Democracy Movement in Hong Kong: Leadership, Strategy and Framing

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A. Introduction: Returning to a city of rage and sadness

Sentenced to 16 months of jail on Apr. 24, 2019 due to involvement in Umbrella Movement





Released on Mar 14, 2020 when Hong Kong had gone through a most turbulent period of time due to the Antiextradition Bill Movement.

Hong Kong is no more the same....











Sad stories retold...





Police Brutality under Authoritarian Regime







Era of Defiance

B. Anti-extradition Movement in Historical Context: leadership, strategies & identity framing in democracy movement







Leadership: from collective actions to connective actions Old democracy movement since 1980s: centralized leadership



First rally for direct election of Legco in 1988



Strong leadership under Szeto Wah (right)

From Collective Actions to Connective Actions "A true democrat may believe that any form of oligarchy is reprehensible and to be avoided at all costs. However, organizations that permit competition and dissent to arise among factions are often so debilitated by the internal conflicts that they are incapable of attaining their goals in the larger society, whereas those that insist on unity within the ranks and manifest cohesive leadership, perhaps even oligarchy, frequently are the more successful in attaining the broader goals. Which is to be preferred, democracy within the ranks or victory outside the ranks?" (Anthony M. Orum, Introduction to Political Sociology (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), p.224.)

2014 Umbrella Movement: unstable leadership



Deliberation Day





Civil Referendum

Joshua Wong and other student leaders



Benny Tai & the Occupy Trio

2019 Anti-extradition Movement: leaderless/diffused leadership



Be water





11.15中環和你Lunch <mark>隨時隨地 如水抗爭</mark>

CATCH HONG KONG ASWE FALL THE LAST STAND

FOR FREEDOM

香港と共に



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2. Strategies: from legal, peaceful to mixed strategies

Old democracy movement since 1980s: legal protests (rally and assembly)



2014 Umbrella Movement: Civil Disobedience

Strategies: from legal, peaceful to mixed strategies

2016 Fish-ball Revolution: Militant Revolt

Strategies: from legal, peaceful to mixed strategies





Anti-extradition Movement: Mixed strategies

Strategies: from legal, peaceful to mixed strategies

Strategies: from legal, peaceful to mixed strategies









警察使用過分武力







3. Framing identity: from Hong Kong Chinese to Hongkongers

圖1:香港人和中國人身份認同的轉變,1998-2014(%)



Youngsters identify themselves as Hongkongers



(尹寶珊、鄭宏泰 (2016) 身份認同:對中國的「重新想像」)

Youngsters identify themselves as Hongkongers



(圖片由徐承恩製作)

Framing Identity: from Hong Kong Chinese to Hongkongers

Old Democracy Movement: Patriotism & "democratic reunion"



HK Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China



Framing Identity: from Hong Kong Chinese to Hongkonger

2014 Umbrella Movement: the end of "democratic reunion"







Framing Identity: from Hong Kong Chinese to Hongkongers Anti-extradition Movement: Hong Kong identity

C. Strengths & Weaknesses of Networked Movement

- Networked social movement Internet not only centralizes our communicational routines, but also liberates individuals to shape a new autonomy, to reclaim power and to shake the political scene, leading to social change. By coordinating their offline action with other online initiatives, networked social movements could become 'super counter powers' that are able to articulate in multiple settings, converge into transnational agendas and achieve an unseen political accountability.
- Recent evidences show they are more powerful in creating cultural change than political change

NETWORKS OF OUTRAGE AND HOPE

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE INTERNET AGE

MANUEL CASTELLS



Successes of Anti-extradition Movement













Backlash from China – National Security Law (1/7/20)











More arrests and humiliations

Backlash from China – National Security Law









Banning critical media and changing school curriculum (+NSE)

Backlash from China – National Security Law



Disqualifying (DQ) pro-democracy representatives from legislature and district council

Human rights related civil society organizations were forced to dissolve







D. Everyday Life Resistance







Yellow Economic Circle

From Community of Resistance to Community of Suffering





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The fight will continue......