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Political Opportunity and Social Protests in Postcolonial Hong Kong

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Abstract

Hong Kong is undergoing the process of democratization; what happens in Hong Kong now interprets how “one country, two systems” is affecting the city. The study uses “political process model” to examine the trend of social protests development in post colonial Hong Kong, then observes and explains the phenomena of the increment of social protests in Hong Kong society after decolonization.

In the observation of the transformation of governance, the study points out the difficulties that Hong Kong government is now facing and the background of the rise of social protests. Then it examines the changes of political opportunity before and after decolonization, as well as civil collective consciousness and the transformation of civil organization and how these affect the development of social movements. Lastly, after the return of Hong Kong to China, the conflict of “One country, two systems” has gradually shown. Hongkongers frustration towards Beijing’s putting off universal suffrage is now turning into anger; people have taken the streets several times urging for political development. It is expected that the conflict between the two parties will increase and become more serious in the near future.

It is shown in the study that in a relatively closed political opportunity structure, the interaction between social protests and the political opportunity will lead to the increment of social protests. Secondly, the research also shown that the division among Hong Kong elites did not have a strong impact on the development of social protest; on the contrary, civil political unions and the development of the press are more influential to social movement. Thirdly, “China factor” needs to be considered when analyzing the development of social protest in Hong Kong. As a semi-autonomy city, most of the appeals from the citizens are decided or responded by the central government in Beijing, and the function of Hong Kong government is downgrading; therefore, the relation between Hong Kong and China will be crucial in the observation of the development of Hong Kong’s social protests.

Conceptual analysis and evaluation of transformation of the political reform and social movement is also the focus of the research, in summary, the study would like to make an integrated theoretical perspective and provide a comprehensive analysis on the transformation of social protests in Hong Kong

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research Background and Motivation

In the modern history of democratization development, many successful democracy transformations were from authoritarianism or totalitarianism to democracy. It rarely occurs in a society with freedom, high economic development and mature legal system yet its sovereignty is controlled by an autocracy, and the people are trying everything to fight for the democracy. Hong Kong is the best example.

Indifference toward politics is the stereotypical impression that people have for Hongkongers; however, this image is about to change due to various politicalized social movements (Vatikiotiks, 2004). On July 1, 2003, more than half a million people took to the streets of Hong Kong to protest against the Article 23 legislation and demand democracy. It was the largest demonstration on Chinese soil since Tiananmen Square incident 1989, and the largest protest ever directed against the Hong Kong government itself (So, 2002). It is said that the historic July 1 mass protest was the most significant political event Hong Kong has experienced since the Handover.

More than a decade has passed, yet civic engagement in public affairs and social movements are becoming more actively. Other than the July 1 march, there were also Star Ferry Pier movement, Anti National Education Movement, protest of Hong Kong TV License

dispute, let alone annual marches on January 1, more and more citizens participate in the activities to express their opinions toward public policies and affairs.

The development of Hong Kong's social movements is deeply connected with its history. In April 1966, there were a series of riots that took place in Kowloon against the British Colonial government's decision to increase the fare of Star Ferry. The next year, in May 1967, "Hong Kong 1967 Leftist riots" refers to the large-scale leftist riots between communist members and its sympathizers and the establishment. While originating as a minor labor dispute, the tensions later grew into large-scale demonstrations against the colonial government. Even though these collective actions had not shaken the foundation of Hong Kong's political stability, we cannot neglect the influences of these events. On the contrary, for the past decades, every large-scale social movement undoubtedly has a long-term effect to Hong Kong society. For student movement, the "June 4th Tiananmen Square Incident" had a serious impact to Hong Kong society and its citizens; it also affected political culture, development of political party and democracy process. It is a turning point in the history of social movement.

Looking back into the history, from 1975-1986, there were 882 social protests in these twelve years (Cheung and Louie, 2000); from 1987 to 1995, the number of the protests increased to 3,661, it was four times of the number during those nine years (Lau and Wan, 2000); nevertheless, from 1998 to 1999, merely two years after the Handover, there were 2,671 social protests (Cheng, 2001). In 2003 and 2004, tens of thousands of people took the street on July 1st to voice out and express dissatisfaction toward the government. Moreover, the Anti National Education Movement in 2012 has even stopped the government from

implementing the courses for high school students. What triggers originally politically apathetic Hongkongers to be actively involved in social movements and protests? This drastic change in participation has drawn my attention. In the following chapters, the phenomenon of “increasing numbers of social protests after the Handover” and the rationale behind will be discussed.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Research Paradigm of Social Movement

There are three types of models in modern social movement research paradigm: resource mobilization model, new social movement model and political process model. Resource mobilization stresses the importance of outside resources to the formation of social movements, especially to the underprivileged groups (Lui, 2000). Critics point out that it underestimate psychological factors of the public yet overestimate elites’ support for the movement and overlook its consequences and effects (Wong, 2000). The new social movement analyzed new movements that occurred in various western cities in the 70s. These movements were considered to depart significantly from conventional social movement paradigm in terms of appeal targets and goals of the movements, participating models and participants (Buechler, 1995). Political process model stresses the interactions between “political opportunity structure” and social movements (McAdam, 1999). This study will use

the perspective of political process to examine the development of social movements in Hong Kong after the Handover.

The political opportunity structure was first brought out by Peter Eisinger in 1973. In his research of riot behavior in 43 cities of the United States, Eisinger (1973) pointed out “protests are connected with the essence of political opportunity structure of a city,” and he defined “political opportunity structure” as “the degree to which group are likely to be able to gain access to power and to manipulate the political systems.” Sidney Tarrow (1996) argued that the political opportunity structure “signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements.” The signal stresses, not only an institutional structure (e.g. a system of a nation) but also confrontations or aliens structures that the external groups provide. Tarrow believed that political opportunity structure could be easily observed through the following four aspects:

First, the opening up of access to power. The dynamics of political opportunity and social movements are not entirely positive or negative; it is more likely to be curvilinear (Eisinger, 1973) The full open up or the lack of political participation have strong connections with social movements and thus make it complicated; nevertheless, the opening up of access to power, for instance, elections, might lead to the emergence of social movements. Second, shifting alignments. The instability of political alignments, for instance, the change of government or opposing powers might lead to the seek of political alignment and further mobilization power. Third, the availability of influential allies. For any type of social movements, it is very important to have influential allies. Fourth, division within and among elites. Conflicts or oppositions among elites are important to the formation of social

movements. To resource-lacking groups, it provides motives for the movements; meanwhile, the elites could possibly become the leaders of the movements in order to increase their political influences (Tarrow, 1996).

Nevertheless, some critics of political process research model are raised by scholars in recent years. Many argue that although the research tries to figure out the influences of political opportunity structure to social movements, it overlooks the difference of the mechanism of political opportunity structure and how it affects mobilization.

The changes of political opportunity structure can be long term or short term; the changes might not initiate social movement immediately, it is, however, an important factor. American social movement theorists believed that the emergence of certain social movements are due to changes of system structure or non institutional power relations of a political system (Tarrow, 1996). Social movements not only control the change of political opportunity structure, but also gradually mold the structure by interacting with it and thus influence the movement itself. Tarrow argue that once a collective action initiated, it would bring many effects, for instance, the expansion of opportunity for the group or the creation of new movement model; it may also create opportunities for other groups, opponents or elites, such as fighting for resources or oppression for the opponents. Therefore, the relation between social movements and political opportunity structure is dynamic (McAdam, 1996).

Many researchers have raised some comprehensive and comparative perspectives in recent studies combine political process model, resource mobilization model and new social movement model, and expect to overcome limitation of a single theory. By stressing the three key factors: imitation of political opportunity structure, official and unofficial organization

forms and the medium in between opportunity and action, the emergence and development of social movements can thus become more understandable. Through this comprehensive and comparative research method, it has more possibilities for social movement researches based on political process model to work on cross-country comparisons (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996).

Therefore, the reasons that this study is based on “political process model” (see Figure 1) are as followed: first, political opportunity model stresses the importance of the expansion of political opportunity to the emergence of social movements, it will be a more suitable method to examine the changes of political opportunity structure in Hong Kong after 1997. Second, the comprehensive research method also examines civil association, mobilization power and the change of public consciousness; it is a better way to observe the changes of organizations and social consciousness in Hong Kong society. Third, although Hong Kong is a highly economic developed city, it also faces many issues that are the main concerns of new social movements. However, in the decolonized political environment, the key factor of emergence and development of any social movements is the openness or closeness of political opportunity structure; the change of political environment also affects how the public assembles and participates in the movement.

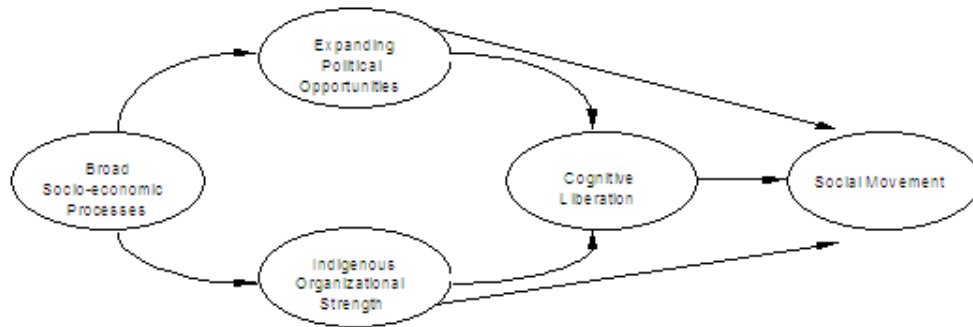


Figure 1: The Political Process Model of Movement Emergence (McAdam, 1982)

1.2.2 Existing Studies on Hong Kong's Social Movement: Integration and Critics

The District Council Election in 1982 symbolized the beginning of Hong Kong's democratic progress; meanwhile, with the signing of Sino-British Joint Declaration determining the fate of returning to China in 1984, democratization and de-colonization almost happened at the same time. As a matter of fact, the British colonial government only decided to implement a more powerful and influential representative democracy reform when the future of Hong Kong was settled. In *"The Development of Social Movements in Hong Kong,"* Chiu and Lui (2000) discussed eight types of social movements through political process model, including democratic movement, support of patriotic democratic movement in China, union movement, labor movement, housing movement, student movement, women movement and environment movement. The particularity of Hong Kong's social movements can be found in the types of the movements, for instance, overpopulated with the lack of housing situation lead to housing

movement, whereas colonial government and immigrant society resulted in the support of patriotic democratic movement in China. The researchers found out that what so-called “1997 effect” had different effects to every aspect of social movements; furthermore, Beijing’s influences to Hong Kong’s political opportunity structure should also be noted during the post-colonial transitional period.

In Ho’s studies of Hong Kong’s urban protest, he pointed out district councils, pressure groups and community organizations have gradually replaced traditional “neighbors,” becomes the medium between the government and civil society. These groups and organizations turn originally local issues into city-wide political level; the members are well educated, have abundant social movement experiences and try to use institutional means to affect the implementation of the government to reach the goals. Nevertheless, due to election consideration, some minority issues are being neglected by the public and are thus marginalized. The rise of housing (ATHA, Aged Temporary Housing Areas) movement was the result of lacking official communication means, attention and the help from external groups (Ho, 2000).

Cheng believed that in the events that draw a wide spread public attentions; the grass root unions often become organizers of the movements. With the development of elections and representative democracy, protests are intertwined with elections and affect democracy progress and public policymaking since late 1980s. However, the conflicts of financial problems, resource fighting in the same party and the alienation from the government, are the predicaments that the grass roots unions are facing with (Cheng, 2004).

In Cheung's research of social protests in Hong Kong from 1975 to 1986, some significant phenomena were found in his study. First, the number of protests increases year by year; moreover, the scale is expanding and is more organized, it implies the power of collective social mobility is reinforcing. Second, Cheung's research statistics showed that Hongkongers were neither politically apathetic nor were they utilitarianism, which were the opposite in Lau's book. Lau argued that (Hong Kong) Chinese society can be regarded as an introvert, self-disciplined and atomism society, and its characteristics are: apolitical and low political mobility potential. This society and the bureaucratic system model coexist but avoid any contact with each other, and this is the explanation for Hong Kong's political stability (Lau, 1982). Cheung proved that any protests concerning "constitutional system" and "politics and civil rights" are stably increased over the years, and concluded that the main concerns of the protests were no longer about satisfying basic needs, they leaned toward public domain, and forced the government to respond to the policy and implementation properly (Cheung and Louie, 2000).

Lau and Wan examined 3,661 social protests from 1987 to 1995 and concluded: "state" becomes the main subject in the protests and "citizenship" is the basis of their appeals. Since 1989, Chinese government became the subject of appeals and demands; more and more social groups participated in social protest, labors, politics and pressure groups are the main participants. In 1991, the first direct election of legislative council, legislators even participated in the protest. In the process of decolonization, due to the expansion of political opportunity and the variety of protesting issues, the development of mass politics had

changed the power structure and the relation between government and the public (Lau and Wan, 2000).

Leung, Benjamin K.P. pointed out in the research of Hong Kong's social protests and movements that the social movements in colonial period, for instance, Canton--Hong Kong strike in 1923 and Hong Kong 1967 Leftist riots, China factor deeply affected organization and resource; it also influence Hongkongers fought against capitalists and colonialism. From 70s to mid 80s, the decreasing of large scale social protests is due to Chinese economic reform and the improvement of Hong Kong's social policies; meanwhile, pressure groups has become the organizers in the movements and later activists in election politics (Leung, 1996).

So researched Hong Kong politics after the Handover and argued that the government is in the legitimacy crisis and with the frequent social protests, it will turn Hong Kong's ruling mechanism into a "soft authoritarianism" direction; he also argued this "soft authoritarianism" will be actualized by politically arrests or prosecution by the government (So, 2002).

The research question of this study is "Why is there an increasing number of social protests after 1997, the Handover, and what are the changes and transformation in its political meaning?" Chueng and Lau's studies showed that from 1975 to 1995, the number of social protests increased significantly, and they helped the public to understand the mass social movements phenomena after 1997. The researches of Cheng, Chueng, Ho and Leung, Benjamin K. P. all showed that social protests participants have become activists in election politics, and this change has deep influence on the resource allocation, movement organization, scales and the variation and politicization of issues. When analyzing recent

social movements, one must not overlook the development of social protests, democratization and election politics; the differences are not only in numbers, but also the essence of the movements. Leung, Benjamin K. P. pointed out the importance of “China factor” to the initiation of social protests and social movements; Lau even stressed that China is the subject of social movement. Hong Kong became a “special administrative region” under Chinese government since 1997, “China factor” cannot be neglected; however, the author pointed out that due to its special colonial history and as an international city, Hong Kong is an important financial and business to many countries, therefore, except for “China factor,” “British factor,” and international public opinion should also be considered when dealing with Hong Kong’s social movements. Ho stated in his research of Hong Kong housing movement, that the lack of official political means to express citizens’ interests would result in dissatisfaction of the public and later turned into social protests and movements. Lastly, So’s observation of “soft authoritarianism” of Hong Kong government hinted the influences of the government to the social movement and the initiation of it.

From the above researches, it is cleared that no later than the 70s, scholars started paying attention to class stratification, student movement and women movement; scholars are now wondering “how does social movement happen? Who participate in it? What are the effects?” This is a significant perspective change in the research direction.

1.3 RESEARCH METHOD

The research method of this study is mainly based on contextual analysis and in-depth interviews. Through important social movement related reports and studies, it is possible to do an in-depth discussion and research on a single event or movement. In contextual analysis, the contents are mainly based on books or journal paper of the scholars as a foundation of discussion. The government's official publication, news release, study reports and statistics are also used as important references on the up-to-date information. Other independent survey reports or projects are able to reflect political parties and public's opinion toward Hong Kong's political system. Statistics and reports of Hong Kong Security Bureau, HKU Public Opinion Programme and Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies are also used in the studies.

Other than contextual analysis, the research method of in-depth interview is also used in the study. The function of the interview is mainly to explore how the interviewees perceive the situation under different political background and circumstances, and how it affects their decision and actions. The author has completed ten in-depth interviews and also visited few social movement organizations. By interviewing social movement activists and participants plus data gathering, this experience has undoubtedly benefited the author's understanding of the social movement in Hong Kong.

“Political opportunity structure” is not only the external environment of the emergence and development of social movement; but also a strategic mean for researchers to analyze social movement. Meanwhile, recent studies on social movements emphasize on a

comprehensive research perspective, expecting to include discussion on social movement organization and collective consciousness in order to connect with political environment, organization and action. It thus will help future researches have a better understanding about the development and emergence of social movement. The study will be conducted with this comprehensive approach and the framework is as followed:

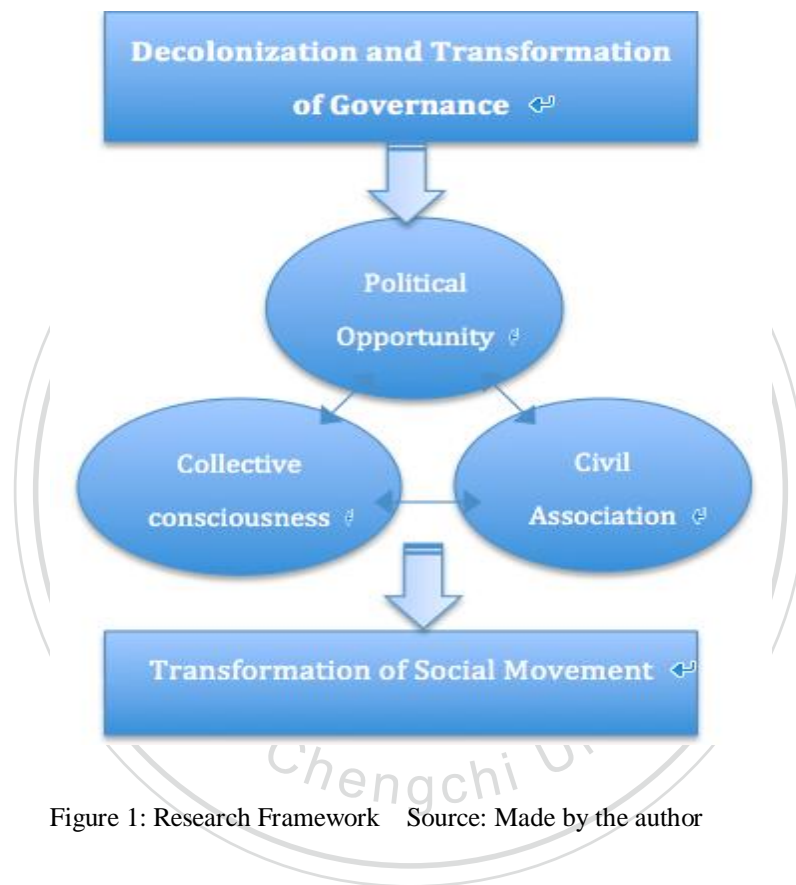


Figure 1: Research Framework Source: Made by the author

1.4 CONTENT OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 The Transformation of Governance Model

The subject of this study is the trend of social movement development after the Handover, and the study will try to answer the question “Why is there an increasing number of social protests after 1997, the Handover, and what are the changes and transformation in

its political meaning?” The main point of this study is to emphasize the transformation of governance mode after decolonization. With the government failure after 1997, it brought the opportunity for further social movements. Two aspects will be used to examine the content, process and influences of this transformation: institutional factors and non-institutional factors. In the aspect of institutional factors, it includes the flaws and conflicts of the “Basic Law,” the mending of “Public Order Ordinance,” and the dissolution of two Urban Councils. On the other hand, the non-institutional factors include social atmosphere transformation, the development of media and the Executive Officer leadership style, and how these affect the governance. Sections in this study are as followed:

- a. The Governance
 - b. The Transformation of Governance Model: Institutional Factors
 - c. The Transformation of Governance Model: Non-Institutional Factors
- #### 1.4.2 Political Opportunity, Collective Consciousness and Civil Association

The political opportunity structure, collective consciousness and civil association will be influenced by the transformation of governance mode. The study will use two indexes in political opportunity structure, “division within elites” and “increased political enfranchisement” to discuss whether social movements in decolonization period are affected by these factors, and how the functions presented. Next, the study will examined whether collective conscious will change, what are the changes and how will they affect the development of social movement. Lastly, by discussing the transformation of civil association and organizations, the study examines the characteristics of Hong Kong’s social

movements in the organizational aspect, and how the activists participate in social movements through organizations. Sections in this study are as followed:

- a. Division within Elites and Social Movement
- b. Failure of Parliamentary Politics and the Rise of Social Movement
- c. The Change of Civic Consciousness: From “Colonial Identity” to “Hongkongers Identity”
- d. Characteristics and Changes of Civic Association and Organizational Power

1.4.3 The “Awakening” Points

This chapter discussed some of the most important social protests after the Handover, each protest is examined with the angle of political opportunity and how it affected political development and the society. Sections in this study are as followed:

- a. Hong Kong’s social movement after the Handover
- b. July 1, 2003 Demonstration
- c. The Star Ferry Pier and Queen’s Pier Movement
- d. Anti-National Education Movement
- e. Occupy Central and July 1, 2014 March

1.4.4 Hong Kong-Mainland Conflicts and The Transformation of Social Movement

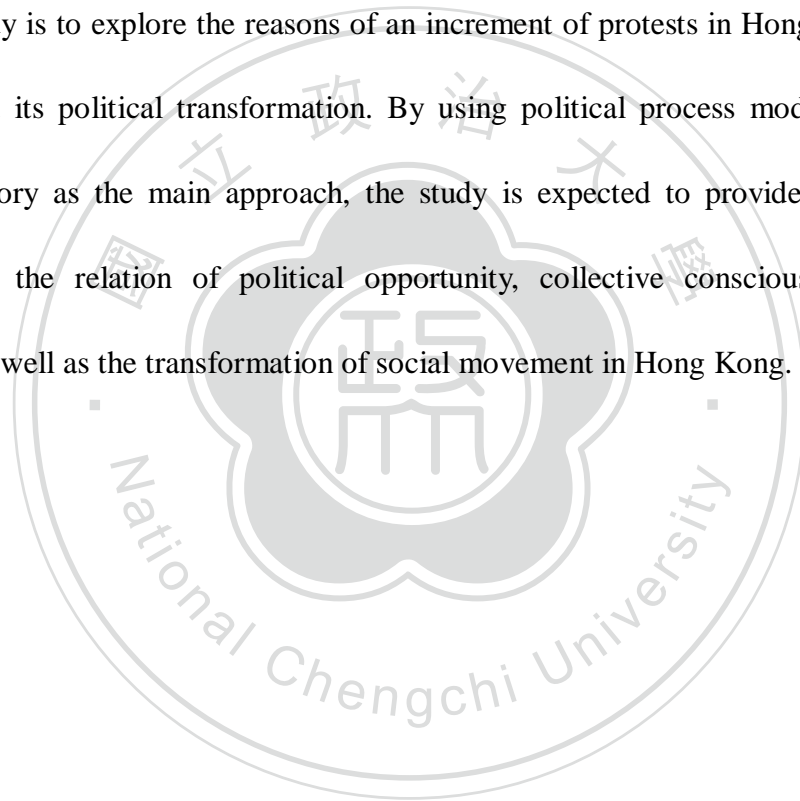
Hong Kong – mainland conflict referred to a series of conflicts occurred between Hongkongers and mainlanders after the Handover. With more interaction of the two sides, it comes with more integration and decolonization policies and these all resulted in more conflicts and social protests. This broad social background also influence the development of social movement. Political opportunity, civil collective consciousness and civil association interact closely and mold the transformation of social movements in decolonization period.

This includes diversification, politicization and the increment of social movements. Sections in this study are as followed:

- a. Hong Kong-Mainland Conflicts
- b. Social Protests: Increment, Diversification and Politicization
- c. The Difficulties and Opportunities of Hong Kong's Social Movement

1.4.5 Conclusion

The study is to explore the reasons of an increment of protests in Hong Kong after the Handover, and its political transformation. By using political process model in the social movement theory as the main approach, the study is expected to provide comprehensive knowledge of the relation of political opportunity, collective consciousness and civil association, as well as the transformation of social movement in Hong Kong.



Chapter 2. The Transformation of Governance

In this chapter, the transformation of postcolonial governance model and how these changes affect HKSAR government will be discussed. Hong Kong was in a transitional period before returning to China in the 1980s; therefore, the democratization process and the making of the “Basic Law” have changed Hong Kong society in the aspects of political consciousness and actions. These changes and differences showed the failure of the government, they also provided emergence conditions for the social movements.

2.1 The Governance

The basic concept of “governance” is “The exercise of authority within a given sphere” (Hewitt de Alcantara, 1998). This concept is different from “government” in political science, “government” usually refers to the policy making and implementation of a certain domain in a formal system and organization” (Stoker, 1998). Although this concept includes many domains, for instance, corporate organization or risk management, the governance in this chapter refers to “the modes and manner of governing” (Jessop, 1988). The governance is a process; its key factors include legitimacy source, accountable government and effective governing.

Governance in the colonial period was a crucial research point in the past (King, 1975). The main issue most scholars were concerned about was under almost 150 years of colonization, why Hong Kong society did not have large-scale political or social riots; instead,

it remained stable after the war? What is the legitimacy of the colonial government? How did the government legitimize its governing? Why the failure of government did not happen and how the people recognized this process? John Rear (1971), Lau (1982) and Scott (1989) had raised different opinions toward the political stability of Hong Kong.

Rear argued that although the implementation of “government by consultation and consent” was the best system at that time, it was undemocratic and did not work effectively. Therefore, in the late 60s, he urged to implement a more representative government, elective politics and cultivate professional politicians. Lau stressed the concept of “Utilitarian Familism” and “bring society back in” to describe why Hongkongers were political apathy. Lau argued that the characteristic of Hong Kong’s refugee society was “minimally-integrated socio-political system;” therefore, even though the colonial government could not solve the problem of poverty or social welfare system, the intensive social network nevertheless made up for the lack of this aspect and the dissatisfaction would not turn into political protests. Therefore, unlike the theory of modernization or prototype of political development, in the process of economic development, there was not drastic social instability (Lau and Kuan, 1988). From the legitimacy angle, Ian Scott argued that the reason why British colonial government was able to survive after major social protests or transitional points and remained political stability was that it effectively handled the legitimacy problem. For instance, during the period of Sino-British negotiation, as a local government, the British colonial government could not voice out for Hongkongers and thus decreased the trust and approval of the people. In response to this situation, the government continuously expanded public consultation organization and accelerated the reform of representative politics.

“Consultation politics,” “minimal-integrated socio-political system,” and “legitimacy” explained the “governance” in colonial period in different aspects. It is said that the 70s was a turning point of customs: before the 70s, Hongkongers attitude toward colonial government was untrustworthy; nevertheless, in the 70s, people believed that “it is a efficient government that is able to boost the economy and solve social problems including corruption (Lui, 2002).” In the 80s, with the process of Sino-British negotiation, began the development of local autonomy and democratization as well as the draw up of the “Basic Law.” Tiananmen Square Incident, immigration waves, transformation of social ethos, establishment of opposing parties, development of media and the political factors after the Handover have brought changes to Hong Kong society and the governance of the government. Therefore, the institutional and non-institutional factors of the transformation of political governance will be discussed in the following sections; they include the characteristics of the transformation, reasons behind and the possible results.

2.2 The Transformation of Governance Model: Institutional Factors

From the transitional period in the 80s to the decolonization process after the Handover, some of the colonial systems have continuously affecting Hong Kong. These changes not only affected the transformation of governance, but also strongly connected with political opportunity structure and resulted in the emergence of further social movements. The institutional factors including the Basic Law, the Public Order Ordinance and the dissolution of two Urban Councils will be discussed in the following sections in order to describe the

transformation of governance.

2.2.1 The Contradiction of the Basic Law

The Basic Law serves as the constitution of Hong Kong; it was drafted in the mid-80s, adopted in the early 90s and went into effect on July 1st, 1997. The most notable characteristic is that the system remains unchanged regardless in governance logic, power structure and profit distribution. For a decolonizing Hong Kong, the “unchanged” characteristic contradicted to the reality; if the situation remained the same, then how would it decolonize? The “unchanged” characteristic of the Basic Law was due to the political promise of “remains unchanged for fifty years” and “horse races go on and night clubs stay open” (Deng, 1985); other than that, interviewee A15 explains this situation:

“The reason why they drafted the Basic Law was to have a smooth Handover, so the boundary of many questions were blurred; the Chinese used a more flexible way to handle all the problems that Hong Kong citizens worried about. What they worried about was losing autonomy, and Beijing and communist party take the control over Hong Kong. Therefore, the Basic Law contains the past operation patterns, for instance, executive-led system, and this is completely British. Therefore, the establishment of the Basic Law is to stabilize the circumstance or to sooth the doubts from the society, that’s it. So the function of it after the Handover is not the best, and that is a problem.”

In the book of *Internal Colonialism*, Michael Hechter (1975) stated the concept of internal colonialism. The internal colonialism used the relation between the “core” and

“periphery” as the main focus; the “periphery” becomes a functional character for the “core” in every aspect regardless economy, politics, military, judicial systems and even culture, they all rely on the “core” and are reinforced over the time. What Hechter referred to was the economically, politically and culturally injustice situations for the minorities (African Americans) and this internal colonialism structure was constructed and maintained by the white racists. There were two solutions for internal colonialism: assimilation and nationalism, and it had the tendency to go from assimilation to a more radical nationalism.

When discussing decolonization and the circumstances after the Handover in postcolonial Hong Kong, the concept of Hechter’s internal colonialism seems to apply to this situation. The Basic Law kept the original profit distribution structure, and was thus controlled by Beijing and deteriorated the democratization process of Hong Kong. This has made Hong Kong become a “periphery” in terms of political development and it has to follow the orders from the “core.” The increasing influence of the core has gradually molded the identity of Hongkongers, and result in semi-colonization and even re-colonization. Therefore, decolonization without independence is the most significant characteristics of Hong Kong’s decolonization (Lau, 1990). Nevertheless, the phenomena of internal colonization, for instance, after the Handover, due to Beijing’s skeptical attitude toward Hongkongers, nationalism and patriotism are reinforced in the Hong Kong society. It does not increase legitimacy of the government; on contrary, this causes division and opposition of the people and thus affects ruling effectiveness and legitimacy.

The “unchanged” characteristics of the Basic Law is to maintain social stability of Hong Kong in the transitional period; it is the “basic constitutional law” under the “original

colonial institutional framework;” nevertheless, it is expected to distinguish old and new era and achieve the goal of “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong,” and this inevitably resulted in conflicts. When responding to the question of whether Basic Law brings the governance crisis due to its lack of adaption of the transforming Hong Kong society, interviewee A13 replies:

“Of course it does. The Basic Law did not foresee the problems after the Handover. It was drafted in the 80s, and the British were experts in the Sino-British negotiation, they successfully sold the whole governing systems to Beijing and gave the impression of if Beijing kept the original governing systems, from Executive Council to legislature and hundreds of consultation framework, Hong Kong could remain stable. However, the British missed to point out one crucial factor and Beijing did not notice – the democratization development. ... I think the design of the Basic Law is full of flaws; it is the product of compromise based on the expectation to stabilize Hong Kong society.”

The internal conflicts and failure that the Basic Law faces nowadays, for instance, the relation between executive and legislative branches, the democratization progress and development, are unexpected to the government in the 80s when the policy was made. The “executive-led” spirit of the colonial period was adopted in the Basic Law and thus gave the chief executive extreme constitutional power (Article 48 and 50), in contrast to the power cuts of legislative council (Article 74). Hence, even though Tung Chee-hwa was restrained by different branches, the regulations of legislative power of the Basic Law seemed to fall behind the functions of councils in the democratizing process, and this inevitably resulted in the failure of the councils. Therefore, the influences of the Basic Law to the SAR

government are the inefficiency of the system, and the failure to respond to the social demands has also caused the disordered situation.

2.2.2 The Mending of “Public Order Ordinance”

The “Public Order Ordinance” and “Societies Ordinance” are important laws in Hong Kong and every related amendment of the law has prominent influences to the liberty and civil rights of the Hong Kong society (the first amendment of the Public Order Ordinance was made in response to 1967 riots). In May 1949, in order to control the influences of China civil war to Hong Kong and to prevent the development of communist organizations, the colonial government implemented the “Societies Ordinance” and regulated the registration of all societies. With series post-war amendments, the colonial government passed “Bill of Rights” and expanded regulations on public processions and societies registrations in the 90s. Nevertheless, in 1997, the Preparatory Committee for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as Preparatory Committee) re-amended “Public Order Ordinance” and added some already eliminated articles back into the ordinance. It states that before any meetings or processions, the participants have to obtain a “Letter of no objection” first. The act set back and limited the rights for Hong Kong citizens and thus aroused controversy in the society and the popular support for Tung drastically decreased ten percent (HKUPOP). Nevertheless, the Provisional Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as Provision Legislative Council) still amended the “Public Order Ordinance” and used “national security” as a reason against

public procession. Furthermore, according to Article 23 of the Basic Law, “The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies.” This Article triggered half million of people took the street of Hong Kong on July 1st, 2003 and expressed the anger toward this provision. The “Public Order Ordinance,” the “Societies Ordinance,” and Article 23 of the “Basic Law” are all in relation with civil liberty and political power; therefore, they have important influences to the interaction of governance and society (Chan, 2002).

The proposal raised by the Preparatory Committee in 1997 amended the public procession and meeting provision of the “Public Order Ordinance” from “notification system” to “permission system;” it also amended the freedom of association of the “Societies Ordinance” from “reporting” to “permitting,” and thus aroused controversy in the society. It is stated explicitly in Article 27 of the Basic Law, “Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom to form and join trade unions, and to strike;” Article 39 also stated “The provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and international labour conventions as applied to Hong Kong shall remain in force and shall be implemented through the laws of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.” Even with these articles, the amendments of “Public Order Ordinance” still have strong impacts on the

social movements. For instance, the ordinance regulated that for a procession or meeting over 30 and 50 people, the organizers have to apply for a no objection letter from the police. This application system has limited the space of social movement and also affects the governance.

Interviewee A12 who has participated in the assembly of social movements described the differences and influences of the ordinance:

“In 1997, the Public Order Ordinance was not as free as before. If you want to assemble a public procession, you didn’t have to apply for it seven days earlier from the police before 1997. With this regulation, some people will, for example, if something happens today, and I want to organize a procession, some groups will think that they don’t have enough time. ... The most influential part of this regulation is that if the commissioner of the police does not permit the activity, meeting or procession, you cannot do it. Then whether you hold the activity or not is out of your decision. Protesters in many other countries don’t have to apply for procession, they just notify, don’t need to get permission. ... and most social movement groups and organizations are in support of this notify method. Now they say that you need to apply for it and you need to get permission. If they don’t give you the permission, you can appeal to the court, but you need to do it seven days earlier. For instance, today is June 8th, and you want to hold an meeting on June 15th, then you apply for it now; they might just tell you one the 12th that you are not permitted to do so. Then you will appeal to the court, but it will take many days, you will not be in the court even on the day of the meeting.”

The amendments of “Public Order Ordinance” had made procession organizing groups a self-censorship mentality and thus the space for social movements were limited (Chan,

2002); moreover, the ambiguity of law terms such as “national security” had made the public skeptical and could decreased the legitimacy of the government and the legal system.

2.2.3 The Dissolution of Two Urban Councils

The estate-general system was implemented in Hong Kong before the Handover, and it was form by the Legislative Council, two Urban Councils (Regional Council and Urban Council) and District Council. The Urban Council was a regional consultative council in Hong Kong, it was established in 1935 and could be traced back to the “Committee of Public Health and Cleanliness” in 1984 of the colonial period (Liu, 2001). According to the provision of “Urban Council Ordinance,” the urban council was in charge of cultural, recreational, environmental and sanitary service and consultation in Hong Kong and Kowloon area. Even though the power of the councilors was limited and did not possess the function of a local government, it was, however, the only institution of elected councilors in the 80s before District Council, and the only place which cultivated local elites (劉, 2001). The Regional Council was established in 1985 and was in responsible for cultural, recreational, environmental and sanitary service and consultation in New Territory according to “Regional Council Ordinance.” The function of Urban Council and Regional Council were the same – both were service and consultation institution of the colonial government.

In December 1999, the first Legislative Council passed the bill of the dissolution of the two councils due to the failure of the councils on handling bird flu, red tide and other public sanitary issues. The dissolution of the two councils appeared to be the reorganization of

regional institutions and the enhancement of administrative effectiveness; nevertheless, the government had already transferred the function of the two councils to Legislative Council and District Council before the dissolution. The act had aroused protests of democratic parties and human rights activists, for they believed that the dissolution of the two councils had set the development of political parties and democratization backwards (范, 2004). Moreover, the United Nation Human Rights Council also showed concerned over the issue for it might decreased the opportunities for Hong Kong citizens to participate in public affairs (US State department, 2002).

The dissolution of the two councils has transformed the governance in two aspects: first, it resulted in the emergence of social protests and secondly, due to the lack of political enfranchisement, it was therefore Hong Kong could not cultivate local elites and affected the capability of governance for the next generation. This cost was unexpected under the transformation of the system. When asked how the dissolution of two councils affects the flow of expressing public opinion, interviewee A12, who has a close relation with the neighborhood, says:

“It is a bit difficult to pass their opinions in livelihood issues and the issues that grass root groups encounter to the councils. We used to have Urban Council before, and Urban Council was in between District Council and Legislative Council (Legco), it worked as a bridge between Legco and District Council. Now without Urban Council, this channel disappeared; in other words, the public has lost a major way to express opinion, and it has disappointed some organizations and citizens.”

Interviewee A10, who is also a journalist, explained the situation:

“Originally, the design is from District Council to Urban Council, and Urban Council controlled the resources, then to Legco. With this three level system, social activists outside the system were able to participate in politics and join the system. ... But now, with the dissolution of the two councils, from District Council to Legco, there is no room for participation.”

Examining the decolonization of Hong Kong, it is clearly for one to understand the influences of the policies to governance in the society (張, 2005). The unchanged core value of the Basic Law was expected to stabilize the uncertainty and fear of Hongkongers in the transitional period; however, it overlooked the democratization process and governed the society with “internal colonization” method, the backwards of political space, the government could not respond to the citizens and the tension between administrative and legislative councils were the results of it. Lui (2002) observed the situation and argued that “in the transitional period, Hong Kong has missed the chance of regrouping the relation between polity and the society, ..., the entire process of decolonization was simplified as a technical procedure, and the idea so-called “July 1st, 1997 was just the change of a flag” was the logic of this 1997 direct transition.”

The amendment of the “Public Order Ordinance” also affected human rights for Hong Kong society and did not improve governance; it as well deteriorated the legitimacy of the authorities and caused tensions between the government and the society. The dissolution of the two councils became a negative example for the transformation of system; the lack of communication channels for the citizens had intensified social protests, and the political parties could not cultivate the next generation was also a serious impact to the society.

2.3 The Transformation of the Governance: Non-Institutional Factors

2.3.1 Social Atmosphere

The social atmosphere has changed toward to a more politicization, democratization and diversification development since the 80s. Democratization in Hong Kong moved one step forward in 1982 when the elections of the District Boards were held for the first time. One-third of the members of the District Boards, that is, 132 members were been reelected (Lui, 2002). The colonial government issued a Green Paper introducing the development of representative government 1984 and scheduled to introduce functional constituencies and Electoral College in the Legislative Council election in 1985. In 1987, the government conducted a review on the development of representative government and established Survey Office to conduct surveys and polls (鐘, 2004), and the government decided to introduce direct one-third of the direct election seats into the Legislative Council in 1991 (LEGCO, 1996). Hong Kong experienced the impact of Sino-British negotiation and the shocking June 4th, Tiananmen Square incident in the 80s, and these had tremendous influences on the social development in the decolonization process. Interviewee 10 described the situation:

“When the government introduced “Representative Politics White Paper” in 1984, the whole society began to full of political atmosphere. ... I think the British government created this atmosphere, and made people think that this would be a place that we could control by ourselves; and political discussion was most prosperous at that time. ... in the mid-80s, the society began to discuss about the election of council members, and groups talked about

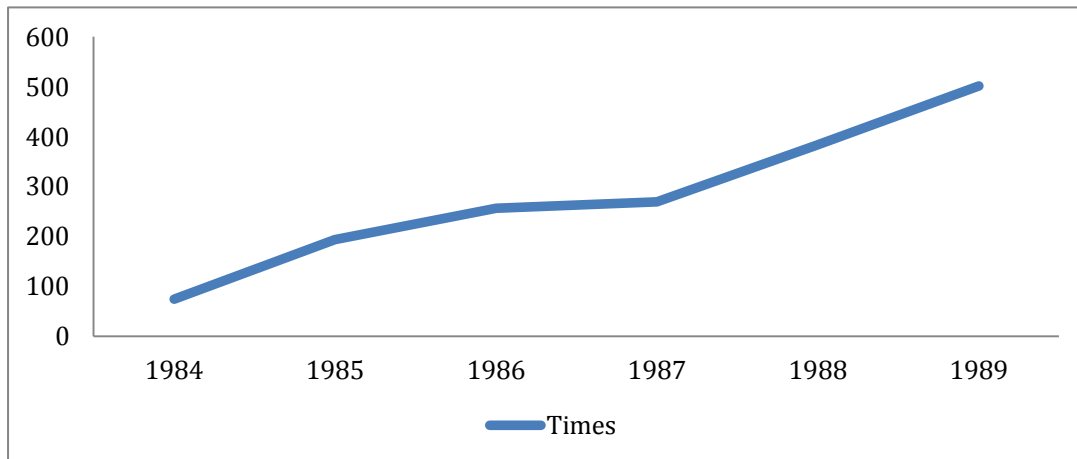
social movement, and I think it was the beginning of social movement; they started to think that if we could rule Hong Kong, then we could fight for more rights. I believe it was a transition point, different levels of people and groups started participating in political discussion.”

Therefore, even if interviewee 14 stated, “In Hong Kong, the eagerness in pursuit of stability and prosperity is stronger than that in Taiwan. Most people believe that stability is the most important thing, so the whole atmosphere was quit repressing.” The democratization in the 80s was indeed an unprecedented experience for Hong Kong. It let the “prosperous and stably society” find the way out for its civil society, Lo (盧, 2003) even used the term of “explosion of civil society” to described the development of that time (Figure 2-1).

The June 4th Incident in 1989 was an important transformation point for collective consciousness and political environment in Hong Kong; moreover, the direct election of the Legislative Council had also changed the foundation of political environment (馬嶽, 2003). The Sino-British negotiation over Hong Kong political reform had also increased and reinforced the political consciousness of Hongkongers (盧, 2003). Interviewee 2, who has experienced the impact of June 4th incident, says: “From June 4 in 1989 to direct election in 1991, Hongkongers became more aware of politics. Later on, the development of the society has given pressure to the government, it forces them to listen and value public opinions. After the Handover, the legitimacy of the government is low, so the society doesn’t trust the government. Of course the chief executive is also a key point; his governance and political means aren’t better than the governors in the colonial period. From the first District Council

election in 1982 to a series of Sino-British negotiation, the political space was gradually opened up in the mid-80s. For many people, this was also the first time that they participated in or care about politics; the 1989 incident also united the democratic camp.

Figure 2-1: Times of public meetings and processions from 1984-1989



Source: Lo, 1997.

2.3.2 The Development of Media

The most important and influential characteristics in the media development since the 90s was the “phone-in program.” Media has played an important role as the main communication channel between the state and the society; it is also plays the role of “the fourth estate” in supervising the government. In the related researches of “authoritarian transition,” it is stressed that the state’s control over media is the key factor of the transformation process (Fox, 1998). The Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen (1999) also analyzed the importance of media and information flow to the development and poverty issue of a country; therefore, the crucial factor that the media plays cannot be over emphasized. According to the report

released by the “Reporters without Borders,” among 168 countries or areas around the world, Hong Kong ranked 34 in press freedom in 2004 and 2010, which was the highest in Asia. Though the number varied over the years, the development of media had affected the governance, especially “phone-in program.”

The history of phone-in program can be traced back more than four decades ago (顏, 2003). The early phone-in programs were more government-oriented; for instance, the earliest phone-in program was held by RTHK (Radio Television Hong Kong). The hosts of the program were the city authorities, and the program was aimed at answering questions and complaints from the citizens. Interviewee 10 recalled, “It was RTHK which started phone-in programs first. I remember the show was called “The 90s.” It was the government’s radio, so they just let the citizens to phone-in to complaint, they didn’t do any follow-up.”

Since the 90s, the development of Hong Kong’s phone-in programs step up to the next level in terms of host style, guests and the interactions among the three. Three characteristics can be concluded as follow:

First, convey information that the government omitted. When facing crucial challenges and issues, phone-in programs have the function of conveying messages. The SARS crisis in 2003 was the best example. Mui (枚, 2004) argued that due to the anonymous feature of the phone-in programs, the callers could speak freely without having to go through bureaucratic system. Mui described that this type of program “provided a channel for the frontline medical workers to speak up and tell the public truth that the management level omitted. The programs had thus force the related authorities to response to public appeals.” Moreover,

phone-in programs could even replace government channels of conveying messages at some certain points. In the SARS crisis, phone-in programs had played a coordinate role for the government, society and the media.

Secondly, defining issues for the government. The phone-in programs not only successfully express public opinions, but also force the government to respond to the issues they raised. During the SARS crisis, Yip (葉, 2004) pointed out that “the media was in a superior position and the government kept giving in; the government was force to be in a vicious circle of losing the power of defining issues. After six years of governance, the governing authority of Hong Kong was vulnerable and was completely lead by the media.” Therefore, the media functions better than the government in initiating issues, and has made the government lose its issue-defining capability and jeopardize its authority. Interviewee 9 has the similar observation:

“For instance, Albert Cheng (a host of the show “Teacup in a Storm) has a certain influence to the movement. He is very troublesome for the government; he can pick up any issue in the morning, and everyone calls him “Hong Kong chief executive before 10 a.m.” Therefore by noon, other media start to do follow up and ask related officials and political parties. ... In fact, he has changed the situation; he begins a movement in the morning and puts the government in a passive position. The government is forced to respond to his issues every day, and the public opinion is not in control.”

Third, form public opinion and give pressure to the government. The phone-in programs not only have made many radio and television pundits, but also revoked discussion on the boundary between politics and the media and form public opinion against the

government. Interviewee A10 also commented:

“In the past, if you have any dissatisfaction, you can go to pressure groups and let the pressure groups to appeal to political parties for you. Instead of protesting, the political parties now fight for your rights in the council. What about now? If I have complaints, I will just write a petition; it has become a routine. As for other citizens, they can just call in to radio shows, ... it has become a powerful platform. All government officials, council members and authorizes have to respond to issues through this platform.”

Yan (顏, 2003) pointed out the reasons why phone-in programs are popular among Hong Kong citizens. Regardless the charisma of the hosts, the programs provided a chance and opportunity for the public to express the opinions. With the development of the society, citizens' participation in public affairs becomes more actively, and the development of these types of shows becomes vigorously as well. Nevertheless, the controversy over the role of media has been raised after 1997; the most notable arguments are the ones concerned with “irresponsible media” and “objective journalism. (蘇, 2002).” The “irresponsible media” described the massive power of the media and could not be restricted; it even caused the phenomena of “media rules Hong Kong,” moreover, over-criticizing the governance of the government could harm the international image of Hong Kong. The “objective journalism,” on the other hand, stressed that criticizing and evaluating the government is the responsibility of the media, and the media must report based on truth no matter what. This “media rules Hong Kong” was strongly related to the untrustworthy system, Legislative Council, and it reinforced the function of media representative politics. According to So's (2004) research, when asking “the importance of media representative politics,” 83.3% of the citizens and

77.6% of media professions listed “the media should represent the public” as the most important issue. On contrary, only 28.3% of the citizens and 9.2% of the media professions agreed “the Legislative Council could effectively represent the public.” The function of the representative politics was not trustworthy, and the original councils were also been dissolved, the public then turned to the media for information and assembled collective actions.

2.3 Leadership Style and Strategies

Tung Chee-hwa

When discussing how the leadership style and strategies affected the transformation of Hong Kong’s governance, one must not neglect the issue of the power of the Chief Executive and the legitimacy foundation. The legitimacy of the Chief Executive after the Handover are from first, China, so-called the trust and support of the Beijing government; and second, the support of the Hong Kong society, including the ruling elites and the public. Therefore, when Beijing elects the candidate for the Chief Executive, it must also consider the reputation and public support of the candidates. On the contrary, if one only possesses public support but does not gain the trust from Beijing, he/she cannot be elected based on the Chief Executive elected mechanism in the Basic Law, and it has aroused controversy over the years on the universal suffrage.

Tung Chee-hwa, as the eldest son of shipping magnate Tung Chao Yung, was the first Chief Executive and President of the Executive Council of Hong Kong after the Handover. Due to his business background, Tung did not possess any allies nor did he obtain the support from the political parties due to the restrictions of the system in the beginning. Tung was

supported by Beijing; nevertheless, the lacks of political experiences and support from the public have made his governance controversial. Wong (王, 1995) conducted a research on “qualifications of the future Chief Executive” in June 1995. “High degree with ethics and integrity” was the most important issue for the public (84.3), whereas “political background” was regarded the least important (48.1). Wong concluded that the relatively lower score for “political background” was due to citizens’ lacking of confidence for the political parties. The other possible reason was that citizens required the future chief executive remain neutral and should not involve in political parties. Interviewee 15 concluded that governance crisis might be the result of lacking the support of the political parties.

“Tung didn’t have any experience and suddenly became the chief executive; how can he solve all these problems? The office before him, which is the British government, did they hand in Hong Kong voluntarily? Of course not! He (Tung) had played lots of gimmicks in mainland (in order to get this position), and this is his failure of governance, and that would definitely be a problem.”

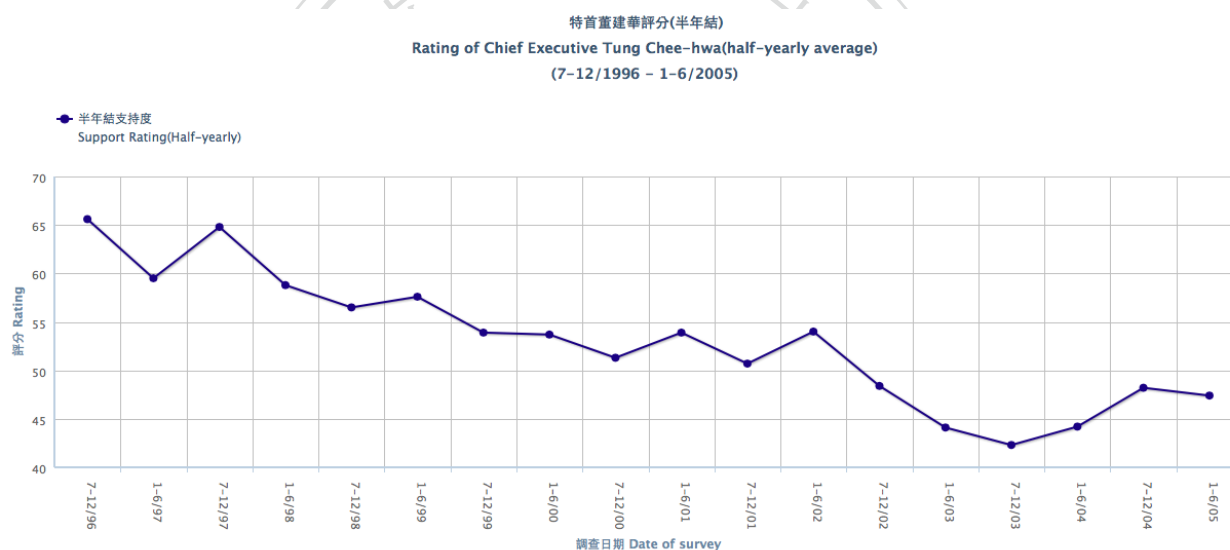
When asked the relation between the governance and social movement, interviewee A15 replied:

“The British was really good at political skills, especially at handling social movement, but these skills does not work for SAR government. This is Hong Kong’s government and they should not use the same ruling method. ... British ruled Hong Kong for over a hundred years, when handling colonial governance issues, the policies they used were closely related to stability; plus they could also learn from past experience, so they knew how to deal with social movement. On the other hand, the SAR government has not decided whether they

should be more open or tough on social movement, and this gives a unstable feeling to the public; however, this is also a great opportunity for the development of social movement.”

The Public Opinion Programme of The University of Hong Kong (HKUPOP) also conducted research on the performance of Tung Chee-hwa, and the rating degraded gradually; by June 2003, the rating hits a new low (see Figure 2-2), and his approval rate also degraded gradually (Figure 2-3).

Figure 2-2: Rating of Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa (1996-2005)

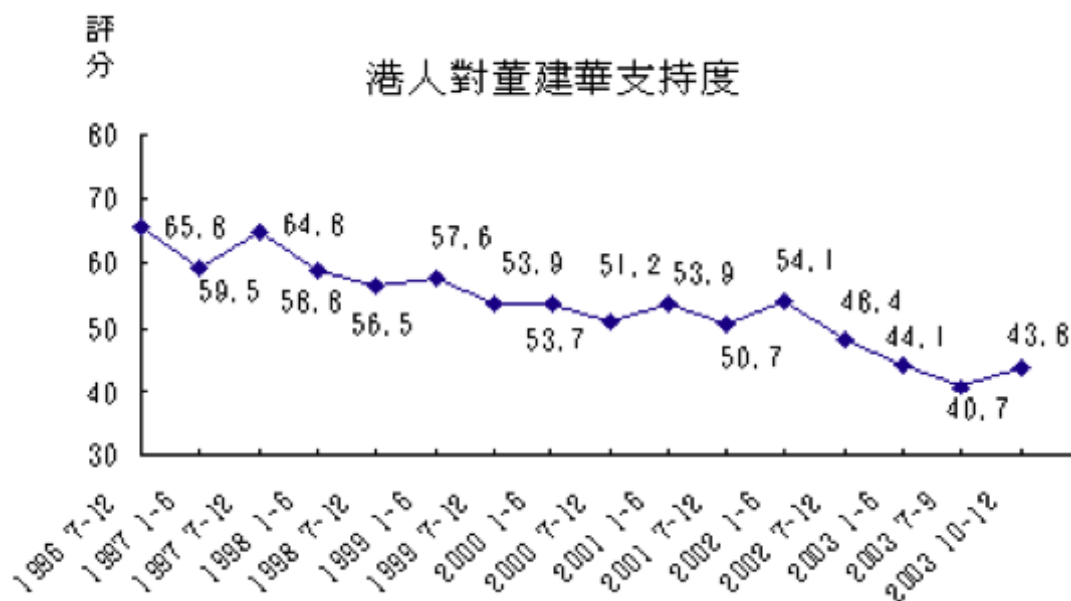


Source: HKUPOP. <http://hkupop.hku.hk>

Interviewee 14 also commented on the government’s attitude towards movements:

“The way they do it is very crappy; if they don’t like you, they would just tell you straight forward: If I don’t allow you to do it, then you can’t do it. British are smarter at this. Their attitudes are the same; they only want governance not democracy. But the government’s way of handing social movements lacks political wisdom, so that everyone sees it clearly now.”

Figure 2-3: The approval rate of Tung Chee-hwa (1997-2003)



Source: HKUPOP. <http://hkupop.hku.hk>

Tsang Yam-kuen

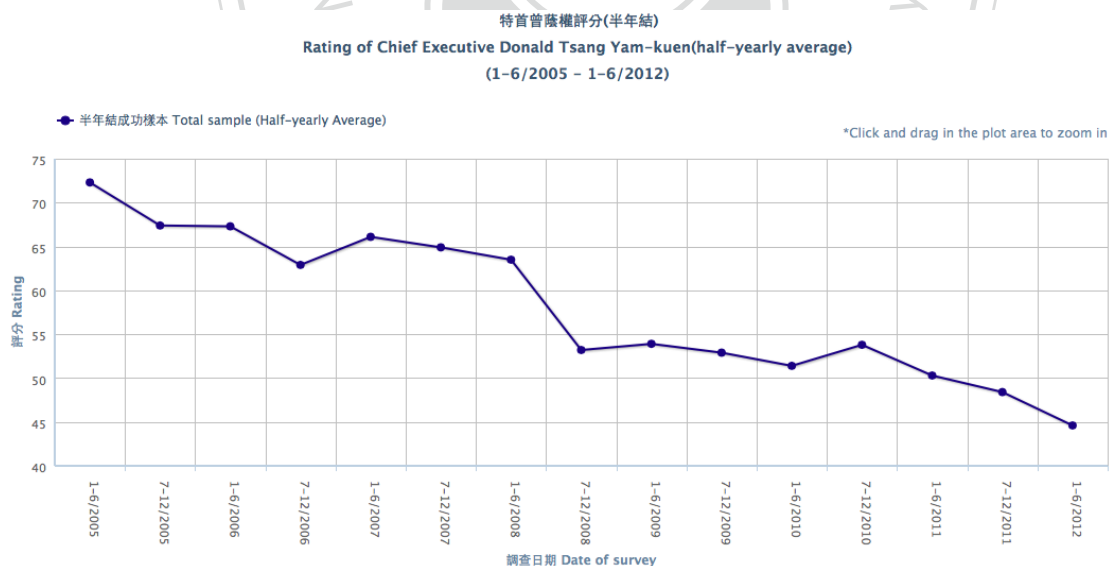
In March 2005, Tung resigned due to personal health issue without finishing the second term. As the Chief Secretary, Tsang was selected to take the position of Chief Executive. Two years later, in March 2007, he was elected as the second Chief Executive by the 800 members of the Election Committee.

Tsang advocated implementing policies with pragmatic attitude, pragmatic leadership and pragmatic politics. Tsang also tried to balance four political powers: he maintains the relation with the left wing and business field, and nominated civil service to be officials. On the other hand, Tsang also progressively mended the relation with democratic camp. Tsang's political alliance is neither "anti-China pro-democracy camp" nor "pro-Beijing pro-establishment camp;" it represented mainstream of the society and focused on practical

benefits. His alliance represented pragmatic majority instead of political parties, and he wanted to show the public that he had the capability of solving political dispute and focus on practical issues; and his strategy worked effectively. In his term, the government proposed 69 bills and 173 amendments, all of them passed; on contrary, the rate of council members amending the bills of the government was only 6.14%. Overall, Tsang’s government had shown the advantage of “executive-led” in the governance.

Nevertheless, the financial crisis in 2008 had influenced the economic stability of Hong Kong. The decline in stock market and housing, layoffs and companies out of business occurred frequently. During this period, the controversy policies of the government also resulted in complaints; Tsang’s rating declined drastically and lost the support of Hong Kong citizens (Figure2-4).

Figure 2-4: Rating of Chief Executive Tsang Yam-kuen (2005-2012)



Source: HKUPOP. <http://hkupop.hku.hk>

Hong Kong began the democratization process in the 80s, with the emergence of political parties and strong civil society, various political powers and appeals are involved in

the decision-making process of the government. With the rapidly politicized governing environment, there is still not universal suffrage for the Chief Executive election, and it has resulted in the difficulty of establishing governing authority and legitimacy. Under the semi-democratic regime, when SAR government faces resistance in advocating controversial policies and reforms, it would just postpone in handling the issues in order to avoid governance crisis. In other words, the governing crisis is fundamentally the “institutional problem” instead of “individual problem;” replacing the chief executive could not resolve the governing crisis.

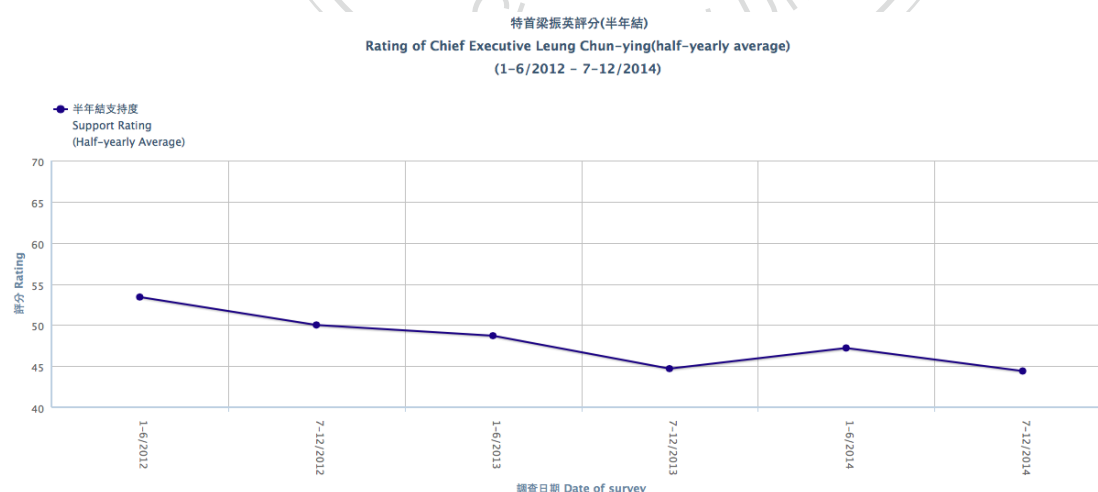
Leung Chun-ying

The 4th Chief Executive Election was undoubtedly the most controversial election after the Handover. After the political reform in 2010, the Chief Executive is elected by a 1,200-members Election Committee. Leung obtained 689 votes, which was 60% in a total and it was the lowest among other Chief Executives (over 80%). In the process of the election, Leung was questioned several times about his personal integrity, and was even called “Three lows chief executive” meaning low in votes, reputation and cohesion (Hong Kong Economic Journal, 2012). He was asked to step down even before he took the post on July 1, 2012. Leung was even being teased as “Mr. 689” or “689 chief executive” to express his low popularity. Interviewee A15 commented:

“Leung was teased as ‘689 chief executive’ and wherever he goes, he does not receive any respect; this is not about his dignity, it is a joke in Hong Kong polity. In the councils, most members of functional constituency obtain at least thousands of votes; every direct-elected member has at least 20,000 to 30,000 votes, and Legco members even received over 300,000 votes. Nevertheless, the Chief Executive is the highest executive officer in Hong Kong, and his popularity is also the lowest. This not only affects the authority of the government, it will also crush his confidence. If he only represents 689 people, how can he govern Hong Kong on the behalf of all Hongkongers?”

According to the research conducted by HKUPOP, only 38.7% of people believed that Leung was qualified to be Chief Executive while over 55.5% regarded him slightly unqualified or disqualified. Younger people, especially those with higher education and professionals did not agree with Leung being a suitable candidate for Chief Executive. Figure 2-5 shows his popularity among Hong Kong citizens.

Figure 2-5: Support Rating of Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying (2012-2014)



Source: HKUPOP. <http://hkupop.hku.hk>

Chapter 3. Political Opportunity, Civic Consciousness and Civil Association

The transformation of political opportunity and the effects it has on collective consciousness and civil organization, and how the three factors influences the emergence of social protests will be discussed in this chapter. With the influence of the transformation of governance, the political opportunity structure has had major transformations since the 80s. These transformations also affected the political environment, resource allocation and the changes of consciousness; they have also changed the response methods for the activists.

3.1 Division within elites and social movement

3.1.1 Political Opportunity – Division within Elites

When using “political process model” to study the emergence and development of social movement, the “dividing elites” is an important index of the change of political opportunity (Tarrow, 1996, 1998). Gamson and Meyer (1996) defined political opportunity as “the political environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting people’s expectations for success or failure.” Tarrow (1996) argued “conflicts within and among elites are a factor encouraging unrepresented groups to engage in collective action. Division among elites not only provide incentives for resource-poor groups to take the risks of collective action; they also encourage portions of the elites to seize the role of “tribune of the people” in

order to increase their own political influence.” He used Italy as an example: in Italy, a key determination of the length of the wave of collective action in the 1960s was the tendency of the Socialist party to pose as the people’s tribune inside the government, and thus caused the division among elites. Chueng (張, 1989) studied the wave of social movement in Taiwan under the political transformation in the 80s with resource mobilization model, he also stressed the importance of the diving elites in authoritarian system to mobilization.

3.1.2 Dividing Elites in Hong Kong

The changes in the formation of ruling elite groups in Hong Kong reflect the relation of government and the society. Hong Kong was a colonial society before 1997, and the foundation of ruling in the colonial regime was not based on a systematic social consensus, for instance: regular elections. Executive Council and Legislative Council were the main power structure in colonial period, and those who were able to become ruling elites were British and socially or economically influential Chinese elites, such as senior civil service or entrepreneurs (Chui, 2000). Since the 70s, grass-root activists gradually being noticed by citizens and have tried to become tribune of the people and formed so-called “political groups” and social movement organizations. 1980s was a period of vigorous political development, due to the implementation of representative politics, those activists in the political groups and social movement organizations could gradually entered the District Council, Urban Council and Legislative Council through elections. Meanwhile, the ruling mechanism of the colonial government could bring the distance closer with the society, and the formation of elite groups

had also changed over time. In the transitional period after the Handover, the ruling elite group of Hong Kong society was mainly formed by executive offices, entrepreneurs and few representatives that had the support of the public. The ruling strategies Beijing implemented in Hong Kong was also expected to maintain social stability and profit distribution structure.

The composition of the elite ruling group did not change drastically after the Handover; nevertheless, Tung, with business background, was picked as chief executive and pro-government political parties and groups were included in the ruling coalition, this made the interactions among ruling elites more complicated. The former head of Xinhua News Agency Hong Kong Branch (now renamed as Liaison Office of the Central's People Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) Xu Jiantun stated in his memoir "the so-called "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" is a bourgeoisie-based joint government with different stratification, and the slogans of "one country, two systems" and "Hong Kong's capitalism system remains the same" were used as a strategy to control Hong Kong. Deng knew the state of mind of the middle class, in order to control Hong Kong in a long run, it is important to remain stability for social stratification, especially the bourgeoisie. In this policy, middle class is not the opponent of the revolution, and it is not merely a companion; it is the executor to implement this policy." (許, 1993)

The act of gaining support from the bourgeoisie is to form ruling coalition and remain the profit structure for the ruling elites, and hoping to stabilize the society. Nevertheless, the division among the ruling elites still occurred after the Handover; this included not only the division between government and bourgeoisie in profit distribution, but also the conflicts between bureaucracy and opinion leaders who had public support (陸, 2004). Interviewee A8

has this observation:

“Now the ruling elites keep dividing, this is very different from that in the 70s. ... Before the Handover, there might be some differences in opinions among the elites, but the division is not that serious. In the transition period, due to the power struggle between British and Chinese, they all wanted to gain support from local elites, and then the elites had to take sides. There was not such a problem before. After the Handover, the situation remains the same, so the division among elites gets more and more serious. ... Before, officers, capitalists and elites could form a community; however, Tung’s relation with Civil Service was terrible, and you can see that Tung’s political elites and administrative elites were also divided.”

Take the relationship between the chief executive and the bureaucracy for example: according to veteran Hong Kong politician Allen Lee (2004), a year before the Handover, in March 1996, he was informed that Tung Chee-hwa had been approved by Beijing as the chief executive. He also believed that this was the best option for Hong Kong, and many related authorities also felt that was an appropriate arrangement. This “appropriate” arrangement, nevertheless, became inappropriate five years later when the division within the ruling elites occurred. Although the persons involved had denied, it was said that the CS (Chief Secretary for Administration) Anson Chan, as a head of civil service in the colonial period, could not work well with Tung; Chan had more public support than Tung, this also gave Tung much pressure (黃, 2001). Chan resigned in 2001, and ended the dispute between the chief executive and other bureaucracy. Tung implemented a system of “Accountability of principal officials” in 2002; it was used to politically appoint principal officials of the civil service (Cheung, 2002), and enforced ruling capability of the chief executive to civil service system.

Nevertheless, whether this system could increase accountability of the SAR government was still questionable for the public (Burns, 2002).

The executive council is the center of policy decision, according to Article 54 of the Basic Law, “The Executive Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be an organ for assisting the Chief Executive in policy-making” and Article 56, “... the Chief Executive shall consult the Executive Council before making important policy decisions, introducing bills to the Legislative Council, making subordinate legislation, or dissolving the Legislative Council,” it is undoubtedly the executive council plays an important role in decision making and the power structure. In the colonial period, according to Lee (2004), the councilors of the Executive Council followed the system of collective responsibility strictly; all the viewpoint and stand will be consistently and united. On the contrary, as for the function and operation of current Executive Council, Mathias Woo (2004) criticized “the current Executive Council is an union of “political interests,” different royalists have their own spokespersons, and Executive Council is becoming a smaller Legislative Council.” In the beginning of 2003, Anthony Leung, former Financial Secretary, was under criticism for purchasing a new car, just weeks before he raised the tax on new vehicles in his March budget. Leung denied that he was trying to avoid the new tax, which would have cost him additional fee. Although Leung step down due to this controversy, the scandal had disgraced the Tung cabinet. Lee (2004) criticized “it reflected the problem of Tung’s cabinet, if the ruling elites could not united, the situation would be more disastrous.”

The relation between the government and social elites is also crucial in other aspects. Public opinion had criticized Tung’ government failed to united the ruling elite group had

caused negative effect for the society, for instance, different parties' leaders refused to endorse government policies. Some critics also questioned the fairness of electing chief executive before the Handover for Tung's business background (韋, 2000). There were also argument over "collusion between businessmen and government officials" and "businessmen rule Hong Kong vs. Civil Service rules Hong Kong" (譚, 2005; 劉, 2005); these all reflected the failure of the SAR government in forming a closely cooperated alliance.

3.1.3 Division within Elites and Social Movement in Hong Kong

The division within elites in Hong Kong occurred due to economic or democratic reasons: "distributive politics" issue when economic recession and public pressure from democratization appeals. In the development of Hong Kong's social movement, whether the division within elites caused the emergence of social movement was still questionable. Two different opinions were being expressed through in-depth interviews: one is division within elites does not affect social movement; the other is that it will influence social movement, but the influence is limited and depends on different issues. Interviewee A9 has paid close attention on the political development of Hong Kong commented:

"In the social movement field, the division within elites is not that important. There are two reasons for this: on one hand, some idealistic people think that it's non of my business whether they divide or not; on the other hand, if you see it from perspective of democratization movement, the result of the democratization movement is not decided by the chief executive, it's by the central government. ... So the power struggle in the SAR

government does not concerned with many people, I believe most activists think that this is just a part of state apparatus.”

Interviewee A12, as a grass root movement activist, has different opinion:

“If the differences between Legco and Executive Council is not so wide and things can be solved, then there won’t be a lot of discussion and protests in the society. After 97, there is democratic camp as well as opponent party, and it’s not much different than before. The influence is not on the Legco, but the atmosphere of the whole society; in fact, the dividing elites definitely has some influence on social movement, but it depends on different issues.”

Therefore, from the above discussion, it can be found that the division within elites might affect the emergence of social movement, but very limited. There are two factors resulted in this conclusion: first, Hongkongers find political ruling elites untrustworthy; and second, Beijing’s influence as part of China factor (Lau, 2000a).

Hongkongers’ distrust toward political elites is deeply rooted in colonial history and its system. The democratization process in the 80s was under the control of power distribution in the colonial period; after the Handover, it is also being controlled by Beijing government. Therefore, the democratization process is a “top down” development, thus the local elites could not effectively play the roles as political leaders and gain public support and respect; this tendency does not change with the democratization process (Lau, 2002a). According to Lau’s research in 1995, 40.2% of the people did not believe there would be a political leader with public support and trust before the Handover; only 16.9% of people believed otherwise, and 38.7% did not express opinion over this question (Lau, 2000b). The lack of trust toward political elites has led to the division with elites; therefore, the division might be the result of

the failure of governance, it also deteriorates the governance.

On the hand, Beijing did not wish a faster pace for Hong Kong's democratization process, let alone allowing democratic parties dominating the council and supporting democratization movement in China; therefore, Beijing government's interference with the dividing elites was inevitable (Lau, 2000). The development of social movements in Hong Kong face not only SAR government, but also Beijing government; therefore, the influence of the dividing elites was limited. Interviewee D11 who has participated in labor movement for years said:

“If you only do labor movement and don't get involve in democratic issues, then your appealing subject is Hong Kong government and the bosses in Hong Kong; however, the in democratic movement, the subject is not only SAR government, but also central government, so the pressure is definitely huge. In labor movement, all labors support you, but in democratic movement, not every labor agrees with you. The reason why they disagree is not because they don't support the democratization of Hong Kong, instead, they don't support you to fight with Beijing, so this is also a limitation.”

The division with political elites after the Handover deteriorated the failure of governance; it not only brought out conflicts in ruling alliance, but also Beijing's interference of Hong Kong domestic affairs. The controversy of Article 23 of the Basic Law, and the election of Legislative Council and chief executive are the most obvious examples of Beijing's interference. Nevertheless, the division within elites was mainly due to either the interests of individual parties, for instance, profit distribution or public press. In order to secure the position in the elite ruling structure and maintain its function, the dividing elites

did not seek for public support through social movement. On the other hand, people's distrust for the political elites and regarded them as conservative had made the movement impossible. However, as an important influential factor, Beijing would do whatever it takes to maintain the reputation and function of the SAR government (for instance, economic support or publicly expressed its favor over Tung as chief executive), and keep the conflicts among the elites under table. The Beijing factor has made social movement groups realized that the key factor of many issues did not lay in Hong Kong, and it had complicated the whole movement.

The relation between dividing elites and social movement groups is unidirectional; social movement groups have no faith in political elites, on the other hand, while maintaining individual interests, the elites do not seek cooperating opportunity from social movement groups. Take the July 1st, 2003 march for example. Two days after the march, the former chairman of the pro-government Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress (DAB) of Hong Kong, and the member of Executive Council Tsang Yok-sing called on the amendment of Article 23; on July 6th, the former chairman of the pro-government Liberal Party resigned from the Executive Council and later the Liberal Party publicly objected the second reading of the bill in the Legislative Council; Tsang supported the postpone of the legislation on July 7th, and division within elites had occurred in the ruling coalition of the SAR government. Although DAB and Liberal Party's differ in the opinions in the ruling coalition resulted in the division within elites, it was, however, a passive move under public opinion; they did not establish ties with social movement groups in order to pressure or even challenge the government on the issue of Article 23, and the social movement groups did not seek coalition with the dividing elites for more possibilities. Therefore, in social movement

groups' perspective, they had successfully pressured the ruling coalition and even divided them and made the elites postpone temporarily on the legislation of Article 23 and achieved the goal of the movement; nevertheless, it did not make the dividing elites seek alliance with social movement groups (葉, 2003). Therefore, when answering the question of whether dividing elites caused the emergence of social movement, more likely the answer would be the influences are very limited. It might accelerate the speed of achieving the goal or give pressure to ruling coalition; however, in reality, social movement groups do not get any help or actual alliance from the dividing elites.

By using original political process model to examine the relation between dividing elites and social movements in Hong Kong, one may find that due to the distrust for the elites and influence of China factor to the dividing elites have made the connection of the two very limited. The finding symbolizes first, “decolonization without independence;” and it is important to put “China factor” into consideration when discussing about the future of Hong Kong’s social movement. Secondly, as a former colonial society, this special relation between the government and the society has made the civil society relatively liberal and independent, and this resulted in skeptical public to the dividing elites in participating in social movement; and lastly, the grass root consciousness and factionalism of Hong Kong’s social movement have made it difficult for the dividing elites to lead or integrate; more details will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.2 Failure of Council Politics and the Emergence of Social Movement

3.2.1 Council Politics and Social Movement

The political opportunity structure theorists tend to see the openness or closeness of a institutional political system as an important political opportunity in influencing the emergence and development of social movement (McAdam, 1996). For instance, in comparing women and environmental movements in France, Germany and the United States, Rucht (1996) pointed out that the closeness of political parties and decision-making system in France had made the opponents form a new political party and participated in elections. Germany had a more powerful social movement due to the stimulation of the confederation political system and conservative parties; meanwhile the openness of decision-making system of the United States was beneficial for a relatively more powerful and various professional social movements.

In the western society, a mature representative politics and media can effectively express public opinion and regular elections is also a mechanism to increase the legitimacy and responsible politics of the government. According to Meyer and Tarrow, social movements in western societies were more professional and systematic and had become so-called “movement society.” Therefore, the development of the council politics is proven to be moving along with social movement and empowered one another. The relation among social movement groups, councils and political parties is complicated and unpredictable. In the case of Hong Kong, with the direct election of Legco in 1991, social conflict events had dropped drastically. According to Lau (2000), from 1992 to 1995, the numbers of social

conflict events were 463, 419, 404, 362 respectively. After the Handover, however, social movements increased over time and become more politicized. In 1998 and 1998, there were 2,671 times of social conflict events in merely two years, it increased 73% since the past decade (Cheng, 2001). Therefore, it is important to examine the council politics in Hong Kong to understand the development of social movement.

3.2.2 Limitation of Hong Kong's Council Politics

Kuan (2000) argued that the representative politics and democratization process in Hong Kong since 1980s were differ from the third wave of democratization, and the main differences were that Hong Kong was in a complicated triangle relation (Chinese, British and Hong Kong society) and Hong Kong was also in lack of political leader. These differences had affected Hongkongers' political attitudes and viewpoints over the relation between government and the society. For instance, in a survey conducted in 1985, only 9% of the people believed that government officials would take their opinions seriously; on the contrary, 53.5% believed they would be taken half-heartedly (Lau, 2000). Meanwhile, in another survey conducted in 1998, 62.1% of the people believed that the public was not influential to the decision-making of the government; moreover, 63.4% believed that government officials did not care about what the public think. When being asked the question of whether they believe they were influential to political figures, over 60% of the people answered "little" while not even 10% answered "large." This continuous powerless and distance in politics was the political attitudes of Hongkongers before and after the Handover.

Nevertheless, at least in the mid-80s, Hong Kong citizens expectation for the government was expecting the government to solve economic problem and responsible for

more social policies (Kuan and Lau, 2000). If this expectation was to be carried out under the limitation of powerless political attitudes, methods such as representative politics had to be implemented to express public opinion and fight for more rights, and this is regarded as “self-help mentality.” The so-called “self-help mentality” was originated in the special relative independent situation of the government and the society in the colonial period. With the logics of political economy such as non-interventionism and laissez faire, Hongkongers in the colonial period were used to rely on themselves and relatives for help or resources. (Lau and Kuan 1988). In this “self-help mentality,” Hongkongers demand liberty and freedom economically and socially, and expect the government to maintain social order and the rules so that everyone can get the most of it. This mentality can be found mostly in the middle class. Interviewee D8 commented:

“They are not in pursuit of reform and they don’t want major transformation in the order of Hong Kong; they are the beneficiary of social order. They want the society to change on one hand, but on the other hand, they also hope to maintain the development of the system. For them, the most important thing is liberty. The reason why they can be well-off is all because of the freedom of Hong Kong.”

This mentality seemed to appear in politics. Before 1997, facing the uncertainty of social changes, Hongkongers had taken actions in the following two ways. Firstly, purchased “political insurance,” including immigration, applied for permanent residency for the offspring overseas and increased deposit in foreign currency to avoid any turbulent in financial system that caused the loss of savings. Secondly, expected representatives of democratization; Hongkongers hoped the development of democratized representative

politics could provide political protection and prevent Beijing from interfering Hong Kong's internal affairs after 1997. They also expected a more responsible government that was able to reflect public opinion after democratization. Although Kuan argued that democracy was just one of the values for Hongkongers, might not even be on the priority (Kuan and Lau, 2000), the result showed differently. In the partly direct election was introduced to Legco in 1991, the survey showed that over 50% of the people believed the performance of Legco had increased and 37.8% also thought the efficacy of the government also increased (Lau, 1992).

3.2.3 Social Movements under “Self-help Mentality”

Hong Kong had gone through many governance transformations after the Handover, due to the restrictions of the Basic Law and Beijing's conservative attitude toward Hong Kong's democratization process; Hongkongers had gradually become disappointed at council politics and distrusted political elites. The power and appeals were then turned to social movement, and this type of social movement under “self-help mentality” is a unique characteristic of Hong Kong's social movement; it also explained the phenomenon of increasing social movements yet non-growing of political parties in the democratized Hong Kong.

Take the Basic Law for example. In Article 74, it restricted members' introduction of individual bills and the restrictions of “separate vote count mechanism” in attachment 2 have made minority members in the council able to vote out the bills the majority members introduced. In Article 74, it is stated:

“Members of the Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

may introduce bills in accordance with the provisions of this Law and legal procedures. Bills which do not relate to public expenditure or political structure or the operation of the government may be introduced individually or jointly by members of the Council. The written consent of the Chief Executive shall be required before bills relating to government policies are introduced.”

This Article restricted the types and contents of the bills which Legco member can introduce and cause a very low percentage on the introduction of individual bills over the years. It also prevented any alters on current election of chief executive and the formation of Legco, the government controls all the powers and thus interferes possible development of “bottom up” democratization process. Moreover, in the attachment 2 of the Basic Law, the “separate vote count mechanism” stated:

“The passage of motions, bills or amendments to government bills introduced by individual members of the Legislative Council shall require a simple majority vote of each of the two groups of members present: members returned by functional constituencies and those returned by geographical constituencies through direct elections and by the Election Committee.

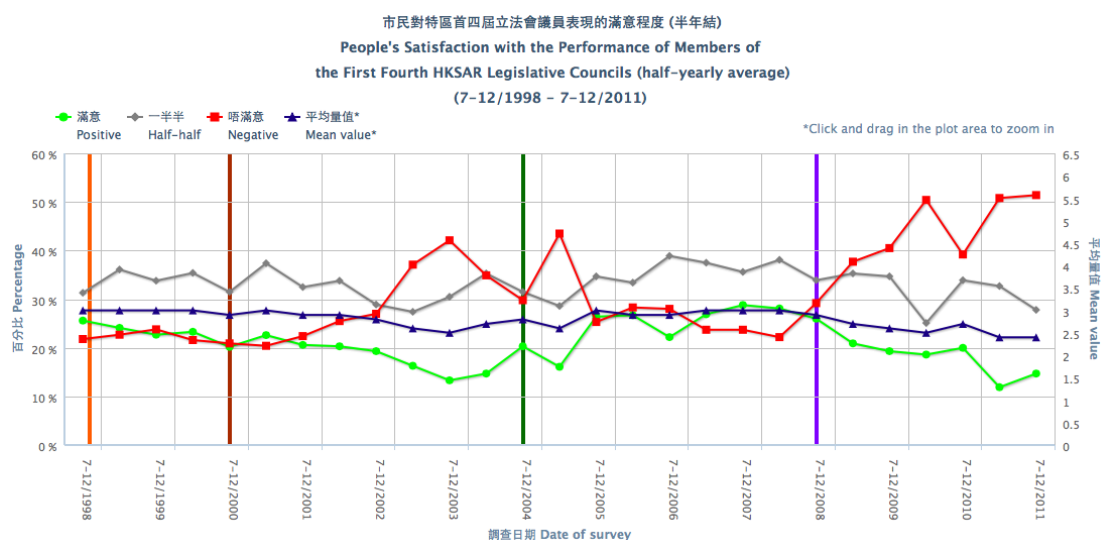
With the restrictions of the Basic Law, the public began to understand the doomed to failed council politics. Chio (蔡, 1998) argued that not a single political party diligently conduct policy research for they all realized that it was impossible for them to be in the office. Interviewee D9 pointed out the operation in the Legco before and after the Handover:

“91 was the first direct election of Legco member, and from 95 to 97, it was a more democratic Legco; in fact, during these six years, it was more likely to use council politics to change things. But the situation is going backwards now after 97 because the government has now stably controlled the majority of the council. So many social movement groups do not trust council politics, they believe that taking streets are more useful, and I am one of them.”

This “self-help mentality” has marginalized Legco in the public opinion, Lui (呂, 2002c) has this observation: “Inside the already marginalized Legco, the debate is a show without audience. The self-complacency of the members are from the media; and in the ordinary lives of the citizens, the debate seems unrelated., this political performance lacks wisdom and it is in fact very annoying.”

Figure 3-1 shows the research conducted by Hong Kong University Public Opinion Programme on citizens’ satisfactory of the performance of first fourth Legco members (1998-2011), it has shown that the rate of dissatisfaction (red line) increases over the years.

Figure 3-1 People’s Satisfaction with the Performance of Legislative Councilors



Source: HKUPOP. <http://hkupop.hku.hk>

Cheung (張, 2005) reflected the failure of council politics and pointed out the failure of the council is due to the government. The SAR government avoided sparing its decision-making power to Legco, and this had made the members step out of the council and seek public power. In the long run, the council would become a stage for political performance.

The concept of “democracy” for Hongkongers is concrete and practical. According to Lau (2000), Hongkongers used “negative” way to interpret democracy: democracy could prevent the government from interfering with our lives and protect our rights and profits; instead of positive way: democracy could increase opportunities for participating in politics. Therefore, the council symbolized a way of democracy, and when it was unable to protect the rights and profits of the citizens, Hongkongers then turned to other easier ways that could achieve the goal of democracy; for instance, social movement (Lau, 2000). Interviewee A12 has this observation:

“We should probably put it this way: they (Hongkongers) know that they can’t solve their problems in the council, and the council member cannot express their opinions. After July 1 demonstration (in 2003), they know that except for Legco, there are also other ways to express their opinion. Now people realize that if it wasn’t for the 500,000 people on July 1, 2003, there wouldn’t be 500,000 in 2004.”

With the “self-help mentality,” Hongkongers have taken the path of social movement instead of trusting the council; nevertheless, it is also important to examine the transformation of collective consciousness and mobilization in order to grasp the full picture of Hong Kong’s social movement, and these will be discussed in the following sections.

3.3 The Transformation of Civil Consciousness

3.3.1 “Colonial Logic”: borrowed time, borrowed place

“As an immigrant and colonial society, Hongkongers had a tendency of resigning themselves to adversity. Their interests in participating political activities were low, and this drastically reduced the possibilities of radical confrontations with the government. (王, 1996)”

Unlike other British colonies, Hong Kong was still a very backward underdeveloped island when British began its colony in 1842. There were only few residences on the island, and the British government established a colonial ruling structure to govern the immigrants.

According to the first news publication in Hong Kong, the “Hong Kong Gazette” in 1841, the consistency of the population was mainly fishermen, farmers and construction workers, and the population clustered in a fishing village at the south of Hong Kong island called Stanley and the total population was a little less than two thousand (余, 1994). This uniqueness of the colonial experience had made those who were willing to stay and being ruled by the British had a voluntary, self-selection mentality. Hong Kong was a “borrowed place” and a “borrowed time,” the social atmosphere was filled with temporariness and therefore resulted in the “colonial logic” mentality for the residents. The “colonial logic” reflected a temporary residence mentality and compromise characteristic. For instance, before World War II, the Chinese residents of Hong Kong always travelled back and forth between Hong Kong and the mainland, they did not plan on staying in Hong Kong permanently, not to mention calling it “home.” Therefore, they did not regard the British colonial government as “their” government, and was thus more willing to obey the governance of the colonial government and overlooked its legitimacy (Lau and Kuan, 1988). Lui (2002b) also had the same observation: “Those who fled to Hong Kong to escape wars were in pursuit of stability and basic economic living condition. Although it was under the colonial governance, they had no desire to change the status quo. For the citizens, as long as the government leave them alone and create a prosperous environment for economic development, they were willing to remain a neutral relationship with the government.”

This “colonial logic” mentality reflected a mutual independence of the colonial government and the Chinese society, and this compromise and temporariness mentality had

not changed even after the establishment of communist China. Interviewee D8 commented on this matter:

“Do you know why people accepted British government? It’s mainly because people knew that Hong Kong was a colony and basically they could not overthrow the government. If they wanted to overthrow the government, then it would be revolution. Under the British governance, especially after the 50s, most people realized that there was no way out in Hong Kong, and the only way out was to overthrow British colonial government and to be separated from the colony. But separating from the colony meant returning to China and to be governed by communist China; that was not a good option either.... The British colonial government knew too well that people could not overthrow it, and this is very different from other colonies; so if the government focused on people’s livelihood and economy, then the public would be fine with its governance. Therefore, although the public did not authorize the governance of British government, people still accepted it; they did not allow, just accept it. The acceptance was based on a political exchange: if the colonial government could bring highly economic growth and social mobility, then everyone could benefit from it, and those who were at the bottom level could have a chance to go upward.”

The compromise and acceptance mentality of the colonial logic can also be found in interviewee A10’s viewpoint:

“In the colonial period, those gwai-lou (meaning foreigners) felt superior than anyone in the society; and the Chinese, the past generation came to Hong Kong during that period. In

the 50s and 60s, most people had a “temporary residence” mentality that Hong Kong was a borrowed place; whoever ruled the place is none of my business, I just do what I need to do. Therefore, they did not care about anything, let alone politics.”

After several short but major turbulences in the 60s (1966 and 1967 riots), the British government started to reinforce the mechanism of public consultation and improve living standard; institutional systems such as City District Officer and advisory committee were the generation of that period (劉, 2001). The development of “Hong Kong consciousness” began in mid 70s, the topics and appeals of different types of social movement began to incorporate local issues; “Hongkongers started to accept that Hong Kong was a place to call home (呂, 1996b).” Lui observed social movements in the 70s and found out that any kinds of the protests “some what reflected anti-establishment and criticized colonial governance;” “although they did not have a specific ideology orientation, not to mention to negate colonial government’s legitimacy, they still had different levels of doubts, reservations or even distrust feeling toward colonial governance. These protests, however, redefined the relation between citizens and the government. (呂, 2002a)” The “colonial logic” was then being challenged, the citizens started to feel that they could cooperate and unite together and gave requests to the government; nevertheless, it was still too early for a complete transformation because “we are still a colony.” Interviewee A8 concluded:

“There were two major condition in the British colonial period. Politically local Hong Kong Chinese accepted the governance, regardless whether you like it or not, you need to accept this colonial logic, and this logic means no democracy, there is no such a thing. If you

don't accept Hong Kong as a colony, the British government would not allow your entrance. When you come to Hong Kong, it means that you accept this is a colony and there is no democracy in the colony. ... so there is a limitation in politics, and you would not challenge this boundary because you know we are a colony. The other is economy; if there is a prosperous development in economy, the government would have more money to implement education, medical treatment and social welfare system; they could also development more towns, build railways and MTR.”

3.3.2 “Hong Kong People Administering Hong Kong Logic”: Legitimacy Issue

Sino-British negotiation started in the mid 80s to discussed the future of Hong Kong; under the thinking of “glorious retreat” and established political influences, public opinion consultation mechanisms such as Legco, Urban Council and Regional Council endeavored to incorporate different opinions and thus resulted in a prosperous ten years’ development of representative politics. Many political discussion groups and social movement groups, which were developed in the 70s, had begun transforming into political participating organizations, seeking spaces and resources in the new council system (呂, 1996a). The promise of “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong” and the draft of Basic Law had made the emergence of all social powers; when dealing with the future of Hong Kong, business field, social movement groups, political discussion groups and grass root groups had respective opinions and viewpoints, and the concerns over local rights and legitimacy issues were gradually been brought to the agenda. Nevertheless, before mid 80s, the political mobility of the Hong Kong

Chinese was still limited including civil service or political appointment. The boundary between higher level ruling elites and the colonized was still clear, and had thus resulted in political powerless and distance of the colonized (Lau and Kuan, 1988).

In the 90s, the transitional period, due to the impact of June 4th Incident, Hongkongers were generally concerned about the unpredictable future. On one hand, they purchased “political insurance,” including immigration, applied for permanent residency for the offspring overseas; on the other hand, they tried every means to prevent Beijing from interfering Hong Kong’s internal affairs. Gradually, after the criticisms and reflections in the 70s and the influence of democratization in the 80s, the “colonial logic” mentality had transformed into “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong logic.” Unlike the compromise and temporariness of the “colonial logic” mentality, the “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong logic” emphasized on maintaining the value of liberty and the rule of law, and had a higher demand on the performance and legitimacy of the government.

Take legitimacy issue for example. Under the “colonial logic” mentality, many people had neglected this issue before the 1997; nevertheless, due to the failure of governance after the Handover, the autonomy was quickly disappearing under the lack of legitimacy situation. This is what the author believed the emergence of mass social movements. Interviewee A9 has the same observation:

“Before 97, most Hongkongers would not ask this question (legitimacy issue), because Hong Kong was a colony, and why would it have legitimacy? Their legitimacy was arm force,

it was their natural instinct, so we didn't ask this question. But after 97, they say 'Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong,' is this supposed to mean the person ruling us is a Hongkonger? This means the public should be able to rule Hong Kong! I always say that this is a lasting legitimacy problem. If this problem cannot be solved, it will be one of the reasons for the increment of social movement. More people feel that they can achieve much more, the expectation has changed, and the consciousness of challenging the government also gets stronger.”

Many interviews have all spoken of the influence of “Hong Kong people administers Hong Kong” to social movement; it is not only about “the expectation is different,” but more public, even the whole society has changed the viewpoints to social movement. A9 recalled:

“In the beginning, most people felt that social movement activists were ‘troublemakers.’ In fact, in the student movement in the 70s, my parent would think that why don't these students pay more attention to their studies? Why are they out making all these troubles? But now I believe more and more people consider this (social movement) normal, and people protest almost everything.”

Interviewee A8 also commented: “Now the public all think that you (the government) has to be responsible to us, I want you to do this and that; the public would not demand the British colonial government to do the same. There is a basic transformation: now we are special administrative region, we are ‘Hong Kong people administers Hong Kong,’ so regardless of

democracy, the government needs to listen to us, and our pursuit of democracy is perfectly justified. This is an important change in perspective.”

From “colonial logic” mentality to “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong” mentality, it reflected the social transformation for the past decades and the changes of viewpoints in social movement for the Hongkongers. A survey conducted in 1985 showed that when asked “the most effective method of influencing the government,” nearly 30% of the people believed mobilization and protest; this showed that people had gradually recognized collective actions as a mean to voice out.

The research conducted by Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in 2004 reflected the influences of July 1st march in 2003; almost 60% of the people had a positive attitude toward the event. This reflected Hongkongers had accepted collective actions, such as social movement as a legitimate channel to express feeling and appeals. The “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong logic” mentality had made Hongkongers more willingly to participate public affairs, and this undoubtedly had tremendous effects on the emergence of social movements in the postcolonial Hong Kong, it also reinforced civic association and organizational power.

3.4 Characteristics of Civic Association and Organizational Power

3.4.1 Civic association and social movement

Researchers of social movement often emphasize the influences of the transformation of civic association and organizational power to the emergence and development of social movement (McAam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). In the study of the development of civil rights in the United States, McAdam (1999) pointed out the original churches association in the African-American communities in the south was the key factor and power of mobilizing collective actions. Oberschall (1973) also stressed the importance of the organization in local associations. Political organizations merely provide an opportunity to dissatisfying public; without organizational power to mobilize the public, the movement would be a temporal and regional turbulence; local organizations or networks help the formation of organized mass political movement. McAdam (1999) argued that local associations provided four functions to social movements: first, provides movement actors; second, establishes stable motivation structure; third, forms communicating network, and lastly, cultivates movement leaders; and by formation of communicating network, movements were thus able to develop vigorously.

Organization had given individual activists a chance to manipulate the openness of political opportunity structure. Organizations and groups not only provided techniques and resources to reinforce the power of social movement, they are also important actors to political opportunity. Without effective organization in grasping political opportunity, social movement would not be able to be developed. Failure of council politics and “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong” logic were the main reasons for the emergence of social movement after the Handover, and they also changed the dynamics of the society and the movement. Nevertheless, civic association and organizational power cannot be neglected

under this wave of movement. The following section be the discussion of the transformations of civic association and organizational power in Hong Kong, and expect to detect possible reasons behind these changes.

3.4.2 Civic Association and Organizational Power in Hong Kong

There was a not truly meaningful political party in Hong Kong before 1980s; in mid 80s, in response Sino-British negotiation and the development of representative politics, Hongkongers began to more actively participate in politics and expecting to have autonomy and democracy after the Handover. Therefore, it began the establishment of political parties; meanwhile, with a relatively more conservative attitude, the industrial and commercial circle was against those democratized groups. This had resulted in unprecedented phenomena of “political polarization” in political and social development.

From the formation of civic associations in the 80s, it can be found that Handover issue and political affairs were crucial concerns for these organizations. Nevertheless, due to the lack of the participation and support of grass root population, these groups could not develop to the scale of political parties but played the role of pioneers for political parties. In the 90s, because of the influences of June 4th Incident, the society expected more democracy and political participation; therefore, more groups with organizational and mobilizing power had thus emerged, and political parties then thus emerged in Hong Kong. For instance, United Democrats of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Democratic Foundation, Liberal Democratic

Federation of Hong Kong, Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, Liberal Party, Hong Kong Progressive Alliance, and Democratic Party (the merger of United Democrats of Hong Kong and Meeting Point) were the major parties, and the prosperous development of political power had accelerated the tendency of “political polarization. Therefore, pro-democratic camp and pro-Beijing camp are still counterbalancing with each other in elections and Hong Kong-mainland relation issues.

The emergence of massive political parties reflected public’s expectation of participating in politics and elections through organizational power; however, the development of political party had inevitably affected the development of social movement. Lee (李, 1996) analyzed social movements before the Handover and argued that the openness of council politics, social movement activists’ entrance to pro-establishment camp and the lack of resources and leaders in the social movement groups were the reasons of the declination of social movement. This “demobilization” phenomenon that came with democratization was in fact quite common; similar development can be found in Poland, Spain, Brazil and Hungary. This proved that the relation between social movement and democratization was interactive; social movement could mold the transformation of democracy, and on the other hand, democratization process could also come with demobilization, institutionalization and movement marginalization (Hipcher, 1998a). Moreover, Cheng (鄭, 1997) pointed out that political parties and civic associations have different goals, agendas and operations; political parties focus on political influences and the votes of the election while civic association stress the importance of

participation and civil consciousness. The operations of the two parties were different but had to fight for the same movement resource and space; therefore, when confronted in social movements, conflicts were sometimes inevitable.

The characteristics Hong Kong's social movement before decolonization, under the influence of democratization, could be summed up as demobilization and focused on participation and civil consciousness. As for the transformation after the Handover, according to the research, almost half of the third sector was founded after the 80s. The third sector was defined as non-profit and not-governmental voluntary organization, and the characteristics of these organizations were: organizational, privatization, non-profit oriented, highly autonomy and voluntary. The researchers classified these groups according to the "International Classification of Non-profit Organizations, ICNPO), the third sector organizations were classified into fourteen groups, including education and research, law service, social service, culture and art... etc (Chan, 2004). There were about 260,000 people working at the third sector when the research was conducted in 2002; the funding of these organizations was from government subsidy, membership fee and personal donation. Nevertheless, 42% of the organizations were facing financial problem whereas nearly 15% was faced with human resource and management problems (Liu, 2004).

Moreover, according to the fieldwork research, the characteristics of civic association and operation could be classified into three part: first, the demassification of group members; second, diversification of movement issues and third, distant with political parties. The movement issues were even more diverse than that before decolonization; including

environmental protect, homosexual rights, minority rights and public polices etc. Meanwhile, due to the distrustful council politics and political elites, the relation with political parties was thus distant and adjusted depending on the issues. Lastly, the demassification of members reflected different organizational thought from the last generation.

The characteristic of demassification of members was influenced and limited by the subjective beliefs and objective environment. The subjective factor was due to the fact that each member of the group was very idealistic and believed bureaucratization of an organization was not beneficial for flexible operation. Therefore, the lesser people, the better; usually the numbers were under twenty, and one individual might be a member of other groups. The objective factor was due to the lack of funds and human power; the latter might be solved by recruiting volunteers, but the former was about daily administrative expenses, therefore, this naturally resulted in the demassification of members.

Under the influences of objective and subjective factors and the force of demassification of members, the movement patterns have also transformed. As a social movement activist, interviewee A9 replied: “They (social movement groups) don’t like to organize and participate in the process. This is different from that in the past generation. The mainstream political leaders of the democratic camps mostly have the background of organization, so they focus more on it; however, the younger generation does not like it, they are more liberalism. ... They stress more on small groups, and express openly about their appeals; therefore, there are a lot of small movement groups, protesting groups. Especially in environmental protection or women, homosexual or cultural groups. There is a certain scale

of their protests, but they don't have a strong vertical or horizontal organization. They do not like it either; they would think of it as bureaucratic. In fact, they are more idealistic, so what's most important to them is to maintain the vibe of civil society.”

Nevertheless, the demassification of members did not affect the expansion of movement issues. Due to the limitation of funding and human power, most of the organizations were hidden in small units in industrial buildings, or co-rented the office with other organizations. Most of the organizations did not have full-time staff; they mainly relied on passionate volunteers to handle administrative and hospitality work. The relatively narrow geographic environment of Hong Kong was on the contrary beneficial for the interaction and cooperation among NGOs, and this could reinforce the connections of the movement among the groups.

In the study of peace movement in England and Italy, Maguire (1995) described explicitly on the interaction between political parties and social movement. He argued that the relation between the two would be influenced by organizational resource, cultural resource, regional resource and policy resource and these also affected different interactive patterns for political parties and social movement in daily function and strategies. In Hong Kong, however, the relation between social movement and political parties was affected by the subjective characteristics of the group members. Many groups rejected any possible bureaucratization and believed in the independency of social movement should not be limited by the compromise characteristic of council politics. Furthermore, due to the limitation of the

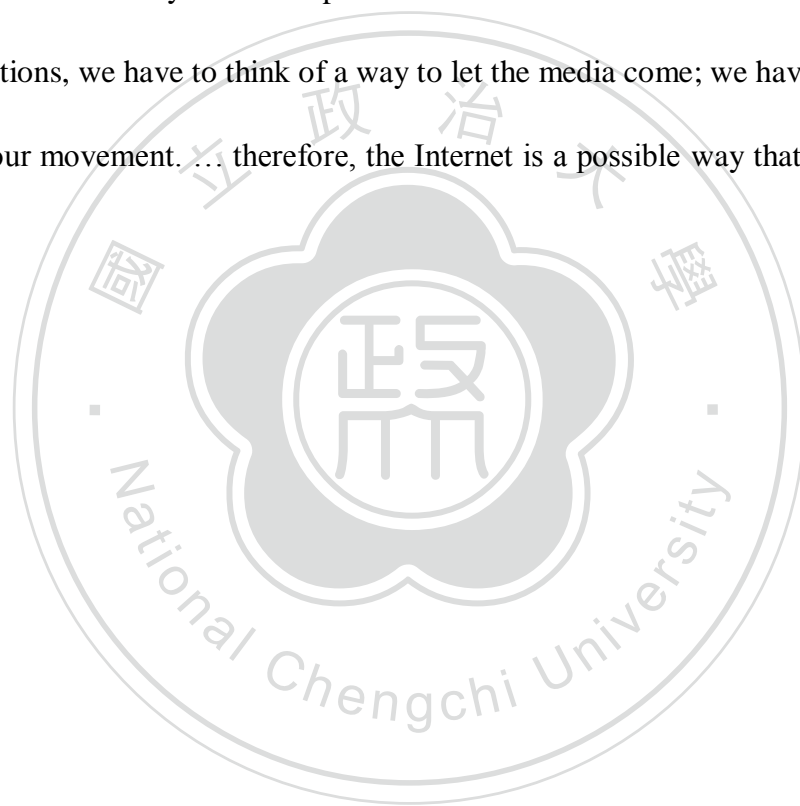
Basic Law and the failure of council politics, the relation between political parties and social movement also included recruiting, cooperation and competition. A9 observed:

“They consider council democracy useless; as a part of democracy, councils do not function well, and political parties are full of politicians, the two together damage our civil society. ... the most important thing is to keep the independence of our civil society, and they do not want to have close relation with political parties and council members. In terms of political parties, I do not work with them, so their organizational power is not increased, but they are more diversified.”

The transformation of civic association and organizational power was due to the rise of education, reports from the media and the usage of technology. The effect of education on civil consciousness was confirmed by social movement researcher (Dalton, 1996). Hong Kong Started a nine-year compulsory education in 1978, and according to the official statistics of the Education Bureau, 79.7% of people had received secondary or higher education in 2013. Although the relation between civic association and social movement still needs more verification, it is fair to believe that the relation between the two is positive. Next, media's report of the social movement plays the role of conveying information and educating the public; this has not only made the public understood which method and channel they could use to form a movement, but also encouraged civic participation in the movement. Lastly, movement organizers and the public did not passive receive information from the media, they also actively pass on information and opinions through emails, social networks and the Internet. This has reinforce the organizational power and mobilizing ability, and as

well increased autonomy (鍾, 2003). Interviewee D14 is a good example of expressing ideas and beliefs through the Internet.

“There are many of us that do not trust the media anymore; we become our own media now. I think that social movements in Hong Kong rely too much on the media and allow them to do whatever they like. ... I feel that we need media at some points, but now the situation is like whether they want to report it or not. It becomes that when we discuss about strategies or actions, we have to think of a way to let the media come; we have to please them and advertise our movement. ... therefore, the Internet is a possible way that we can do it by ourselves.”



Chapter 4. The “Awakening” Points

The transformation of Hong Kong’s social movement after decolonization will be examined in this chapter. The development, characteristics and the struggle of social movement are closely related to its political opportunity after decolonization; meanwhile, the development of social movement also influenced the response from the polity and the relation between the government and the society, and further molded new opportunity structure.

In the past decades, there were several crucial moments for the development of Hong Kong’s social movement; these historical turning points were influential to the ethos of Hongkongers and the development of the society. Therefore, it is important to grasp the meaning, influences of these turning points, and observe how they shaped the transformation of social movement in Hong Kong. The following sections will be the discussion of these crucial moments.

4.1 Hong Kong’s Social Movement after Handover: A New Chapter

The editor of former important magazine “The Nineties” Lee Yee once described the feeling of Hongkongers toward 1997 as “a tremendous change, or even earthshaking change. What will our lives be when the day comes? Living style, career, reading habits or even conversation topics might change, and many people find it to hard to imagine (Lee, 1996).” This feeling of uncertainty could generally describe the “Doomsday mentality” of the Hongkongers before the Handover. This “Doomsday mentality” was also reflected on social

movement. Former director of Hong Kong Xinhua News Agency Xu (1993) stated: “different fields of people all had doomsday mentality; when seeing “June 4th” they thought of 1997 and were afraid similar situation might happen in Hong Kong, therefore, more and more people were devoted in social movement. . . ., people who were influenced by this movement were way more than those who participated in the demonstration, and this included left, right wing and neutral stand people.” The same observation can also be found in the interview. A8 described, “The incident in 1989 influenced Hongkongers’ attitude toward China, so people were worried about the return. All of these concerns were caused by the June 4th incident.”

The influence of “June 4th” to Hong Kong was enormous; therefore, it is important to incorporate this influence when examining the development of Hong Kong’s social movement. Nevertheless, when comparing the meanings of 1989 and 1997 to Hong Kong society, one may find that the results are different: the “shocking” and “sudden” of 1989 compared with a long-term, endless process of the Handover of 1997. These differences had made some people have a feeling of “finally” when the Handover came.

However, if we look closely, this “finally” feeling was not contradicted to the “doomsday mentality.” It was not an expectation, but rather out of no choice. Economically, Hong Kong suffered from the financial crisis and it affected its real estate business tremendously and thus struggled with economic transformation. According to the statistics, the growth rate of the GDP dropped from 4.5% (1983-1997) to 1.9% (1997-2001); and the unemployment rate increased from 3.5% to the peak of 8.6% in 2003 (Sung, 2002). The economic recession was undoubtedly a significant impact on every walk of lives and directed affected the governance of SAR government.

With the lack of governing legitimacy and the crisis of economic recession, the dissatisfaction of the society turned into waves of social protests and social movements and resulted in the crisis of governance.

As a result, the meaning that 97 symbolized was not the difference it made at that moment; it was, however, the political and societal transformation it brought in the transitional period and after the Handover; it was the new beginning of Hong Kong's social movement after decolonization. The political transformation referred to the democratization development, governing structure of the Basic Law and the problems that caused by the failure of governance in the process of decolonization (Chapter 2). The societal transformation was due to the switch of mentality (Chapter 3) the deterioration of social and economic environment and the failure of leadership style and strategies; these resulted in the expansion of participating stratification and organization of the social movement. Although the changes of external and internal environment did not necessarily transform the characteristics of Hong Kong's social movement groups (Chapter 3), it was an important transitional point of Hong Kong's social movement and it also influenced future development.

4.2 July 1, 2003 Demonstration: Transformation between Generations

Huntington (1991) named the decline of legitimacy, struggle of political achievement and the problems of economic development as the reasons of the third wave democratization; compromise, elections and non-violence were also the same characteristics of the third wave

democratization. Huntington mentioned Taiwan instead of Hong Kong in his research; nevertheless, the failure of governance after decolonization that Hong Kong faced was similar to that of the third wave democratization. July 1st, 2003 was a historical moment; more than half million of people took the street of Hong Kong to protest Article 23 of the Basic Law and expressed dissatisfaction over the governance of SAR government. The number of people who participated in the demonstration was unexpected to the government; the demonstration was not organized by any political parties and the most of participants were young, voluntary, highly-educated middle class and professionals. Therefore, this march received highly attention and also raised the discussion of “middle class politics (呂, 2004)” and “July 1st effect (陳, 2004).” In the research of Peasant mobilization in Central America, Brockett (1991) raised the concept of “protest cycle.” “Protest cycle” referred to the cycle of social movement, and the initiator signified the occurrence of a movement cycle. Hipsher (1988b) further described the characteristics of it as: firstly, the movement expanded from a traditional domain to a new and less mobilizing domain; secondly, increasing number of protests and participants; lastly, intensive interaction between the movement and the government. The July 1 rally in 2003 can be seen as the “initiator movements;” Chan (陳韜文, 2004) argued that after 2003, people who participated in the demonstration tended to continuously participated in other demonstrations (over 80%); the spontaneous mobilization had made people who did not belong to any societal or political groups actively participated in the demonstration. As a result, July 1st demonstration has become a part of political culture in Hong Kong.

Some critics argued that July 1st demonstration in 2003 was a turning point for Hong

Kong's social movement and there was no longer a negative image on social movement (梁, 2004); some pointed that the rally was not a protest on actual rights or profits; it was concerned with moral values and beliefs, and therefore could be called as "new social movement (陳, 2003)." These total transformations of viewpoint and evaluation of social movement had its significant meaning and should be paid attention to. Interviewee D15 responded the transformation between civil participation and government's reaction:

"It is undoubtedly that after the July 1 demonstration, Hong Kong citizens believed that expressing their opinions works and take the street to protest also works. After July 1, the SAR government did compromise to some of their appeals. For instance, Article 23 was their main concern, and it was stopped after the march. This made them believe that it was possible to make a change in policies if they take the streets and protest. I think this is the objective factor. In the past, the government did not respond to rallies, and this was the situation before July 1 (2003 demonstration), and now it has changed."

When asked the development of social movement after July 1 rally in 2003, interviewee D8 replied:

"Before, you needed to push hard in order to get responses from the government, but after 2003, the response rate of the government has increased. As for social movement, now you will lose face if the number of participants is not over 10,000; in terms of organizing people on certain issues or go out on the streets, less people feel that demonstration is a dangerous thing, and this indeed increases the possibility of a movement. For many people as well as political elites, July 1 2003 rally was the first time that they go out on the streets; social movement and collective action has gradually been accepted by the public as an action

pattern.”

Although the conditions of emergence of July 1st rally in 2003 was different from that of the 80s, both were the same in vigorous civil society. 1989 and 2003 were the crucial moments in the history. It had given Hongkongers of those times a chance to participate in social movement; not only had it indirectly aroused the awakening of civil consciousness, but also set the foundation of Hong Kong’s democratic development. Interviewee D3, as one of the leaders of July 1 rally responded to the influences of July 1 rally to social movement in Hong Kong:

“Article 23 is a special incident. If it weren’t for Article 23, the scale would be much smaller. ... The scale of Hong Kong’s social movement is usually small, so I think July 1 is not a normalcy. ... It is hard to say the development of that, but the public’s mentality has definitely changed; they feel that they need to fight for democracy. For many Hongkongers, July 1 is the first time that they participated in a march; Hongkongers used to be afraid of fighting against politics, but now the mentality has changed through the movement. So in a level that July 1 is more important than June 4, because the public knows that if they want to change something, they have to fight for it. ... The biggest problem is organizers, there are not many people who do organizing, and those who participated were voluntary individuals instead of groups, few people were mobilized, might be less than 10%.”

The occurrence of July 1st rally was not a normalcy, and the characteristics of Hong Kong’s social movement organizations were not able to mobilize mass crowds; nevertheless, the controversies and the affecting level of Article 23 had made the public passively or

actively participated in the demonstration. One notable thing was due to the different movement experiences between generations, for young people who participated in the demonstration, the civil consciousness and the ideal of civil society were different from the last generation. Interviewee D8 described the differences between the generations:

“The older generation was influenced by 89 (June 4) while most younger generations were still little or haven’t been born yet. For new generation of Hongkongers, many are affected by the 90s and the development after the Handover; they were the “generation of Tung Chee-hwa.” When they see Tung, their determination for pursuing democracy increased and many historical reasons reinforced this determination.”

The rally did not happen just by chance; if it weren’t for the changes of political opportunity structure, social movement in Hong Kong would not have turned out this way. After July 1st rally, both radicals and the moderates had regarded public meeting and public processions were necessary (張, 2003b). Meanwhile, the July 1st rally also exposed the powerless and passiveness of political parties, and this represented the relation between political parties and social movements had some subtle changes.

The July 1st rally in 2003 symbolized the transformation of social movement between generations; new agendas and possibilities were raised continuously. For many young adults, “June 4th” was a vague and remote image; “July 1st” on the other hand, was the beginning of their social movement. With the strength of these newcomers, it was beneficial in developing a mature civil society in Hong Kong, and it was also crucial for further political development.

4.3 The Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier Movement: The Beginning of Localism

After 2003, except for annual June 4th and July 1st rallies, there were larger-scale rallies occurred almost every year. Nevertheless, the main concerns of the political protests before 2006 was almost always about “Hong Kong-Mainland political relation” and “Democracy,” regardless China's democratization movement or the universal suffrage of Hong Kong; these issues in whichever aspect are inseparable from China.

The 2003 July 1st rally is the major transformation point; the focus are now back to the city itself, and what the city needs to protect is the core value of Hong Kong. The movement of “Star Ferry Pier” and “Queen's Pier” becomes the new milestone of Hong Kong's social movement.

Star Ferry Pier is close to the heart of Central, and Central is Hong Kong's central government office and the business center; therefore, the importance of Star Ferry is apparent. The buildings of Central Star Ferry Pier, City Hall and Queen's Pier are important public space and they are also the symbol of Hong Kong's local culture; they symbolized the uniqueness of Hong Kong's British colony and the cultural identity of the Hongkongers.

In the end of 2006, in order to “ease the traffic” and enhance “economic development,” the government decided to demolish the Star Ferry Pier in Central and build streets and large-scale commercial building, and it was opposed violently by the public. This situation was unexpected for the government. The related authorities had already purposed the demolition project in 2001 and had not been opposed by any political parties, councils, environmental protection groups and civil society organizations. The demolition of the pier

and the clock tower did not involve in conflict of interest; however, it would be beneficial in facilitating the traffic. Nevertheless, it had aroused fierce opposition against the project. Hundreds of protesters occupied the place for several days and had conflicts with the police many times. In the beginning of the protest, the government claimed that the Star Ferry Pier had only 48 years of the history and did not apply to the preserve regulation of “50 or more years of declared monument” and the could not be preserved at its original site. The former Minister of Home Affairs Bureau Ho Chi-ping even criticized Hong Kong citizens had abused the term “collective memory,” as if anyone wanted to preserve anything, “collective memory” would be used. “The reality is that every square inch of land is precious in Hong Kong, the result of expensive land is a powerful way to decide the preservation of a place.” (何, 2006/7/26) Interviewee D14, who participated in this protest recalled:

“At first, the public did not realize what they might lose; it was until the demolition in December 2006 that many people came voluntarily to the pier and held activities as a farewell to the Star Ferry Pier. ... Many critical social movement activists and political parties also discussed the ‘procedure justice’ of the demolition; they believed that reconstruction of a public space should be approved by the public instead of only government authorities. Therefore, more and more people participated in this movement; many students, social movement activists and political parties occupied the site, interfered with construction and demanded a more ‘democratic planning’ from the government.”

Moreover, this protest was also different from the past collective actions. In the past protests, once the protesters were evicted by the police, they would soon leave the site. Nevertheless, in this action, the protesters kept returning to the site to prevent construction.

Although the government had successfully demolished the pier and clock tower, the protesters had gained compassion from the public opinion. This had resulted in the implementation of new preservation policies and the regroup of Antiquities Advisory Board.

Social movement activist Chu Hoi-dik and a group of activists and social movement groups formed a group called “Local Action,” it represented younger generation’s feelings toward lands and collective memory; it was also a rebel against government’s ideology of simply regarding lands as developing resources. He stated, “Through action, we want to put local awareness into the political level. The whole discussion is aiming at Hongkongers; we want everyone to think whom these developments are for. Hongkongers want to get the power living back; it’s not merely about political development or universal suffrage, it’s more concerned with the control over daily lives and how to mold Hong Kong.” Interviewee A14 also commented:

“This protest has inspired many people, the most important meaning of it, is Hongkongers voluntary in protecting a localization symbol Star Ferry Tower, and it was a movement full of localized cultural and political meaning. The participants of Star Ferry protests were no longer members of political parties or movement activists; many Hongkongers had voluntarily participated in this protest. The protest patterns of these movements also reflected people’s dissatisfaction toward the formalized consultation of the government, regulations of social movements and political participation models; therefore, they tried to overturn the usual ‘reasoning procedure’ of Hong Kong society with opposition methods.”

Cultural critic Ma Kit-wei stressed that localism movement is the main part that

consists the politicization of Hong Kong; when Hong Kong moves from colonial society to the one country two systems, Hongkongers have different political ideas and want to decide their own future by establishing collection consciousness.

The protest of Star Ferry Pier also brought a new wave of social movement with the topic of preservation, and issues concerning environmental protection and heritage preservation have gained the attention from the public. The future infrastructure development of the government will inevitably been challenged by the movements. Behind these heritage protection movements lays an important political message: Hongkongers are now aware of the importance of defense, and will put localism into action.

4.4 Anti-National Education Movement

In the summer of 2012, tens of thousands of Hong Kong citizens participated in the protests against the implementation of “National Education;” the participants included those so-called political apathetic parents, and they had even brought their children to protest against “ brainwashed education.” This local education issue has aroused the attention of many foreign media and became headline news in many countries. In October, the SAR government announced to postpone the curriculum of national education and all the records of protesting students would also be deleted.

Moral and national education is a curriculum proposed by the Education Bureau of Hong Kong, now it is a non-compulsory subject in elementary schools. The reason why it aroused controversy was due to its patriotic emotion toward Mainland China. The

pro-establishment camp claimed this act as an “international practice,” and as a part of Chinese, Hongkongers need to have more understanding of their motherland. On the other hand, the pan-democratic camp criticized this subject as bias, emotionally subjective and “brainwashed” the students.

For Hongkongers, the subject of “Moral and National Education” was not merely an education issue; it was a challenge of social values under the one country two system mechanism. The anti-national education rally on July 29, 2012 was one of the most important marches that need to be noted. The march was initiated by two pressure group, “Scholarism” and the “National Education Parents’ Concern Group,” and there were over 90,000 people participated in this march. There were two notable things in this march other than most of the participants were parents: first, it was in the electoral period of Legislative Council, and most of the pan-democratic camp candidates were willing to follow the instruction of the host and put all their flags away. Second, the portrait that was seen most often was the memorial portrait of Li Wangyang, who was a democratic movement activist in Hunan. Earlier before the march, in June 2012, Li was found died in the hospital and it was a death claimed to be suicide. Hongkonger had held a demonstration in supporting of Li and over ten thousand people participated in it.

The attention that the national education received before the summer was somewhat related to Li’s case. In fact, the controversy of national education had appeared in 2011, but the reaction of the public was far different from that of 2012. The consultation of the curriculum released by related authorities was criticized as repressive to independent thinking; moreover, mainland official even described openly that national education equaled to

brainwash education. Nevertheless, although Scholarism also held rally against it, only about one hundred people participated in it. The turning point was the publication of national education booklet, and it had made many students and parents aware of the changes of the national education and these were not acceptable for many Hongkonger.

The Scholarism had collected over 100,000 signatures against national education and initiated a three-day blind folded march in opposition of anti-brainwashed education. In the end of August, the Scholarism occupied the Central Government Offices, three of them went on a hunger strike and over 40,000 people participated in the occupation; few days later, more and more people joined the occupation and hunger strike, it had become a universal action in Hong Kong.

In this movement, Hong Kong's civil society was in the leading position instead of political parties. The core members of this movement, including students (Scholarism), parents (Parents' Concern group) and teachers' association (Hong Kong Professional Teachers Union), their concern were not about individual profits and had thus aroused people's attention. These students and parents signified that civil society in Hong Kong did not just focus on individual profits but universal values. They organized into groups actively and continuously concern about the issue; this has become the benchmark of the awakening of Hong Kong's civil society.

The other significant point of this movement is the rise of social consciousness of the younger generation. The most important leading group, "Scholarism," is composed by a group of middle school students. Their strong political consciousness and organized action plans had prevented them from being manipulated by political parties during the Legislative

election. Other than the individual factor, public opinion believed that this was the positive result of general education. Local critics did not underestimate the influences of these young adults and believed that they could possibly change the political environment within the next few years. Interviewee A12, who was a member of “Scholarism,” stressed that the reason she participated in Anti-National Education Movement was to maintain the core values of Hong Kong:

“In my opinion, one country two system means that we Hongkongers govern Hong Kong, you (Beijing) are just in control of national security and foreign affairs. However, Beijing thinks that Hong Kong is a part of China, so except for national security and foreign affairs, Beijing can also interfere with any other things happen in Hong Kong. Our interpretations varied quite a lot; we have our own interpretation and Beijing wants us to synchronize with them, but we cannot expect it.”

The influence of the political situation of the society has also determined the successfulness of a movement. Chief Executive Leung Chun Ying was elected by an election committee with only 1,200 people, and was considered to have close relation with the Liaison Office of the Central People’s Government. Leung was also involved in many scandals and failed to obtain trust from the society; therefore, his popularity among the citizens remains relatively low in comparison to the other two chief executives, and it was inevitably that National Education was opposed strongly under his term.

It has been nearly two decades after the Handover, and the universal suffrage of Chief Executive and Legislative Council have not yet being implemented; on the other hand, Beijing’s interference on Hong Kong’s internal affairs is becoming more obvious. Meanwhile,

mainland travellers of the Individual Visit Scheme have many confrontations with the local Hongkongers in living habits and social values; these have resulted rising tension and conflicts between the two. The essence of Anti-National Education movement was not desensitization; in fact, it had been stressed many times in the movement that it was to teach the next generation from right to wrong, but not to isolate from China. Nevertheless, if the SAR government is not able to establish mutual trust with its citizens, the Hongkongers will continuously fight for the core values of Hong Kong, and there will be more social protests to come. In reviewing the whole action, A3 commented on the review of the movement:

“In this democratization protest, it is truly an awakening. Although there are still many details we have to pay attention of, we focus more on the successful parts. We want to encourage and motivate the citizens and tell them that: it does work! Anti-National Education doesn't just mean the opposition to one subject; it is a democratic movement, and this is an important battle. We won this battle, and we will win the next one and the ones to come. This is how I perceive the movement.”

4.5 Occupy Central and the Umbrella Revolution

“Occupy Central with Love and Peace,” as known as “Occupy Central,” is a nonviolence protest for universal suffrage for both Chief Executive and Legislative Council elections, and it is scheduled to take place in Central, Hong Kong. The campaign is initiated and organized by local scholars Tai Yiu-ting, Chan Kin-man, and Reverend Chu Yiu-ming. The organizers and supporter of this movement stress that the candidate nomination proposed by the

Standing Committee of the National People's Congress does not meet the international standards and urge the government to carry out universal suffrage that applies to international standards. The opponents argued that the act of occupying Central is illegal and worried that violence might occur in the process and affect economic development and social stability of Hong Kong.

“Occupy Central” was first raised in the beginning of 2012, Professor Tai Yiu-ting stated that if the public does not take further action, the goal of universal suffrage would never be achieved. He stressed that “civil disobedience is the most powerful weapon” and encouraged Hong Kong citizens and civil leaders to use a non-violence civil disobedience way to fight for the right of self-determination for Hongkongers. He argued that the methods people used before, for instance, demonstration, ascetic practice, occupation of Central Government Office and even hunger strike are not able to make Beijing government compromise, therefore, he proposed the action of Occupy Central and seek universal suffrage of Chief Executive through this movement (Hong Kong Economic Journal, 2013/1/16).

Four steps will be taken in striving for the goal of universal suffrage: dialogue, deliberation, authorization by citizens (civil referendum) and civil disobedience (Occupy Central). Moreover, government proposal must meet the international standards of universal suffrage, for instance, equal number of vote, equal weight for each vote and no unreasonable restrictions on the right to stand for election. The final proposal for the electoral reform should also be decided by the means of a democratic process. Furthermore, the attempt of civil disobedience shall be non-violent (Occupy Central with Love and Peace).

Three sessions of deliberation day were held on June 9, 2013, March 9 and May 6,

2014 respectively. Three electoral reform proposals were selected on the third deliberation day, they were put forward by student group Scholarim and Hong Kong Federation of Students, and the People Power and the Alliance for True Democracy. The next step, civil referendum, was held from June 20 to 29, 2014 by the Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong. The three proposals, which all allow citizens to directly nominate candidates, were the vote items in the referendum. Nearly 800,000 of people, equivalent to a fifth of the registered electorate, voted in the poll by either voting online or to designated polling stations. The plan proposed by the Alliance for True Democracy was elected in the unofficial referendum by securing 42% of the votes. Although all three proposal call for the public nomination of the candidates for the chief executive in 2017, the Alliance's "three track" proposal allows the public, the nominating committee and the political parties to put forward candidates.

On July 3, 2014, the Anti-occupy Central Alliance, which was initiated by members of pro-Beijing camp, announced that they would initiate petition against Occupy Central and claimed that they activity was violent. The alliance expected to gather 800,000 signatures from the citizens, and by August 7, the Alliance claimed that they have collected over 1.1 million signatures. The Anti-occupy Central Alliance has been reported that they would bribe the citizen with money if they participate in the activities. Many government officials and pro-Beijing camp support this campaign and urge a more stable and peaceful Hong Kong without any violence.

July 1, 2014 March

The number of participants in the July 1 march of 2014 was the highest since 2003; the host, Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF) estimated that over 510,000 people participated in this march. The topics were “Citizens direct nomination, dissolve functional constituency and fight for Hong Kong’s autonomy. Before the march, several issues have been raised and aroused the attention of the society; for instance, the discussion over universal suffrage of the chief executive and Occupy Central. Moreover, Beijing government released a “One country two systems white paper” proclaimed that Hong Kong does not entitle to full autonomy and the high degree of autonomy that Hong Kong has now was granted by the Central government. There were also 800,000 people voted in the civil referendum. Furthermore, the approval of the controversial Northeast New Territories project also underwent serious protest regardless inside or outside of the Legislative Council. Therefore, before the march, it was estimated that the number of the participants would be the highest among the years. The police claimed that there were only 92,000 people while HKUPOP estimated the number was between 154,000 to 172,000.

Before the march, Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism announced that they would occupy the Chater Road in Central and Chief Executive Office respectively after the march to “rehearse Occupy Central.” They would waited until Chief Executive Leung arrives and ask whether he would want to discussion the question of political reform. Interviewee A6 commented:

“Although the initiators of Occupy Central claimed that this is not the right time, but we think that we should upgrade the movement. The SAR government will propose the political reform report to the Central government, and it will be too late to change any

decisions made by the Central government. Therefore, we need to upgrade the movement and strive for universal suffrage that meets the international standard. We also want to give pressure to the government and show them that ‘Occupy Central’ can happen.”

The movement was led by students and young adults; nevertheless, nearly half of the participants were not students but voluntary citizens and even elderly. It is apparent that the democratic movement has obtained more and more social attentions and instead of social activists, all citizens are the participants of it. The methods that were used in the past democratization movements were procession, public poll, election and negotiation, they are the entry level of protest. Nevertheless, the “Occupy Central” movement has taken the protest into the intermediate level; they use civil disobedience as a mean to turn the direction of social movement into non-cooperation movement. Meanwhile, the whole society also prepares for the requirement of non-cooperative movement, including enhances experiences and preparation of the participants, gather supports from different fields, and establish law enforcement support team (The House News). When asked how the march influence the development of social movement, interviewee A8 replied:

“I think this has encouraged the pan-democratic camp in upgrading their action. For instance, in the northeast project, they not only held banners as a protest, but also protect Chan Chi-chuen (councilor) from being kick out of the LegCo. This pre-occupy Central rehearsal symbolizes that the pan-democratic camp started to accept the upgrading of protest, and this is a good thing. The past democratization movement in Hong Kong was mainly led by political parties, after the march, students proved that they can also initiate a movement. ... From now on, neither C.Y. Leung nor political parties can neglect this rising

social power, and this has changed the development of social movement fundamentally.”

Occupy Central is the last weapon of mainstream democratic camp for striving for universal suffrage; nevertheless, under the current development, it may not be able to make pan-democratic camp to veto “conditional electoral proposal.” Interviewee A10 commented:

“I think all democratic movement participants need to have consensus that firstly, democratic movement in Hong Kong does not end if ‘Occupy Central’ fails to achieve the goal. Secondly, we need a re-start on Hong Kong’s democratic movement; we need to further develop the depth of localized democratic statements and also go back to the political battle field: obtain local supports in the District Council.”

The Umbrella Movement

The “Umbrella Movement”, also known as “Umbrella Revolution” refers to a series of social protests asking for a “true universal suffrage” after the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress passed an extremely high standard for the Hong Kong Political Reform Draft. To be more specifically, the Umbrella Revolution started on September 28, 2014 when the Hong Kong police dispersed pro-democracy protesters with tear gas. This act has resulted in a 79-day occupation of Mong Kok and Admiralty, which the Central Government Offices was located at.

On August 31, 2014, the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress passed the Hong Kong Political Reform Draft unanimously and decided that “only two or three candidates would be able to run in the 2017 chief executive election, and they would need the support of half of a 1,200 strong nominating committee to get on the ballot.” The

pan-democratic parties immediately protested against the decision and claimed, “this is indeed shutting the door for communication.” The education circle reacted more fiercely toward the decision made by the Standing Committee. The Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism initiated student strike on September 22 and lasted for a week. The students assembled at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and many professors and lecturers gave lessons at the “civic lectures.”

On the night of September 26, after the student strike of the high school students, some of the participants rushed into the “Citizen’s Square” in front of the Central Government Offices. Joshua Wong Chi-fung, who is the founder of Hong Kong student activist group Scholarism, was arrested that night and many more students were arrested the next day. Meanwhile, a large number of citizens came out to support the students whereas others brought necessary goods to protect the protesters from police’s dispersion. Benny Tai Yiu-ting, the initiator of Occupy Central, which was originally scheduled on October 1, also announced the start of the protest on September 28.

The tear gas did not disperse the protestors, on the contrary, the occupation continued and soon spread to the main streets of Mong Kok, Causeway Bay and Tsim Sha Tsui. Nevertheless, with the continuation of the occupation, more conflicts were seen in the movement. People who were against the movement, as know as the “blue ribbon,” were involved in many violent behaviors during the occupation.

Nearly three weeks later, in order to break the stalemate, the government and the Hong Kong Federation of Students had the first conversation and were aired live in the media. The government claimed that the decision made by the Standing Committee of National People’s

Congress was not final, it could be modified accordingly and the government will establish platforms for the political development after 2017. However, most citizens were not convinced and believed that the conversation did not help to resolve the situation of occupation.

Close to the end of November, the police dispersed Mong Kok and arrested many protestors including student activists and political parties leaders. After the dispersion, a large number of citizens re-gathered in Mong Kok for “Gau Wu,” which means “shopping” in Putonghua and “continue occupy Mong Kog in the name of shopping” in Cantonese. Conflicts between the police and protestors also got more and more serious after the dispersion.

The Hong Kong Federation of Students announced an upgrade on the protest in the Admiralty on November 30 and surrounded General Government Offices. Over 5,000 citizens participated in the action but were suppressed violently by the police and the action ended within 12 hours. The student leaders admitted failure the next day and went on a hunger strike afterwards.

On December 11, the Admiralty occupation zone was dispersed by 7,000 policemen. Other occupation zones in Causeway Bay and Legislative Council was also dispersed and thus ended the Umbrella Revolution. Nevertheless, this did not end the protest; many people believed that even the movement had ended, they still need to take more actions to gain the true universal suffrage – the movement was replaced by restoration movement against Individual Visit Scheme and parallel goods traders.

What made this movement different from other awakening moments are its

unprecedented characteristics, and they can be found from organization to the protesting methods. Firstly, the protestors did not just occupied one place (Central), they took over the streets in many areas across the whole city. Secondly, the protestors did not stayed still in one place. If they were evicted, they would run off or evacuated from the spots and gathered afterwards. Thirdly, the protesters mainly occupied the streets; they did not get into government buildings or other facilities, so this made it difficult for the authorities to control. Fourthly, there were no leaders in the movement. Even though the student leaders were arrested, the crowd remained in the occupation zones and continuously occupied the streets. Fifthly, there were no main stage, flags, promotion vehicles and thus required fewer resources. These de-centralization protests are recurring and repeatedly, and thus made it difficult for the authority to handle.

From student strike, occupy Central to the Umbrella Movement, the voluntariness of the Hong Kong citizens was to be praised and worth noted in the development of Hong Kong's social movement. On the other hand, these developments did not just come overnight; it still has other prerequisite conditions. If there were no advocacy from the student groups or education circle such as Scholarism or Occupy Central with Love and Peace, would the majority citizens be aware of the changes in political development? Moreover, could it be possible that the citizens voluntarily take the street for protesting and universal suffrage have nothing to do with the various social movements in Hong Kong after the return to China? As Joshua Wong has stated, the situation in the later phase of the movement was not something the initiators could control, the voluntariness of the citizens was the reason for this breakthrough. Interview A12, who is also one of the leaders in a student association says, "In

the anti High Speed Rail movement, I found that we Hongkongers actually have the ability to turn things around and to change the society; the action itself can make the change.”

As for the development after the movement, the two generations have different perspectives on the civil society and social atmosphere, “The protests or movements afterwards will be more violent but the scale will be much smaller and it will be more difficult for the people to change or affect any decision or policy made by the government. The worst thing is that a lot of the Hongkongers will lose hope and thus result in another wave of immigration,” interviewee A7 says. On the contrary, interviewee A12 is still positive of the future of social movement and the future of Hong Kong, “We will have to fight the communists the way that they fought to get the regime, that is – guerrilla. From now on, we can expect more protests on many different issues regarding politics, social and land justice or human rights. We will also advocate in countryside or remote areas; we will step away if the government interferes and return after they are gone. We will also participate in the elections and get into the system, and we will not stop until we reach our goal – Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong, the true democracy.”

Chapter 5 Hong Kong-Mainland Conflict and the Transformation of Social Protests

5.1 The intensification of Hong Kong-Mainland conflict

5.1.1 From “Northbound imaginary” to the “Invasion of Keung kwok yan (power Chinese)”

After the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, Hongkongers' viewpoints toward the comrades of the mainland changed significantly. In the 70s and 80s, generally Hongkongers felt themselves superior to mainlanders. Newcomers from the mainland were called “Ah Chank” (redneck). Nevertheless, with the beginning of the Sino-British negotiation in the 90s, there were more doubts for the Hongkongers; they were unsure about the Handover and regarded China as a new colonizer with an uncertainty of the future.

A book called “Northbound imaginary” (1995) was written by the scholars described the complicated mentality of the Hongkongers. On one hand, the Hongkongers felt superior of the British colonial identity, they identified with economic prosperity, law and justice and the social system; on the other hand, with capitalism culture and the northbound of economic power, Hong Kong also played an role of profit seeker and the spread the value of capitalism as a colonizer.

After 1997, Hong Kong has undergone several financial crises and the impact of “SARS” and has thus resulted in economic recession. The economy recovery was due to the blooming of tourism in a certain level; many mainland tourists have poured into Hong Kong, and with the economic privileges that China granted, more and more Hongkongers have

accepted the fact that they have to rely on China for living.

The term “Ah Chank” had gradually replaced by “Gong Chank” (redneck Hongkonger). This term was full of self-deprecating and it reflected the low culture esteem of the Hongkongers. Hongkongers also changed the term “Ah Chank” into “Keung kwok yan.” “Keung kwok” is used by many Hongkongers as an irony of “the emergence of homeland China.”

5.1.2 Hong Kong-mainland Conflict: Individual Visit Scheme, baby formula and parallel traders

The Individual Visit Scheme (literary means free walking) allows travellers from Mainland China to enter Hong Kong on a individual basis. It launched in 2003, and the number of visitors travel to Hong Kong from the Mainland has increased drastically ever since. From Mong Kok to Tsim Sha Tsui, the streets are full of brand stores and numerous shoppers from the mainland. These Mainland tourists indeed benefit the economy of Hong Kong, they also bring waves of conflicts to the society; with more and more daily conflicts, Hongkongers’ dissatisfaction toward “one country, two system” has thus being accumulated.

China is full of products that made by dishonest manufacturers, therefore, imported products in Hong Kong, such as baby formula, diapers and daily supplies are popular among Mainland visitors. Many Mainland businessmen have thus purchase these items and sell it back to China; and these businessmen are called “parallel traders.” With the launched of multiple-entry permit for Shenzhen residence, more and more parallel traders enter Hong

Kong twice or three times a day. In order to effectively purchase more items, the traders even divided the work; one purchases the goods, another handles packaging and the other distributes. Among all the MTR stations, Sheung Shui is the most crowded one.

Interviewee A3 once stated that he resented going to Sheung Shui Station, “as if you have gone to Shenzhen, this place does not belong to Hong Kong.”

Parallel traders’ massive purchase of goods has also caused the inflation of price in the northern district. Many younger generation initiated “Recover Sheung Shui” campaign and nearly four hundred people gathered at Sheung Shui MTR station to protest. The protesters held banners saying “Mainlanders, love your country and use your home products,” “Chinese people get out of Hong Kong,” “Parallel traders slammed the northern district” and “Sheung Shui today, whole Hong Kong tomorrow.” This war between Hongkongers and Mainlanders has soon extended to the Internet. In January 2012, a video of a mainland child eating snacks on Hong Kong MTR and was scolded by a Hong Kong passenger was being uploaded on the net. The video soon was spread widely on Facebook and aroused discussion over the issue; it has resulted in a series of written polemic between the two sides.

Chinese Peking University professor Kong Qingdong made a television remark suggest that many Hongkongers did not identify themselves as Chinese and claimed that Hongkongers were British Colonial dogs. Kong stated “Many Hongkongers do not regard themselves as Chinese, they always say we Hongkongers and you Chinese... Those kinds of people used to be running dogs for the British colonialists. And until now, you Hongkongers are still dogs. You aren’t human.” This statement aroused controversy; it also resulted in a “locust” song. The song described mainlanders as locusts and opposed to mainland

immigrants obtaining same welfare as Hong Kong citizen; it received over a million hit within a year. These conflicts reflect not only the different culture values between Hongkongers and mainlanders or the loss of past glorious superior mentality, but the loss of medical resources, living standard, social welfare and so on.

5.1.3 Conflicts behind “Anchor Babies”

“Anchor babies” refer to the babies who are born in Hong Kong; however, neither of their parents are Hong Kong citizens. The problem of “anchor babies” can be traced back to the case of Chong Fung Yuen in 2001. Hong Kong court of Final Appeal affirmed the decision that Chinese citizens born in Hong Kong entitle the right of abode regardless of the Hong Kong Immigration status of their parents. With the implementation of Individual Visit Scheme of the Beijing government in 2003, more and more mainland mothers cross the immigration and give birth in Hong Kong. An influx of mainland women seeks to give birth in public hospital has resulted the shortage of beds for local Hongkongers and aroused dissatisfaction in the society.

The statistics of Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department shows that Hong Kong men marry Chinese women and mainland couples give birth in Hong Kong have resulted in the complexity of Hong Kong’s population. The statistics estimate that in 2039, the population of Hong Kong will increased to 8.89 million. The statistic shows that by the end of 2013, the population of Hong Kong was 7.2 million and compared to that in 2010, the population increased 1%, which means 200,000 people. Newborn babies and the mainlanders

who hold one-way permit and reside in Hong Kong is one of the important factor of the increment of population. In 2009 and 2010, the numbers of newborn and mainlanders with one-way permit were 84,700 and 48,000 respectively.

Moreover, the ratio of anchor babies grows from 8.6% in 2004 to 36.9% in 2010; this signifies that the situation of pregnant mainland mothers give birth in Hong Kong becomes more and more common nowadays (see Table 5-1).

Table 5-1: The ratio of anchor babies (2001-2010)

Year	Number	Both Parents are HK residence	Only father is HK residence	Both parents aren't HK residence (%)
2001	48,400	45,590	7,190	620 (1.3)
2002	48,500	39,994	7,256	1,250 (2.6)
2003	46,200	36,168	7,962	2,070 (4.5)
2004	47,900	34,902	8,879	4,102 (8.6)
2005	57,300	38,148	9,879	9,273 (16.2)
2006	65,800	40,318	9,438	16,044 (24.4)
2007	69,600	42,795	7,989	18,816 (27.0)
2008	78,700	46,203	7,228	25,269 (32.1)
2009	82,100	46,211	6,213	29,766 (36.3)
2010	88,500	49,678	6,169	32,653 (36.9)

Source: Census and Statistics Department

In 2010, pregnant mainland women whose spouse were not permanent Hong Kong residence, gave birth to 32,653 babies, compare with that in 2001, the number increased over 50 times. From 2001 to 2011, the number of anchor babies who entitled the right of abode was over 170,000. The anti-anchor babies stand in Hong Kong society is also getting fiercer.

For most Hongkongers, the influx of pregnant women has resulted in the lack of

medical resources. In 2010, the number of newborn babies in the private hospitals was 45,000, and more than 31,000, which is nearly 70% of them were anchor babies. Most of the beds in hospitals were taken by mainland mothers, regardless public or private; many local pregnant women are forced to leave the hospital earlier after they give birth or choose a pricier medical clinic in order to provide vacancy for mainland mothers. Moreover, while the anchor babies grow up, the allocation of education, housing and social welfare is also a crucial problem to Hong Kong society. Hongkongers worry that the resources cannot meet the need of growing demands, and the lack of medical staff and the deteriorating medical quality are becoming critical problems.

In February 1, 2012, a full-cover advertisement was shown in “Apple Daily” with the headline of “We Hongkongers had enough! (see Figure 5-1)”

Former director of Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Lu Ping once stated that “any policy that Hong Kong implements, need to put the feelings of mainlanders into consideration. For instance, in the financial crisis, the Chinese government brought in Individual Visit Scheme and it indeed benefits Hong Kong’s economy. Hongkongers should not be so profit-oriented; when Chinese travellers cause the inflation, you then ask them to leave.” He also criticized that the term “locusts” hurt the feelings of mainlanders.

Figure 5-1: Advertisement on Apply Daily (2012/2/1)



Source: Apple Daily (2012/2/1)

Content: Are you willing to pay one million dollars every 18 minutes on anchor babies? We Hongkongers had enough! We know that you (mainlanders) suffer from toxic baby formula, so we tolerate you to purchase all of our products. We know you don't have freedom, so we give you free walk (Individual Visit Scheme). We know you lack of education so we share our resources with you. We know you can't read traditional Chinese so we also add simplified Chinese: 'Please respect our local culture when you travel to Hong Kong, if it wasn't for Hong Kong, you all would be doomed (all the characters are written in simplified Chinese).' We demand government's amendment on Article 24 of the Basic Law! Prevent mainland pregnant women invading Hong Kong!"

Sociologist Lui Dai-lok believed that anchor babies, the lack of baby formula and all

the conflicts brought by Individual Visit Scheme are just the surface of the problem; the rational behind is the deeply connected with the mechanism of one country, two systems. “The attentions aroused by parallel traders and Individual Visit Scheme resembles the layers of conflicts and problems. The layer under parallel traders is Individual Visit Scheme, and beneath that is regional integration; the next layer is the reposition of Hong Kong and the direction of long-term development, ... the final layer is about the conflicts of the mechanism of one country, two systems. The issues Hong Kong society and Hongkongers are facing now are closely tied with the transformation of social and economic environment. (呂大樂 2013/2/15)

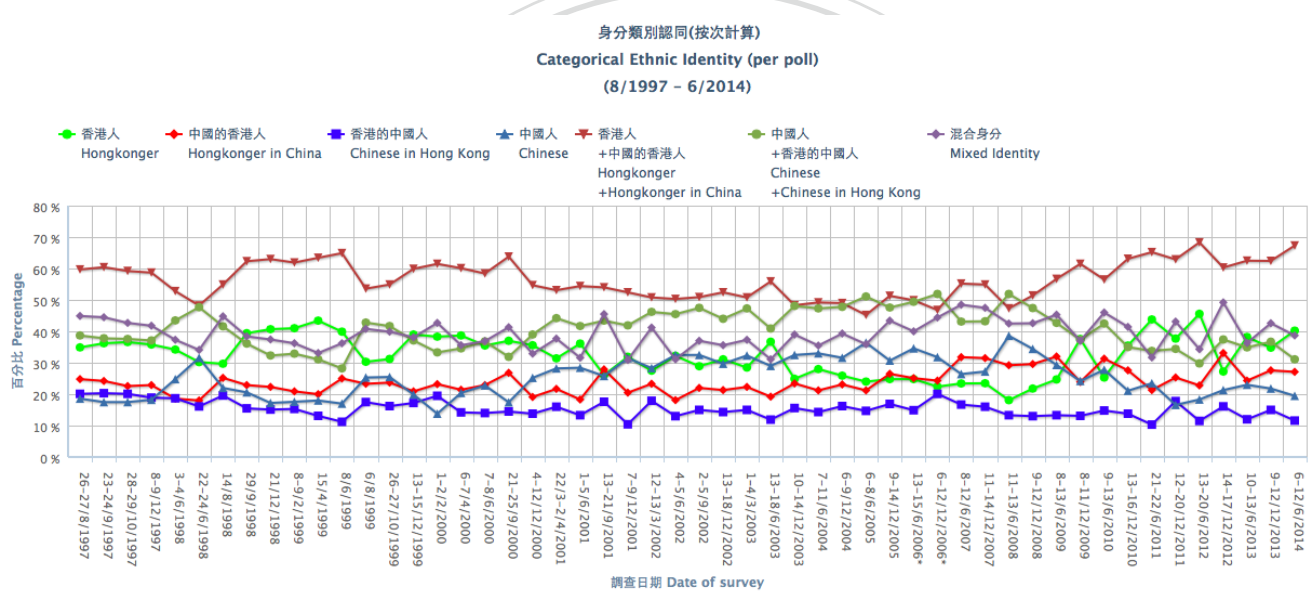
5.2 The Rise and Debates of Radical Localism

5.2.1 Hongkongers' Ethnic Identity and Indigenusness

According to the Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong, the research conducted by telephone survey since 1997 on “People’s Ethnic Identity” shows that in the latest survey (conducted on June 6-12, 2014), people who identify themselves as “Hongkongers” (40.2%) are the most. Meanwhile, people who claim to be “Chinese” is 19.5%; people who call themselves “Hongkongers in China” and “Chinese in Hong Kong” are 27.1% and 11.6% respectively. The research shows that in identity binary opposition, the ratio of “Hongkonger” identity is higher than “Chinese” identity over 20 to 30 percent. Those who identify themselves as “Chinese” was nearly the lowest since 2000. (HKUPOP, 2014)

The trend also shows that from the beginning of the Handover to present, the “Hongkonger” identity was higher than “Chinese” identity most of the times: most people identified themselves as Hongkongers, following Asians, Chinese and world citizens. Since 2008, the “Chinese” identity dropped drastically over the years; it could not even compare with the identity of “Asian” and “world citizen.”

Figure 5-2: Categorical Ethnic Identity (1997-2014)



Source: HKUPOP, <http://hkupop.hku.hk/chinese/>

Central and HKSAR government criticized Hongkongers was unpatriotic, and the survey method unscientific and illogical. Nevertheless, the rise of indigenoussness was closely related to the political development of Hong Kong after the Handover. From 2003 to 2009, SARS, regardless Article 23 of the Basic Law, July 1st marches, Queen’s Pier protest, anti-high speed rail and Choi Yuen Village protest, these social movement all stressed on “localism;” however, the arguments of “localism” during that period was limited to social

observers and cultural critics, the society had not yet labeled it as Hongkongers identity. Afterwards, the discussion over “localism” has gradually emerged and reinforce, and the society is now focusing more on “collective memory,” local culture and local movement.

After 2010, a series of conflicts occurred between Hongkongers and mainlanders, for instance, D&G incident, anti anchor babies, locusts, anti parallel traders, anti national education, and anti northeast New Territory project; the term “local” becomes a keyword for these movements.

Some critics argue that there are two kinds of localism in Hong Kong: one is the Post-World War II baby boom old localism, and the other is new localism. New localism refers to the new consciousness of cultural preservation and political movements after the Handover; for instance, Queen’s Pier and Star Ferry protest, anti high-speed rail and five Constituency Referendum. There are distinctive difference between the two localism, the former “opposes to the closeness of colonialism and expect to achieve the goal of democracy through decolonization and the Handover” whereas the latter “eliminates any illusion of obtaining democracy through motherland due to the suppression and crisis after the Handover, and establishes democracy consciousness by direct local actions;” even the localism in Taiwan “also helps the emergence of Hong Kong’s new localism (孔誥烽，2012).

This localism contains the nationality-centered ideology (谷淑美，2002); some Hongkongers call mainlanders “locusts” to symbolize mainlanders competing for all kinds of resources in the society, this is also the conservative aspect of the localism. Some critics also point out that this localism (and identity) is superficial and introvert (張炳良，2009).

5.2.2 Hong Kong City State Autonomous Movement and Hong Kong Independence Movement

Since 2010, the British Ensign Flag has constantly appeared in public's collective actions and has somewhat reflects people's commemoration of British colonial government. The narrow Hong Kong localism of "Hongkongers are superior than mainlanders" is forming. In the beginning of the Handover, no Hongkongers dare to publicly address to "Hong Kong Independence;" however, after 2010, more and more youngsters are calling for "localization" and "City State Autonomy" instead of "liberty, human rights and law." More and more youngsters are now holding the British Ensign Flags and yelling "I'd rather be British."

When facing the rise of Hongkongers' local awareness, former director of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office Lu Ping criticized Hongkongers who held British colonial flag and in support of independence "idiots," "without the support of China, Hong Kong will be doomed sooner or later." He also stated, "any Hongkongers who do not identify with his or hers Chinese identity, he/she can simply give up the nationality" in an interview; moreover, Lu even stated "China's population is over 1.3 billion, and we don't mind losing a small pinch of people."

When answering a question in an online forum, the former deputy director of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office Chen Zuo-er stated "the rise of the independent power spreads like flus, we all should be aware of it." He also listed that Hong Kong can get through Asia financial crisis, SARS and international financial crisis is because of China, and hinted that Hongkongers should appreciate China's favor and kindness.

From the timeline, the emergence of radical localism is closely related to the highly

economic integration with the mainland in 2003. With the implementation of Individual Visit Scheme, mainlanders start to influx into Hong Kong and result in the problems of “anchor babies” and parallel traders; parvenu mainlanders insult Hongkongers also occur very often. Beijing’s eagerness of integrating Hong Kong and the mainland under one sovereignty without considering the differences of values and economic development has resulted in serious conflicts between the two parties.

In a survey conducted by HKUPOP on November 1st to 5th, 2012, 60% of the people opposed to the idea of the rise of “Hong Kong Independence” whereas only 17% agreed. Nevertheless, 71% of the people believed that China’s intervention of Hong Kong affairs has increased since the Handover while only 22% regarded the situation remained the same. News commentator Lau Yui-siu commented that the mainstream public view does not support the idea of “Hong Kong Independence” and the Central government also understand that Hong Kong does not possess the conditions and trend of independence, and he also stated that Beijing should prevent radicalizing the emotion of Hongkongers.

Interviewee A14 who has participated social movement for many years commented on this matter: “I have been observing Chin Wan’s statements for a long time. To me, instead of calling him radical or a extremist, I’d say he has spoken up for many Hongkongers. When us social movements groups speak, we think about universal values such as human rights, fairness and justice, and incorporate these values into our appeals. But Chin Wan doesn’t have this burden and he doesn’t need any packaging. He uses the most direct way to express what Hongkongers want, and this is also the reason why his statements receives lots of attentions and are welcomed by Hongkongers.”

5.2.3 Chinese Nationalism V.S. Hong Kong Nativism

The effect that Chin Wan aroused by his work “Hong Kong City-State Autonomy” is not about whether Hong Kong should be independent, but the debate over Chinese democracy and Hongkongers democracy.

Before the June 4th memorial in 2013, there was a difference in opinion among the supporters of the pan-democracy camp, and the discussion was about “whether Hongkongers should continuously participate in June 4th memorials.” The opposing party argued that the City-State of Hong Kong is different from Mainland China, and the two had been segregated for over sixty years and each had taken different development path. The cultural distance is widening and the profit goals are not the same; therefore, democracy camp has to segregate Hong Kong from the mainland and put Hong Kong in priority instead of China. As for China-related affairs, they argue that Hong Kong should have a natural stand and prevent China’s intervention over Hong Kong politics and society.

Chin Wan argued that in order to avoid conflicts of interests, Hong Kong had to set aside Chinese complex and patriotic democratic movements. He stated, “After the Handover, Hong Kong’s sovereignty was returned to China, and Hong Kong-mainland conflict was shown directly in the council. The Chinese complex that was brought by the June 4th incident should be separated from the congress; therefore Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China (HK Alliance) should be depoliticized and cannot blend in into political parties, councilors or LEGCO candidates. This is a serious moral problem: in the agenda of conflict of interests between Hong Kong and mainland, for instance, anchor

babies and baby formula, the interests of Hong Kong and the interests of China have to be handle separately, it cannot be mixed together, otherwise why would we need a local council? You can only choose either LEGCO or HK Alliance, you cannot have both! HK Alliance should only be a civil society organization, and the June 4th memorials should only be civil society movements, they cannot be involved with parliament politics.” (陳雲，2013)

The other supporting party argues that the democracy of Hong Kong is inevitably based on the success of China’s democratic movement. They have a strong emotion toward Chinese nationalism and believed that fighting for democracy is an act of patriotism. Interview A12 replied:

“Many people don’t like the word ‘patriotic’ because of their repulsive feeling toward Chinese government. They think the word ‘patriotic’ has been contaminated and been used as a tool to attach dissidents. Many Hongkongers who participate in candlelight virgil are with the care of the nation; otherwise why don’t they go to memorials for the Jewish or Yugoslavs? We all know it is not right, but we won’t feel that emotional. It is like Nanjing massacre to Chinese people. It happened in our country, and you don’t need an explain for this feeling.”

Interviewee A13 who has participated in organizing June 4th memorial activities for many years commented:

“People call me Chinese nationalism and making fun of me pursuing in ‘rectifying June 4’ and caring about the case of Li Wang-yang. They said that something like it’s because my relative died in June 4th Incident or Li was my relative. But this is a basic conscious issue and Hong Kong’s spirit is to pursue universal values. And because of that, our values, humanities and rule of law are then superior. In comparison, the system and values of

mainlanders are relatively backwards and this differentiation is important to Hong Kong. If we only see the situation of Hong Kong, it is not localization; it is nativism.”

5.3 The increment, diversification and politicization of social protest

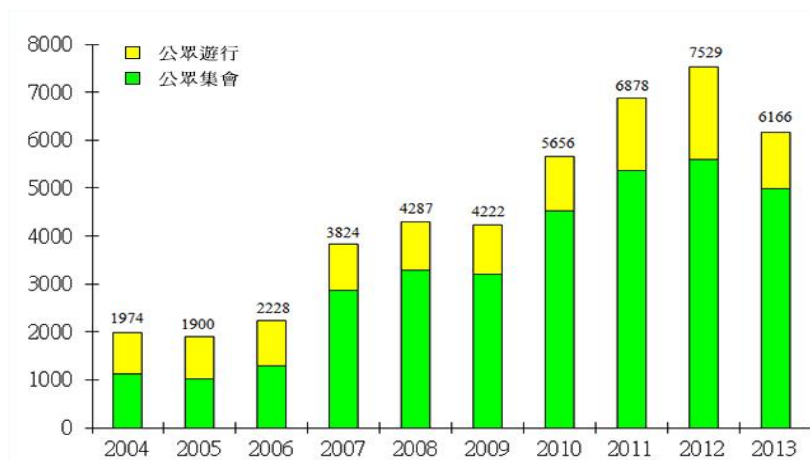
5.3.1 The Increment of Social Protest

According to the statistics, from 1975 to 1986, there were 822 social conflicts (Cheung and Louie, 2000); in other words, 80 times per year and 6 times per month on a average. Cheung argued that there was two factors resulted in social conflicts of this period: first, reports from the media; that is to say, there were social conflicts before, but the media did not cover the incidents explicitly. Second, more and more social conflicts occurred due to the development of the society. Another statistics also show that social conflicts in Hong Kong from 1987 to 1995 increased four times of that in the past decade; in other words, 407 times a years, 33 times a month and the total number was 3,661. Lau and Wan (2000) argued these social conflicts were the result of the issues and political opportunities that were generated in the decolonization process; the characteristics of these conflicts were smaller scale without alliance, short period of time, lead by groups and the expansion of conflict domains. Nevertheless, when the direct election was introduced in Legco election in the early 90s, the number of social conflicts dropped drastically.

From the studies Cheung and Lau conducted on social conflicts of Hong Kong society, it was clear that early 90s was the dividing point. Social conflicts before the 90s increased

with social and political development; however, it appeared to be a downtrend after 1990. According to the statistics the author collected, from 2003 to 2013, the trends of public meetings and public processions (Table 5-2) were similar to that of social conflicts before the 90s; nevertheless, both social conflicts and public meetings and processions increased over the years.

Table 5-2: Statistics of Public Meeting and Procession in Hong Kong (2003-2013)



Source: Hong Kong Police Force

Two waves of public meetings and processions could be found from the trend of the numbers. The first wave occurred in 1998 due to the impact of financial crisis and the policy failure of the SAR government, and there were many social protests in 1998 and 1999. The second wave lasted three years, from 2001 to 2003. Major events in this period included: the second term of chief executive, July 1st rally, high unemployment rate (8.6% in 2003) and the negative growth on the GDP. The numbers public meeting and processions decreased after 2003, however, they were still higher than those in the Handover period. This might be due to the decreasing unemployment rate, the number dropped to 6.7% by the end of 2004 (Census and Statistics Department) and the less controversial policies from the SAR government. The

recession and reorganization of social movement after the climax could also be an important reason.

The influences of media are closely related to the emergence and development of social movement; it not only conveys messages and let more people understand the appeals and development of the movement, but also facilitates collective actions and empowers movements (Tarrow, 1998). In the case of Hong Kong, “phone-in” programs play the indispensable roles in social movement. The political pundits can not only spread information that the government intends to omit, but represent the government in defining issues and form public opinion against the government (Chapter 2). The “phone-in” programs provide opportunities for the public to express dissatisfaction toward the government; a public forum can therefore be formed and further lead to collective actions. Thus, “phone-in” programs have a crucial influence to the increment of social movement after decolonization. Interviewee A6, who is a member of District Council and also a social movement activist, commented:

“The participation of the public is closely related to the media. Our political parties are not strong and cannot mobilize too many people, so the mobilization is very weak. Therefore, any movement that mobilizes a lot of people is because of the influence of media. For instance, many medias were against Article 23, so it had benefit the movement in mobilization.”

Civic associations also play important roles in the development of social movement. Wei (魏, 2002) compared civic associations in different cities and called the relation between civil associations and the government “isolationism.” The “isolationism” believed that social

groups could possess more freedom if they were isolated from politics; therefore, civic associations were isolated from political power. This characteristic, which was derived from colonial period, was transformed in the process of democratization in recent years. The interaction between the government and civic associations stimulated the politicization of a group; for instance, formation of a political party. It could also affect the transformation of politics under the change of political environment. Although civic associations that were formed under “isolationism” avoided political interference, it does not mean this isolationism is still in effect during the political environment transformation process.

He concluded the inefficiency of civic associations into two reasons: first, immigration mentality, and second, reliance on family network. These had resulted in the tendency of moderate interaction with the government for civic associations; for instance, submitted suggestion forms, held workshops and negotiated with the government (魏, 2002). For many grass root activists, there was not many changes in organizational power after the Handover; smaller scale groups reflected the restrictions of objective external environment and subjective internal choice (Chapter 3). Nevertheless, small mass organizations did not interfere cooperation for common issues.

The unofficial organizations and networks had the advantages of flexible and changeable which were beneficial for responding external pressure and control (Tarrow, 1998). Nevertheless, this also became a concern of the development of Hong Kong’s social movement. Interviewee A5 observed:

“There are a lot of opinions and groups; four or five people become a group, more and more groups appear and disappear. They are not integrated vertically and horizontally to form

a massive social movement. Social movement becomes very fragmented and issues cannot be articulated; though the number is increasing, they are not connected.”

5.3.2 Diversification

The trend of diversification of social movement in Hong Kong can be observed through the following aspects: diversification of issues, action participants, and participating methods. Cheung and Lau’s researches on social conflicts showed the topics and issues of social movement before the Handover. From mid 70s to mid 80s, main issues were about labors, housing and transportation; with the beginning of the negotiation over Hong Kong’s future, political issues could also be seen in this period. From mid 80s to mid 90s, the main concerns of the public, other than labor and housing, were civil rights and liberty issues.

More issues had been covered after the Handover, included: religion issues (Falun Gong), environmental protection issues (protection of the harbor), education issues (educational reform), minority issues (anti discrimination), gender issues (homosexual rights and women movement), Hong Kong-mainland issues (residency issues) and global issues (economic transformations, cultural preservation and labor protection). Moreover, other traditional social movement issues had also expanded due to the economic and social crisis after the Handover; for instance, the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance issue, wealth inequality, political reform and democratization issues.

In the diversification of participants, the cooperation and exchanging of ideas among social movement groups, political parties and non-governmental organizations were very

frequent; vigorous third section's usage of technology also made the diversification in participating social movement. After 1997, due to the damage of personal interests, middle class and professionals also participated in social movement and tried to express their opinions (馮, 2004). Nevertheless, Lui (2003) analyzed the influence of the middle class to political development and argued that even if the middle class took the street, it did not mean there is a new middle class politic. He questioned the existence of "middle class politics" and stressed that the middle class was also dissatisfied with pro-democracy camp and the middle class tended unable to participate in the movement for a long term. Other than the participation of local movement organizations, the interaction between civic associations and international society is also worth paying attention of. Before 1997, the colonial government did not encourage autonomous civic associations, and with the lack of communication and information, the interaction among cross-country organizations was insufficient (梁, 1997). After 1997, other than the original church and labor association which interacted closely within each other, human rights groups, women groups, environmental protection and student groups were relatively new participants; how they operate cross-country online resources on mobilization to empower organization of the movement is the issue worth paying attention of.

In terms of participation, social movement is not only about taking the streets; it is, however, the most common practice of social movement in Hong Kong. Interviewee A14 explained the steps and orders of organizing public meeting or procession: "You have to apply for public meeting in advance and it varies on locations. For instance, if the location in at a private place, then you have to apply to the owner and notify the police if the number of

participants are over 500. This is explicitly regulated in the Public Order Ordinance. In public space, if a procession over 30 and meeting over 50, then you have to apply for it first. In government places, for instance, streets and government headquarter, they you have to apply for it. However, public housings are managed by property management agency, so you apply from them.”

As a part of collective actions, the risks of social movement have to be reduced in order to increase the willingness of participation for the public. With the increase of social movements after decolonization, operation models of social movement become more diverse and it also brings changes to the interaction between the government and the society (Tarrow, 1998). Except for the traditional repertoire of strikes, demonstration, shout of slogans, petitions and sit-in protests, there are also memorials, workshops, exhibitions, street performance, film festivals or even radio shows, online social networks and small mass publication; these all symbolize social actors’ use of different means to participate in the movement.

5.3.3 Politicization

Politicization refers to the political attempt of a movement: the expectation of participating in politics and change the political status quo. The main participants of social movement in the 70s in Hong Kong were students and grass root political discussion groups. From the 80s to the beginning of 90s, political discussion groups had gradually entered representative politics institutions and became members of political parties or government. The participants of

student movements in different eras had also become councilors, middle class or professionals. Social movements had tried to use the channel of political system to express public opinion or ideas to make up with the lack of organizational and mobilizing power. With the competition on resources and places, social movement underwent downtimes in the 90s; it was not the center of media's attention, all the focus was on political parties and the councils.

Other than the failure of parliament politics (chapter 3) and the dissolution of two councils (chapter 2), the politicization of social movement was also the result of government's failure in handling many livelihood issues, and this had also increased the tension of the conflicts between the government and the society. In terms of political issues, the dysfunction of political parties and the marginalized SAR government had resulted in Beijing's confrontation with Hong Kong society. When asked the development of political parties after the Handover, interviewee A5 replied:

“Political parties decline gradually after 97, regardless DAB, Democratic Party or Liberal Party, all political parties are declining. Because they can't articulate issues, they didn't even expect there would be so many people participating in July 1. July 1 rally has brought Democratic Party back to life, they are the beneficiary of July 1.”

The Public Opinion Programme of Hong Kong University conducted a survey on political parties in Hong Kong in 2004. When asked “Is there any political parties which can secure your personal interests?” nearly 60% of the people answered “no;” when asked “What is the most important function of political parties?” over one third (33.5%) answered “represent public opinion.” When the expectation of represent public opinion could not be

carried out and no political parties could secure people's rights, the finding of "never participated in any political parties or groups" was not difficult to understand, and it could not be simply summed up as "political apathetic." The politicization of social movement in Hong Kong was therefore growing gradually. For instance, in July 1st rally in 2003, groups which appealed to direct election of chief executive and Legco members were not merely politics related organizations, it also included homosexual groups and women movement groups (CHRF). These social movement groups stepped out of the original domains, and appealed for fundamental change of the political status quo; this had indeed reflected the politicization of social movement.

Moreover, being an important part in the "China factor," Beijing's interference of Hong Kong internal affairs has also resulted in the politicization of social movement in Hong Kong. The influences of "pro-democracy camp" and "pro-Beijing" camp to the development of social movement cannot be neglected. Interviewee A13 explained:

"The more of different opinions the better. A lot of organizations do not say they are pro-Beijing or pro-democracy; and for many groups, it is hard to define whether they are pro-Beijing or pro-democracy. They are closer to pro-democracy groups on some issues and closer to pro-Beijing groups on the other; there are rooms for this, and the boundary is not so clear in Hong Kong. This is not a bad situation, if there are more organizations helping with the same issue, the influence and effect are different from one group only, they can give more pressure to the government. So in the perspective of social movement, it is a good thing to have different opinions."

On the contrary, grass-root social movement activist A14 regarded otherwise: "There

are still boundary between the two. It's obvious that the pro-Beijing camp is very conservative in many democratic issues, so it is difficult to talk about equal right due to this reason. For instance, it's like asking for equal rights between workers and bosses or people and the government. If you are this conservative, it's hard not to be labeled. I don't think the two do not contact is because of different political stand, it's because of different perspectives. For instance, when Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions fight for labors' rights, they have a tendency to compromise with the employers; they will try every possible way to fight for more, but they won't directly speak of rights of the labors."

From the statements above, it was shown that the phenomena of "labeling" and "polarization" still existed in the social movement groups in Hong Kong after decolonization. The phenomenon of "political polarization" can be traced back to the impact of June 4th Incident in 1989. However, the political stand of social movement groups was depended on the issues, and then the groups decided the need for cooperation. This is extremely important for social movement that emphasized on unofficial organizations and social networks.

The characteristics of social movement in postcolonial Hong Kong were increment, diversification and politicization, and these developments also affected the future of Hong Kong society. According to Chan's (2004) research on July 1st rally in 2003 and 2004, it was shown that both demonstrations had the characteristic of the participation of all citizens; middle class and well-educated professions were the main participants. Chan argued that the young generation participated voluntarily, "it's a newly thrived power in Hong Kong; if they have more political experiences, they would be more active and mature. The awakening of Hong Kong's young generation is an important issue that the pro-democracy camp cannot

neglected.”

5.4 The Difficulties and Opportunities of Hong Kong’s Social Movement

5.4.1 The Grass Root Consciousness

“Grassroots” was the most common word that was used by the interviewees in the field research. Many scholars who conducted research on collective actions often used grassroots to describe the basic level, and the basic level referred to the margins of the publics or in the society. Nevertheless, researchers did not further examine the meaning of grassroots. In the social stratification, grassroots are not on the top or in the middle; they are at the bottom or even the lowest level. In Hong Kong, the basic level was where many social movement groups operated; it was also the main concern for those groups and many were even labeled as grassroots. Movement activists believed that grassroots possess abundant culture and imaginary space, but there were also many difficulties. This consciousness that regarded the grassroots as the main concerns and emphasized organizational methods and thinking of the basic level is by here referred to “grass root consciousness.”

The grass root consciousness was the result of historical societal development. The main participants of Hong Kong’s social movement, except for students, and middle class political discussion groups, were mostly from the grassroots level. Meanwhile, the characteristics of social movement were disobedience and rebellious, and the main concerns were grassroots level or marginal issues; the grass root consciousness were therefore became

stronger. When speaking of the development of women movement in Hong Kong, the director of The Association for the Advancement of Feminism (AAF) Tse (謝, 1995) once said, “the strength of social movement is derived from the power of grassroots level, and women movement is no exception. The goals of women movement are to gather women’s collective action to change living standards of women and reconstruct women’s basic human rights and political, economical and societal rights.” And this grassroots consciousness can be seen in many of the social movement groups in Hong Kong.

Theories of social movement often mentioned the importance of division with elites and influential alliance to the development of social movement (Gamson, 1990); however, social movement groups with strong grass root consciousness did cooperate with into political parties or council members in some issues. On the contrary, the failure of the parliament and the distrustful political elites had reinforced grass root consciousness (chapter 3). Social movement groups with strong grass root consciousness were more conservative and isolated in terms of organizing, resourcing and mobilizing due to the following two reasons: first, the worries of political parties control movement issues, and second, the movement organizer was both grass root organizer and council member. For instance, interviewee A3 is a member of District Council and he also plays an active role in grass-root movement; nevertheless, when he initiates a movement concerning civil rights, he has to attend the movement as a activist instead of District Councilor, otherwise other groups will be worried about labeling and are not willing to participate. Meanwhile, when he wants to run for the election, social movement groups also ask him to resign the position in the group in case of bringing negative image to the movement. This dilemma of keeping distance with

political party yet in reality, it is difficult to distinguish the boundary has made the situation more complicated. When speaking of the difficulties of grassroots movement, interviewee A14 commented:

“The term ‘grassroots’ is the most important thing to them, and other people in the movement becomes less important. They believe that uniting group members is the primary work instead of training next generation or contacting other groups. ... I think it is important to hold on to the faith and think that grassroots are most important. I am not against this belief, but if you don’t have vertical connection, all the small groups are in a state of powerless. Regardless how well you perform in your duty, when facing this situation in the society, no one is able to respond to it.”

Diversification, politicization and increment of social movement were the characteristics of Hong Kong’s social movement after decolonization. With the participation of passionate grass root organization, the movement is therefore able to continuously develop. The grassroots consciousness meant well but its lacks of organizing and mobilizing power has made it hard to respond when facing important issues. Interviewee A9 has this observation:

“I think they are more diverse with different people handing different issues. But in fact, it is difficult if you want to unite them to hold a large-scale movement. There are alliances in different sectors, such as in culture or women movement field, and they might have round-table conference. Usually, when they talk about movements, they cooperate in some level, but it is different if they were to hold the same movement. Their mobilization power is weak because of small-scale supporters; their resources are also limited and they are

all voluntary worker, and do not have the scale of NGOs. Moreover, it is more difficult to have a cross-field alliance to hold the same movement.”

Take the organizer of annual July 1st pro-democracy march CHRF for example: it is formed by over forty civic associations, each grassroots group has different thoughts and ways of doing things and how to integrate them together become an important issue. In order to prolong and organized the appeals of the movements, when facing difficulties such as the withdraw of participating groups or competition against the leading role, all has to get back to the basic – grassroots consciousness (孔, 2004).

5.4.2 Factionalism

After decolonization, the Democratic Party was once divided due to the nomination problem in elections. In the direct election of Legislative Council, the “proportional representation system” was adopted in the election, and the voters could only voted for the whole list instead of individual candidate. Therefore, candidates who were listed higher had a better chance of getting elected. The order of the list was decided by the parties and the voter had no say about it; therefore, the order of the list had inevitably resulted in internal conflicts of the party (馬, 2003). Unlike the restriction of the system that resulted in the division within elites and factionalism of the political parties, the phenomenon of factionalism in Hong Kong’s social movement was resulted in between generation factor, differentiation in path and the lack of leaders.

The between generation factor had resulted in factionalism; this was due to the

different viewpoints of the organizations and the differences in movement strategies. According to Cheung's (2000) research, from mid 70s to mid 80s, the trend of systemization was found in the social movement groups. From mid 80s to the pre-decolonization period, main organizers of social movement had gradually transformed into political parties and pressure groups (Lau and Wan, 2000). After the Handover, the trends of diversification, politicization and increment could be found in the social movement. Due to the restriction of external environment and the choices of the activists, the characteristics of social movement groups were small mass and distant with political parties; this had resulted in the failure of integration for political parties and the change of strategies. This trend could be seen from the July 1st march in 2003: it was not organized or led by any political parties. These newly emerged groups, such as think tanks, forums or even independent small mass organizations, they might not dedicated in elections, still provide all sorts of ideas and suggestions on public policies. Interviewee A9 pointed out the transformation of social movement in these years:

“They believe with the help of the Internet, it is possible to reach to more people; they also do workshops and street performance. In my opinion, they either like to do this or this is a trend. ... It is different from the 70s and 80s, there is not a charismatic leader anymore; no one can step out and every group listens to him. In fact, the seniors in Democratic Party also knows that the situation is different; if they want everyone to listen to him, they there won't be a crowd.”

The differentiation in path was also the cause of factionalism. This included the attitude toward Beijing and democratization of China, cooperate with political parties in elections and the relation with SAR government; all these factors would affect the development of social

movement. The example can be found in the grassroots movement. The pro-Beijing “Hong Kong Federation of Trade and Unions” and left wing pro-democracy “Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions” both participated in grassroots social movement; nevertheless, due to the differences in political stand, the two were therefore had different takes in many issues.

Lastly, the lack of charismatic and moral political leaders who were able to integrate the strength of social movement groups was also the reason of factionalism. Hongkongers’ distrust for political elites could be traced way back (chapter 3), and with the dissolution of two councils, cultivating new generation of political leaders became more difficult for political parties (chapter 2). While political parties could not lead the social movement, religious leaders played an important role in mobilizing public in the July 1st march in 2003. The lack of the integration of political leaders and the lack of communication was the result of the historical development. Former Legco member Cheung Chiu Hung reviewed the situation after the election and said, “If the grassroots groups cannot form a supporting network, our roles in social movement might be replaced by political parties and we will gradually disappear.” Public’s distrust of political party may prevent political parties taking the roles of social movement; nevertheless, the focus of media and the public is still in the Legco. With the systemization of the movement, small mass and differentiated social movement groups may seem diversified, however, long-term development is still a challenge they have to face with.

The “grass root consciousness,” “factionalism” and public’s distrust of political parties had resulted in the lack of integrating power to effectively promote an issue. Moreover, grass

root groups in Hong Kong mainly lack theoretical background and promotion; therefore, when protesting, it is easily to be twisted as fighting for personal interests. They can only passively defend the issues that the government raised instead of actively lead and initiate social movement. Cheung (2004) argued that the pro-democracy camp lacks of effective integration system, and with many difference branches, it is easily disintegrated by the government. With the contradictions of political appeals and strategies, it will reduce the influences and power to the government.

Therefore, even with the characteristics of diversification, politicization and increment of social movement in Hong Kong, it does not mean these social movements are able to achieve the goals and appeals of the organizers. Under the restrictions of council system, the demands of social movement to the government may not necessary succeed. Interviewee A7 responded:

“It is difficult to predict the development of social movement in Hong Kong; sometimes you just don’t know how to do it. It is different from the UK or the US, if you obtain a certain votes, then you know whether an issue can be passed; if you have the support of the public, then you can give pressure to the government and ask for what your or the public want. But it’s not the same here; there are 500,000 people out on the street, and the government still ignores it.... If you don’t rely on the public, then what can you rely on, personal connection? If you don’t have any connection with the government, why would it give you any benefit?”

In order to improve the situation, continuous reflection on the meaning of “grass-root consciousness,” expansion of the communication and integration between social movement

organizations, increase the depth of policy research and cultivate opinion leaders of the next generation are the key point for future development of social movement in Hong Kong.



Chapter 6. Conclusion

The core of political process model is to regard social movement as the product of political environment, and the development of social movement is also affected by political institution and other external factors (Tarrow, 1998). As a mean of influencing decision-making of the government, social movement is as important as election in modern democracy. When the public's opinions and rights cannot be represented, the tendency of collective action will be generated. In the United States in 1960, the slogan of social movement activists was "Democracy is in the street (Markoff, 1996). The development of decolonization in Hong Kong and the July 1st march in 2003 seem to fit into the description. The study examines the past and present experiences of social movement in Hong Kong, and expected to draw a clear picture of the relation between political opportunity and social protest to fully prepare for future changes.

The purpose of this study is to understand the increment of social movement in Hong Kong society after decolonization and the transformation its political meaning. The political process model, as one of the social movement theories, was used as the theoretical background of this study; moreover, in-depth interviews and qualitative statistics were also been incorporated into the study. The first part of the study examined institutional and non-institutional factors of the transformation of governance in Hong Kong, and the influences and impacts it brought to the governance of SAR government. After decolonization, the SAR government faces with unpredictable governing problems, and these difficulties are the outcomes of series institutional and non-institutional factors. When the

legitimacy and authority were questioned by the public, the failure of governance had brought instabilities and dissatisfaction to the society; it had also resulted in the transformation of political opportunity structure, civil consciousness and civic association (chapter 2).

The transformation of political opportunity structure, civil consciousness and civic association also affected the increment of social movement and the changes of political meaning. After decolonization, due to the failure of parliament politics, social protests were thus emerged. Under the logic of “Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong,” the discussions and doubts of the legitimacy of the government became the pressure of governance. Lastly, the characteristics of small mass and diversified issues represented the features of civic associations in postcolonial Hong Kong; these characteristics decided the interaction among activists and the way of collective actions (chapter 3). In the past decades, Hong Kong society has gone through many important transformations, and the study tries to explore the meanings of each turning point and how they affected the development of social movement in nowadays Hong Kong. The return of sovereignty to China took place on July 1st, 1997; it was the end of transitional period and also the beginning of social movement. The July 1st march in 2003 represented the changes between generations and marches have become a part of Hong Kong’s political culture. The characteristics of social movement after decolonization could be classified into three parts: the increment of numbers, diversification of issues and politicization of protests. Lastly, the grass root consciousness and factionalism would become an obstacle for the future development of Hong Kong’s social movement; had it not being able to overcome difficulties of organizing, social movement activists could only

passively defend the issues and would not be able to respond to the impacts of political and societal transformation (chapter 4).

With the perspectives of the political process model, it is then possible to decode the transformation of social movement after decolonization. On the contrary, it is not easy to figure out why even with the lack of internal and external resources and the alliance of elites, there was still an increment in social movement. The lack of organization in social movement could be harmful for its future development. The voluntary protests against the governance also tested the governing capability of the SAR government (Piven and Cloward, 1977); nevertheless, it was difficult to arouse most groups attention to the same issue. This characteristic can be found in the scale of Hong Kong's social movement; the large scale social movement in Hong Kong were mainly concerned with democracy and liberty, and these are all related to the China factor, and this is a important lead to the development of Hong Kong's social movement. To sum up, in the research of Hong Kong's social movement, the study has made three contributions:

Firstly, in explaining Hong Kong's social movement experiences after decolonization, the function of political opportunity and social movement needed to be modified. Just as Eisinger's viewpoint on the relation between political opportunity structure and social movement, is should be curvilinear; absolute closeness or openness did not result in the emergence of social movement (Eisinger, 1973).

In some aspects, the political opportunity structure before 1997 was more open then that after the decolonization. It means the possible of social movement groups entering decision-making process and pursuit collective interests was higher, including official system

(representative politics) and unofficial system (social atmosphere), but less in social movement. On the other hand, political opportunity structure seemed relatively close after the Handover (this reflected in the amendments of Public Order Ordinance and the dissolution of two councils), the government has more control over social movement, but the number of it increases overtime (chapter 2).

The result was the opposition of the theory, other than economic environment, governing methods and legitimacy factors; there are other ways to explain this situation. First, the democratization process is continuously developing since the 80s, and the civic participation and association are also increasing; nevertheless, after 1997, the apparent conservative and backward development in social movement and representative politics (8) had dissatisfied the public and reinforce their protesting consciousness. Secondly, from the interview experiences, the reason why social movement groups take on more social protests was because they realized the undemocratic essence of the government and the reality of Beijing being the final decision maker. They realized that if they don't protest and fight, they would also be suppressed, so that they would rather take on a harder stand in the social movement.

Secondly, political process model regards the division with elites as the signal for the emergence of social movement; social movement organizers can ally with member of ruling elites to facilitate the development of organization, resourcing and power of the movement (Tarrow, 1998). O' Donnell and Schmitter (1986) also argued the division of hard-liners and soft-liners was beneficial for the development of democratic transition. Nevertheless, the study found out that the dividing elites did not organize social movement and public's distrust

of political elites had made social movement groups realized that the division among the ruling elites did not symbolize the coming of political opportunity (chapter 3). The relation among politics, social elites and social movement had a tendency of dividing; therefore, when researching social movement in Hong Kong using political process model, it is important to observe the overall political ecology including the government, political parties, citizens and social movement groups. The colonial government was able to control the balance among political elites, business elites and social elites; however, government's control over the balance had gradually lost after 1997. The division within elites was the result of the lack of integrating mechanism and the opposition becomes fiercer; this will also influences political and social development in the future. Under this circumstance, what operation should social movement groups use in order to achieve the goals becomes an important issue.

Thirdly, the research subject of political process model is usually by national; however, with the integration of Europe, the model also emphasize on the development of transnational social movement, and the influences of globalization to social movement (Tarrow, 1996). Nevertheless, in Hong Kong's case, as a state that claims to have highly autonomy special administrative region, when conducting a research, it is important not to regard the SAR government as the nation; instead, it is vital to look behind and find the higher sovereignty – the influence of Beijing. In the study, the influence of Beijing to SAR government could be found in political parties, dividing elites and even social movement groups. From the past decades, the issues that aroused the highest level of participation of the public were related to China factor. June 4th incident in 1989, July 1st marches in 2003 and 2014 are the best examples. The reasons why China factor arouses Hongkongers participation in social

movement are the development of history and the reflect of realpolitik. Hongkongers are very much concerned with liberty and civil rights, and this unique characteristic after decolonization will be an indispensable factor in the research of the development of social movement in Hong Kong.

The consciousness of civil society is undoubtedly continuously developing in Hong Kong, and social movement will keep reconstruct the relation between the government and the society. McAdam pointed out for possible trends for the future of social movement development: first, systemization and the emergence of “movement society;” second, development of global social movement; third, formation of cross-countries movement network, and fourth, influences of national countries (McAdam, 1998). Every aspect is worth further research and apply to the experience of Hong Kong’s social movement; meanwhile, the human factor and political opportunity structure are both important in the study of social movement in Hong Kong. A one of the interviewee states, the development of social movement will be ongoing and continuously grow, “I am still positive on the development of social movement. I used to feel that If we older generation do not participate in the protest, no one will. However, after these years, I feel that though the development is not mature enough, it still has room for improvements. It does not have to progress overnight, as long as it’s progressing, even if it takes five or seven years, it will be enough.”

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Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor: <http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/>

Hong Kong Investigation and Research Center: <http://www.hongkongirc.org/>

Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office: <http://www.hmo.gov.cn/>

Hong Kong Policy Research Institute: <http://www.hkpri.org.hk>

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Legco Annual Report: <http://www.legco.gov.hk/general/english/sec/reports/arpt.htm>

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