

Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and
Strategic Relations: An International Journal

Vol. 3, No. 2, July/August 2017

Focus – *Hong Kong Twenty Years after the Handover:
Quo Vadis?*

Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal (CCPS)

Chair Wen-cheng Lin, PhD, *Director, Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies, National Sun Yat-sen University*

Co-Chair Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh, PhD, *Head, Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya*

Editor-in-Chief Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh, PhD, *Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya*

INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

Olga Yurievna **Adams**, PhD, *Moscow State University, Russia*

Wendy **Beekes**, PhD, *University of Lancaster, United Kingdom*

Jonathan **Benney**, PhD, *Monash University, Australia*

Gerald **Chan**, PhD, *University of Auckland, New Zealand*

Titus C. **Chen**, PhD, *National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan*

John A. **Donaldson**, PhD, *Singapore Management University, Singapore*

Michael **Jakobsen**, PhD, *Copenhagen Business School, Denmark*

Kamaruding Abdulsomad, PhD, *University of Gothenburg, Sweden*

Juliette **Koning**, PhD, *Oxford Brookes University, United Kingdom*

Joanne Hoi-Lee **Loh**, PhD, *University of Nottingham, United Kingdom*

István Csaba **Moldicz**, PhD, *Budapest Business School, Hungary*

Mutahir Ahmed, PhD, *University of Karachi, Pakistan*

Can-Seng **Ooi**, PhD, *Copenhagen Business School, Denmark*

Kwok-Tong **Soo**, PhD, *University of Lancaster, United Kingdom*

Andreas **Susanto**, PhD, *Atma Jaya Yogyakarta University, Indonesia*

Emile Kok-Kheng **Yeoh**, PhD, *University of Malaya, Malaysia*

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Gregor **Benton**, PhD, *Cardiff University, United Kingdom*

Brian **Bridges**, PhD, *Lingnan University, Hong Kong*

Joseph Y.S. **Cheng**, PhD, *City University of Hong Kong (Ret.), Hong Kong*

Arif **Dirlik**, PhD, *University of Oregon/Duke University (Ret.), United States*

Pío **García**, PhD, *Universidad Externado de Colombia, Colombia*

Merle **Goldman**, PhD, *Harvard University/Boston University, United States*

Hara Fujio, PhD, *IDE (Research Fellow Emeritus), Japan*

Samuel C.Y. **Ku**, PhD, *National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan*

David **McMullen**, PhD, *University of Cambridge, United Kingdom*

Uziel **Nogueira**, PhD, *IDB-INTAL (Ret.), Argentina/Brazil*

Juan José **Ramírez Bonilla**, PhD, *El Colegio de México, México*

Carlyle **Thayer**, PhD, *University of New South Wales at ADFA, Australia*

Im-Soo **Yoo**, PhD, *Ewha Womans University, Republic of Korea*

Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal, Vol. 3, No. 2, July/August 2017

Focus – *Hong Kong Twenty Years after the Handover: Quo Vadis?*

ISSN 2410-9681

Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal (CCPS) is a triannual academic journal focusing on the Chinese polity, economy and society, and the interrelationship between sociopolitical and socioeconomic factors that influence political, economic and social outcomes in contemporary Mainland China and Taiwan, as well as Hong Kong and Macau, and their politico-economic, strategic relations with other regions and countries.

Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal (CCPS) is indexed and abstracted in *Documentation Politique Internationale / International Political Science Abstracts* (IPSA), *Directory of Open Access Journals* (DOAJ), *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory*, *Ulrichsweb Global Serials Directory*, *ProQuest Political Science*, *Research Library* and *ProQuest Social Science Journals*.

Please visit the CCPS homepage at

<http://icaps.nsysu.edu.tw/files/11-1122-13594.php?Lang=en>

Manuscripts for consideration and editorial communication should be sent to:
The Editor, *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal*

E-mail: ccpsij@gmail.com, yeohkk@um.edu.my

Website Administration and Maintenance: Wu Chien-yi

Proofreading: Goh Chun Wei, Janice Quan Nian En, Amy Kwan Dict Weng

Copy-editing and Typesetting: Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh

Publishing: Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies,

National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan, ROC

Co-Publishing: Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Malaysia

**Contemporary Chinese Political Economy
and Strategic Relations:
An International Journal**

Vol. 3, No. 2, July/August 2017

Focus

**Hong Kong
Twenty Years after the Handover
*Quo Vadis?***

Focus Issue Editors

Joseph Y.S. Cheng and Emile K.K. Yeoh

Contents

Foreword – Upon the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hong Kong Handover: An Update on State-Civil Societal Relations <i>Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh</i>	523
Introduction – The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: 1997-2017 <i>Joseph Yu-shek Cheng</i>	549
Human Rights Development in the First 20 Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region <i>Chong Yiu Kwong</i>	575
Localism in Hong Kong: Its Origins, Development and Prospect <i>Yiu-chung Wong</i>	617
Social Construction of National Reality: Chinese Consciousness versus Hong Kong Consciousness <i>Fu-Lai Tony Yu and Diana S. Kwan</i>	657
Catholic Church-State Relations in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: A Review of 20 Years <i>Beatrice K.F. Leung</i>	687
Contextual Analysis of Hong Kong Education Policy in 20 Years: The Intention of Making Future Citizens in Political Conflicts <i>Steven Chung Fun Hung</i>	713

“Expressing my attitude and doing something impossible to make it happen ...” – Listening to the Voices of Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement Protesters <i>Tim Nicholas Rühlig</i>	747
Chinese-style Democracy as a Political Project for Meaning-Construction: Old Wine in a New Bottle? <i>Benson Wai-Kwok Wong</i>	819
Enforcing the Right to Family Life in Hong Kong Courts: The Case of Dependant Policy <i>Matthew Chuen Ngai Tang</i>	849
Hopes against Hobbes: On Authoritarianism, Regime Legitimation and Soft Power with a Review of Richard C. Bush’s <i>Hong Kong in the Shadow of China: Living with the Leviathan</i> (2016) <i>Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh</i>	889
Research Note – Human Rights Are Human Rights: Asian Values, Chinese Characteristics and Universal Values <i>Chien-yuan Tseng</i>	989

Contributors

Joseph Yu-shek **Cheng** (鄭宇碩), Ph.D., was Chair Professor of Political Science and coordinator of the Contemporary China Research Project, City University of Hong Kong. Before he joined the CityU in July 1992, Joseph Cheng taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (1977-1989) and the Open Learning Institute of Hong Kong (1989-1991). During 1991 -1992, he was a full-time member of the Central Policy Unit, Government of Hong Kong. He is the founding editor of the *Hong Kong Journal of Social Sciences* and *The Journal of Comparative Asian Development*. Joseph Cheng holds a Ph.D. from the Flinders University of South Australia, B.A. from University of Wellington, New Zealand, and B.Soc.Sc. from the University of Hong Kong. He has published widely on the political development in China and Hong Kong, Chinese foreign policy, local government in southern China and international relations in the Asia-Pacific region. In recent years he has edited *Guangdong: Challenges in development and crisis management* (2010), *Whither China's democracy? Democratization in China since the Tiananmen Incident* (2011), *A new stage of development for an emerging superpower* (2012) and *The second Chief Executive of Hong Kong SAR: Evaluating the Tsang years 2005-2012* (2013), and his latest authored books are *China's Japan policy: Adjusting to new challenges* (2015) and *China's foreign policy: Challenges and prospects* (2016). He was chairman of the Hong Kong Observers (1980-1982) and convener of Power for Democracy (2002-2004). He has been a Justice of Peace since 1992 and was the founding president of the Asian Studies Association of

Hong Kong (2005-2007). During 2006-2008, he served as the secretary-general of the Civic Party. He was involved in the launch of the New School of Democracy and served as convenor of the Alliance for True Democracy in Hong Kong. <Email: rccrc@cityu.edu.hk, josephcheng6@gmail.com>

Chong Yiu Kwong (莊耀洸) was admitted as a solicitor since 2000 and dealt with various human rights court cases up to 2008. He is now a full-time senior lecturer at The Education University of Hong Kong (EdUHK, formerly known as The Hong Kong Institute of Education/HKIEd). He teaches courses including “Education and Law”, “Understanding Human Rights”, “Rule of Law and Hong Kong Legal System” and “Social Justice and Discrimination”. He is active in human rights work. He serves as executive committee members of Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor (2006 onwards), China Human Rights Lawyers Concern Group (2007 onwards), and Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union (2012 onwards). He is a trustee of Amnesty International, Hong Kong Section (AIHK) Human Rights Education Charitable Trust since 2012, deputy convenor of the Working Group on Anti-Sexual Harassment Campaign, Policy and Research Committee (PARC) of the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) since 2013, and a member of EOC PARC since 2016. <Email: chongyk@eduhk.hk>

Steven Chung Fun **Hung** (洪松勳), Ph.D., serves The Education University of Hong Kong (formerly The Hong Kong Institute of Education) as an assistant professor and he achieves his performance in the domains of scholarship, professional research, and publications. He is honored to have been recognized for attaining excellence in the realm of research outputs and publications, skillful and effective teaching of pedagogical courses, and diligently fulfilling the University/Institute’s

duties and serving the community in a highly devoted and accessible manner. His publications have been exceptional, both in terms of quantity and quality, and internationally and regionally referred. His research areas are Hong Kong-based and focus mainly on civic education policy, student social movements and political and historical development of Hong Kong. Recently, he develops the study in the areas of local cultural heritages. <Email: cfhung@eduhk.hk, stevencfhung@gmail.com>

Diana S. **Kwan** (關詩敏) is currently a project coordinator at the Office of Educational Services, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, Hong Kong. Her recent books are *Chinese entrepreneurship: An Austrian economics perspective*, London: Routledge, 2016 (with Tony Yu); *International economic development: Leading issues and challenges*, London: Routledge, 2014 (coedited with Tony Yu and W.K. Yuen). In addition to book chapters, she has also published articles in *Human Systems Management*, *Social Identities*, *Journal of African Business*, *International Journal of Development and Conflict*, *Global Business Review*, *Asia-Pacific Journal of Management Research and Innovation* and *Journal of Global Business Advancement*. <Email: dianakwan@cuhk.edu.hk>

Beatrice K.F. **Leung** (梁潔芬), Ph.D., is a Sister of the Congregation of the Precious Blood. She graduated from the London School of Economics and Political Science. From 1989 to 2004 she taught in universities in Hong Kong and Macau. She is now a visiting research professor at Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, Taiwan. Her research interest is Sino-Vatican-Taiwan relations. She has published and edited ten books and more than 60 chapters/articles in academic journals. The forthcoming ones are two volumes on the church of

Taiwan: *The Catholic Church in Taiwan: Birth, growth and development*, and *Catholic Church in Taiwan: Problems and prospects* (edited with Francis K.H. So and Ellen Mary Mylod) published by Palgrave Macmillan. <Email: leungkitfun@gmail.com>

Tim Nicholas **Rühlig** is a research associate at the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” at the Goethe University of Frankfurt. He holds a scholarship by the German “Foundation Polytechnische Gesellschaft”. His research mainly focuses on the transformation of the Chinese state and its sovereignty in times of globalization, ranging from security to economic policies and including the contentious politics of Hong Kong. His publications include *Which political order do Chinese internet users & the government want? – Implications for the international political order of the “Chinese century”* (2017; Éditions Universitaires Européennes), “‘Do You Hear the People Sing’ ‘Lift Your Umbrella’? Understanding Hong Kong’s pro-democratic Umbrella Movement through YouTube music videos” (*China Perspectives* 4/2016, pp. 59-68), and “The mobilization of memory and tradition: Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement and Beijing’s 1989 Tiananmen Movement” (with Johan Lagerkvist, 2016, *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 735-774). <Email: ruehlig@normativeorders.net>

Matthew Chuen Ngai **Tang** (鄧傳毅) obtained his Juris Doctor from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Bachelor of Science in Global China Studies: Humanities and Social Science from the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He is currently a Postgraduate Certificate in Laws candidate at the Faculty of Law, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is expected to graduate in summer 2018.

The current paper is an extract from his research dissertation. Matthew Tang was an intern at various regional and international institutions including the United States House of Representatives and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council where he conducted a wide range of research from U.S. healthcare policies to corporate cash holding in the Asia-Pacific region. His current research interests include judicial development in Hong Kong, immigration law, comparative refugee law and legal sociology. <Email: cnmtang@link.cuhk.edu.hk, cnmtang@gmail.com>

Chien-yuan **Tseng** (曾建元), Ph.D., is an associate professor at the Department of Public Administration, Chung Hua University, Hsinchu, Republic of China on Taiwan. He holds a Ph.D. in Law from the Graduate Institute of National Development, National Taiwan University. He obtained his Bachelor of Law from Soochow University and Master of Law from Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Graduate Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Dr Tseng is an adjunct associate professor of the Graduate Institute of National Development, and contractual associate research fellow and vice-director of the Center for Hakka Studies, National Taiwan University. He is also a member of the board of New School for Democracy, Hong Kong, advisor of the China Road International Research Association registered in Denmark, and convener of the cross-strait relations group of Taiwan Brain Trust. <Email: yuan0317@chu.edu.tw>

Benson Wai-Kwok **Wong** (黃偉國), Ph.D., is an assistant professor at the Department of Government and International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University. Dr Wong's main research interests are cultural politics, Internet and politics, identity politics and discourse analysis.

Recently, he is conducting two projects on (1) hegemonic discourse and youth politics in Hong Kong, and (2) visual resistance and the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong respectively. <Email: bwkwong@hkbu.edu.hk>

Yiu-chung **Wong** (王耀宗), Ph.D., is currently a professor in the Department of Political Science of Lingnan University, Hong Kong. He is also associate vice-president (Academic Affairs) of Lingnan University and the director of Core Curriculum and General Education. Professor Wong obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Queensland, Australia. He has published about ten books mainly on Chinese and Hong Kong politics as well as current affairs. His teaching responsibilities include Introduction to Political Science, Hong Kong Politics, Hong Kong-Central relationships, Taiwan: Society and Politics, Political Ideologies, etc. and his research interests include China's political reform, cross-strait relations, democratic transition in Hong Kong, and the concept and implementation of "One Country, Two Systems". <Email: wongyc@ln.edu.hk>

Fu-Lai Tony **Yu** (余赴禮), Ph.D., is currently Professor of Economics at the Department of Economics and Finance, Hong Kong Shue Yan University, North Point, Hong Kong. Professor Yu obtained his Ph.D. from the University of New South Wales, Australia. He previously taught at Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Monash University (Australia) and Feng Chia University (Taiwan). His research interests include entrepreneurship, small and medium enterprises, governmental economics, Austrian economics and Asian business systems. Professor Yu's latest books are *Chinese entrepreneurship: An Austrian economics perspective*, London: Routledge, 2016 (with Diana S. Kwan); *Handbook on East Asian*

entrepreneurship, London: Routledge (co-edited with H.D. Yan), 2015; *International economic development: Leading issues and challenges*, London: Routledge (coedited with W.K. Yuen and Diana S. Kwan), 2014; and *Entrepreneurship and Taiwan's economic dynamics*, Heidelberg: Springer, 2012. <Email: flyu@hksyu.edu>

Emile Kok-Kheng **Yeoh** (楊國慶), Ph.D., editor of the triannual academic journal *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal* jointly published by the Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies of Taiwan's National Sun Yat-sen University and the University of Malaya's Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, is an associate professor at the Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He holds a Ph.D. on ethnopolitics in socioeconomic development from the University of Bradford, West Yorkshire, England (1998), was the director of the Institute of China Studies, University of Malaya, from 13th March 2008 to 1st January 2014, the founder and editor of the institute's then SJR top-tier Scopus-indexed triannual academic journal, *International Journal of China Studies* (Vol. 1, 2010 – Vol. 5, 2014), and is currently a member of the international editorial committee of several journals in Asia and Latin America. Among his latest publications in recent years are *Norms and institutions in the shaping of identity and governance: Mainland China and Taiwan in the regional environment* (edited special issue, CCPS, 2017, 521 pp. + xviii), *From Handover to Occupy Campaign: Democracy, identity and the Umbrella Movement of Hong Kong* (edited Focus issue, CCPS, 2016, 350 pp. + xviii), *China amidst competing dynamics in the Asia-Pacific: National identity, economic integration and political governance* (edited special issue, CCPS, 2016, 633 pp. + xv), *Crossing the Chinese frontier:*

Nation, community, identity and mobility (edited special issue, *CCPS*, 2015, 410 pp. + xv), “Rising China as a regional power and its new assertiveness in the South China Sea” (book chapter, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), *China – State, public policy and society* (guest edited special issue, *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 2014, 140 pp.), *June Fourth at 25: The quarter-century legacy of Tiananmen* (edited special issue, *IJCS*, 2014, 367 pp. + xv), “Poverty reduction, welfare provision and social security challenges in China” (book chapter, Routledge, 2014), *Taiwan: Democracy, cross-Strait relations and regional security* (edited *Focus* issue, *IJCS*, 2014, 195 pp. + x), “Evolving agencies amid rapid social change: Political leadership and State-civil society relations in China” (book chapter, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and *China: Developmental model, State-civil societal interplay and foreign relations* (edited monograph, 745 pp. + xxi, ICS, 2013). His latest research projects include the Equitable Society Research Cluster UMRG Programme on Public Administration and Governance (2016-2017, principal investigator), Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education/UM High-Impact Research (HIR) Grant project “The China Model: Implications of the contemporary rise of China” (2013-2016, principal investigator) at the Department of Administrative Studies and Politics, FEA, UM, and Suntory Foundation/University of Tokyo international research grant project “Beyond ‘China threat theory’: Dialogue with China experts on the rise of China” (2014-2015, Malaysian component). <Website: <http://emileyeo5.wix.com/emileyeoh>; email: yeohkk@um.edu.my, emileyeo@gmail.com>

