a land of opportunities. These narratives suggest that emigration should not be considered a guaranteed route to an improved situation since other locations may not offer comparable conditions to those in Hong Kong.

Overall, the findings align with our expectations. The themes identified from media narratives reflect the strategies used by policy actors in an attempt to shape public opinion on emigration. In the context of emigration, these strategies include establishing credibility for the views of policy actors while discrediting opposing ones, minimising the negative impacts of emigration on the home society, appealing to personal experience to justify the cons of emigrating and emphasising the positive aspects of not emigrating. Although our study focuses on emigration, the findings may be relevant to situations involving large waves of immigration or other issues. In the context of immigration,



the government and its allies may use similar strategies to shape public opinion and justify their policies on regulating the flow of immigrants. Likewise, narratives may appeal to personal experience and highlight potential negative consequences on residents because of the influx of immigrants, ranging from increased pressure on already limited public resources (Pattison 2022) to threats to personal security (Harris and Gruenewald 2020). These narratives may also distinguish between desirable (in-group) and undesirable (out-group) migrants to justify the regulation of certain immigrant groups (Huot et al. 2016). Our findings have important implications to suggest that policy actors may use similar strategies to shape public opinion when faced with other issues. Our study presents a framework for analysing such strategies.

In short, the current study, based on machine learning, categorises and analyses how the government, pro-government political figures and pro-government opinion influencers frame emigration through narrative construction. We identified themes that have been used to show that the emigration wave has had minimal impact on Hong Kong, but has brought negative consequences to the people who emigrated. The narratives suggest that the current situation in Hong Kong is 'business as usual' and that people should think twice about emigrating. Such narratives may affect how local residents view the consequences of the recent emigration wave and may help the government avoid possible crisis.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## ORCID

Ka Wang Kelvin Lam  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9091-5153>

Eric Fong  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1147-0182>

## References

- Adintime Hong Kong. 2025, April 8. *The Most Widely-Read Magazine and Newspaper in Hong Kong*. <https://adintime.hk/en/blog/the-most-widely-read-magazine-and-newspaper-in-hong-kong-n96>.
- Adugna, G. 2025. "Whose Story? Unpacking Migration Narratives in the East and Horn of Africa." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544081>.
- Australian Government. 2021, November 1. *New Permanent Residence Visa Streams for Hong Kong*. <https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/AlexHawke/Pages/new-permanent-residence-visa-streams-hong-kong.aspx>.
- Bauder, H. 2008. "Media Discourse and the New German Immigration Law." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 (1): 95–112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701708783>.
- Best, J. 2008. "Ambiguity, Uncertainty, and Risk: Rethinking Indeterminacy." *International Political Sociology* 2 (4): 355–374. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00056.x>.
- Bisong, A. 2025. "Analysing Narratives of Free Movement of Persons in West Africa." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544080>.
- Blei, D. M., A. Y. Ng, and M. I. Jordan. 2003. "Latent Dirichlet Allocation." *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3:993–1022.
- Blinder, S., and A.-M. Jeannet. 2018. "The 'Illegal' and the Skilled: Effects of Media Portrayals on Perceptions of Immigrants in Britain." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (9): 1444–1462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1412253>.

- Boampong, M., and M. Mouthaan. 2025. "Confronting Mainstream Migration Narratives in Ghana: Everyday Youth Aspirations as Part of a Decentring Agenda." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544090>.
- Budd, B., R. Entman, and C. Steinman. 1990. "The Affirmative Character of American Cultural Studies." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (2): 169–184.
- Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong. 2020, February 18. *Year-End Population for 2019*. <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202002/18/P2020021800331.htm>.
- Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong. 2023, February 16. *Year-End Population for 2022*. <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202302/16/P2023021600304.htm>.
- Chan, W. K. 2020, January 13. *Hong Kong Residents try Not to Sell Property When Emigrating*. Ming Pao. <https://finance.mingpao.com/fin/daily/20200113/1578856367723>.
- Chan, W. K. 2020, June 13. *Only When You Have Nowhere Else to go Do You Truly Appreciate*. Oriental Daily News. [https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20200613/bkn-20200613000433361-0613\\_00832\\_001.html](https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20200613/bkn-20200613000433361-0613_00832_001.html).
- DiMaggio, P., M. Nag, and D. Blei. 2013. "Exploiting Affinities between Topic Modeling and the Sociological Perspective on Culture: Application to Newspaper Coverage of U.S. Government Arts Funding." *Poetics* 41 (6): 570–606. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.08.004>.
- Duan, R., and S. Miller. 2021. "Climate Change in China: A Study of News Diversity in Party-Sponsored and Market-Oriented Newspapers." *Journalism* 22 (10): 2493–2510. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919873173>.
- Finnemore, M., and K. Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52 (4): 887–917. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081898550789>.
- Government of Canada. 2021, June 8. *Minister Mendicino Announces Opening of 2 New Pathways to Permanent Residence for Hong Kong Residents*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2021/06/minister-mendicino-announces-opening-of-2-new-pathways-to-permanent-residence-for-hong-kong-residents.html>.
- Government of Canada. 2022, November 29. *CIMM – Hong Kong Measures*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/committees/cimm-nov-29-2022/hong-kong-measures.html>.
- Government of the United Kingdom. 2020, October 22. *Statement of Changes to the Immigration Rules: HC 813*. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/statement-of-changes-to-the-immigration-rules-hc-813-22-october-2020>.
- Harris, C. T., and J. Gruenewald. 2019. "News Media Trends in the Framing of Immigration and Crime, 1990–2013." *Social Problems* 67 (3): 452–470. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spz024>.
- Hasselbalch, J. A. 2019. "Framing Brain Drain: Between Solidarity and Skills in European Labor Mobility." *Review of International Political Economy* 26 (6): 1333–1360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2019.1626755>.
- Ho, E. L. E. 2025. "Migration Narratives in Singapore: From Economistic Imperatives to Counter-narratives and Absent Narratives on co-ethnic Politics and Ageing Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544084>.
- Hoffman, M., F. Bach, and D. Blei. 2010. Online Learning for Latent Dirichlet Allocation. *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems* 23. NIPS.
- Home Office, the United Kingdom. 2022, January 31. *Hong Kong BN(O) Survey Results*. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/survey-of-hong-kong-british-national-overseas-visa-holders-2021/hong-kong-bno-survey-results-accessible-version>.
- Home Office, the United Kingdom. 2023, February 23. *National Statistics: How Many People Come to the UK Each Year (Including Visitors)?* <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigration-system-statistics-year-ending-december-2022/how-many-people-come-to-the-uk-each-year-including-visitors>.
- Hong Kong SAR Government. 2022, October 19. *The Chief Executive's 2022 Policy Address*. [https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2022/public/pdf/policy/policy-full\\_en.pdf](https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2022/public/pdf/policy/policy-full_en.pdf).
- Hong Kong SAR Government. 2024, March. *The Facts: The Media*. <https://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/media.pdf>.

- Huot, S., A. Bobadilla, A. Bailliard, and D. L. Rudman. 2016. "Constructing Undesirables: A Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Othering' within the Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act." *International Migration* 54 (2): 131–143. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12210>.
- Lau, S.-k. 2021. "The National Security Law: Political and Social Effects on the Governance of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region." *Public Administration and Policy* 24 (3): 234–240. <https://doi.org/10.1108/PAP-08-2021-0050>.
- Lui, L., K. C.-Y. Sun, and Y. Hsiao. 2022. "How Families Affect Aspirational Migration amidst Political Insecurity: The Case of Hong Kong." *Population, Space and Place* 28 (4): e2528. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2528>.
- Mimno, D., H. M. Wallach, E. Talley, M. Leenders, and A. McCallum. 2011. "Optimizing Semantic Coherence in Topic Models." In *Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing* (pp. 262–272). Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Ming Pao. 2021a, August 13. Nearly 90,000 Hong Kongers Emigrate in a Year; Total Population Declines by 1.2% – Experts Predict Continuation. [http://www.mingpaocanada.com/van/html/News/20210813/HK-gcw1\\_r.htm](http://www.mingpaocanada.com/van/html/News/20210813/HK-gcw1_r.htm).
- Ming Pao. 2022, June 24. Hospital Authority Recruits Mainland Doctors Who Previously Assisted Hong Kong: First Batch of 5 to 10 Individuals. <https://news.mingpao.com/pns/%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/article/20220624/s00002/1656007748556/%E5%85%AC%E9%99%A2%E7%A0%94%E8%81%98%E6%9B%BE%E6%8F%B4%E6%B8%AF%E5%85%A7%E5%9C%B0%E9%86%AB%E7%94%9F-%E9%A6%96%E6%89%B9%E8%87%B3%10%E4%BA%BA-%E8%8C%83%E9%B4%BB%E9%BD%A1%E6%96%99%E6%AF%8F%E4%BA%BA%E7%95%99%E6%B8%AF%E4%B8%8D%E9%80%BE%E4%B8%80%E5%B9%B4-%E9%86%AB%E5%A7%94%E5%A7%94%E5%93%A1%E6%86%82%E6%AC%A0%E7%AF%A9%E9%81%B8>.
- Olakpe, O. 2025. "Cross-Border Migrations in Western Africa: Narratives of Migration and Mobility." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544089>.
- Oriental Daily News. 2020a, April 30. Psychological Effects, Thus Emigration. [https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20200430/bkn-20200430000439131-0430\\_00832\\_001.html](https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20200430/bkn-20200430000439131-0430_00832_001.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2020b, May 23. National Security Law Extends to All; Keep Hong Kong, Exclude the Mob. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20200523/mobile/odn-20200523-0523\\_00186\\_001.html](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20200523/mobile/odn-20200523-0523_00186_001.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2020c, May 30. No Intention to Build Hong Kong, Everyone Goes Their Own Way. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20200530/00184\\_004.html](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20200530/00184_004.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2020d, July 13. Hong Kong Government's Ineffective Pandemic Response, Tens of Thousands Escape to Mainland China. [https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/news/20200713/bkn-20200713033037093-0713\\_00822\\_001.html](https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/news/20200713/bkn-20200713033037093-0713_00822_001.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2021a, July 16. Would You Dare To Go To the UK Without Quarantine?. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20210716/mobile/odn-20210716-0716\\_00184\\_004.html](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20210716/mobile/odn-20210716-0716_00184_004.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2021b, July 18. Experts: Achieving 19 Points in Five DSE Subjects Guarantees Admission to the Top Eight Universities. 18 July. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20210718/mobile/odn-20210718-0718\\_00176\\_241.html](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20210718/mobile/odn-20210718-0718_00176_241.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2021c, November 15. It Doesn't Feel Good to Be Treated as a Second-Class Citizen. [https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20211115/bkn-20211115000439990-1115\\_00832\\_001.html](https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20211115/bkn-20211115000439990-1115_00832_001.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2022a, July 31. The Unexpected Incident Is Once Again Politicized. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/%E8%A6%81%E8%81%9E%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/odn-20220731-0731\\_00184\\_006/%E6%BF%80%E6%BF%81%E6%8F%9A%E6%B8%85%EF%BC%9A%E5%B7%A8%E5%B9%95%E6%84%8F%E5%A4%96%E5%8F%88%E8%A2%AB%E6%94%BF%E6%B2%BB%E5%8C%96](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/%E8%A6%81%E8%81%9E%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/odn-20220731-0731_00184_006/%E6%BF%80%E6%BF%81%E6%8F%9A%E6%B8%85%EF%BC%9A%E5%B7%A8%E5%B9%95%E6%84%8F%E5%A4%96%E5%8F%88%E8%A2%AB%E6%94%BF%E6%B2%BB%E5%8C%96).
- Oriental Daily News. 2022b, December 17. Farewell to the "Yellow Teachers". [https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20221217/bkn-20221217000418579-1217\\_00832\\_001.html](https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/commentary/20221217/bkn-20221217000418579-1217_00832_001.html).
- Oriental Daily News. 2022c, August 31. 2,127 Individuals Teach Without Fully Meeting Qualifications as Immigration Wave Continues. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/%E8%A6%81%E8%81%9E%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/odn-20220831-0831\\_00174\\_002/%E7%A7%94%E5%93%A1%E6%86%82%E6%AC%A0%E7%AF%A9%E9%81%B8](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/%E8%A6%81%E8%81%9E%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/odn-20220831-0831_00174_002/%E7%A7%94%E5%93%A1%E6%86%82%E6%AC%A0%E7%AF%A9%E9%81%B8).

BB%E6%B0%91%E6%BD%AE%E6%9C%AA%E6%AD%A2-2127%E4%BA%BA%E6%9C%AA%E5%85%B7%E8%B3%87%E6%A0%BC%E7%85%A7%E5%81%9A%E6%95%99%E5%B8%AB.

- Oriental Daily News. 2022d, January 4. *No More Long Queues Outside Queen's College for Secondary One Discretionary Places*. [https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/要聞港聞/odn-20220104-0104\\_00176\\_041/中一自行派位--皇仁門外--長龍不再](https://orientaldaily.on.cc/content/要聞港聞/odn-20220104-0104_00176_041/中一自行派位--皇仁門外--長龍不再).
- Pan, J., Z. Shao, and Y. Xu. 2022. "How Government-Controlled Media Shifts Policy Attitudes through Framing." *Political Science Research and Methods* 10 (2): 317–332. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2021.35>.
- Pattison, J. 2022. "There's Just Too Many": The Construction of Immigration as a Social Problem." *The British Journal of Sociology* 73 (2): 273–290. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12933>.
- Poon, R. 2022, March 31. Contracting Results of Migration Surveys. *Sing Tao Daily*. <https://std.stheadline.com/sc/daily/article/2452494>.
- Purbrick, M. 2019. "A Report of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests." *Asian Affairs* 50 (4): 465–487. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2019.1672397>.
- Quinn, T. 2012. "Spin Doctors and Political News Management: A Rational-Choice 'Exchange' Analysis." *British Politics* 7 (3): 272–300. <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2012.6>.
- Seabrooke, L., and E. Tsingou. 2019. "Europe's Fast – and Slow-Burning Crises." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26 (3): 468–481. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2018.1446456>.
- Sing Tao Daily. 2022a, April 18. *Leung Chun-ying: Hong Kongers in the UK Are Not "emigrants"; Majority Haven't Renounced SAR Passports*. <https://std.stheadline.com/daily/article/2456440>.
- Sing Tao Daily. 2022b, October 20. *John Lee Launches Global Talent Recruitment, Targets High-end*. <https://std.stheadline.com/daily/article/2492147/>.
- So, C. Y. K. 2020. *Bu tong xin wen ji gou ge zhong ban ben jin nian de zou shi*. <https://news.mingpao.com/ins/%E6%96%87%E6%91%98/article/20200423/s00022/1587564785260>.
- Tessema, M. 2010. "Causes, Challenges and Prospects of Brain Drain: The Case of Eritrea." *International Migration* 48 (3): 131–157. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00585.x>.
- Tong, J. 2020, March 16. The Safest Place Is Where the Forest Has Already Burned. *Ming Pao*. <https://www.master-insight.com/article/18093>.
- Tong, R. 2020, May 29. Emigration. *Ming Pao*. <https://news.mingpao.com/pns/%E4%BD%9C%E5%AE%B6%E5%B0%88%E6%AC%84/columnist/20230901/s00202/1693499677817>.
- Tong, J. 2021, May 27. How Can Emigration Be Attractive If Emigrants Can't Find Jobs?. *Ming Pao*. <https://finance.mingpao.com/fin/daily/20210527/1622053834716/%E6%B9%AF%E6%96%87%E4%BA%AE-%E7%A7%BB%E6%B0%91%E6%89%BE%E4%B8%8D%E5%88%B0%E5%B7%A5%E4%BD%9C-%E6%80%8E%E7%AE%97%E5%90%B8%E5%BC%95>.
- Triandafyllidou, A. 2025. "De-centring Migration Governance: The Role of Narratives." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2544077>.
- Verkuyten, M. 2021. "Public Attitudes towards Migrants: Understanding Cross-National and Individual Differences." *World Psychiatry* 20 (1): 132–133. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20819>.
- Widmaier, W., M. Blyth, and L. Seabrooke. 2007. "Exogenous Shocks or Endogenous Constructions? The Meanings of Wars and Crises." *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (4): 747–759. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00474.x>.
- Wong, S.-I. 1992. "Emigration and Stability in Hong Kong." *Asian Survey* 32 (10): 918–933. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645049>.