

## A City Redefined: Anti-China Sentiment and the Rise of Localism in Hong Kong, 1988-Present

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The city of Hong Kong has a radically different history from its mother state, China. The ex-British territory was established in 1843 amidst the Opium War, more than one century before the founding of communist China.<sup>29</sup> Along with former Portuguese colony Macau, Hong Kong has a political system and social environment distinct from either Britain or China.<sup>30</sup> The status of Special Administrative Region both reflected Hong Kong's unique past and defined its role in the Chinese state. The historical relationship between Hong Kong and China was largely shaped by foreign policies on both sides.<sup>31</sup> Only during the office of Governor Murray MacLehose (1971–82) did the city developed a new identity.<sup>32</sup> Following the signing of Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, Hong Kong witnessed a transition of power in 1997 from the hands of British to the Chinese rule. The new political reality fundamentally transformed the dynamics of Hong Kong and directly led to the emergence of localist sentiment in the city.

29 C.P. Lo, *Hong Kong*, (London: Belhaven Press, 1993), 3.

30 For a comparative study of Hong Kong and Macau, see Sonny Shiu-hing Lo, "One Formula, Two Experiences: Political Divergence of Hong Kong and Macao since Retrocession," *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no.52 (2007), pp.359-87.

31 For the major Hong Kong-China clash, see Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

32 Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui, "Revisiting the golden era of MacLehose and the dynamics of social reforms," *China Information* 24, no.3 (2010): 249.

This paper discusses the emergence and development of localist rhetoric (本土主義) in the politics after the Handover. This paper defines localism in Hong Kong as a clear sense of unique identity distinct from Chinese nationalism. It consists of four parts, namely pre-Handover (1991-1997), early-SAR (1997-2005), transition (2005-2010) and intensification (2010-present). The first part describes the era before the return to China. The formation of two major political camps after the first democratic election in 1991 coincided with massive population outflow due to suspicion of Chinese rule. The second part analyzes the administration of Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's first Chief Executive, who actively encouraged closer economic interaction with the mainland. Official bureaus also promoted Hong Kong as an international city. The third part outlines the legitimacy crisis of the government and a more hostile populace after the abrupt fall of Tung in 2005. A rethink and reassertion of local history and culture took place in the intelligentsia. Last but not least, explicit rejection of Chinese overlordship and the call for independence have become more common among the youth. A new localist force gained unprecedented prominence and will likely shape the political scene.

The first direct legislative election in 1991 marked the slow and tumultuous path of democratization in Hong Kong. Throughout history, both communist China and Taiwan regarded the British colony as an important point for intelligence activities. After the announcement of the Handover in 1984, Chinese officials put in more resources and effort to reach out to local elites.<sup>33</sup> New China-friendly groups flourished around the late 1980s.<sup>34</sup> On the other side of the political spectrum, politicians fighting for democracy gradually formed a loose coalition, which was labeled as the pan-democracy camp.<sup>35</sup> The 1989 Tiananmen bloodbath intensified the anti-China stance of pan-democrats. Since the latter group won more than 85% of seats before 1997, its agendas at the time deserve special attention.

A close study of various factions of the pan-democrats shows a delicate variation among parties. While nearly all participants of the elections, pan-democrat and pro-China alike, included promotion of democracy into their manifestos, not many concrete pledges were made.

33 Wai-kiok Wong, "Can Co-optation Win over the Hong Kong People? China's United Front Work in Hong Kong Since 1984," *Issues & Studies* 33, no.5 (1997): 103.

34 A notable example is the Liberal Democratic Federation of Hong Kong.

35 Lo Shiu-hing, "The Democratic Party in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," *The Round Table* 352 (1999): 636-7.

A major difference between the two coalitions was the attitude towards China. Pan-democrats were generally more unwelcoming of official Chinese participation in local affairs.<sup>36</sup> Some standing candidates, like Emily Lau, explicitly demanded better protection of human rights.<sup>37</sup> The more outspoken approach was not a result of a more negative sentiment towards the mainland. Even for the United Democrats, the most radical sect of the pan-democrats, Hong Kong's relationship with China was not part of its concern.<sup>38</sup> Despite the fact that Hong Kong society was cautious to upcoming Chinese arrival, there was no strong antagonism towards China. Local identity, as seen from local politics, remained vague and not of the interest of the locals.

The vibrant cultural movement coincided with the robust political scene. Although the Hong Kong identity was not clearly defined, a self-perception of uniqueness was observed among Hong Kong residents. A sense of cultural superiority could be easily detected in Hong Kong when compared with China.<sup>39</sup> Mockery of mainlanders was common in movies and dramas. Many popular hits in the 90s often portrayed Chinese as uncivilized, backward and unintelligible. Others, most notably the *Long Arm of the Law* series (省港旗兵), described mainlanders as bloodthirsty, unscrupulous and savage. In some ways parallel to W. E. B. Du Bois's notion of the Talented Tenth, Hongkongers possessed a different and sometimes competing self-identification with the Chinese official narrative of Chinese-ness.<sup>40</sup>

The transfer of sovereignty shaped a new Hong Kong under Chinese political system. The first ethnically Chinese ruler of Hong Kong, Tung Chee-hwa, demonstrated a pro-China tendency. One of his oft-spoken lines, "when Hong Kong is good, our nation is good; when our nation is good, Hong Kong would be even better" (香港好，國家好；國家好，香港更好), marked his political orientation. The

36 Ian Scott, "An Overview of the Hong Kong Legislative Council Elections of 1991," *Asian Journal of Public Administration* 13, no. 2 (1991): 22-3.

37 Lo Shiu-hing, "Party Penetration of Society in Hong Kong: The Role of Mutual Aid Committees and Political Parties," *Asian Journal of Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2004): 35.

38 "Channels for Communication and Political Participation," in *A Documentary History of Hong Kong: Government and Politics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), 228-9.

39 Rowan Callick, *Comrades & Capitalists: Hong Kong since the Handover*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1998), 90.

40 Nan M. Sussman, *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 17-8.

signing of Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CEPA) was a product of closer interaction between Hong Kong and China. However, that did not imply political alignment with the communist state. On numerous occasions, Tung and his cabinet emphasized the unchanged political and economic setting of Hong Kong.<sup>41</sup> Economically, the British-influenced city has become an integral part of the Chinese state in terms of trade and direct investment. Regional cooperation was advocated by both government officials and business leaders.<sup>42</sup>

Economic integration did not lead to cultural convergence. The emphasis of critical thinking in civic education continued to be a preeminent theme in Hong Kong schools.<sup>43</sup> A constant feeling of caution and suspicion towards China was maintained in the new political environment, especially since Hong Kong's cultural context was more Westernized and therefore palpably different from that of its motherland.<sup>44</sup> Nationalist fervor in China only received lukewarm and sometimes sarcastic response from Hong Kong, most notably in the online world.<sup>45</sup> Even though postcolonial Hong Kong did not fall victim to major human rights infringement or political violence, confidence in Hong Kong's future was mixed at best.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, persistent tension between Hong Kong and China did not lead to emergence of localism. A possible reason was perhaps the slow and stagnant development of civil society in Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong people had become more engaged in local affairs, overall participation rate was much lower

41 James T. H. Tang, "Business as Usual: the Dynamics of Government-Business Relations in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," *Journal of Contemporary China* 8, no. 21 (1999): 276.

42 Wai-chung Lo and Michael Ng, "A Step Forward to Regionalism: China's Preferential Trade Agreements with Hong Kong," *The Chinese Economy* 40, no. 2 (2007): 67-8.

43 Gregory P. Fairbrother, "Between Britain and China: Hong Kong's Citizenship Education Policy Paradigm," *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (2006): 37.

44 Graham E. Johnson, "Degrees of Dependency, Degrees of Interdependency: Hong Kong's Changing Links to the Mainland and the World," in *Hong Kong Reintegrating with China: Political Cultural and Social Dimensions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), 90.

45 Simon Shen, "Alternative Online Chinese Nationalism: Response to the Anti-Japanese Campaign in China on Hong Kong's Internet," *Intercultural Communication Studies* 17, no. 3 (2008): 165.

46 Lau Siu-kai, "The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government in the New Political Environment," in *Hong Kong Reintegrating with China: Political Cultural and Social Dimensions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), 72.

than other developed societies.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the split of pan-democratic alliance weakened the appeal of opposition voices.<sup>48</sup> No new, detailed roadmaps on the future of Hong Kong were available on either side of the political arena. The underdeveloped civil society and embattled political parties have undoubtedly contributed to the inactive political and social atmosphere in Hong Kong.

When political independence was politically unviable and dramatic assimilation to China inapplicable, Hong Kong society instead endorsed the notion of international city. A description of “East meets West” was widely accepted and supported.<sup>49</sup> Linking Hong Kong to the global world was favorable in the Hong Kong public sphere as it promoted the special status of the city, and at the same time was feasible for the government. Highlighting Hong Kong’s international standing, from the perspective of officials, would neither harm the overall wellbeing of the city nor provoke hawkish Chinese statesmen. Although the government initiative mostly focused on the economic aspect, it was indeed a cultural movement that served as a buffer to Chinese nationalism.

The concept of the international city and its popular reception merit detailed study. First articulated by Tung in 1997, the official plan was designed to evaluate Hong Kong’s future and its relationship to the outside world. A separate Commission on Strategic Development was established to define and realize the status of “Asia’s World City.”<sup>50</sup> Aiming to emulate London and New York, the framework strived to elevate Hong Kong to an unparalleled prestige in Asia and in the world.<sup>51</sup> The Hong Kong government implemented the Brand Hong Kong Campaign to advertise and promote the particularities of the city to a global audience. The official activities, not unprecedented in the colonial era, were in some sense responding to the post-Handover social milieu of Hong Kong. Many movies and dramas in the late 1990s and

47 Lo Shiu-hing, “Citizenship and Participation in Hong Kong,” *Citizenship Studies* 5, no. 2 (2001): 139.

48 Ming Sing, “Governing Elites, External Events and Pro-democratic Opposition in Hong Kong (1986–2002),” *Government and Opposition* 38, no. 4 (2003): 472.

49 Yiu-Wai Chu, *Lost in Transition: Hong Kong Culture in the Age of China*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2013), 71.

50 For more, see Tung’s 1997 Policy Address, available on <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/pa97/english/booklet.htm>.

51 HKSAR Government, “Asia’s World City,” *HKGov*, assessed April 29, 2016, <http://www.info.gov.hk/info/sar5/easia.htm>.

early 2000s adopted an internationalized setting. The internationalist vision of government should be regarded as a reflection of social development rather than a mere top-down policy.

The campaign has incurable obstacles that eventually failed the ambitious project. Under the local mini-constitution, Hong Kong does not possess the power for foreign policy and national defense.<sup>52</sup> This constraint severely curtailed Hong Kong official's clout in international platforms. To put it in the words of former Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, while Shanghai should become China's New York, Hong Kong would then be "China's Toronto."<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the official approach was only confined to regional cooperation, especially the Greater Pearl River Region. Places outside East Asia received minimal to nonexistent attention.<sup>54</sup> In shaping the fate of the city, local officials sacrificed the cosmopolitan status in exchange for the character of a typical Chinese city.<sup>55</sup> Hong Kong's subordination to China, as well as the lack of global perspective among major officeholders, not only caused its failure in global marketing but also sowed the seed of discontent yet to explode.

The inability to solve Hong Kong's identity crisis partly costed Tung his tenure. In May 2005, the first Chief Executive resigned amid public pressure and loss of support among elites. Donald Tsang, an experienced civil servant and later the Chief Secretary of Hong Kong, assumed office in an indirect election. Tsang's appointment of assistant ministers under the new Political Appointment System failed to address the pressing government ineptitude and inactivity. While British delegated genuine power to the governor and local technocrats, the division of labor between the local and the Chinese government was not clearly drawn under the Hong Kong Basic Law.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, prohibition of party affiliation in the government posed

52 For more, see Article 18 of the Basic Law.

53 Chan Heng Wing, "Striving to be Great Cities: Reflections on the Efforts by Hong Kong and Singapore," Hong Kong Democratic Foundation, assessed April 29, 2016, <http://www.hkdf.org/newsarticles.asp?show=newsarticles&newsarticle=117>.

54 Simon Shen, "Re-branding without Re-developing: Constraints of Hong Kong's 'Asia's World City' Brand (1997–2007)," *The Pacific Review* 23, no. 2 (2010): 218.

55 Agnes S. Ku, "Postcolonial Cultural Trends in Hong Kong: Imagining the Local, the National, and the Global," in *Crisis and Transformation in China's Hong Kong* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 349.

56 Wai Fung Lam, "Coordinating the Government Bureaucracy in Hong Kong: An Institutional Analysis," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 18, no. 4 (2005): 633–4.

challenges to the development of party politics due to Chinese concern of excessive clout of the Chief Executive. The awkward setting led to deadlock and stalemate when popularly elected parliamentarians clashed with “neutral” officials.<sup>57</sup> After a decade of criticism towards local officials, Hongkongers were more aware of the influential Chinese representatives in the city. The more assertive role played by the Chinese Liaison Office in Hong Kong intensified the general concern of human rights and freedom of expression.<sup>58</sup> The unanswered public grievances in local politics gradually covered other aspects and fueled a new wave of hostility towards the mainland.

Mounting political concern, after a decade of improper official treatment, turned into a more encompassing narrative. Growing economic marginalization received more attention, academic and public alike. In the teenage group, young adults were more resistant to their mainland counterparts and regarded them as potential competitors.<sup>59</sup> Opportunities in mainland China were projected to receive only lukewarm response from the future workforce.<sup>60</sup> Among Hongkongers working in China, the number of employees was constantly decreasing in an increasing rate since 2004.<sup>61</sup> The rejection of mainland China was a broader cultural product of the time. Hong Kong intellectuals in the mid to late 2000s were disillusioned by political stagnation and sought for a new path.<sup>62</sup> The established opposition camp, as they believed, were corrupt and incapable in safeguarding Hong Kong. This view echoed the heightened antagonism towards China among the general public. To better illustrate the bottom-up response, I analyzed *Election 2* (黑社會:以和爲貴), a 2007 film that received both critical acclaim and high profit in the box office. The Johnnie To production served as an archetype of the anti-China sentiment prevalent among Hong Kong people.

57 Brian C. H. Fong, “Executive-legislative Disconnection in Post-colonial Hong Kong: The dysfunction of the HKSAR’s executive-dominant system, 1997-2012,” *China Perspectives* 1 (2014): 11.

58 Ma Ngok, “Democracy at a Stalemate: The September 2004 Legco Elections in Hong Kong,” *China Perspectives* 57 (2005): 5.

59 Simon Shen, “Future Comparative Competitiveness under the Same Roof: A Survey of Self-Evaluation from Local and Mainland Students in Hong Kong,” *Chinese Education and Society* 45, no. 2 (2012): 49-50.

60 Zhijing yanjiuzhongxin (Bauhinia Foundation Research Centre), “Xianggang gaozhongsheng zenyang kan beishang jiyu” (Research Paper, Hong Kong, 2015), 6.

61 Tai-lok Lui, “Fading Opportunities: Hong Kong in the Context of Regional Integration,” *China Perspectives* 1 (2014): 37.

62 Law Wing Sang, *Collaborative Colonial Power: The Making of the Hong Kong Chinese*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 178.

*Election 2* tells a story concerning the election of a leader in a Hong Kong triad gang, a subject prohibited in Chinese cinema. The protagonist Jimmy, a mid-tier head, accepted the request from the deputy chief of Shenzhen police department to join the election. After killing other potential candidates brutally and mercilessly, he won the election uncontested and realized that the baton of the gang was in the hand of mainland police. Jimmy then returned to China only to be greeted by the same police he met before. The chief gave him back the baton, a sign of power and authority, and told him to abolish the election system so that he and his descendants could become the head forever. Jimmy, who wanted to quit the gang and become a businessman, had to manage the underground society for the rest of his life. The film ends with him putting the baton into the coffin of the former leader.

The contempt and hatred towards the Chinese polity are too distinct to hide. Linking the state with violent gang members, *Election 2* unequivocally described the Chinese Communist Party as the head of all triad gangs. Even the smartest and bravest fighter could not challenge the will of China. The fate of Hong Kong, a metaphor from that of Jimmy, was doomed at the beginning. Only by following the order of the state could Hong Kong survive. For those not suitable to the needs and wants of China, their only choice is either to give up their power or wait to be killed. With more than ten million Hong Kong dollars (around 1.3 million USDs) in the domestic box office and nomination as the Best Film in the Hong Kong Film Awards, *Election 2* has presented a grim future not totally groundless. Although not as extreme as Johnnie To has portrayed, Hong Kong people's disapproval of Chinese meddling in Hong Kong should not be underestimated.

A dystopian vision of Hong Kong's future continued to 2010s. The contested, undemocratic Chief Executive election in 2012 brought in Leung Chun-ying, a hawkish political figure. The lack of progress in democracy, as well as a series of scandals from government officials, severely destroyed public trust on the existing political setting.<sup>63</sup> The loss of accountability directly affected self-identification among Hong Kong people. The Chinese-ness of Hong Kong was more disputed than before.<sup>64</sup> Discrediting the role of Chinese elements in the Hong Kong

63 The most remarkable one is the corruption charges against Donald Tsang, suspicion of graft of Leung and prosecution of former Chief Secretary Rafael Hui.

64 Chan Chi Kit, "China as 'Other': Resistance to and ambivalence toward national identity in Hong Kong," *China Perspectives* 1 (2014): 25.

society, activists shifted their attention to conservation of heritage. More pressure groups called for better protection of Hong Kong's unique cultural heritage, especially the colonial buildings and monuments.<sup>65</sup> Among the cases that stirred public debate, Queen's Pier was the most well-known example. Built in the colonial period, the pier was the official arrival and departure point of Hong Kong Governors. The government decided to demolish the pier to give up way for a massive reclamation project, even after it was rated of high historical value.<sup>66</sup> Whether it should be kept was soon politicized and led to protests and demonstrations.<sup>67</sup> Among the laymen, the significance of the architecture in Hong Kong's history justified its *raison d'être*.<sup>68</sup> Destroying the pier, in the eyes of the protesters, was equal to wiping out Hong Kong's colonial history. Due to the fact that many major events took place around the surrounding area, Queen's Pier should be properly preserved as a symbol of the past.<sup>69</sup> The increasing public attention to historical preservation was a first sign of the development of a distinct Hong Kong identity.

The rise of localism contributed to one of most important political movements in Hong Kong's history. The Umbrella Revolution, which took place in major business districts and lasted for two to three months in late 2014, was certainly a watershed moment for Hong Kong. The extensive use of social media by Hong Kong youth radicalized and mobilized a batch of young adults to participate in a mass protest never seen before.<sup>70</sup> The fresh faces that had been apolitical before the movement genuinely transformed local political dynamics. Many of them joined as a response to Chinese violation of promises

65 Peter T. Y. Cheung, "Civic Engagement in the Policy Process in Hong Kong: Change and Continuity," *Public Administration and Development* 31 (2011): 117.

66 Audrey Parwani, "Anger over Plan to Dismantle Pier," *South China Morning Post*, Mar. 27, 2007.

67 Joan C. Henderson, "Conserving Hong Kong's Heritage: The Case of Queen's Pier," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, no. 6 (2008): 543.

68 Esther H.K. Yung and Edwin H.W. Chan, "Evaluation for the Conservation of Historic Buildings: Differences between the Laymen, Professionals and Policy Makers," *Facilities* 31, no. 11/12 (2013): 552.

69 Francesca da Rimini, "Reinscribing the City: Art, Occupation and Citizen Journalism in Hong Kong," *Globalizations* 10, no. 3 (2013): 467.

70 Paul S. N. Lee, Clement Y. K. So, and Louis Leung, "Social Media and Umbrella Movement: Insurgent Public Sphere in Formation," *Chinese Journal of Communication* 8, no. 4 (2015): 370-1.

on democracy and a disapproval of government policies.<sup>71</sup> Despite the eventual failure, the groundbreaking protest overturned the post-Handover political climate in Hong Kong. The established image of stable, predicted political scene was replaced with a new generation of more outgoing and active individuals. The old guiding principle of gradualism was abandoned when the youth demanded immediate outcomes.<sup>72</sup> Outright challenges to Chinese sovereignty in Hong Kong were then unimaginable, but now are relatively common.

The political zeal of protesters in the Umbrella Revolution did not transfer to the general populace. The lack of actual power made effort especially difficult when facing the government apparatus.<sup>73</sup> In spite of the present shortcomings, a strong and persuasive ideology could overcome the obstacle and broaden support among different classes. However, a clear, coherent system of beliefs was not visible. Pro-democracy and anti-China were the only tendencies observers could unearth in the movement.<sup>74</sup> Internal discussion on the possible paths often went sour and caused acrimony among the more moderate wing and the radicals. While opposition to Chinese interference was a shared agenda among all participants of the Umbrella Revolution, the lack of further action with collective endorsement made the movement incomplete and unfinished. The denunciation of moderation did not come with an alternative strategy.

Some local activities bear resemblance to the nation-building project. Proposers and localist figures often express explicit antagonism to the official rhetoric and instead adopt a different set of wordings. Some terms, like harmony (和諧) and tolerance (包容), are now deemed incompatible with Hong Kong's core values. The rejection of inclusive messages from the government can be put as a product of indigenous cultural promotion. In the eyes of localists, only by abandoning the impure content of Hong Kong could the true, untainted crux prevail.

71 Karita Kan, "Occupy Central and Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong," *China Perspectives* 3 (2013): 75.

72 Johannes Chan, "Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement," *The Round Table* 103, no. 6 (2014): 578.

73 Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement: The Protests and Beyond," *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 2 (2015): 115-6.

74 Po-Keung Hui and Kin-Chi Lau, "'Living in truth' versus Realpolitik: Limitations and Potentials of the Umbrella Movement," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (2015): 352.

The denunciation of anything deemed inconsistent with the Hong Kong values henceforth follows with the encouragement of distinctive localities. A discernible example is yellow umbrella. Originally a mark of the Umbrella Revolution, the representation of democracy, justice and equality are now widely adopted as a symbol of the real Hong Kong. It also portrays an implicit sign of rebellion. With changing use of words in politics and development of new worship of symbols, the localist movement of Hong Kong gained unparalleled momentum in comparison with the previous decades.

The Umbrella Revolution is in many ways a final culmination of Hong Kong's political transformation since 1980s. Initially seen as apolitical, Hongkongers had a somehow vague interpretation of identity and nationhood. The image of international city temporarily provided a rallying point for the post-colonial Hong Kong society but failed to thrive as a broadly representative symbol. The intensification of its relationship with China contributed to a heightened awareness on the identity question and eventually led to the birth of localism. Between total concession to Chinese demands and outright rejection of Beijing, Hong Kong is divided and lacks a commonly accepted direction on its political future.

The emerging localism in Hong Kong should be monitored through time to better capture the major features of the discourse. A version that called for a return to neighborhood communities had gained momentum in recent years and influenced government planning.<sup>75</sup> Such ideas, however, have received little attention in public. The immense feeling of desperation and urgency, on the other hand, made localism a matter of survival.<sup>76</sup> How a new localist narrative would form to meet the local situation requires constant observation and analysis. Only one point is certain: colonial Hong Kong is formally dead, literally and intellectually. A new version is yet to arrive.

75 Yun-chung Chen and Mirana M. Szeto, "'The Forgotten Road of Progressive Localism: New Preservation Movement in Hong Kong,'" *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (2015): 450.

76 Stephen Ching-kiu Chan, "Delay No More: Struggles to Re-imagine Hong Kong (for the next 30 years)," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (2015): 334.

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