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Focus – From Handover to Occupy Campaign: Democracy, Identity and the Umbrella Movement of Hong Kong

Foreword – Upon the Second Anniversary of Occupy Campaign / Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong: Essays in Honour of a Pro-Democracy Sociopolitical Movement (pp. 635-662)

**Emile Kok-Kheng YEOH** University of Malaya

(editorial, no abstract)

The Mouse That Roared: The Democratic Movement in Hong Kong (pp. 665-681)

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#### **Abstract**

The popular uprising in recent years in Hong Kong – "Occupy Central" a.k.a. Umbrella Movement – has again brought to the fore the question of the Special Administrative Region's relationship with Mainland China post-1997 "handover" of the territory by the British colonial government to the People's Republic of China. This article argues that the protests have their origins in a consciousness born of the anxieties provoked by the prospect of unification in the 1980s and 1990s, further evolved against the background of the unstable "one country, two systems" arrangement openly favoring the corporate and financial ruling class in Hong Kong which is in turn prepared to align its interests with those of the Communist regime in a mutually beneficial relationship. It also posits while the upheaval in Hong Kong bears similarities to other "Occupy" movements elsewhere in the economic issues that inform it, it may be viewed as the latest chapter in a narrative

that goes back to the 1980s – the emergence of a neoliberal global capitalism of which the PRC has been an integral component, and the Tiananmen movement which was one of the earliest expressions of the social and political strains created by shifts in the global economy.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong, Beijing, democracy, "Occupy" movement, "one country, two systems", protest, Tiananmen

## The Occupation Campaign in Hong Kong: A Participant's View (pp. 683-695)

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#### Abstract

The Occupation Campaign in Hong Kong ended on December 15, 2014 after 79 days reflected the protesters and pro-democracy groups' wish to tell the world that they are not going to give up the cause of democracy and that they will continue to fight despite the understanding that it will be extremely difficult to change the decision of the Chinese leadership in the short term. In the eyes of the supporters of the pro-democracy movement, the challenge facing Hong Kong people is not just fighting for a democratic electoral system, but also struggle to maintain their core values, their lifestyles, and their individual dignity – an uphill battle given that the local business community firmly toes the Beijing line. While the political struggles of the young people of Hong Kong are perceived to have brought hope to the pro-democracy movement, the prospects for democracy remain far from promising.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong, Occupation Campaign, protest, pro-democracy movement, united front, China, Beijing

### The Occupy Central Campaign in 2014 Hong Kong (pp. 699-734)

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### **Abstract**

The political movement in 201 4 Hong Kong was unprecedented. Benny Tai advocated the Occupy Central Movement that he intended to promote democratization of the Hong Kong constitutional reform in 2014. The campaign was aimed at the Chief Executive

election in 2017 and the Legislative Council election in 2020 which was the decision and promise by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the proposal of Hong Kong democratization political reform. This was a civil disobedience movement in Hong Kong which started on 28th September 2014. Protestors blocked roads and expected to paralyze the Central, the financial area of Hong Kong, in order to fight for genuine universal suffrage for the elections of the Chief Executive and all members of the Legislative Council. The movement was quite successful in calling forth the consciousness of Hong Kong people and the occupation was extended to 79 days, but, as a consequence, it could not attain any constitutional democratic or political reforms in Hong Kong.

**Keywords:** Umbrella, suffrage, democracy

# The Mobilization of Memory and Tradition: Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement and Beijing's 1989 Tiananmen Movement (pp. 735-774)

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#### Abstract

The 2014 Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong has been the most important prodemocracy protest on Chinese soil since the rise and fall of the Tiananmen Movement of 1989. Moreover, the 1989 Beijing Massacre has politicized a generation of prodemocracy activists in Hong Kong that has shaped Hong Kong's vibrant civil society. However, while this "Tiananmen generation" has been crucial for the preparation and initial stage of the Umbrella Movement, the actual occupation was dominated by a new generation that is almost exclusively concerned with local Hong Kong politics. In light of this background, this paper compares the two democracy movements. The external environment and the goals of the two movements are markedly different. However, our comparison demonstrates striking similarities between the two movements, e.g. their internal structure and framing. Moreover, what we see as the "mobilization of memory" reflects both the continued importance of civil society structures that have been shaped by the "Tiananmen veterans" as well as the on-going renegotiation of the SAR's relationship with the Mainland. Finally, these findings entail that the Chinese party-state will need to utilize different means to pacify the Umbrella Movement than what was done to placate democracy activists after the 1 989 crackdown.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong, Umbrella Movement, Tiananmen Movement, social protest, collective memory, civil society, democratization

# Occupation as Prefiguration? The Emergence of a New Political Form in the Occupy Central Movement (pp. 775-794)

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### Abstract

Situated in Hong Kong's specific context, this article attempts to illustrate the practices and implications of "prefigurative politics" during the Occupy Central Movement. We argue that the occupation not only demanded, but also prefigured, new forms of democracy. But such prefiguration should not be seen as a pure "ethics" of politics, but rather as a new way of "doing" politics, raising deep questions about representation and leadership in contemporary protest movements. From the outset of the movement, there had been ensuing struggles over leadership among different actors in the movement, while none of them were able to assume effective leadership. The undecidability of leadership ultimately provided the condition for various kinds of experiments by the crowds themselves. We argue that these prefigurative practices have set seeds of possibility for future political processes, and imply the emergence of "occupation as prefiguration" as a political form in Hong Kong.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong, leadership, occupation, prefiguration, representation

## Citizen Camera-Witnessing: A Case Study of the Umbrella Movement (pp. 795-815)

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### Abstract

Citizen camera-witness is a new concept by which to describe using mobile camera phone to engage in civic expression. I argue that the meaning of this concept should not be limited to painful testimony; instead, it is a mode of civic camera-mediated mass self-testimony to brutality. The use of mobile phone recordings in Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement is examined to understand how mobile cameras are employed as personal witnessing devices to provide recordings to indict unjust events and engage others in the civic movement. This study has examined the Facebook posts and You Tube videos of the Umbrella Movement between September 22, 2014 and December 22, 2014. The results suggest that the camera phone not only contributes to witnessing the brutal repression of the state, but also witnesses the beauty of the movement, and provides a testimony that allows for rituals to develop and semi-codes to be transformed.

**Keywords:** citizen journalism, media witnessing, social media, social movement, visual culture

# **Booing the National Anthem: Hong Kong's Identities through the Mirror of Sport** (pp. 819-843)

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#### Abstract

Since Hong Kong's reversion to China in 1997, the Special Administrative Region's government and its people have been grappling with a dual-sided problem. Firstly, to adjust to being a "new" part of China and what that means in terms of national consciousness and local identities, particularly given the Beij ing leaders' expectations that Hongkongers should come to "love China". Secondly, drawing at least in part on the past British colonial legacy, to maintain Hong Kong's international role as a cosmopolitan and commercial city, not least through the aspiration to be "Asia's world city". In the past few years, however, typified most clearly in the discourse surrounding the Occupy Central movement, there has emerged a third trend, the so-called "localism", which posits a separate and unique identity for Hong Kong. This article explores the ways in which these three competing narratives intersect in the sporting arena. Sport is frequently seen as a means to express or reflect nationalism or at the very least contribute to the formation of national identity. By using the case studies of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the 2009 East Asian Games and recent post-Occupy sporting fixtures, it will be shown that the mixed messages coming from these activities reflect the ambivalence felt by many Hongkongers themselves about their place in China and the world.

**Keywords:** sports policy, identity, patriotism, localism, Hong Kong

# The Unfinished Experimentation of Political Parties in Hong Kong – Reflections from Theoretical and Experiential Perspectives (pp. 845-863)

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#### Abstract

This article consists of 2 parts. The first part, from Section 1 to Section 3, by King Fai Chan aims at unravelling the inaugural ideology of Hong Kong's political parties by going back to one of the founders of the Democratic Party, Yeung Sum, and examines his

ideology of an idealistic thinking of political cooperation with the SAR government, with an aim of peaceful power-sharing. Yeung Sum's idea of political parties is a new vision of a political subjectivity that caters to the whole, and this confirms with Giovanni Satori's theory that an authentic party must be part-of-the-whole. In the end the idea of party as effective opposition was completely overlooked. The article then turns to the second part, from Section 4 to Section 6, by Sze Chi Chan, who aims at detailing the inauguration of an effective oppositional party after the Grand March of 2003. Thus was born the League of Social Democrats, with the second author as one of its founding members. In the second author's portrayal the League was off to a promising start that ushered in an effective oppositional party, that did pose a series of effective political opposition that readily catered to the need of the whole citizenry, especially the Five District de facto Referendum. Yet in the end the League met with a fate of internal split that tremendously dwindled the its oppositional thrust. As yet we still do not find any pan-democratic party or anti-establishment radical party that can really demonstrate Satori's ideal of party acting as part-of-the-whole fighting for the benefit of the whole.

**Keywords:** Satori, party theory, Social Democrats, Democratic Party, factions, Hong Kong, Yeung Sum, stability and prosperity, political opposition, political struggle

Scholarism and Hong Kong Federation of Students: Comparative Analysis of Their Developments after the Umbrella Movement (pp. 865-884)

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#### Abstract

This article aims to examine the features of, and difficulties in, the development of Scholarism and Hong Kong Federation of Students after the Umbrella Movement (2014). This article first introduces the emergence of both organizations, aiming to provide the necessary background to their features, notably student activism, politicization, and issue-based reasons in launching campaigns. This is followed by an analysis of the difficulties faced by both organizations with reference to leadership, orientation, organizational capacity and networking, as reflected in the disappointment and disillusionment of a significant number of participants during the movement. The article then moves on to investigate the possible methods adopted by both organizations to consolidate their strengths in light of the above weaknesses, focusing on the buttressing of accountability and reform. In conclusion, the reorganization of student power is of key concern during the process in face of the increasing political intervention of the Beijing authorities and political decay of the Hong Kong government.

**Keywords:** Scholarism, Hong Kong Federation of Students, Umbrella Movement, antinational education campaign, student activism, leftists, nonviolent resistance

# Post-Umbrella Movement: Localism and Radicalness of the Hong Kong Student Movement (pp. 885-908)

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#### Abstract

Hong Kong student movements before the Umbrella Movement showed a political outlook of voicing within norm of the establishment, using "peaceful, rational and non-violent" approaches, acknowledging the authorities of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and mainland Chinese governments and recognizing attachment to the motherland China. Today's new emerging political outlook of the Hong Kong student movement has a profile of anti-establishment, using more assertive means and not excluding radical behaviour, distrust of the HKSAR and mainland authorities and assertion of radical localism. In the last two years, Hong Kong students have undergone a rapid change in their orientation, resulting in today's outlook. This paper argues that the Umbrella Movement is the key for the turnaround and it testifies to the birth of a new social and political consciousness amongst Hong Kong students.

**Keywords:** post-Umbrella Movement, student movement, localism, radicalness

# Migrants and Democratization: The Political Economy of Chinese Immigrants in Hong Kong (pp. 909-940)

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#### Abstract

In this article, we argue that immigrants can serve as staunch support of the conservative incumbents of a regime, due to a self-selection effect; immigrants are more likely to accept the political status quo and be less sympathetic to the opposition who might demand progressive changes. Based on Asian Barometer survey data in Hong Kong, we showed that Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong are more pro-establishment and supportive of pro-government parties. With China's huge population, this implies a

strategic importance of Chinese migrants, whose inflow to other Asian states can significantly skew the politics of neighbouring states in destined directions.

Keywords: Hong Kong politics, Chinese immigrants, internal migration, democratization

# The Rise of Civic Nationalism: Shifting Identities in Hong Kong and Taiwan (pp. 941-973)

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#### Abstract

The rise of civic nationalism in both Hong Kong and Taiwan indicates a prominence of democratic liberal values which are contributing to the further rejection of an ethnonational Chinese identity imposed by Beijing. Using the 2014 Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan as case studies, this paper examines how the rise of civic nationalism is furthering the nation-building project of Hong Kong and Taiwanese identities. Following a comparison between the Umbrella Movement and the Sunflower Movement in terms of the sequence of events, the paper identifies the impact of the movements on both societies through an examination of the successes and failures of each movement, the rise of new political forces and party politics, as well as political institutions. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of the widening identity gap of Hong Kong and Taiwan from China.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong, Umbrella Movement, Taiwan, Sunflower Movement, political identities, civic nationalism, social movements

**Book Review** (pp. 977-984)

Joseph Y.S. Cheng (ed.), *The Second Chief Executive of Hong Kong SAR: Evaluating the Tsang Years 2005-2012*, Kowloon, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 201 3, 503 pp. + xxxi.

reviewed by

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