Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, Hongkonger?

The Construction of National Identity in light of

the Anti-Moral and National Education Movement and

the Umbrella Movement in Post-1997 Hong Kong

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Abstract

This thesis explores the formation of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong through the 2012 Anti-Moral and National Education (MNE) Movement and the 2014 Umbrella Movement, and a youthful movement organisation influential within these social movements known as 'Scholarism'. In the aftermath of these two social movements, the rise of Hong Kong identity vis-a-vis Chinese national identity has become particularly salient in post-1997 Hong Kong. The rise of Hong Kong identity prompts three key research questions for this thesis: How do the conceptions of national identity develop variously over time through three political generations? What are the specific cognitive markers of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong? How significant is emotion in characterising the emergence of Hong Kong national identity and social movements? Addressing these questions, and taking a bottom-up approach, this thesis is interested in self-claimed Hong Kong national identities, the meanings attached to and reasons for these identity claims, how they interplay with different identity claims, and their evolution over time. The findings of the thesis challenge the previous characterisation of Hong Kong identity as politically apathetic and market-oriented.

The thesis is based upon 30 semi-structured qualitative individual and four focus group interviews with social movement activists and participants born in three cohorts, 'post-1970', 'post-1980' and 'post-1990', who were associated with the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement and/or the 2014 Umbrella Movement, and/or the movement organisation 'Scholarism'. The key findings reveal that an exclusive Hong Kong identity and a desertion of Chinese identity is emerging. In particular, this exclusive Hong Kong identity is characterised with its salient cultural and civic markers. Previous studies showed that people in Hong Kong generally embraced an 'ethno-cultural' China but rejected a political China. However, this thesis finds that the exclusive Hong Kong identity claim contests the concept of Chinese nationalism based on race and ethnicity. Since 1997, a national identity shift has been occurring among all three generations, in which the post-1990 are especially inclined to see Hong Kong and China as mutually exclusive entities by claiming an exclusive Hong Kong identity.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis explores the formation and features of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong through the two student-based social movements - the 2012 Anti-Moral and National Education Movement and the 2014 Umbrella Movement - and a youthful movement organisation influential within these social movements known as 'Scholarism'. It is particularly interested in the self-claimed national identities, the meanings attached to these identity claims, the justification made for these claims, the interplay of different identity claims, and how these identities evolve over time. The research is based on qualitative individual and focus group interviews with social movement participants from three generations - 'post-1970', 'post-1980' and 'post-1990' - attending to how Hong Kong identity develops, in continuity and variation, through these generations and the social movements with which they are involved. Throughout the thesis, the generational groups 'post-1970', 'post-1980' and 'post-1990' refer to those who were born between 1970-1979, 1980-1989, and 1990-1997 respectively. All three generation groups were associated with the two social movements, and most of the post-1990 participants were also affiliated with Scholarism, the movement organisation within the two movements.

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the thesis. Section 1.2 presents the main arguments and significance of this thesis. Section 1.3 gives a brief historical account of Hong Kong identity transitioning before and after 1997, with the aim to introduce the reader to the broad context within which this thesis is situated. Section 1.4

discusses the significance of the 2012 Anti-Moral and Education Movement (henceforth, the Anti-MNE Movement) and the 2014 Umbrella Movement, and considers 'Scholarism', a movement organisation of students which played an important role in the two social movements. Section 1.5 summarises the methodological approach adopted in this study. Section 1.6 clarifies some terminology used in this thesis. Section 1.7 provides the structure of this thesis.

1.2. The Main Arguments and Significance of this Thesis

Hong Kong is one of the cases in which national identity is not easy to articulate. As a former colonial society, a sense of Chinese national identity has not emerged naturally, even when the people of Hong Kong and China are living in the same territory, and seemingly sharing many ethnic and cultural characteristics since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. Previous studies show that the people of Hong Kong are generally sceptical about, and resistant to a 'political China', represented by the Chinese Communist Party (henceforth, the CCP), yet open and accepting to a 'cultural China' based on shared ethno-cultural attributes (C. K. Chan, 2014; Kaeding, 2011). For this reason, some see themselves as culturally Chinese, but do not identify with Chinese political identity (Ortmann, 2018). This study complicates that picture, showing that 'cultural China' has over time, and in relation to the social movements I study, become strained and in some senses cast aside. In response to the changing perceptions of national identity, quantitative surveys strive to achieve conceptual precision in the description of national identity in Hong Kong by including multiple identity labels, such as 'Hongkonger', 'Chinese', 'Hongkonger in China', and 'Chinese in Hong Kong', but the closed questions still fail to capture the complexity of national identity because the

survey design does not allow room for articulation from respondents' perspectives. At the same time, quantitative surveys presume that respondents broadly share the same definitions and interpretations of these identity claims, which is often not the case. My research finds that these names are also inadequate, that in fact people have a more complex way of expressing their Hong Kong identity that is not best reduced to these names. In particular, I argue that an identity label does not convey the important reasoning behind each identity claim, in terms of respondents' interpretation, understanding and justification for claiming specific identities. In view of this, this thesis attempts to explore the content and interpretations of, and reasons for, the multiple national identity claims through qualitative in-depth interviews.

In the post-1997 era, while Chinese nationalism often employs ethnic appeal to legitimise the Chinese state identity and patriotic sentiment toward the Chinese state (Chan and Fung, 2018), the rise of Hong Kong identity vis-a-vis Chinese national identity is becoming more prevalent. Recent studies show that the post-1997 Hong Kong identity entails a strong sense of civic values (Kaeding, 2011; Chan and Fung, 2018), particularly exemplified by the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement and the 2014 Umbrella Movement. This prompts us to ask: If ethnicity and geographical proximity were sufficient factors for the formation of national identity, how do we explain the growing prominence of Hong Kong identity vis-a-vis Chinese identity? What constitutes a salient Hong Kong identity? How significant is ethnicity in the intergroup relations between the people of Hong Kong and the mainland Chinese? Addressing these questions, this thesis aims at exploring cognitive attributes, which I term as 'markers', of Hong Kong identity. In particular, ethnic and civic elements of national

identity are often discussed in a dualistic manner based on Hans Kohn's (1945) classical ethnic-civic dichotomy, but I argue that ethnic, cultural and civic markers are all used to define Hong Kong identity and its group membership.

As far as national identity is concerned, I argue that 'identity' is not static, but a process and in evolution. The longitudinal identity polls by the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong since the handover provide us with a quantitative framework of identity trends in Hong Kong over a long period of time, but they may not reveal to us why and how these changes occur. In this thesis, the process and development of national identifications are presented through individuals' narratives, in which respondents depict how their national identities change and the reasons for these changes. In particular, I situate the specific process of Hong Kong identity formation in several significant political events through the response made to them by the two social movements - on reflections in post-1997 Hong Kong, since 'constructions of identities… change in the context of powerfully meaningful, emotionally significant events' (Calhoun, 1994, p. 24). These salient events include the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the Sichuan Earthquake and the Beijing Olympics in 2008, the annual June 4th vigil and the Causeway Bay bookseller disappearance in 2015.

As far as features of Hong Kong identity are concerned, I argue that the long-held conceptualisation of Hong Kong people as indifferent to political issues and market-oriented deserves critical examination. Since the 1980s, the infamous theory of Utilitarianistic Familism (henceforth, UF) (Lau, 1981) has described the people of Hong Kong as driven by pragmatic and materialistic concerns. They are also said to place self

and familial interests above social or collective interests. In the post-handover era, the salient feature of Hong Kong identity is still framed as driven by market-based mentality (Mathews et. al., 2008). If the discourse of a politically apathetic and market-based Hong Kong identity is valid, how do we explain the occurrences of the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement? How do we explain the involvement of the supposedly 'politically inactive' generations in these two major social movements in post-1997, which are associated with highly political and non-materialistic issues such as national education and democracy? Recently, with the large and powerful 2019-20 'Anti-Extradition Bill Movement' (henceforth, the 'Anti-ELAB Movement'), which focused on the implementation of universal suffrage for Legislative Council elections and for the election of the chief executive, withdrawal of the extradition bill, and retraction of the 'riot' characterisation of the movement, characterisations of Hong Kong political passivity have been widely challenged. This recent movement is outside the time-frame of this thesis. Instead, I aim to show that it is in the *earlier* social movements that this characterisation is first challenged, through the production of features of Hong Kong identity that are the object of this research.

The Chinese identity has always been taken-for-granted by the Chinese state as the national identity of Hong Kong since the colonial era. It is reflected in the discourse of national humiliation, in which Hong Kong was perceived as 'naturally Chinese' and colonial Hong Kong was a sign of subjugation of the Chinese empire by the British Empire (Callahan, 2004). The discourse has been used to assert the legitimacy of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong. Therefore, the handover of Hong Kong in 1997 was depicted as the 'return' of Hong Kong to its homeland, and the end of national

humiliation (Wang, 2008). Besides that, Chinese nationalism reinforces the naturalness of the state-carved national identity based on ethnicity and cultural homogeneity (Ortmann, 2018). The people of Hong Kong who share ethnic Chinese features such as physical traits and cultural heritage are presumably 'Chinese'. In this sense, the Hong Kong identity is only accepted as a local identity as part of the Chinese identity and a Hong Kong national identity is treated as illegitimate by the Chinese state, the Hong Kong legislature and in popular culture. While most studies position Hong Kong identity as a local identity vis-a-vis Chinese identity as the national identity (Mathews, et. al., 2008; Ma and Fung, 2007; Morris and Vickers, 2015), I argue that Hong Kong identity should be understood and analysed from the national identity perspective. The breakaway from the local-national dichotomy can be justified by the idea of a 'Hong Kong nation'. Anderson's (1991) theory of 'imagined community' defines a 'nation' as an imagined political community with a limited boundary and sovereignty. This theory can apply to Hong Kong since the clear boundaries and the two distinct systems, including legal, political and financial systems, separating Hong Kong and China make Hong Kong similar to a sovereign state (Tommy Cheung, 2015). Moreover, Anderson (1991) argues that the formation of imagined communities is made possible initially through 'print-capitalism'. In the case of Hong Kong, the rise of popular culture in the 1970s and the localised Cantonese language created a distinctive Hong Kong culture which allowed the people of Hong Kong to imagine themselves as a separate community from China (Tsang, 2004).

Recent discussions of Hong Kong nationalism, self-determination and independence suggest that Hong Kong identity is experiencing a critical transformation in terms of the

Hong Kong-China relationship which further challenges the local-national dichotomy. Accordingly, Hong Kong identity is positioned as a separate national or sub-national identity from the Chinese state identity in this thesis. This paradigm shift asserts that state identity is only one, but not the only form of national identity. It gives light to future research to re-evaluate the question of Hong Kong's national identity and the emergence of Hong Kong as a nation. Given the imposition of national security law on Hong Kong by the Chinese government in June 2020, the people of Hong Kong may fear to discuss sensitive issues such as the future of Hong Kong, especially Hong Kong independence, due to possible charges of subversion and succession. In this regard, this thesis is one of few significant documentations of respondents' views on these issues prior to the threat of the imposition of national security law.

The primary contribution of this study lies in the manner in which Hong Kong identity is analysed from both the cognitive and emotional perspectives. Much has been said and studied regarding the cognitive constituents of a Hong Kong identity, such as its political, ethnic and historical components, but only a few empirical studies exist of the emotional dimensions of a Hong Kong identity from a qualitative approach. Mathews et. al. (2008) acknowledged the importance of an emotional aspect of national identification, and conducted both statistical surveys and interviews to explore how the Hong Kong people feel about particular cultural and national icons in China and Hong Kong. This thesis builds upon that foundational study and aims at pursuing a deeper understanding of the place of emotion in identity and activism. Its contribution here lies also in analysing the rich articulation of emotions by my research participants, and in their reflection on their social movement experiences. By unpacking these emotional

states, and exploring how they affect social action and identification, this thesis seeks to present a rich and comprehensive account of emotions in relation to national identity constructions in post-handover Hong Kong.

Overall, this thesis provides a novel perspective and understanding of national identity. Through exploring the content and boundaries of national identity, this thesis contributes to the study of national identity by showing that it is a construction process in which social actors actively involve themselves in defining, interpreting, and ascribing. It sees social actors as subjective and active agents of nation-building rather than passive recipients of nationalisation. In particular, the original data collected from ordinary people across three generations in society provides insight into how national identity is imagined, understood and constructed at a popular or everyday, non-elite level. The thesis is not a study of generations as such, but generations - and their different social movements - provide a useful means of exploring the emergence of Hong Kong identity over time.

1.3. A Historical Account of Hong Kong Identity

This section presents the key events and changes in Hong Kong identity since the Second World War in order to provide a broad contextual understanding of the formation of Hong Kong identity. It explicates events, institutions and political groups which will be significant for analysing the recent developments of Hong Kong identity in the post-1997 era that are the subject of this thesis. This brief historical overview of Hong Kong identity also indicates the significance and complexity of Hong Kong identity.

'National identity cannot be presumed simply because a group of people live in the same territory and are subject to the same jurisdiction' (E. Chan, 2000, p. 500). Despite the sovereignty transfer of Hong Kong from Britain to its 'motherland' the People's Republic of China (henceforth, the 'PRC') in 1997, issues with national identities in Hong Kong remain conflictual and unresolved. The beginning of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (henceforth, HKSAR) under the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle signifies an end of 156 years of colonial rule and the start of 'belonging' to China. The Hong Kong-China relationship had previously fallen into the dichotomous discourses of 'Hong Kong as part of China' and 'Hong Kong as apart from China' (Mathews, 1997). On the one hand, many acknowledge that China has ruling power over Hong Kong in which 'Hong Kong as part of China'. Some feel proud of claiming China to be their motherland as they finally have a 'proper' nationality and they think that Hong Kong's development should be planned in accordance with Chinese preference (Mathews et. al., 2008). On the other hand, some are sceptical about the Chinese state and whether Hong Kong is able to keep its high degree of autonomy, which signifies 'Hong Kong as apart from China'. This dualistic approach to the discourse was based on a fundamental assumption that Hong Kong would always be under the sovereignty of China. Yet the difference is that the former regards 'one country' as the guiding framework which can override 'two systems' if any conflict arises - as it is doing as I complete the writing of this thesis, with the wide-ranging new national security law imposed on Hong Kong in June 2020 - whereas the latter strives to preserve the freedom and autonomy in Hong Kong under the 'two systems' principle in all circumstances. To complicate the matter, a third discourse of 'Hong Kong departs

from China' which contests the notion of the subordinate position of Hong Kong to China and promotes local instead of national interests formulates in the post-handover era.

Scholars have been tracing the national identifications of the Hong Kong people before and after 1997 via surveys and found that the trend fluctuates over time. For example, Lau's (1997) surveys on identity between 1985 and 1995 showed the following features. Firstly, a majority (between 49 percent and 64 percent) of respondents identified themselves as 'Hongkongese' over the years as compared to those who claimed to be 'Chinese' (between 25 percent and 36 percent). Those who had a mixed identity were still a minority (between 10 percent and 16 percent). In spite of a dominant sense of Hong Kong identity, an absence of affective attachment to Hong Kong society was still a feature of 'Hongkongese'. Moreover, most respondents shared an ethnic and historical-cultural sense of 'Chineseness', manifested by their pride in the economic development and history of the Chinese nation regardless of their identifications. In the subsequent surveys between 1997 and 2003, the proportion of those who claimed a Hongkonger identity still exceeded that of those who claimed a Chinese identity (Yew and Kwong, 2014). At the same time, the trend of a 'hybridised' identity - a mixed identity - was on the rise (Steinhardt et. al., 2018). Nonetheless, the Chinese identity reached its peak in 2008 when the Olympic Games was held in Beijing and the Shenzhou 7 spacecraft was launched. After that, however, the Hongkonger identity reached its highest (46 percent) since 1997 in 2012 and the Chinese identity continued to go downhill (HKPORI, 2020). It is worth noting that 69 percent of those who claimed the Hongkonger identity were between 18-29 years old.

The 'metamorphoses' of Chinese nationalism and complexity of identity can be traced to the socio-political changes in the period after the Second World War. Between 1945 and the 1960s, the national identity of the Hong Kong people was shaped by their migration and colonisation experiences. A predominant 'refugee mentality' (Mathews et. al., 2008), caused by the search for material stability and security for families, led to an indifference to local politics and identity issues. Lau (1981) describes such materialistic-oriented lifestyle as 'Utilitarianistic Familism'. Entering the 1970s, Hong Kong society experienced the 'rise of Hongkongers' (Tsang, 2004). The ideological split of the student movement led by the generation that was locally-born and raised, a series of public policies implemented by the then British government after the 1967 riots[1], and the new wave of migration contributed to the emergence of a distinct Hong Kong identity (So, 2016; Tsang, 2004). Between the 1980s and 1997, a multi-layered identity was formed due to the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, June 4th 1989, and democratisation during this transition period. The mixed Chinese and Hong Kong identities were characterised by ambivalence and uncertainty.

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[1] The 1967 riots were initiated by a labour dispute which was generally understood to be a result of social inequalities and popular dissent with the British administration, but it was framed by the then leftist newspaper as a political suppression by imperialist Britain against patriotism to the CCP. Under the influence of the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards in Hong Kong's neighbouring cities sympathised with and showed strong backing for their 'compatriot fellows' in Hong Kong. The violent riots lasted from May to December 1967 and were ended by the colonial government. After the disturbances, a wide range of social reforms were introduced which have contributed to nurturing an imagined community in Hong Kong, such as the introduction of the City District Office Scheme (CDO), the implementation of free education, the provision of social housing and social welfare.

Between 1997 and 2003, the first Chief Executive (henceforth, CE) of HKSAR, Tung Chee-hwa took office and endeavoured to create the 'One Country' discourse and develop Hong Kong as an international city in China to downplay the local distinctiveness (Flowerdew, 2004; Ma and Fung, 2007). The Tung administration flooded the media with national icons, such as the Great Wall, the national flag, and the daily broadcast of the national anthem on one of the most popular television stations to 'naturalise' the national sentiment to the Chinese nation (Ma and Fung, 2007; Matthews et. al., 2008). Tung was also keen on cultivating patriotism among the young through civic education, wider use of Mandarin as the medium of instruction over Cantonese and English, and more exchange activities with mainland China (Tse, 2005). Yet the public distrust of the 'one country' discourse was displayed in the July 1st protests in 2003, in which half a million Hongkongers rallied against the enactment of national security law (Yew and Kwong, 2014; C. K. Chan, 2014).

In the second decade of the post-handover era, Hong Kong society has been experiencing two major changes: the rise of 'localism' and 'anti-mainlandisation' sentiment. The earliest form of localism emerged in early 2000s. The establishment of 'Local Action', a group set up by activists to preserve local cultural heritages such as the Star Ferry Terminal and the Queen's Pier from being demolished, articulated a 'localist' discourse by promoting the preservation of the local lifestyle and nurturance of community autonomy since 2006 (So, 2017; Kwong, 2016). To a certain extent, the subsequent localist groups were under the influence of this localist discourse. The force of localism continued to thrive when a series of social conflicts intensified the relationships between Hongkongers and mainland Chinese, including the influx of

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mainland immigrants and tourists, 'parallel trading, real estate speculation and growing income disparities' (Veg, 2017, p. 325). In 2011, scholar Chin Wan-kan, also known as Chin Wan, published a book entitled, in my translation, 'Theory of the Hong Kong City-State' (香港城邦論) in response to the growing Hong Kong-China conflicts and the sovereignty issue (Chin, 2011; Veg, 2017). Chin states that the sovereignty issue requires renegotiation between the Chinese and SAR governments because the basic parameters of different aspects in society are built upon the credibility and legitimacy of Basic Law which expires in 2047. Meanwhile, the two systems develop without any intersections. While the CCP intends to accelerate the integration of Hong Kong with China, it fails to recognise the uniqueness of the system which most Hongkongers cherish and hence elicits resistance and resentment towards the CCP. According to Chin, Hong Kong has only enjoyed relative autonomy as a special administrative region under the PRC regime after the handover, but it performs more like a 'federate entity' due to its distinct and developed social infrastructures (Chin, 2015). Under this framework, Hong Kong should continue to be self-governed and retain its autonomy (Chin, 2015). The discourse of 'Hong Kong departs from China' implies a parallel development of the two political communities and that Hong Kong should not place national interest above its local interest out of patriotism. Chin's 'city-state theory' became the foundation of localism in Hong Kong; and advocacy of putting local interests first and forgetting about national interests inspired the autonomy movement in the 2010s (Kwong, 2016; Mok and Cheung, 2016). The embryo of Hong Kong nationalism, which was built upon this idea of differentiation between Hong Kong and China or 'China-Hong Kong segregation' (港中區隔), was formulated into the vision of the Hong Kong nation, seen

in the student magazine *Undergrad* of the University of Hong Kong in 2014 (Kaeding, 2017; The Economist, 2015).

Along with the rise of localism, some localist groups also deployed strong 'anti-mainlandisation' rhetoric. 'Mainlandisation' of Hong Kong usually refers to the greater mainland influence in terms of rapid Hong Kong-China integration, the influx of mainland Chinese, and the CCP's growing interventions into Hong Kong's affairs (Yew and Kwong, 2014; Ortmann, 2018). This anti-mainland sentiment was expressed by the localist groups to both the CCP and mainland Chinese in different ways. For example, some rejected the use of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters, and called for completely cutting off Hong Kong's relations with China (Hui and Lau, 2015). Some others launched small-scale demonstrations in which the derogatory term 'locusts' was employed to insult Mandarin-speaking shoppers. Antagonism towards the mainland Chinese grew over the years and has given rise to the localist force through the processes of actively defining a 'we' and 'other' (Porta and Diani, 2006). Through stigmatising mainland Chinese, including travellers and immigrants as backward and uncivilised 'others', the localist force asserts the superior status of Hongkongers and blames the mainland Chinese for bringing disruptive order to Hong Kong. One of the active and more developed political groups is 'Civic Passion'.

Civic Passion, established in 2012, served as the election campaign vehicle for its founder and leader Wong Yeung-tat, who was one of the candidates of the radical pan-democratic party People's Power during the Legislative Council election. Instead of promoting Hong Kong independence, Civic Passion proposes its distinctive sense of

'Hong Kong departs from China'. The construction of an indigenous identity is an essential component in this discourse building and also in the subsequent collective actions. According to Civic Passion, this indigenous identity makes Hongkongers culturally, linguistically and politically distinct from the mainland Chinese, though it is not specified and clearly defined. The group has organised or sympathised with a number of collective actions in relation to identity politics, such as the anti-PMI (Putonghua as the medium of instruction) campaign to preserve the city's language, and protest activities against parallel traders. Civic Passion is not regarded as an ally by the pan-democrats due to its radical stance on Hong Kong-China relation and its militant strategies. The traditional pan-democracy camp strives to defend a high degree of autonomy and democratisation in Hong Kong in order to aid democratisation in China. This notion is generally known as 'democratic reunification' (民主回歸) which to a certain extent acknowledges the moral responsibility of a more democratic Hong Kong to change the paternalistic leadership and authoritarian political culture in China due to a 'greater China sentiment'(大中華情意結) (Veg, 2017). Civic Passion strongly opposes the 'greater China sentiment' but emphasises that Hong Kong should dissociate with China to strive for the best interest of the local community. Since 2013, Civic Passion has been organising an alternative rally to boycott the demand of building a democratic China of the June 4th Victoria Park Memorial Vigil organised by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China (Passion Times, 2015; Tse and Wong, 2015). Instead of commemorating with a candlelit silence, Civic Passion organisers burned the CCP's flag to express their anti-communist sentiment (Iyengar, 2015).

1.4. Significance of Scholarism, the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement

In this section, I will provide an introduction to Scholarism, the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014. The object of my research, the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement are social movements of fundamental importance for understanding the developments of Hong Kong identity in the post-1997 period. Scholarism is a student movement organisation that played a significant role in these movements. I am focusing on participants of the two social movements, and a particular constituency of young people within these movements, known as Scholarism, which is a key focus of my research, as part of my study of the two social movements.

1.4.1. Significance of Scholarism

Scholarism (學民思潮) was founded by Joshua Wong, aged 15, and two other secondary school students in May 2011. Joshua Wong had been selected as one of the 25 most influential teenagers in 2014 due to his political activism since his youth. He became a symbol of energy and hope of the student movement (Time, 2014). Scholarism was established as a non-partisan concern group to protest against the introduction of the 'Moral and National Education' curriculum. Scholarism was conscious of its pattern of mobilisation. Its strategic use of social media like *Facebook* and *Twitter*, and the support from conventional media like *Apple Daily* helped spread the movement's ideology and updates to recruit movement constituents, especially in its outreach to younger cohorts. This digital native generation drew public attention to national education and recruited over 200 student volunteers in just three months after it was set up (Kan, 2012; Wong and Chung, 2016). Scholarism organised various protest

activities in the Anti-MNE Movement between 2011 and 2012, including mass rallies and sit-ins (J. Wong, 2015). Although Scholarism was not the sole organiser of the much larger Anti-NME Movement, it played a leading role amongst other newly established movement organisations such as the Parents Concern Group on National Education and the Professional Teachers' Union. Throughout the Anti-MNE Movement, Scholarism emphasised its non-partisan nature by distancing itself from political parties to avoid being manipulated (Kan, 2012). After the Anti-MNE Movement, Scholarism decided to resist mainlandisation by actively engaging in political reform and democratic development as a student organisation from 2013 (J. Wong, 2015; Wong and Chung, 2016). In 2014 Scholarism was one of the 'leading' organisations which instigated the Umbrella Movement.

I identified Scholarism as a particular focus within my analysis of the two social movements, for the following reasons. Firstly, Scholarism was one of the very few student-initiated movement organisations which was politically active since the downfall of the student movement in the 1980s. Scholarism was not affiliated with any political party when it was first established, but was still involved in the broader pro-democracy movement, especially the Umbrella Movement in 2014, even after the Anti-MNE Movement. It continued to call for civic participation and enhance civic empowerment in shaping the future of Hong Kong and government policies, in which the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' was realised. This prompts us to ask how this principle is reinterpreted and how it is related to the development of national identities. As C. P. Chan (2016, p. 888) points out, this latest emerging young activism is characterised by 'a profile of anti-establishment, using more assertive means

and not excluding radical behaviour, distrust of the HKSAR and Chinese authorities and an assertion of local identity'. This emerging young activism definitely deviates from the mainstream framing of Hong Kong youth as 'politically indifferent' and 'passive' which requires a renewed understanding.

Secondly, Scholarism's initiation of the Anti-MNE Movement reflects that the younger cohort struggles with their national identification. The then founders and members of Scholarism were mostly born just before or after 1997, which implies that they had never experienced colonial rule and therefore lacked the collective memory and lived experiences of their senior cohorts to alter the shaping of their identities. This generation spent a significant period of time under the Chinese rule after the transfer of sovereignty and, understandably, have more or less internalised the discourse of 'Hong Kong as part of China'. For instance, in the midst of the Anti-MNE Movement, they explicitly framed the imposed curriculum as a policy attempt for indoctrination and for this reason they opposed the national education implemented in Hong Kong but not in China. Precisely put, Scholarism had never shown any intention to overthrow the CCP or to promote any sort of Hong Kong independence or such during the Anti-MNE Movement. On the other hand, they openly rejected the national education curriculum which attempted to foster identification with the Chinese state. They contested the state-carved ethno-cultural Chinese identity, which was previously accepted, and further embraced their citizen identity in Hong Kong (Veg, 2017). This seemingly paradoxical attitude toward the relation between Hong Kong and China and Chinese identity reveals to us that the young generation of this period is very much caught up in the struggles over the emergence and features of Hong Kong identity.

Thirdly, Scholarism was mainly composed of post-1990 students. They experienced an identity crisis differently from the older generations because they were born into a political reality - the handover - in which the future of Hong Kong was already decided. In the early 1980s, Britain and China were still undergoing the negotiation of the sovereignty of Hong Kong. After the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, older cohorts of Hong Kong people (mainly the post-1970 generation) still had the chance to shape the political process and development of Hong Kong, for example pushing for democratisation, self-determination or demanding independence. Furthermore, there was a buffering period of 13 years for them to position themselves - to stay in Hong Kong or to leave; to identify with or to reject the new sovereign state - and to decide upon the direction of Hong Kong. Before 1997, the ethos for the search for identity was comparatively open-minded and tolerated as Hong Kong people were not yet expected to serve the purpose of national unity and ascribe the official national identity. In that sense, the then generations underwent the transitional period and made their informed choice. However, younger generations, especially those who could not alter the fate of Hong Kong because of their young age, were born into this 'one country'. When Hong Kong as part of China has become an undeniable reality, the politically correct question is not who they are, but is restricted to how they can learn to belong to a nation and how they should act like Chinese nationals. It is with this hindsight that we may understand how core members of Scholarism and its cohort were facing an identity crisis in a different context. On the other hand, the way in which a certain set of shared experiences of socio-political events shape each generation's search for national identity is significant. The meaning of an historical event can vary across

generations depending on their unique contexts from time to time (Lee and Chan, 2013), which in effect will alter their interpretation and identification with national identity claims. Although not the main focus of this thesis, the post-1990 generation, represented by Scholarism, partially show some generational similarities with the other generations, in terms of salient features of Hong Kong national identity, as I indicate in Chapter 4. The study of this generation is particularly significant, because it is more likely to constitute the core group of Hong Kong citizenry which will partially determine the Hong Kong-China relation going forward.

1.4.2. Significance of the Anti-MNE Movement

Since 2007, the Hong Kong government sought to implement 'Moral and National Education' curriculum as a compulsory subject in all public secondary and primary schools in 2012 and 2013 respectively. This programme aimed at 'strengthening the national identity awareness of students and nurturing patriotism towards China' (Cheng, 2012). When Scholarism first called public attention to the national education curriculum, the public did not object to the legitimacy of national education. However, the movement was lifted to the next level after certain teaching material, 'The China Model' was exposed in July. The manual was prepared by the Hong Kong National Education Services Centre, a pro-Beijing organisation. Public discontent over controversial contents was elicited. This includes a description of China's Communist government as 'a progressive and selfless regime upholding stability and prosperity' (Morris and Vickers, 2015, p. 311), the cultivation of patriotism and national pride on a sentimental level (HK National Education Content Sharing, 2012).

In response to this, Scholarism and a coalition of 20 civic groups mobilised slogans such as 'Save our children', 'Reject Brainwashing' and 'Stop mind-controlling' to combat the official discourse and to arouse awareness of the prospect of the indoctrination of school children. These slogans reflected the deep distrust of communist rule, which might erode the city's autonomy and freedom eventually, and the fear that future generations might be induced to blind loyalty to the authoritarian regime. While these slogans were effective in movement mobilisation, three of the student protesters also went on a hunger strike which invoked memories of the June 4th Tiananmen Square crackdown. The movement soon gained sympathy from the wider public. At its peak, 120,000 participants composed of academics, parents, politicians and civilians joined the 'Occupy Tamar' campaign, in which the strategy of the European 'Occupy' movement was adopted outside government headquarters. As opposition escalated, CE Leung announced that MNE would be an optional subject in schools (Lau et. al., 2012). This success brought a closure of the Anti-MNE Movement.

The Anti-MNE Movement had great significance in shaping the national identity of the Hong Kong people. It brought the long-suppressed or embedded national identity debate to the surface and confronted the Hong Kong people with whether they identify with the ethnic appeal of Chinese nationalism and the official national identity, and how they understand their relations with their sovereign state China. As K. Mercer (1990, p. 43) asserts, 'Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty'. Precisely put, the debates over national identity since the Anti-MNE Movement can be viewed as a post-1997 identity struggle (Veg, 2017; Morris and Vickers, 2015).

Furthermore, although the Anti-MNE Movement was seemingly concerned about an educational issue, the national education project was framed as indoctrination and mainlandisation of Hong Kong, which concerned the general public, instead of being limited to the stakeholders, such as students and teachers (Wong and Chung, 2016). It resonated with the fermenting anti-mainland populist sentiment in 2012, and evoked the long-existing worries about the CCP's attempt to dilute the boundary of the 'two systems' (Lo, 2008). In other words, the Anti-MNE Movement reveals deeper issues of the Hong Kong-China relations under the 'one country, two systems' policy.

1.4.3. Significance of the Umbrella Movement

The Umbrella Movement has put Hong Kong under the global spotlight since late September 2014 with its colourful umbrellas - its protesters a humble shield from the police's use of pepper spray and tear gas to disperse the crowd - in the fight for the city's democracy. Followed by a week-long class boycott, student leaders Joshua Wong of Scholarism, Alex Chow and Lester Shum of the Hong Kong Federation of Students (henceforth, HKFS) attempted to enter the restricted area of Civic Square outside the Government Headquarters on 28 September 2014, but were arrested (Barber and Campbell, 2014). Increasing numbers of participants gathered to support the students and started a massive rally. Police tried to disperse protesters by using pepper spray and teargas but consequently caused thousands to take to the streets and kick-started a 79-day long occupy protest, before the government cleared all the protest sites on 15 December 2014 (Kam, 2014). During these two and a half months, the number of protests varied between 100,000-200,000 demonstrators encamped on or blocking main

roads, as a strategy inspired by the Occupy Movement, on three sites including the central business district of Admiralty, and the residential and commercial districts of Causeway Bay and Mongkok (V. Hui, 2015). The main demands of the protesters of the Umbrella Movement can be summarised as follows: 1) the resignation of the then CE Leung Chun-ying, 2) the withdrawal of the decision by China's National People's Congress Standing Committee (henceforth, NPCSC) concerning the electoral guidelines for the 2017 elections; and 3) universal suffrage, that is the right of Hong Kong citizens to vote for the city's leader through open and broadly accessible processes (Hoyng and Es, 2014; Kaiman, 2014; V. Hui, 2015).

The significance of the Umbrella Movement to this study is its emphasis on 'self-determination in terms of Hong Kong's unique identity' (Ruhlig, 2015, p. 2). When the Chinese and SAR governments ruled out civil nomination, they established boundaries excluding ordinary citizens from the process of selecting their leader, which deprived them of their rights and created a subordinate identity, as if they were not citizens. Struggle was subsequently provoked among the protesters, especially the younger generation who considered themselves as the locally born and bred Hong Kong people, to fight against the domination of the powerful minority, to strive for inclusion in the polity and more importantly, to regain the legitimacy of being autonomous Hong Kong citizens. In this regard, the Umbrella Movement 'can be seen as the mobilisation of Hong Kong defining itself as a civic community around the claim for universal suffrage: for this group of people, democracy and localism are one and the same' (Veg, 2017, p. 341). It is therefore, of great relevance to the discussion of the civic identity in post-handover Hong Kong.

Also of key significance to this thesis is that the Umbrella Movement reveals that being a Hongkonger means something different for the younger generation. Differing from the older settled population, who were predominantly Chinese migrants seeking refuge in Hong Kong and distancing themselves from politics for a stable material life, Joshua Wong (2014) asserted that the post-1990 generation pursues a self-determined future of their home: 'My generation, the so-called post-90s generation that came of age after the territory was returned to China, would have the most to lose if Hong Kong were to become like just another mainland Chinese city, where information is not freely shared and the rule of law is ignored. We are angry and disappointed that Beijing and the local administration of Leung Chun-ying are trying to steal our future. The post-90s generation is growing up in a vastly changed city from that of our parents and grandparents. Earlier generations, many of whom came here from mainland China, wanted one thing: a stable life. A secure job was always more important than politics. They worked hard and didn't ask for much more than some comfort and stability. The people of my generation want more. In a world where ideas and ideals flow freely, we want what everybody else in an advanced society seems to have: a say in our future'. The proclamation by Joshua amidst the protests reveals a consciousness of self-reliance which was in line with the rhetoric adopted to call forth solidarity - 'Save our Hong Kong on our own' (自己香港自己救). This strong sense of ownership, and the agency of Hong Kong identity reflects that the Hong Kong identity interpreted by the younger generations during the Umbrella Movement may differ from those of the older generations, and is therefore highly relevant to this thesis.

The empirical focus of this thesis stops in May 2015, ending with the Umbrella Movement, but given the global prominence of the Anti-ELAB Movement since June 2019, it is important to acknowledge it here and indicate its relation to the Umbrella Movement, even though it falls outside the period of this research. The Anti-ELAB Movement was triggered by the proposal of the Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill by the Hong Kong government in February 2019 to 'allow the transfer of fugitives to jurisdictions with which Hong Kong lacks an extradition deal, including the mainland, Taiwan and Macau' (Tony Cheung, 2019). Concerns about the possibility of political persecution and unfair trial in mainland China were raised, especially when the Causeway Bay bookseller disappearance in 2015 (see Chapter 4) had already induced a great deal of fear of the CCP's interference in Hong Kong's freedom, and doubts about the impartiality of the Chinese legal system.

The Anti-ELAB Movement can be seen as a continuation and intensification of the Umbrella Movement, of the focus on full democracy and autonomy or self-determination for Hong Kong, as well as a departure in its focus on the formulation of the Hong Kong nation. Similar to the Umbrella Movement, the grievances of the Anti-ELAB Movement were rooted in the anti-mainlandisation sentiment and the violation of the 'one country, two systems' by China. In the early stage of the Anti-ELAB Movement, one of the five demands was for dual universal suffrage - for the elections of the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council - which was the core focus of the Umbrella Movement. This continuous fight for retaining the city's freedom and a high degree of autonomy during the Anti-ELAB Movement is a salient feature of the civic

identity of Hongkongers. On the other hand, while the Umbrella Movement was still fighting for a democratic system within the 'one country, two systems' framework, the recent movement appears to take a radical turn to imagine Hong Kong as a nation. Protest slogans such as 'Liberate Hong Kong, the revolution of our times' (光復香港，時代革命), 'Hong Kong independence, the only way out' (香港獨立，惟一出路), and 'Hongkongers, build our nation' (香港人，建國) (Creery, 2020) gradually emerged. The 'national' anthem 'Glory to Hong Kong' (願榮光歸香港) vis-a-vis the national anthem of the PRC was composed by the protesters and widely spread (Chow, 2019). All these latest developments in Hong Kong show us that the identity struggle since the Umbrella Movement is taking a radical turn. How it will respond going forward to the mainland's imposition in June 2020 of a new wide-ranging and repressive Hong Kong National Security Law remains to be seen.

1.5. Methodological Approach

Based on an in-depth empirical study in Hong Kong, this thesis explores rich, empirical data from 30 semi-structured qualitative individual and four focus group interviews, conducted between February and May of 2016. In pursuit of the thesis' aims, the interviews focused on the content of national identity claims and their justification. Qualitative interviews were chosen on the understanding that knowledge and experiences of identity are 'contextual, situational and interactional' (Mason, 2007, p. 64). In this regard, this study is not looking for 'general', 'one-size-fits-all' answers to the nature of Hong Kong identity, but the specifics of the respondents' situated identities in the socio-political contexts in which they are found. The use of qualitative interviews also helps explore the subjective views, interpretations and experiences of national

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identifications (Mason, 2007) and to overcome the limitations of quantitative surveys in which definitions, meanings and explanations for certain identity labels are often ambiguous and unclear.

Scholars of nations and nationalism such as Eric Hobsbawm (1990) or Ernest Gellner (1983) contend that nations and nationalism are constructed from above; I argue that social actors play active and reflexive roles in constructing and negotiating the issues of national identity and therefore I conducted an empirical study 'from below' to investigate who 'ordinary people' think they are in national terms, and how they make certain claims about themselves. In so doing, I conducted 30 semi-structured individual and four focus group interviews with activists and movement participants from Hong Kong aged 18 or above, who were from the post-1970, post-1980, and post-1990 generations, either in the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement or/and the 2014 Umbrella Movement. These research participants were recruited via snowballing. This approach provides insight into how different generations perceive national identities from their own perspective and will offer an understanding of identity in its fluid and socially constructed nature. Thematic analysis was carried out using *NVivo* software to address the key themes of emotion and identity, Hong Kong identity, Chinese identity, and ethnic and civic nationalisms in Hong Kong in a structured and systematic way. My inductive approach aimed to identify both the implicit and explicit themes from the interview materials without fitting them into a preexisting theoretical framework.

In terms of data collection, I took advantage of my insider role as a native Hongkonger who speaks Cantonese and knows how to look for target participants. The insider role

helped me build up trusting relationships with my research participants. At the same time, my outsider role as a researcher living and studying abroad encouraged me to reflect on the taken-for-granted assumptions by asking obvious questions to clarify any unspoken or unfinished sentences. For example, some respondents described the national education curriculum as 'brainwashing', assuming that we shared common understanding of what 'brainwashing' means. Although I read about the rhetorical use of the brainwashing frame, I still pursued clarity from respondents by asking them to elaborate on the concept of 'brainwashing' from their perspective. This and other methodological issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.6. Clarifications of Terminology

In this section, I will clarify key terminology used in this thesis. I adopt the generic term 'Hong Kong identity' or 'Hongkonger identity' to refer to a Hong Kong 'national' or 'sub-national identity' to differentiate from the state-carved 'Chinese national identity'. To avoid confusion, the generic term 'Chinese' refers to the 'Chinese nationals of the PRC', and 'Chinese identity' refers to the Chinese national identity of the PRC. The Chinese ethnicity will be specified as 'ethnic Chinese'.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured into 7 chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the theories of national identity as pertinent to Hong Kong. Rather than adopting one particular theoretical framework this thesis draws upon a number of concepts which are best suited to conducting the empirical study of national identity. This chapter presents a view of identity as an non-essentialist, fluid and socially constructed process. Drawing upon

Anderson's (1991) influential work of the 'imagined community', the chapter shows that the study of national identity is sociologically relevant and significant due to its 'realness' to social actors and impacts on social actions. It then moves on to discuss the emotional and cognitive elements of national identity. Emotion is usually considered as irrational and too vague to be the centre of identity analysis when it is associated with nationalism; only in recent years has emotion been recognised as a fundamental attribute of identity politics. When properly understood, emotions can help us better understand the formation and impact of national identity. At the same time, national identity is manifested in its cognitive form, in which individuals define group membership of a nation depending on certain objective attributes. The last part of the chapter critically examines the prevalent theses of UF (Lau, 1981) and market-oriented Hong Kong identity (Mathews et. al., 2008). These have been the dominant academic discourse of the Hong Kong ethos, illustrating a supposedly politically apathetic and materialistic trait of Hong Kong identity, an approach which this thesis challenges.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach employed by this study. It provides justifications for adopting qualitative over quantitative methods to capture the subjective, developing and complex nature of national identification. The chapter explains how semi-structured individual and focus group interviews were used for gathering rich and in-depth data, and how thematic analysis was conducted to analyse and structure data in an inductive approach. Particular attention is drawn to the reflections on the issues arising from data analysis and fieldwork, including the complexities related to translation, the insider/outsider roles and ethical concerns in a highly political and polarised society.

The three empirical chapters are structured by the following themes: the interpretations and development of national identity claims, the cognitive markers of Hong Kong identity, and the emotion in social movements and national identity. Informed by the fluid nature of national identity, Chapter 4 explores how the interpretation of multiple taken-for-granted identity claims develop over time, in relation to salient or critical events (Calhoun, 1994; Veg, 2017). The chapter focuses on four 'identity claims', scrutinising how individuals define and identify with the claims of the 'Hongkonger in China', 'Chinese in Hong Kong', an exclusive 'Hongkonger' identity and 'Chinese' identity. In order to articulate how these identity claims evolve in a specific context, narratives of respondents are presented. Their generational differences in regard to the evolution of these identity claims are highlighted in these narratives. Generational conceptions of national identity, especially in terms of 'one country, two systems', 'Hong Kong independence' and 'the ethno-cultural and political aspects of China' are also analysed. The last section focuses on the discussion of the development of these identity claims in relation to the critical events including the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the Sichuan Earthquake and Beijing Olympics in 2008, the annual June 4th vigil, and the Causeway Bay bookseller disappearance in 2015.

Chapter 5 depicts the cognitive markers, including language, cultural practices, the will to commit, and civic values, which individuals choose in defining Hong Kong identity and setting out boundaries in deciding group membership of the imagined Hong Kong community. Anderson (1991) contends that the imagined community is limited because even the biggest nation has its own political boundary which separates one group from

another. In other words, the nation includes certain members by excluding others. It excludes not just those who are outside the boundary, but also those who do not fit the descriptions of national identity. Identity undergoes the imaginings of 'who we are' and 'who we are not'. In this process of differentiation, certain attributes are considered more important than others. This chapter explores the cognitive markers of the Hongkonger identity. Informed by the framework of ethnic, cultural and civic identities (Shulman, 2002), the chapter also examines the content of cultural and civic markers, and to what extent ethnic markers affect the level of acceptance towards immigrants. Since the role of generation is not significant in terms of the content of these cognitive markers, it is not featured in the analysis in this chapter.

Suny (2004) asserts that national identity is saturated with emotions, and Chapter 6 turns to this question, illustrating different aspects of emotion in Hong Kong social movements and national identity, including the specific emotional content, and the connection between emotion and action. Specific emotions drawn out from my interviews for analysis are fear, anger, guilt, shame, feeling of powerlessness, love of China, emotions of belonging and hope. These emotions are discussed in terms of their features, their emergences and their impact on social actors in their identification and social action. The dimensions of power and status are brought into the discussion to shed light on how changes of power and status of self might evoke certain emotions. In addition, the emotional content, how different emotions are evoked and their impact on each generation are discussed throughout the chapter. This chapter does not intend to generalise the features of emotion or the causal relationship between emotion and action but to demonstrate the complexity of context-specific emotion in my interviewees'

reflections about the emotional content of their social-movement participation and understanding of Hong Kong identity. As such, the analysis also enhances understanding of emotion in activism and national identity more widely.

The final chapter provides concluding remarks on the study. It reviews the key findings of this thesis and outlines prospects for future research. After the Umbrella Movement, Hong Kong society has experienced radical political changes, with the current waves of protests since 2019 and the legislative change around the national security law in 2020. Further studies are suggested to explore issues related to generational perspectives of civic values, the emotional composition of the most recent wave of protests, and Hong Kong independence, in view of the fast changing socio-political context since the Umbrella Movement.

1.8. Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the main arguments and significance of this thesis, which is a study of the formation of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong through the 2012 Anti-Moral and National Movement and the 2014 Umbrella Movement. It is a study based on 30 individual interviews and four focus groups with the participants of these social movements over three generations. I have also provided an outline of the key events and social movements in the development of post-war Hong Kong identity: Scholarism, the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement. The chapter presented my methodological approach, which will be further developed in Chapter 3, clarifying specific terminology, and presenting the structure of this thesis.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: Theories of National Belonging in Hong Kong Context

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at locating this study within the relevant theoretical and conceptual frameworks concerning the meanings and interpretations of national identity in post-1997 Hong Kong. It is structured into three sections. Section 2.2 engages with the theories of nation and national belonging. Specifically, national identity is constituted by emotional and cognitive components. As a social identity, national identity is not fixed and homogenous, but constantly shifting, situational and full of complexities (McCrone, 1998). Identity is a process, *identification*, rather than a thing which individuals hold. The subsequent sections move on to focus on these themes of national identity as they are developed in the context of Hong Kong and China. Section 2.3 addresses the theoretical debates between ethnic and civic notions of national identity. The conventional dualistic approach toward national identity is critically examined in relation to a contemporary Hong Kong identity. Section 2.4 questions the framings of Hong Kong identity as Utilitarianistic Familism (Lau, 1981) and driven by market mentality (Mathews et. al., 2008) with regard to the changing political culture in post-1997 Hong Kong.

2.2. National Identity

National identity is one of the most prevalent and persistent collective identities in the modern world. It evokes passions, affiliation and actions. National identity matters because it 'provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves to the

world, through the prism of the collective personality and its distinctive culture' (Anthony Smith, 1991, p. 17). Indeed, national identity remains an effective force for strengthening social solidarity and mobilising social actions. People who are strongly attached to a sense of nationhood can even sacrifice themselves for it. As Benedict Anderson (1991, p. 7) puts it in his highly influential study, 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings'. Most of the time, national identity is 'banal' (Billig, 1995) - not that it is unimportant, but that it is embedded and taken-for-granted in our everyday life. People don't realise who they are and who they are not until they are confronted by the existence of other people or external threats. According to Anderson (1991), this collective sense of belonging to a national community is made possible by 'print-capitalism', through representational media. With the decline of Latin in Europe as the 'sacred' language, several written languages formed and spread through printing which 'made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (Anderson, 1991, p. 36), 'because they formed the basis of communication below "Latin" and "above" the spoken dialects and everyday language' (Wodak, et. al., 1999, p. 22). The close connection between capitalist production methods and book printing in the sixteenth century further expanded the circle of readers. This population was simultaneously mobilised for religious, political and national purposes (Wodak et. al., 1999). Therefore, not only is nation an imagined community, but nationalism is also an invented construct by written languages (Anderson, 1991).

In the process of differentiating themselves from others, there emerges a consciousness or idea in what this particular group of people are, what their shared interests are, and how they are unique (McCrone and Bechhofer, 2015). This sense of identification is also an important, though not the only, source of emotion and meaning of members who choose to belong or detach from the group. At times, reflecting on national identity may not sound relevant. After all, we may wonder who we are once in a while. Nevertheless, national identity is 'real' to people who act upon it. Their interpretation of national identity reveals their view of the social world, their relation to 'others' and to the sovereign state. That makes the study of national identity sociologically relevant and significant.

2.2.1. The Emotional and Cognitive Components of National Identity

'National identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations' (Guibernau, 2007, p. 11). From this definition, national identity includes at least two aspects. First, it requires a subjectively felt attachment to a particular nation from a human group. It is ultimately about a sense of belonging which deals with the questions 'who am I?' and 'where do I belong to?'. As far as emotion is concerned, it is still an underdeveloped concept in relation to ethnicity and nationalism. Partly it is because emotion and rationality are often treated as oppositional concepts in the discipline of social sciences (Barbalet, 1998). Suny (2004, p. 4) points out that 'we are about reason, rational calculation, and cognition - while emotion or passion is too amorphous, too vague, too subject to, well, emotions - to be an appropriate topic for

investigation'. For instance, the resource mobilisation theory in social movement studies distinguished emotion from rationality, and mostly focused on the latter. Olsen's (1965) rational actor theory points out that social actors pursue public goods together driven by self-interest and cost-benefit calculus rationality. Only in recent years have emotions been recognised as fundamental elements in movement motivations and mobilisations (Goodwin et. al., 2001; Jasper, 1998). In fact, emotionality and rationality should not be viewed as opposites. Instead, they can be interdependent and mutually implicated in goal-directed human behaviour (Reicher et. al., 2009).

With regard to national identity, Suny (2004, p. 8) contends that 'identities are often a complex combination of reason and affect'. Anthony Smith (1991, p. 11) also states that both sentiments and ideas are crucial elements of 'binding the population together in their homeland'. In this sense, the emotion of national identity is an important aspect to look at apart from the cognitive attributes. So what are emotions? In the simplest sense, emotions are 'the things felt, feelings, though not all feelings are emotions' (Suny, 2004, p. 10). Emotions motivate actions, and certain emotions are more likely to lead to certain actions. For example, shame tends to lead to withdrawal, or hiding of a person. Pride may tend to draw a person out to expose or disclose themselves in public. Emotions are neurological responses to stimulus, but they can also be socially constructed. For example, Brown (2014) found that most integrated workers tend to pass on a distinctively negative form of civic emotion such as sadness and shame for the Nazi-era, and a rejection of national pride to the migrants in the orientation classes in Germany. In this regard, the seemingly intimate feelings and psychological aspects

which individuals feel towards their country or host country can be the product of social constructions.

Connor (1994) regards emotional bonds felt by fellow-nationals not as irrational but non-rational, which is beyond reason. In his view, a nation is 'a group of people who feel that they are ancestrally related. It is the largest group that can command a person's loyalty because of felt kinship ties; it is, from this perspective, the fully extended family. The sense of unique descent, of course, need not, and in *nearly all* cases *will not*, accord with factual history' (Connor, 1994, p. 202), since the notion of a nation's 'ethnic origin' is more a product of national formation than it is of any ethno-cultural facticity. This felt or sentient history, rather than the factual history, are 'real' to the individuals who believe in it. This belief in shared ancestry often fosters a sense of belonging and social solidarity (Guibernau, 2004). In certain circumstances, intense sentiments are felt and manifested by fellow-nationals from the same nation. These sentiments may cause individuals to go as far as sacrificing themselves for the nation which they believe is worthwhile for a higher aim. In this sense, understanding the content of emotions associated with national identity and how they affect social actors to act upon these emotions help us get a better picture of how individuals are bound into a collectivity and perceive their relation to their nation.

In the case of Hong Kong, some researchers on Hong Kong identity have adopted 'emotive identifications' to capture the feelings and emotion attached to a list of national, military and cultural icons including the Great Wall of China, Mandarin language, the People's Liberation Army, the Great Hall of the People, the national

anthem, and the Emblem of the HKSAR (Fung, 2001; Fung, 2004; Ma and Fung, 2007). Respondents were asked to indicate their feelings of pride, affection, and unease towards these icons on a five-point scale over the decade 1996-2006. These surveys capture the significance of the emotional attachment of the different dimensions of their identifications and more importantly, the changing pattern of these emotions through longitudinal measurement. Mathews et. al. (2008) conducted both statistical surveys and interviews to explore how Hong Kong people feel about particular cultural and national icons in China and Hong Kong. Their study affirms the significance of an emotional aspect of national identification. My study builds upon this foundational study and moves away from the quantitative measurement of emotions by looking into individuals' articulations of diverse emotions, their emergence and impact on their collective actions and national identification qualitatively. These themes of emotion in social movements and national identities will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Second, a 'nation' based on shared attributes is involved in building this collective sentiment. The attributes which individuals believe that they share to form a nation may vary, although the most commonly recognised ones are a common culture, history, language, religion, territory, and ethnicity (Guibernau, 2004; Anthony Smith, 1991). To some theorists, the 'objective' criteria do not make a nation, but the consciousness of it. This is what Benedict Anderson (1991) called the 'imagined community' of nationhood, which is a socially constructed community imagined by the people who consider themselves as part of it. To be 'imagined' does not mean that this group is a fiction. Rather, any nation is 'imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the

minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). In the process of identification, members recognise one another as fellow nationals and foster a sense of 'we'-ness. At the same time, they imagine and feel their community is distinctive in comparison to others. This group differentiation is based on an idea, the act of the imagination. For example, a common language, like the other factors such as religion, ethnicity, race or social class, does not cause the formation of a shared cultural identity alone. Instead, the group itself has to undergo a collective act of imagining the group to be an actual entity. That is the process of differentiation. Throughout this differentiation, nationalism replaces religion, which previously provided a sense of continuity of life and meaning of birth, sufferings and death to individuals in society. This sense of continuity and meaning constitutes part of the feeling of belonging with a particular group and that is where the loyalty of an individual lies. Anderson (1991) argues that the nation is a cultural artefact and nationalism is a modern principle to hold the political and national unit together. From his view, both nation and nationalism are the product of social construction from above by political and cultural elites.

In a similar manner, Greenfeld and Eastwood (2009) contend that national identity is connected to a specific national image, constituted by a concrete community which is partially distinct from other communities. This national image and national community are based on an individual's imaginings, meaning that they are imagined without 'objective' existence or observable boundaries, but they are not necessarily illusions. As Jenkins (2008, p. 12) asserts, 'groups are real if people think they are: they then behave in ways that assume that groups are real and, in so doing, construct that reality. They realise it. That groups are social constructions doesn't mean that they are illusions'. The

reality of groups and other collectivities here refers to the subjective experience of everyday life. For example, our experiences tell us that social groups such as peer groups and friends are real. In this sense, the exploration of national identity should not be detached from the subjective experiences of individuals.

Given the significance of both emotional and cognitive aspects of national identity, this study will discuss the relevant roles and features of emotions and cognitive components of the Hong Kong identity. Differing from previous studies which primarily adopted quantitative surveys, the empirical base of the articulation of feelings and emotions and cognitive components associated with national identity is the aggregated in-depth qualitative material from respondents. These attributes will not be taken by their face value, but will be analysed according to the respondents' interpretation and elaboration.

2.2.2. National Identity as a Social Identity

Social identities are how we define who we are / are not, whether we belong to certain groups, how others view us, how we think others view us. It results in inter-group relations with emotional attachment and value significance to the group membership in a society (Tajfel, 1978). National or sub-national identity is a basic form of social identity. This reality of national identity is constantly constructed and reconstructed by social agents. National identity is not a fixed concept. In an extraordinarily essentialist argument, Gellner (1983) asserts that having a nationality is as 'natural' as having a nose and two ears; it is an ordinary phenomenon for each person to belong to a nation. From this perspective, a nationality is a state-given status based on 'objective' political, geographical or physical realities. If this is the case, our national identification should

change once we change our passport or place of residence. In real-life, one can live in Germany but still identify oneself as 'Chinese'. Or one can be Scottish while holding a British passport. As far as national identity is concerned, it should not be confused with 'nationality' or 'citizenship'. Nationality or citizenship is a static concept given by the state that we can say or do little about. After all, we cannot choose where we are born. Yet national identity is more fundamental than having a nationality. Social actors may not always decide their nationality, but each of us has our own way to interpret, negotiate and construct our own national identity. In this sense, identity is a matter of fluid processes, in which the content and claims are ever changing. From this perspective, national identity should be treated as a process of doing, being or becoming (Jenkins, 2008; McCrone and Bechhofer, 2015). National identity 'is a process - *identification* - not a "thing". It is not something that one can *have*, or not; it is something that one *does* (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). This study moves away from essentialist accounts of fixed 'identities' - identities that are given and unproblematic - and views national identity as a subjectively defined, constructed and felt claim in which the contents and the claim itself constantly change with the interpretation and meaning ascribed by social actors in their specific social, historical and cultural context.

It is worth noting that most people embrace multiple identities within which one identity may be placed above others (C. K. Chan, 2014). It is not uncommon to see that individuals manifest a strong emotional attachment to a particular group whilst committed to a larger collective. In this view, not only is social identity multiple and dynamic, it is often hierarchal when an identity is more attached and desirable for individuals than the others. C. K. Chan (2014, p. 28) suggests three different forms of

hierarchical multiple identity: 'mutually exclusive dual identities, subordinated nested identities (one identity is subsumed under another), and nested dual identities (partial overlap between different identities)'. While previous studies on the identity issue of Hong Kong people mostly asked people to indicate their identity (Lau and Kuan, 1988; Lau, 1997; Chung and Tai, 2004; HKUPOP, 2014; Ma and Fung, 2007), especially in quantitative surveys, this study attempts to explore the meaning of different descriptions of one's identification and the potential hierarchical relations between different identities. These themes will be discussed in Chapter 4.

At the same time, there is no understanding of 'self' without the presence of 'other'. Thinking of who we are / are not involves a relationship between we and they. As Jenkins (2008, p. 17) asserts, 'identifying our selves, or others, is a matter of meaning, and meaning always involves interaction: agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation'. In other words, interactions are inevitable in the process of national identification. National identity, as one of the social identities, is formulated through two processes, cognitive and motivational. The cognitive process 'includes the categorisation of individuals into groups, the categorisation of the self into a group or groups, attributions of meaning, and the characterisation of external groups. The second is motivational, that is, the desire to differentiate between one's own group and other groups. This results in a systematic preference for the norms, values, and behaviours of one's own group over those of external groups' (David and Bar-Tal, 2009, p. 355). In this sense, the formation of social identity affects how individuals, who ascribe to a particular group identity, feel, view and act in intergroup relations. In this study, how research participants view their own national identities, how they view

others, and how they think others view them will also be explored. From an analytical point of view, Eric Hobsbawm (1990, p. 10) contends that nations and nationalism are 'dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless analysed from below; that is, in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist'. While Hobsbawm's emphasis on 'constructed from above' is highly contested, I will carry out an empirical analysis 'from below' to investigate what 'ordinary people' think who they are in national terms, and how they make certain claims about themselves. In particular, my study is concerned with the research questions on what claims of national identity are being negotiated and constructed by social actors, how these claims evolve at times and how their social understanding of identity affects social interactions with other actors and the society. These themes of the fluid and dynamic nature of national identity will be explored and discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

National identity is one of the most basic social identities, but also a problematic one because nation is not state, national identifications can be multiple even if there is not a concrete state (Guibernau, 2004). In the case of Hong Kong, the Chinese identity has always been taken-for-granted as the national identity especially after the transfer of sovereignty. For example, Kaeding (2011, p. 259) contends that 'the national identity of Hong Kong as a part of PRC is unquestionable'. Mathews et. al. (2008, p. 153) state that 'all Hong Kong people of sound mind over the age of five are aware that Hong Kong now is part of China: they themselves indeed belong to a nation'. Hence, the book title *Hong Kong, China: Learning to Belong to a Nation* reflects the assumption that

Hong Kong people must learn to belong to a nation and develop a feeling of national identity to China. These assertions suggest that the political event of the transfer of sovereignty and the state-carved national identity based on ethnicity and cultural homogeneity are factual and unproblematic. A Hong Kong national identity is viewed as illegitimate (Ortmann, 2018) and politically incorrect. While I do not intend to dwell on the themes of the rise of Hong Kong independence or the Hong Kong nation in this thesis, I argue that Hong Kong identity should not be positioned as a local identity, vis-a-vis the Chinese national identity, as a common scholarly consensus. Here a distinction of national identity should be made between a 'nation', a 'state' and a 'nation without state'. By 'nation', I refer to 'a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself' (Guibernau, 2000, p. 990). By using Weber's definition of state, I define 'state' as 'a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' (Weber, 1919, cited in Gerth and Mills, 1946, p. 78). A 'nation without state' is defined as a 'nation which, in spite of having their territories included within the boundaries of one or more states maintain a separate sense of national identity generally based upon a common culture, history, attachment to a particular territory and the explicit wish to rule themselves (Guibernau, 2000, p. 990). Although Hong Kong is not a recognised nation, discussions of an embryo Hong Kong nationalism, self-determination, and Hong Kong independence began to emerge (So, 2016; Ma, 2018; Tommy Cheung, 2015; Cooper, 2018) ever since the publication of 'Hong Kong nationalism' by *Undergrad*, the official magazine of the Hong Kong University Students' Union in 2014. It is therefore my assertion that while the Chinese

national identity is clearly a state identity, Hong Kong identity as a separate distinctive identity, in which more and more studies indicate its incompatibility with the Chinese national identity (Veg, 2017; Ortmann, 2018; C. K. Chan, 2014), should be explored and understood from a national identity and possibly nation without state framework.

2.3. Ethnic and Civic National Identity

The dichotomous distinction between ethnic and civic nationalisms by Hans Kohn (1945) has been the conceptual cornerstone for subsequent studies on nation, nationalism and national identity (Kuzio, 2002; Shulman, 2002). An ethnic and cultural based nation refers to a community formed based on ethnic descent, cultural roots, ethnicity and common heritage. According to Kohn (1945), this ethnic model is found predominantly in Central and Eastern Europe and Asia. Civic nationalism, exemplified by Western Europe and the United States, refers to a nation being built upon members' wills to be part of the nation and their equal political rights, status and common values (Kohn, 1945). For the most part, ethnic national identity implies backwardness and exclusivity because the ethnic elements such as ancestry, race and ethnicity are mostly inherited and not possible for outsiders to acquire. It is also perceived as emotionally based, for ethnic nationalism places emphasis on emotional attachment to the nation. Hence, the level of inclusiveness of ethnic nationalism is low. Civic national identity, on the other hand, implies openness because the membership of the civic nation is out of voluntary and rational choice. In this regard, civic nationalism is often considered to be more inclusive, rational and liberal (Yack, 1996; Reeskens and Hooghe, 2010) .

This dichotomous ethnic-civic framework is criticised to be, first of all, too simplistic. The dualistic view which defines the ethnic national identity as 'illiberal and organic' and civic national identity as 'liberal and voluntary' only exists in theory, but not in reality. Empirically, Anthony Smith (1991) adopted the ethnic-civic dichotomy and found that the elements of the Western or civic model of nation consisted of a historical territory, a community of laws and institutions, a common civic culture and ideology. Smith's Eastern, or ethnic model, was based on a community of birth and native culture and depended on a vernacular language to sustain the idea of an ethnic nation. He also points out that ethnic and civic components normally coexist in most nations and states, 'every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms. Sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasised' (Anthony Smith, 1991, p. 13).

Secondly, the sharp liberal West / illiberal East divide does not allow us to explore each case in detail, for our prejudice is set on this binary definition. In contemporary studies of nationalism, the preference for a civic nation over an ethnic one is obvious especially among liberals. The binary nature of the terms associated with the two concepts implies normative values: rational - irrational; liberal - illiberal, inclusive - exclusive. The moralistic distinction is constantly exaggerated where important details can be missed out. Thus, when Keating (2001, p. 8) makes the case of a dualistic ethnic and civic nationalism, he does not place one more superior to the other. Instead, he clearly asks his readers to be careful with how a certain mode of nationalism was being used, 'these categories are normative and value-laden. This is not to say, as some critics assume, that civic nationalism is benign and tolerant and ethnic nationalism nasty. Civic nationalism

can be violent and, as noted below, civic values may be narrow and intolerantly applied. It is in their doctrine, the bases of their appeal and the strategy for nation-building that they differ'. In other words, ideological differences in its various forms are more significant than the binary conceptions of nationalism.

Lastly, Shulman (2002) points out that the ethnic-civic framework has collapsed too much in the ethnic category in which cultural and ethnic nationalisms are regarded as the same thing. Conceptually, the cultural and ethnic components of identity are analytically distinct bases and should be treated as so. In view of this, Shulman (2002) proposes a scheme of national identity by categorising the important factors into three main domains, including ethnic, civic and cultural, in the process of ingroup / outgroup differentiation in a nation. Ethnic components consist of shared ancestry and race. Civic components consist of attachment to a common territory, citizenship, the will to be a part of the nation, belief in the same political principles or ideology, respect for political institutions and enjoyment of shared political rights. Cultural components consist of language, religion and customs. The degree of inclusiveness also varies between these ethnic, cultural and civic elements. For example, ethnic descent can only be inherited so it is less inclusive to new members. Cultural elements such as language and customs and civic elements of national identity can be learnt and adopted, depending on individual choices if a new member is to be accepted into a community.

In the case of Hong Kong, the ethnic appeal of Chinese nationalism has been prevalent since the colonial era (Chan and Fung, 2018). Before the 1970s, the major component of the Hong Kong population was made up of refugees who had fled from the political

crises in mainland China. These refugees had different dialects, distinctive local cultures and a strong sense of 'Chineseness' (Lui and Wong, 1995). Social movements such as the Campaign to Make Chinese an Official Language (1968-71) and Defend Diaoyutai Movement (1970-71) evoked a strong sense of ethno-cultural based pan-Chinese sentiment (P. Wong, 2000; Vickers and Kan, 2003). In post-1997 Hong Kong, the rise of the Hong Kong identity entails a stronger sense of civic values which are exemplified with the demands for democratisation and liberties (Chan and Fung, 2018). At the same time, the ethnic appeal of Chinese nationalism has become more questionable when studies revealed that Hong Kong people demonstrated cultural resistance to mainland Chinese, who share the same ethnic-ties, due to the closer transborder interaction between Hong Kong and China (C. K. Chan, 2017). Two notable examples being the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014 demonstrated the tensions between Chinese nationalism and Hong Kong identity.

In a study on the identity formation in Taiwan and Hong Kong, Kaeding (2011, p. 269) concludes that 'Hong Kong identity has gradually emerged and this is based on an ethno-cultural and civic identity components, demonstrating a superiority over or difference from China which is perceived in terms of economic achievements, cultural sophistication and democratic values' after the transfer of sovereignty. However he did not provide details of what these components were. In view of this, my research will probe the themes of ethnic, cultural and civic markers of contemporary Hong Kong identity. These markers refer to the 'objective' criteria people use in defining their Hong Kong identity, setting out boundaries of inclusion and exclusion with regard to group membership; specifically, I will focus on the content of these markers and the views of

Scholarism and its affiliated participants, who were active in both movements on the ethnic based Chinese nationalism and civic nationalism. The relevant discussion on ethnic-civic national identities will be the theme of Chapter 5.

2.4. The Hong Kong Ethos

Over the years, Lau Siu-kai, part of the first generation of Hong Kong sociologists, has been conceptualising the imagined community of Hong Kong's national identity. His framework of the Hong Kong ethos describes the characteristics of Hong Kong people and is often adopted by the government to handle political and social issues in Hong Kong since the 1980s. The most salient feature derived from this framework is the politically apathetic nature of Hong Kong people. The political aspect of Hong Kong identity is boiled down to the theory of 'Utilitarianistic Familism' (henceforth, 'UF') - Hong Kong people are driven by pragmatic and materialistic concerns and therefore stability and prosperity is more desirable than anything else.

In a nutshell, Lau (1981, p. 978) defines UF as an ideal type concept of 'a normative and behavioural tendency of an individual to place his familial interests above the interests of society or any of its component individuals and groups, and to structure his relationships with other individuals and groups in such a fashion that the furtherance of his familial interests is the primary consideration. Moreover, among the familial interests materialistic interests take priority over all other interests'. In essence, society is not of an individual's concern unless utilitarian purposes for a familial group can be achieved through the exploitation of it. UF serves as an explanatory factor for the political aloofness of the Hong Kong Chinese. Lau's characterisation of the Hong Kong

Chinese had established a hegemonic description of the political culture and social ethos especially from the postwar years to the 1980s. Yet his characterisation of the Hong Kong ethos is not unchanging.

In the 1970s, the colonial administration became more responsive to public needs to resolve its legitimacy crisis, mostly based on an ad hoc approach. Increased popular participation in social mobilisation and public demands for governmental intervention seemed to challenge the basis of UF. Lau and Kuan (1988) then provided an interpretative framework from UF to 'Egoistic Individualism'. In his view, increased popular participation in public affairs did not mean an increase in civic consciousness. Instead, popular demands were made out of the individual's interests and pragmatism, in which Lau's theory always featured. Based on this assumption, Lau and Kuan (1988) dismissed the idea of a dominant Hong Kong identity as 'Hong Kong nationalism' or a political desire for independence even when over half (59.5 percent) of respondents identified with the local identity 'Hongkongese' while 36.2 percent identified as Chinese in a 1985 survey. He concluded that this strong sense of Hong Kong identity did not entail affective attachment to Hong Kong society. From the late 1980s, Lau and Kuan (1995) further described Hong Kong Chinese as 'the attentive spectators', whose public participation was at the cognitive, rather than the active level.

Transiting from colonial rule to the SAR governance, 'One Country, Two Systems' has been established. Colonial rule was put to an end by negotiations between the British and Chinese governments without any popular independence movement. Lau's (2001, p. 63) initial prediction of the post-colonial society as 'declining in public interest in

politics, increasing political apathy, growing public attention on socio-economic issues and diminishing political confrontation and division'. Yet the non-materialistic nature of the movement appears to prevail in the construction of emerging Hong Kong identity. According to Lau (2007), the first decade post-1997 was challenging with the rise of public grievances and mistrust in governance. Not only did he blame problems on the antagonistic attitudes of the pan-democrats, referred as the 'Anti-New Order Forces' of the traditional political parties, but he also attributed social grievances to the structural changes within the economic system which caused anxiety amongst the local populace and a widening gap between rich and poor in Hong Kong society. In other words, he is still convinced that the demands for change had more to do with economic reasons. He also suggested that the majority of Hong Kong people are craving authority and order so they would not mind the Chinese government's interference in local affairs if necessary. In sum, Lau's framing of the Hong Kong identity still revolves around pragmatism or utilitarianism based on economic rationality.

In general, Lau regarded the Hong Kong Chinese as instrumental in their political values based on his quantitative studies on Hong Kong identity between 1985 and 1995. He did not think that the then Hong Kong identity entailed any separatism or localism which facilitated nation-building in Hong Kong. On the contrary, the Hong Kong Chinese were still sympathetic with the slow progress that the Chinese government made in terms of human rights and political issues. Despite a seemingly strong sense of the Hong Kong identity, there was a lack of emotional intensity and political allegiance, according to Lau (1997). The implementation of 'one country, two systems', however, might strengthen the separate identity of the Hong Kong Chinese. At the same time, he

was optimistic about the emergence of a mixed identity in post-1997 Hong Kong, in which more Hongkongese would identify with China alongside its economic and other achievements.

Lau is not the only scholar who framed the Hong Kong identity with pragmatic and instrumental characteristics. Mathews et. al. (2008) argue that the post-1997 Hong Kong identity is driven by a market mentality in their book *Hong Kong, China: Learning to belong to a nation*. In their view, this market mentality fosters a form of national allegiance based on pragmatic cost-benefit calculations and self-interest. The people of Hong Kong do not base their belonging to a nation on 'the individual's sacrifice of self to country, but rather on the individual's investment of loyalty to country for one's own benefit' (Mathews et. al., 2008, p. 161). They also claim that 'money and family were all that could be relied upon' of Hong Kong people in the absence of a sense of nation (Mathews, et. al., 2008, p. 151). This view resonates with Lau's theory of UF. I argue that this notion of 'market-based' Hong Kong identity is flawed for several reasons. Firstly, they take for granted the legitimacy and 'naturalness' of Hong Kong people to embrace and learn to belong to the Chinese nation based on the shared Chinese ethnicity and the political reality. This is equivalent to seeing national identity as one's nationality without questioning why Hong Kong people need to accept such a conception of national identity. Secondly, their argument throughout the book suggests that there is only *one* legitimate national identity, which is state-given in the context of Hong Kong, without considering the possibility of alternative national *identities* within the same country or questioning the legitimacy of the state. Thirdly, their framing of the Hong Kong identity as utilitarian and family-focused simply does not take into account the

reasons the people of Hong Kong might have turned to depend on their families, self-reliance and pragmatism. It is fundamentally due to the fact that both the colonial and the SAR governments were not elected by, and hence not serving the interests, of the people of Hong Kong. In other words, the people of Hong Kong have never owned a functional state of their own to trust it enough to depend on it. Even after the transfer of sovereignty, the Chinese state is, and will never be, a state for the people of Hong Kong.

If Lau's theory of UF and Mathews et. al.'s market-based Hong Kong identity are the contemporary traits of Hong Kong identity, how do we explain the 'politically inactive' and self-interested Hong Kong generations involved in the highly political issues of, and social movements for, national identity and democracy? Are pragmatism and materialism still the salient features of the current Hong Kong identity? If not, what are these features of the contemporary Hong Kong identity? How do people in Hong Kong perceive the Hong Kong identity? These questions prompt me in this thesis to re-examine the evolving Hong Kong ethos and to capture the features of the Hong Kong identity. Specifically, discussions of the utilitarianistic purpose behind accepting the Chinese identity and the 'Lion Rock Spirit' emerged from the empirical data are included in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively in response to the framing of Hong Kong identity as a pragmatic and market-oriented identity.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature on theories of national identity as pertinent to Hong Kong, drawing out three themes: emotion and national identity, cognitive components of national identity, and national identity as a social identity. Regarding

emotion and national identity, I have shown that national identity is filled with feelings and affects. This felt closeness or sense of belonging to the national group is real to individuals who believe in it. When individuals feel strongly attached to their nation, they are willing to even sacrifice their lives for their nations. In view of this, national identity has a significant emotional dimension which can drive individuals to action, such as anger; and inaction, such as fear. I argued that emotionality and rationality should not be treated as oppositional but complimentary concepts with regard to understanding national identity. Given the significance of the emotional appeal of national identity, understanding what emotions are associated with national identity and their impact on social actors help us get a better picture of the relation between social actors and their nation. This theme of emotion and national identity will be explored in Chapter 6 through the emergence and impact of various emotions on movement participants amidst two social movements in Hong Kong: the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement.

Regarding cognitive components of national identity, I have shown that a nation is also an imagined community based on objective attributes which individuals believe they share with their national fellows. These attributes, which I call 'markers', are the criteria defining who is / is not one of us through individuals' imaginings, and hence affect their interactions with other people. These imaginings, which are not illusions, are based on the subjective experiences of everyday life. In this sense, I will study the subjective interpretations of these markers. Informed by theories of ethnic and civic identity, I will focus on the content of ethnic, cultural and civic markers of the contemporary Hong

Kong identity, and respondents' views on ethnic based Chinese nationalism and civic nationalism. These themes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Regarding national identity as a social identity, I have shown that identity is a process - identification - not a static thing. It is not an essentialist account of nationality or citizenship, which have fixed and state-given status. Instead, national identity is constantly interpreted, constructed and negotiated by social actors. In this sense, national identification is fluid and ever changing. In order to capture this fluidity of national identity, I will explore the development of national identity claims through individuals' narratives and a series of critical events in Chapter 4.

In this chapter I have also reviewed the theories of the Hong Kong ethos, drawing out the theme of a utilitarianistic, pragmatic and market-oriented Hong Kong identity. Regarding this theme, I have reviewed the framework of Utilitarianistic Familism and the market mentality of the Hong Kong identity which depict a politically apathetic Hong Kong ethos centralising their interests in materialistic, pragmatic and familial concerns. I argued that this conceptualisation of Hong Kong identity is no longer applicable to explain the highly politicised society, exemplified by the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement. In Chapters 4 and 5 I will critically examine this framing of the Hong Kong identity as an instrumental and market-driven identity through respondents' motivation for participating in the movements, and their view on this framing.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of this thesis and discusses the relevant research issues including: data collection, data analysis, ethics and researcher's reflection. I begin with justifying the use of qualitative over quantitative methodology. I then move on to discuss the rationales of adopting both individual and focus group interviewing in data collection. Next, I explicate the use of thematic analysis. After that, I reflect on the issues related to translation. Finally, I include a personal reflection on my roles as insider and outsider in the research process, highlighting the tensions and dilemmas that arose during the four-month fieldwork in Hong Kong in the section on ethical issues.

3.2. Qualitative Study

In Hong Kong, studies of national identity of the Hong Kong people are commonly conducted in quantitative surveys (Lau and Kuan, 1988; Lau, 1997; Chung and Tai, 2012; HKUPOP, 2014; Ma and Fung, 2007). Nevertheless, the complexity of identity was not appropriately addressed. For example, in a survey conducted by Lau and Kuan (1988) in 1985, participants were asked to choose between the 'Hongkongese' and 'Chinese' identities. The use of the 'Hongkongese versus Chinese' dichotomy was prevalent in the study of ethnic identity in Hong Kong before 1997, but it oversimplified the matter of identity which might not reflect the 'reality'. Tsang (2004) and Chung and Tai (2012) pointed out that the concepts of 'Hongkongese' and 'Chinese' often overlap. A dual sense of identity - feeling both Hongkongese and Chinese were

more likely to be the case for the people then living in Hong Kong. The oversimplification of the Hong Kong identity caused us to overlook the possibility of a mixed identity and the related reasoning, emotions and opinions, which might eventually lead to misrepresentation of the population. Even though the dichotomous use of the two identities was improved by including more specific identity labels in the subsequent studies, such as 'Hongkonger in China', and 'Chinese in Hong Kong' (Chung and Tai, 2012), quantitative surveys still fail to capture how respondents understood and interpreted these identity labels.

Another limitation of quantitative surveys is its inability to gather in-depth answers from respondents (Braun and Clarke, 2013). When it comes to national identification, an identity label does not allow room for respondents to explain and elaborate on their justification for certain responses. For instance, someone who identifies themselves as a 'Hongkonger' does not necessarily imply a rejection of a 'Chinese' identity. After all, loyalty to the local identity does not negate an affiliation to the national identity. The closed questions in survey designs are unable to capture the details which reflect the reasoning of respondents behind their choices. Moreover, identity is highly contextualised and situational. Survey questions are often designed without attaching to any real-life situations which may end up generating general and abstract responses out of context (Lam, 2004).

Due to these shortcomings of quantitative methods in studying national identity, I used qualitative methods to help me better understand the complexities of national identification from the perspectives of the research participants. In real-life, experiences

and meanings for people can be complex and full of tensions. Qualitative research allows me to engage with and articulate such messiness of social reality (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Informed by an interpretivist approach, this thesis is particularly interested in self-claimed national identities, the meanings attached to these identity claims, justifications made for these claims, the interplay of different identity claims, and how these identities evolve over time. As Blaikie (2000, p. 115) puts it: 'Interpretivists are concerned with understanding the social world people have produced and which they reproduce through their continuing activities. This everyday reality consists of the meanings and interpretations given by social actors to their actions, social situations, and natural and humanly created objects. In short, in order to negotiate their way around their world and make sense of it, social actors have to interpret their activities together, and it is these meanings, embedded in language, that constitute their social reality'. Based on this interpretivist view, social actors are not perceived in this research as passive recipients of an independently existing reality, but are active and reflexive players, interpreting the social world and acting upon these interpretations. Having said that, they are not assumed to be free, without any structural constraints to be able to choose whoever they want to be (Bechhofer and McCrone, 2010). Their ability to choose who they are, is highly contextualised.

3.3. Data Collection

My study adopts various research strategies to investigate the changing national identity construction in Hong Kong. I first conducted a document analysis to understand how Scholarism and the two social movements were framed by the media. Major content from the Hong Kong media – including newspapers and magazines – were searched via

WISENEWS between 1st January, 2011 and 31st December, 2014. Keyword '學民思潮' (Scholarism) in Chinese was used to identify articles, which were then categorised into sub-themes. A total number of 3,711 out of 12,633 articles were found. All articles were written in Chinese. A list of codes to validate the initial framework of my study was developed: Scholarism and the formation of Hong Kong identity, individual understanding of identities, Hong Kong core values, and discourse on nationalism. This framework became the structure of my initial interview guide.

Next, I carried out 30 semi-structured individual, and four focus group interviews in order to explore the content of certain national identifications and why they are chosen. In particular, individual interviews provide the best opportunity to explore sensitive issues in detail. Individual interviews work well with participants who are more comfortable with expressing their thoughts on a one-to-one basis than in a group setting. Semi-structured interviews also allow the possibility for follow-up questions so that the respondent's own framework of meanings are clarified and elaborated (Rogers and Way, 2015). The use of open-ended, clear, and sensible questions helps generate narratives from respondents (Britten, 2006; Patton, 1987). Apart from individual interviews, focus groups can be insightful because group interactions simulate real-life scenarios which are linked to the everyday life of respondents. Generally, respondents are required to make explicit statements and justify their views (J. Kitzinger, 2006). Therefore, focus groups can generate rich and stimulating data too.

3.3.1. Research Participants

I undertook snowball sampling to identify research participants, who are Hong Kong residents aged 18 or above, from the post-1970, post-1980, and post-1990 generations, who participated in either the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement and/or the 2014 Umbrella Movement, and/or were associated with the movement organisation known as 'Scholarism'. Snowball sampling employed my personal networks and friendships. From there, I was introduced to some of the core members and organisers of Scholarism, some key opinion leaders on social media and other movement participants from the post-1970, post-1980 and post-1990.

There are roughly three levels of participation in the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement among my respondents. The first level of participation took the form of everyday activities which can be seen more broadly as part of social movements, such as sharing information regarding the updates of the social movements on social media, signing petitions and making financial contributions to the social-movement organisations. Movement participants at this level of participation sympathised and shared the goals with the movements, but might be limited to what forms of participation they could engage in due to various reasons, such as time, risk and cost. The second level of participation consists of respondent who did not affiliate with specific groups but participated in contentious political activities during the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement, including occupying the Occupy sites, rallies and demonstrations. This group of movement participants displayed greater commitment and spent more time and effort in participating in the protest activities than the first group, but did not join any political groups. The third level of participation took

the form of membership in Scholarism. Movement participants at this level were full-time organisers and volunteers of Scholarism. They organised the Anti-MNE Movement and were committed to participating in the Umbrella Movement.

In this study, 'post-1970' is defined as people who were born between 1970 and 1979, the 'post-1980' generation, as those born between 1980 and 1989, the 'post-1990' as those born between 1990 and 1997. Inspired by the Hong Kong sociologist Professor Lui Tai-lok's (2007) book on the descriptive characteristics of Hong Kong four generations, these three age groups were selected to compare and contrast their experiences and opinions regarding identity construction, which were assumed to have been affected by their 'lived' historical, political, social and cultural context in relation to the key events of Hong Kong identify formation outlined above.

Lui (2007) outlines four generations in Hong Kong society, including the 1st Generation (before mid-1940s), baby-boomers / the 2nd Generation (1946-1965), the 3rd Generation (1966-1975), and the 4th Generation (1976-1990) and analysed their generation characteristics situated in particular socioeconomic contexts. His concept of the four generations is often misused as a source of explanation for the emergence of 'post-1980' social activism since mid-2000s (Chiu and Chan, 2010). Some simplify growing social conflict as a 'generation dispute' (世代之爭), a popular conception of generations. However, Mannheim (1970) defines generation units not merely in terms of the biological factor, but the extra-biological factors including the prevailing tempo and the impact of social change.

In fact, biological factors are only concerned with the natural development of a person, such as life, death or physical changes in accordance with ageing; but they do not explain the shaping of social interrelationships in history (Mannheim, 1970). What matters most are the set of shared experiences, be they personal or transmitted experiences. 'Generation location' does not only refer to different age groups, but also to 'the way in which certain patterns of experience and thought tend to be brought into existence by the natural data of the transition from one generation to another' (Mannheim, 1970, p. 382). In this study, although the definitions of when each generation begins and ends is different from Lui's (2007), these definitions are merely for operational purposes.

As I stated in the introductory chapter, though this thesis teases out some significant generational distinctions, the focus, on the emergence and features of Hong Kong identity, means that the thesis is not a study of generations as such. In his recently published book *Generation Left*, Keir Milburn (2019) grounds his argument with Mannheim's concept of generational division. The Millennials - defined as those born between 1981 and 2000 - are a generation hit by declining wages and huge increase in house prices, whereas the Baby Boomer generation - defined as those born between 1946 and 1965 - is more secured in pay, conditions and home ownership. He argues that recent generational political divides are, broadly, caused by widening economic inequality. He observes that young people across the globe, facing a future of financial insecurity, tend to identify with left-wing political positions, which differ from the ageing right-leaning voters, who have benefitted from property ownership and financial returns on pension investments. While I agree with Milburn's observation of the

generational political divide, I do not use Milburn's focus on inequality because this thesis is primarily focusing on national identity.

3.3.2. Semi-structured Individual Interviews

Face-to-face in-depth interviews, lasting from 1.5 to 2 hours were conducted at a mutually agreed venue where both interviewees and the interviewer felt comfortable. All interviews were conducted between February and May 2016. The timing of the fieldwork is worth noting as interviewees mentioned certain significant events which might lead to varying views. I will address related matters together with my reflections in the subsections of 3.5. As mentioned above, the core structure of the interview guide included: Scholarism and the formation of Hong Kong identity, individual understanding of identities, Hong Kong core values, and discourse on nationalism. The interview guide can be found in Appendix A. In total, 30 interviews were completed. Participants were encouraged to speak freely, in which natural and spontaneous discussions of related topics were possible. All interviews were audio-recorded in Cantonese. The recordings were transcribed verbatim. Only relevant excerpts from the transcripts used in the data analysis were translated into English. Relevant issues regarding translation will be discussed in section 3.4.4.

Among the 30 interviewees, 11 (36.7 percent) were females and 19 (63.3 percent) were males. 9 (30 percent) were from the post-1970 group, 11 (36.7 percent) from the post-1980 group, and 10 (33.3 percent) from the post-1990 group. Most interviewees were well-educated. 63.3 percent of interviewees had attained Bachelor degrees or

above degrees, whereas 33.3 percent completed their education at secondary school. 9 out of 10 interviewees from the post-1990 group were undergraduate students.

3.3.3. Focus Groups

I also conducted a series of semi-structured focus groups, adopting purposive sampling for recruitment to maximise the range of participant characteristics within the scope of this research. Participants were invited to attend the group session to discuss themes surrounding experiences of the two social movements, national identity, and discourses of nationalism. The focus groups took place at a local university and each group discussion lasted for around 2 hours. In total, four focus group discussions were conducted with 24 participants, featuring one post-1980 group, one post-1990 group and two mixed groups, with 5-7 participants in each group. All group discussions were audio-recorded in Cantonese. Table 3.1 shows the demographic profile of participants in each focus group.

Table 3.1. Demographic profile of participants in each focus group

	Focus group 1 (Post-1980)	**Focus group 2 (Post-1990)**	**Focus group 3 (Mixed)**	**Focus group 4 (Mixed)**
Male	3	4	1 (post-1970) 4 (post-1980)	1 (post-1970) 1 (post-1980) 2 (post-1990)
Female	4	2	0	1 (post-1980) 1 (post-1990)
Total	7	6	5	6

Although most interviews went well, I encountered a few problems. For example, 'no show' of a participant occurred in my first focus group. It didn't affect the dynamics of

the group discussion, but I was prepared to recruit more participants than the expected number in the subsequent groups to avoid having too few participants, just in case some decided to withdraw. Research invitations were well received by the post-1980 and post-1990 groups, yet it was initially quite difficult to reach the post-1970 group. The post-1970 group were either too busy or too sceptical about the study. It took more time to engage with and convince them to participate in the study. Eventually, I could not recruit enough participants from the post-1970 to constitute a dedicated focus group, so I placed post-1970 participants in a mixed group with post-1980.

3.4. Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis

I carried out a thematic analysis, which is defined as an analytic tool to identify, analyse and report patterns or 'themes' within data for descriptive purpose (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et. al., 2013), on the sets of interview materials to identify salient implicit and explicit themes from the data, and to both capture the preconceived theoretical frameworks and emerging new ideas from the raw data (Joffe, 2012). In particular, I strive to understand the attached meanings and emotions of the interviewees to the two significant social unrests, in relation to the process of identity construction. The concern is not with the accuracy of the contents of the events and their experiences, but rather how these thoughts and emotions might have affected their national identification for themselves, for others and for the society. Thematic analysis serves as a tool to approach and analyse subjective interpretations of national identity of social actors in a more systematic way.

During the interviews, I took note of key phrases, words and repeated expressions. Immediately after each interview I wrote down my initial ideas and comments on themes and reflections, focusing on how each interviewee narrated their own account and evolution of national identification. I intentionally finished transcribing the first three recordings in-between the interviews to discover interesting yet omitted features for future reference. It also helped me sharpen my focus in the later interviews. In the following sections, I will explicate how I carried out thematic analysis in a step-by-step manner.

3.4.1. Familiarise with Data

To begin with, I immersed myself in the data by reading through all the interview transcripts. This process required me to intimately engage with the data by actively looking for patterns, asking questions, and making notes for follow-up analysis. I found it particularly useful to re-listen to some of the audio recordings where participants expressed strong views on certain themes, such as their emotional evolution and national identity changes.

Several questions guided my data familiarisation process. They included: the assumptions participants make in regard to the self-claimed identities, the implications of their accounts for themselves, and the different emotional responses to the research topic, and so on. Also, I highlighted keywords, explicit narratives on particular concepts and observed quirks from each participant on their individual and focus group transcripts whilst keeping a full set of original transcripts as backup. The notes taken during the interviews enabled me to build up a vivid first impression of each

interviewee and each group dynamic. They later on assisted me in recollecting the key storylines from their experiences. At this stage, I did not attempt to seek the reason or implication of why those words, phrases or narratives drew my attention, but merely observed the features. Additional notes were mostly kept in the transcript margins so that I could revisit these early analytic ideas later on.

3.4.2. Generate Codes

At this stage, I began coding the transcripts by using the qualitative computer programme *NVivo* which was helpful for documentation and organisation. I used *NVivo* to assist my coding for three reasons. Firstly, the software helps dealing with a large quantity of textual materials at once. Data retrieval and storage are more efficient and secure comparing to manual coding. Secondly, it allows simple quantitative analyses such as analysing the occurrences of certain keywords in a single interview and in the corpus of data. Thirdly, it helps initiating links between codes and looking for patterns of codes for explaining causal relationships. Generating codes is a process of categorising data in a systematic way. Basically it involves labelling chunks of data and separating them into different categories for constructing themes. A good code should represent the features of the data excerpts fairly well so that researchers do not have to refer back to the data all the time. Codes can indicate the semantic meanings or the latent ideas, depending on what a code is there to highlight or capture. In this research coding is not a linear, but an iterative process, meaning that I often revised and refined the codes throughout the analysis and right through to the stages of writing up the thesis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Chong, 2013).

Although I adopted an inductive approach in thematic analysis, that is 'a process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 83), it does not imply that I was without any conceptual framework in the process of data analysis. These conceptual keywords were relevant in the coding stage, such as national identity, nationalism, Hong Kong identity, feelings / emotions, core values, Scholarism, the Anti-Moral and National Education Movement, the Umbrella Movement / Revolution etc. Below I will exemplify how I generated different types of codes, including some semantic codes, latent codes and codes for patterns with my data. Table 3.2 shows some coded data extracts using some semantic codes. The code 'self-identification - Hongkonger in China' is what the respondent Bobby explicitly identified himself as his national identity. He also gave reasons, that is, nationality or citizenship for making such identity claim. This identity claim according to him is fluid and ever-changing.

Table 3.2. Example of semantic codes

Raw data	Codes
Researcher: When we talk about national identity, how do you identify yourself? And based on what reasons?	
Bobby: Hongkonger in China. No other option. (HK)SAR government so (I am) Hongkonger in China. This is the most neutral (identity).	Self-identification - Hongkonger in China
Researcher: What is this identity based on?	
Bobby: My passport. This is an ordinary reason but I can't guarantee in 10 years time. Perhaps if you ask me 10 years later, I will see myself as Hongkonger. That will change. Hong Kong will change.	Justification for self-identification: Nationality, Citizenship Identity is fluid and ever-changing

Table 3.3 illustrates some latent codes reflecting the embedded conceptual understanding of nationalism of respondent Billy. When Billy talked about his sentiments and responses towards the Chinese nation, he adopted the family metaphor - the notion that the nation is viewed as a kind of 'super-family', in which members of the ethnic nations form the community by their births or genealogical relations. Although he did not explicitly talk about the concept of ethnic nationalism, this embedded idea of 'ethnic nation as family' underpinning his explicit narrative was part of the concept.

Table 3.3. Example of latent codes

Raw data	Codes
Billy: For example, no matter how bad your parents are, they are still your parents. There is a blood relation which you have affections for them. If a parent ill-treats you and one day he/she suddenly apologises to you, there will be a higher chance for you to accept him/her than others. This is a natural and unique affection in human beings. When I think that I am born in this nation, I won't love the nation if it is bad. But if the nation changes, I will be willing to return. I may try my very best, even shedding my blood and losing my life to build up this nation. This is a unique affection of a person towards a a nation, a family or some relatives.	The nation as family / family metaphor invoked by ethnic nationalist internalised Ethnic nationalism Patriotism is a natural affection

Table 3.4 demonstrates how codings for similarity and difference work in my process of data analysis. Respondents Daniel and Becky were both participants of the Anti-MNE Movement. They both attended one or more protest activities to support the campaign. However, they expressed varying degrees of approval for national education. While Daniel was strongly against the whole idea, Becky indicated that she would accept on

one condition. Although their views were both coded as 'opinion towards national education', the commonality consists of differences which should not be overlooked.

Table 3.4. Example of coding for patterns

Raw data	Codes
Daniel: I was at the frontline of that procession. Although it was nothing special, I only remember that I was quite enthusiastic. I also went to the subsequent assembly and protest activities.	Form of participation
Daniel: It's simple. Not everyone of us likes China and agrees with your (Chinese) rule. Why do you still import it by force?	Opinion towards national education: Strongly against
Becky: I went to the assembly.	Form of participation
Becky: If the national education will one day talk about the core values of Hong Kong, that is every primary school student has to study Hong Kong core values such as integrity, justice, I think I will be in favour of it.	Opinion towards national education: partly endorses

3.4.3. Develop and Refine Themes

After familiarisation and coding, I moved on to construct emerging themes by combining and clustering codes together. Some themes are coded based on their prevalence within the data set, that is the frequencies they were mentioned and discussed, either by multiple respondents or multiple times by particular respondents. Some themes are coded based on their critical links with the research questions even though they were not widely discussed by respondents (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Researchers tend to look for similarity between data while coding, but Hatch (2002) reminds us that similarity is only one characteristic of a pattern. Besides that, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence, and causation are varying forms of a pattern.

Some key conceptual criteria guided my process of developing themes, including 'Hong Kong identity', 'Chinese identity', 'Future aspirations for Hong Kong society', 'political culture and identity change' and 'Ethnic and civic nationalisms in Hong Kong'. At this stage, I found revisiting the research questions beneficial in fine tuning because they fine-tuned my focus with the daunting amount of data. They guided me to decide what was relevant and enabled me to tell a coherent story. For example, one of my research questions was to explore the content and reasonings of certain national identifications; a large number of interview extracts across the different interviews addressed this question, but the coded data formed a more interesting discussion under one theme 'markers of Hong Kong and Chinese identities' than having two separate themes. Therefore, I merged the original two themes 'Hong Kong identity' and 'Chinese identity' into one by comparing and contrasting similarities and differences. This theme included sub-themes such as 'ethnicity', 'culture', 'values', 'sentiments', and 'consciousness' etc.

Another prominent theme derived from the dataset was 'emotion'. As I reviewed my initial themes, and compiled literature on emotions and national identity, I became more aware of the various emotions expressed by the respondents in the interview materials. These emotions were later on coded into themes including fear, anger, guilt and shame, hope, love and passion. It is common to 'discover' new themes 'emerging' from the data when conducting thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that this account of 'emerging' themes may imply a relatively passive role of researchers, that is to wait for the themes or patterns to reveal

themselves, in which we may overlook the fact that researchers actively make every single decision in identifying themes, selecting what is relevant to research interest, whether or not reporting them and how (Taylor and Ussher, 2001).

I am aware that I did not adopt a separate analytic method for analysing the focus group data, especially regarding the interaction among group participants and between the participants and moderator, which is a characteristic difference between focus group interviews and individual interviews (Onwuegbuzie et. al., 2009). It would be potentially interesting to pursue this aspect of the interviews. However the primary concern of this study is with *what* insight individuals provide on national identity rather than *how* they do so. As mentioned above, focus groups simulate an everyday-life context wherein respondents are prompted to converse among themselves, whether in agreement, in debates, or even confrontations (Barbour, 2014). This relational aspect of collective identity in a real-life setting, which allows people to bring in their various experiences and make collective sense of them (Morgan and Spanish, 1984), complements the individual interviews which are usually conducted in an more monological manner. In sum, the content of opinions which participants chose to express in the focus group interviews were rich enough to address the research questions posed in this study. Therefore, analysis of other levels of interaction was not pursued.

3.4.4. Issues regarding Translation

This section is concerned with issues and dilemmas related to translation of the interviews. In this study all interviews were conducted in Cantonese so that my

respondents could express their views freely in their mother tongue. I first carried out verbatim transcription of these audiotaped interviews. I then translated the relevant quotations from Cantonese into English during the analysis. I reflected on two issues with regard to the translation process.

The first issue related to the complexity of translating data. The problem of finding appropriate English words to translate the Cantonese words often emerged due to the inherent differences between the two languages. I have adopted a word-to-word or literal translation in order to show what the participants have actually said, their emotions and their thinking process. It was intended to let the readers read for themselves and make them understand the foreign mentality better (Filep, 2009). However, my literal translation puts at risk the readability of the quotations due to the difficulties related to including the words for which there is either no true equivalent within English or a single word can carry multiple meanings, the influence of the grammatical style, and specific terms are politically loaded and cultural specific (Twinn, 1997; Filep, 2009). For example, the literal translation for 港豬 is 'Kong pig', which is a colloquial term describing a particular group of people in Hong Kong who are politically apathetic and are voluntarily or genuinely ignorant to the ongoing affairs in society. No equivalent word exists in English. In addition, the grammatical structures of Cantonese and English are too different (Twinn, 1997). For example, tenses and pronouns are not used in Cantonese which can be confusing in the process of translation. Moreover, Suh et. al. (2009) point out that each language has its own culture-specific context. When translating political phrases or idioms, further

explanations are required for readers who are not familiar with the context which can become quite challenging (Filep, 2009).

In order to tackle these issues, I developed an approach which allows me to maintain the high quality and the readability of the translated materials. First of all, I included the original word/phrase in Cantonese to inform the readers who read Cantonese/Chinese. For example, I included the word 融入, which means either integration or assimilation in the text for reader's reference since the respondent did not specify the exact meaning. Secondly, I produced contextual explanations for readers who are not familiar with the term. For example, in one of the quotations, I explained what *Cha Chaan Teng* refers to in square brackets as follows: *[茶餐廳 Hong Kong-style diners]*. Finally, I inserted my interpretation in parentheses when respondents left a message unsaid or unfinished. For example, the phrase "Hong Kong's" was added to provide contextual background in the extracted quotation: 'When the promise of (Hong Kong's) way of life remained unchanged for 50 years was broken, there was resistance. … Everyone starts to think whether I can build a nation called Hong Kong'.

The second issue related to the overlapping role of researcher and translator. I conducted the translation myself because I am fluent in both Cantonese and English, although I do not have a background in linguistics or translation studies. In the process of translation, I became aware that translation is neither mechanical nor neutral, but a kind of interpretation; as Filep (2009, p. 69) asserts, 'it is the interpretation of cultural meaning and/or of the cultural or national concepts a specific language carries'. In this sense, the translator has the power to choose how to represent the opinions of the

researched (Temple and Young, 2004; Wong and Poon, 2010), which implies that he/she plays a vital role in interpreting the participants' narratives and subsequently affecting how readers understand participants' views (Wong and Poon, 2010). From this perspective, I am aware that I form part of the process of knowledge production. This sense of responsibility reminded me to prepare my translation with extra care and to be highly sensitive as to how my respondents are represented through my translation. Temple and Young (2004, p. 175) conclude that 'translation itself has the power to reinforce or to subvert long-standing cross-cultural relationships, but that power rests in how translation is executed and integrated into research design, not in the fact of translation per se'. The issue of the dual researcher/translator role is similar to the discussion of insider/outsider positions, which I will address in detail in the next section.

3.5. Ethical Issues

Ethical issues of the research process were carefully considered in advance, subject to ethical review at the University of Manchester, and handled diligently throughout. All research participants were given an information sheet explaining the nature of the study and the interview process at least 24 hours in advance of the interviews. Their right to withdraw from the research at any point of the process was clearly explained. All consents were obtained in signed documents. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant to conceal their identities. All interviews were recorded and stored in multiple encrypted devices according to ethical requirements. The recordings were then transcribed verbatim in separate Word documents and anonymised using pseudonyms for privacy protection. Participants' anonymity was an especially important aspect of

the research ethics of this thesis, because not only were they reporting on political activities, but they were also expressing political opinions and comments on highly sensitive issues in a politically polarised and conflictual society. Given that some of my participants reported cases of broken family relationships, the recent events such as the abductions of the booksellers in Hong Kong and the tightening of freedom of speech meant personal safety was a major concern, identity-concealment of research participants was a priority throughout the research process.

3.5.1. Reflexivity

After conducting three pilot interviews, I was quite surprised to learn that participants were eager to talk about their experiences, even in a group. After finishing one of the focus group interviews, an interviewee expressed her gratitude to me for organising the group discussion so she could reflect on her thoughts and share with people who had had similar encounters. In the midst of the depressing political atmosphere, the focus group helped her speak her mind and express her emotions. It reminded me to consider the emotional needs of the interviewees and led to a new kind of relationship between the participants and me. I had previously regarded interviews as information sharing sessions to provide me with data for my research, yet I slowly realised that disclosure by participants showed their trust in me, which is substantial for initiating a positive researcher-participant relationship.

While refining my interview guide by reviewing the interview transcripts, I also gained a stronger understanding of the interactive process of interviewing, which implies my framing of questions was affected by the responses of the interviewees and vice versa.

This interaction reveals our hermeneutic frame of reference in order to achieve a dialogical understanding. As a researcher, I inevitably brought my pre-understanding of the issues to be discussed with participants. At the same time, the responses of participants helped me clarify whether my frame of reference was appropriate. Through this interaction, my understanding of the issues was fluid and changing continuously. In this case, I was reminded of being open and sensitive to different responses from the 'text', that is the interviewees, and attend to these responses appropriately to achieve a meaningful dialogue.

3.5.2. Doing *Fieldwork as an 'Insider'*

In this section, I will discuss my reflections and the dilemmas I faced as both a researcher and as an 'insider', in the context of a fast changing political atmosphere in Hong Kong. The fieldwork in Hong Kong was planned with an 'insider researcher' approach. Merton (1972, p. 21) defines insiders as 'members of specified groups and collectivities, or occupants of specified social statuses. Outsiders are the nonmembers'. I considered myself an 'insider' researcher for the following reasons: firstly, I was born and raised in Hong Kong and most of my closest family and friends are living there; secondly, I view Hong Kong as my hometown where a strong sense of belonging is built upon the shared culture, language, collective memories and values with my research participants; thirdly, my research interest in the search for a national identity for the people in Hong Kong was initiated by my own identity search and struggle. I have lived in both colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong and experienced the daily challenges of understanding 'who I am' and 'where I belong'. That has drawn me to seek conceptual tools to comprehend the current identity formation and struggle of 'my

own kind', including myself. In other words, I am 'both the subject of my study and the participant object being studied' (Kanuha, 2000, p. 441). Lastly, I helped organise a forum and a protest activity in the UK, in sympathy with the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong. Despite my absence from Hong Kong during that period of time, I considered myself one of the movement participants who shared an emotional and ideological affiliation with those identity groups.

Bonner and Tolhurst (2002) listed three main advantages of being an insider researcher, including a better understanding of the group's culture, the skills to interact and communicate with the group and its members appropriately, and pre-established relations with the group. I found out that being an insider enabled me to be more familiar with the 'field' in the process of research design, arranging interviews, and building rapport with research participants (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015). In general, my insider role has given me a 'privileged' research position in the recruitment process, since I speak Cantonese and know 'how it works' to reach out to the research targets (Perry et. al., 2004; Kim, 2012). However, being an 'insider' can be problematic too. For example, the greater familiarity of the field may lead to biased judgement and a loss of objectivity (Unluer, 2012). Research participants may wrongly assume that insider researchers have an intimate knowledge of them and their experiences and hence give vague responses and unfinished sentences (Kanuha, 2000). In addition, Rubin (2012) reflects that the multiple identities of the insider researcher are not always met with trust and support. As I discussed below, my insider's role was constantly tested by the research participants so they would feel safe enough to share their thoughts and feelings

with me. Trying to obtain a balance between the insider and researcher roles was also one of the challenges throughout the research process.

3.5.3. Complexities and Dynamics of Insider/Outsider and Researcher Identities

My fieldwork was conducted in Hong Kong between February and May in 2016. On the 8th of February, which was the first day of the Lunar New Year Festival, there was a serious disturbance in Mong Kok, one of the busiest districts in Hong Kong, between protesters and the police. The disturbance was initiated by a localist group, protesting against the crackdown on unlicensed food stalls on the streets. This cultural practice of food stalls has long existed since the colonial era and the government used to turn a blind eye during the festival. The protest soon escalated to violent confrontations, in which bricks were used as weapons against the police force, and two gunshots were fired by the police as a warning. Many were injured, including reporters, police and protesters. The conflict was soon defined as a 'riot' by the SAR government. This disturbance distressed many, including my research participants, because the Lunar New Year was generally perceived to be a festival of peace, rest and harmony, and Hong Kong society was accustomed to non-violent protests, since the last violent protest in Hong Kong happened in the mid-1960s.

The disturbance also affected my interaction with the research participants. Specifically, my personal views on this disturbance and my political stance were asked during the recruitment process. I was hesitant about speaking my mind bluntly and kept pondering on the following concerns: Will my political opinions hinder potential participants from participating in my research? Will my research participants simply adopt my views

because of my 'professional' identity? Will they be offended if I share a different perspective?

When I realised that their questions were an attempt to differentiate whether I was an 'insider', I was unsure what to do because I was worried about failing to meet their expectations. As J. Mercer (2006, p. 7) points out, 'people's willingness to talk to you, and what people say to you is influenced by who they think you are'. More importantly, it was not up to me but to them to decide whether I was an insider. Even though I considered myself as one of them, it appeared that my research participants wanted to test whether I was an 'authentic' Hongkonger. One particular participant asked about my political views before we started our interview. Although she had already agreed to participate in the study, I was worried whether I should give her my honest response because it was the first time we met and a trusting relationship had not been established. In addition, she could still withdraw from the study anytime. Eventually, I decided to share my views because I believed that a genuine exchange of ideas would establish a rapport with her, although our opinions might differ. As the interview continued, she used my shared experience to exemplify her changing identities. Throughout the interview, she did not attempt to hide anything or avoid questions but expressed her views quite freely and openly. I believed that her openness was partly encouraged by my self-disclosure.

3.5.4. Co-existence of Insider/Outsider Positions

The fieldwork experience reveals to me that I was both an insider and outsider. When my research started in September 2014, the Umbrella Movement also initiated its 79-

day Occupy protest to fight for democracy. When I first found out about the news in the UK, my immediate response was to confirm the news with my family and friends via social media because it was too shocking and sudden. I remember waiting intently next to my laptop and phone for their replies. Apart from communication with the 'real' insiders, I also followed updates from the media very closely. Despite my earnest concern for the movement, my physical absence inevitably excluded me from sharing first-hand experiences and emotions with other Hong Kong people and understanding how they actually felt. It was the very first time I felt like an 'outsider', not being there. I then realised that the insider and outsider positions can co-exist (Gibson, 2006; Mullings, 1999; O'Connor, 2004; Rubin, 2012).

For this reason, I began to immerse myself in the news of Hong Kong and social media to stay connected with the Hong Kong community. Facebook was growing in popularity amongst social activists in Hong Kong so I tried to connect with that circle. To overcome the constraint of the outsider's role, I also kept the most up-to-date information about the hot issues of the political arena and picked up frequently used 'slang' and the everyday language of Hong Kong people. This insider's knowledge enabled me to capture the meaning of their narratives within the specific context and culture more precisely (Kanuha, 2000). Nevertheless, the digital world only provided the means, but not the cure. I came to realise that my physical absence from Hong Kong actually meant that I was away from all the problems incurred by identity politics, such as the cultural tension between Hongkongers and Mainland Chinese, and the deteriorating of freedom of speech and political freedom. In other words, my overseas status has given me a privilege position to be freed from all the constraints and

emotional turmoil which the people in Hong Kong might face in relation to the Hongkonger identity. In addition, my position as a researcher also shaped my perspective, which is especially informed by academic research. This has given me the resource for conceptualising the identity issue, while at the same time distancing me from clinging onto my insider status. As much as I would like to be perceived as an insider, the boundary between the researcher and the researched will always exist and therefore a researcher will never be an 'insider' entirely (Corbin-Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

3.5.5. Costs and Benefits of Insiderness and Outsiderness

In my interview guide, one of the questions I asked my participants was how they became involved in the Umbrella Movement. A number of them gave a full account of how they were shocked and frightened by the swift turn of the movement and the use of pepper spray and tear gas by the police to disperse the crowds. In one particular individual interview, a veteran activist Brandon asked, *'had you left Hong Kong yet when it happened?'* At once I was not sure about the intention behind this question so I just nodded. He continued with the narrative of his experience. Approaching the end of our interview, he brought up the issue of migration. He first assumed that I would be employed immediately after I graduated from my PhD and showed his 'envy' that I would enjoy a free and good life outside Hong Kong. Then he made the follow comments.

... But I still think that it's better not to be Hongkongers in the next life. It is too miserable. What I feel really miserable about is that in fact even we who are at the frontline are withdrawing from this ground (Hong Kong). Then this place will

soon fall apart. But if we remain in this ground, we just kick against the pricks. It's

really… So I actually don't think those who leave are cowards, but… I don't know.

When I or many friends around me are talking about migration, sigh, I also think

actually you have to adjust to every aspect if you migrate to somewhere else…

(Brandon, post-1980)

His comments addressed the dilemma which many Hong Kong people face: to stay or not to stay. Before 1997, Hong Kong people used to see migration as an individual choice without making any moral judgement, yet since the universal values of society, such as freedom and human rights have been deteriorating under the Chinese rule in the past decade, there has been a growing expectation of Hongkongers to stay and to safeguard Hong Kong. In this context, Hong Kong people who choose to emigrate for whatever reason might be perceived as 'abandoning' or 'betraying' Hong Kong. Those who have left are further distinguished as 'outsiders' then. Although it might not be his initial intention, the participant's comments made me feel like an 'outsider' because I was no longer on the 'ground' to fight for a better future together with Hong Kong people since I decided to leave Hong Kong for my postgraduate studies. Even though I returned to Hong Kong as a native Hongkonger, I was also a researcher affiliated with an overseas institution. In other words, I was somewhere 'in-between', a status which brings both costs and benefits (Corbyn-Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). On the one hand, the insider role gave me a strong sense of responsibility towards my research participants to ensure that the research might produce a meaningful outcome. I might have fallen into the trap of legitimising their way of thinking with regard to the morality of migration. On the other hand, my outsider role reminded me of being aware of my frame of

reference. When I looked into the similar accounts of emigration, I had to be conscious of not validating but challenging their logic (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015; Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1997).

At the same time, it also challenged my pre-occupied understanding of their experiences. From participants' narratives I could see how their experiences had shaped and affected their identification cognitively, but I still struggled to understand the emotional journeys they had been through simply because I had only been able to gather information from afar, but not been present in any of those places and times. There was still a gap between 'knowing' and 'understanding'. That is why we should not assume that shared knowledge is intrinsically understood between insider researcher and research participants. Insiders can sometimes overlook important and unique interpretations because they take the shared understandings for granted (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015; Kanuha, 2000; Breen, 2007). Instead, researchers should be conscious of their potential blind spots and ask participants for clarifications of specific concepts.

Apart from not assuming shared understandings, researchers should maintain a balance between showing empathy and alienation. During my interviews, I was not prepared to hear some of the post-1990 participants revealing their quarrels with their parents due to different political ideals. At first I was unsure whether I should ask follow-up questions in this regard because family is considered to be one of the private domains, not normally brought up with strangers in local cultural practice. Also, many breakdowns of family relationships and friendships might have been traumatic experiences for some movement participants at that time. If I dwelt too deeply on this issue, I might risk being

mistaken as a counsellor, or leading participants to over-disclose. With these considerations in mind, I showed empathy and affirmation but at the same time, was mindful of holding onto my researcher's identity by being slightly detached. This was done to avoid potential role confusion and being distracted from the research focus. At times, tensions like these may arise between the researcher-researched relationships. Researchers need to learn how to maintain certain boundaries with the researched without being intrusive into the participants' lives (Petra, 2012; Hayfield and Huxley, 2015).

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out the methodological approach of this thesis and discussed relevant issues including data collection, data analysis, ethical issues and my personal reflections on the researcher/translator and insider / outsider positions. I have adopted qualitative over quantitative methods to explore the subjective interpretations and experiences of my research participants with respect to their national identifications. In particular, I have conducted 30 in-depth individual interviews and 4 focus groups with respondents from the post-1970, post-1980, and post-1990 generations, who previously identified with Scholarism in any form in the Anti-MNE Movement and/or the Umbrella Movement. In-depth interviews are appropriate for this study as they gather rich materials and allow participants to elaborate on and explain their views. I have also illustrated the use of thematic analysis to analyse my interview materials in a step-by-step manner. First, I familiarised myself with the data. Then, I generated codes from the interviews. Finally, I developed and refined themes. Data analysis was not a linear but a spiral process, meaning that I often went back and forth to apply new codes, and assess

or change existing codes in order to frame my themes. Subsequently I reflected on my dual role of researcher/translator and provided examples of how I handled the issues related to translation. In the last section, I discussed some ethical issues such as the importance of confidentiality in a highly sensitive and politically polarised society. I then reflected specifically on my insider / outsider roles from the fieldwork experience. I concluded that both roles co-exist in the research process. Reflexivity of the researcher is crucial with regard to finding the fine balance between obtaining relevant data from research respondents and maintaining the boundary between researcher and researched, asking the obvious questions without presuming any insider knowledge or understanding, and challenging respondents' logic when necessary.

Chapter 4. Development of Identity Claims in Post-1997 Hong Kong

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on how respondents interpret multiple national identity claims and how the identity claims change and develop in post-1997 Hong Kong. The national identity of Hong Kong people was changing, both before and after the transfer of sovereignty, as have the research instruments used in surveys of ethnic identity in Hong Kong. In the 1980s, the terms 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' were used in a dichotomous manner as a research instrument in most studies of ethnic identity. In 1997, the University of Hong Kong initiated a longitudinal survey of Hong Kong people's ethnic identity, the original dichotomy of 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' was no longer sufficient as the two identities might overlap with each other. Therefore, options of identity labels were extended to include 'Hongkonger', 'Chinese', 'Hongkonger in China', and 'Chinese in Hong Kong' (Chung and Tai, 2012). It reveals that not only was Hong Kong people's national identity changing, but the identity issue was also complex and multi-layered. Despite the continued evolution of the list of options for conceptual precision of national identity in recent years, one of the limitations of quantitative survey is its inability to gather in-depth answers from respondents.

When it comes to national identification, an identity label does not indicate the understanding and interpretations of respondents, and most importantly, their justifications for certain responses. For instance, someone who identifies themselves as a 'Hongkonger' does not necessarily imply they reject the 'Chinese' identity. After all, loyalty to the local identity does not negate an affiliation to the national identity. Yet, the

closed questions in previous survey designs often fail to capture the details to reflect the reasonings of respondents behind their choices. In view of this, I conducted a number of in-depth interviews with individuals and in focus groups to allow space for articulations, explanations and justifications for these taken-for-granted identity claims. Moreover, making an identity claim is not as straightforward as it sounds. The considerations behind making an identity claim in public or in private, in front of strangers or close circles of friends and family, are completely different. Although I have not been able to go into details to explore how identity claims can be situational, some of the discussions in this chapter do touch on the ambiguous and complex nature of national identifications. In addition, identity is not a fixed but a fluid concept. In order to illustrate the changing nature of national identification, I will present some narratives from my respondents and relevant critical events in regard to the development of national identity in post-1997 Hong Kong.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section explores respondents' interpretations and justifications of different national identity claims, such as 'Hongkonger in China', 'Chinese in Hong Kong', an exclusive 'Hongkonger' identity and 'Chinese' identity. The second section moves on to discuss the specific generational conceptions of national identity of the post-1970, post-1980 and post-1990 generations in regard to 'one country, two systems', Hong Kong independence, and the interplay of passion and rejection of political and cultural China. The third section presents the narratives of four respondents from post-1970, post-1980 and post-1990 generations. They articulate how their identity claims evolved, their emotions and experiences of these identity developments over the years. The last section concerns a few critical

events contributing to the identity changes in post-1997 Hong Kong, including the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the Sichuan Earthquake and Beijing Olympics in 2008, the annual June 4th vigil, and the Causeway Bay bookseller disappearance in 2015.

4.2. Interpretations and Justifications of National Identity Claims

Respondents were asked how they would identify themselves with regard to national identity. Among 54 respondents, 19 respondents claimed an exclusive 'Hongkonger' identity, 32 respondents claimed a mixed identity which includes 'Hongkonger', and three were uncertain about their identity. The national identity labels adopted by my respondents when asked about their national identifications include: 1) Hongkonger and Chinese national (香港人和中國人)，2) Hongkonger in China (中國的香港人), 3) Chinese in Hong Kong (香港的中國人), 4) Hongkonger and ethnic Chinese (香港人和華人), 5) Hongkonger and global citizen (香港人和世界公民), 6) Hongkonger, Chinese and global citizen (香港人、中國人和世界公民), and 7) Hongkonger and not Chinese. Most respondents willingly and proudly acknowledged that they were Hongkongers at once. Some did not even think there had to be any justification for such 'natural' self-identification. Many associated the Hongkonger identity with language, culture and values. These markers are significant findings of this study and thus will be discussed further in Chapter 5. For some respondents, however, making an identity claim is not a straightforward matter especially when there is no official acknowledgment. Cody's self-ascribed Hongkonger identity was denied by a Taiwanese official when traveling to Taiwan:

... I once applied for Exit & Entry Permit (for the Taiwan Area of the Republic of China) to Taiwan. On 'nationality', I put down 'Hong Kong'. ... I remember very

clearly that the custom officer was sitting there and staring at the form, then (he)

crossed out Hong Kong and wrote 'China', even in simplified Chinese! (Cody,

post-1980)

While Cody's case suggests that the Hongkonger identity is not recognised as a

standalone identity, Carrie presented the paradoxes inherent in the situation in which

'Hongkonger' is represented as an 'other' to China despite the principle of 'one

country', exemplified by the 'Home Return Permit'[2]:

I think (we're) already an 'other' 他者 when (we) need to apply for a 'Home

Return Permit' in the first place. ... If it is my country, why do I need a visa to go

there? (Carrie, post-1980)

These examples reveal that identity is not as simple as a matter of choice or a given. In

Cody's case, it clearly demonstrates his perception of identity clashes with how others

attribute identity to him. The Hongkonger identity is problematic because Hong Kong is

not an independent country. Thus, a self-claimed Hongkonger identity on an official

visa application is not a politically accepted identity and hence, is rejected. On the other

hand, Carrie's example of the 'Home Return Permit' rightly points out the exclusion

created by institutional settings. If Carrie, like other Hong Kong residents was regarded

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2 Home Return Permit: The Mainland Travel Permit for Hong Kong and Macau residents. The Mainland Travel Permit for Hong Kong and Macau Residents, also colloquially known as a 'home return permit', a 'home visit permit' or 'China back home pass'. The permit is issued to Chinese citizens who are residents of Hong Kong and Macau as the entry permit to mainland China. The permit is issued by the Bureau of Exit and Entry Administration of the Ministry of Public Securitythrough China Travel Service sub-branches in Hong Kong and Macau and allows holders to travel freely to mainland China for tourism or business reasons (but not for employment purposes). Most holders of this permit are generally individuals who were born and brought up in Hong Kong and Macau. This permit allows holders to travel to and from China and is also considered and widely used as an identity document for Hong Kong and Macau people in China. (ThomsonReuters, 2020)

as a Chinese national after the reunification, why does she need a permit to travel to other Chinese cities from Hong Kong? From these two cases, we can clearly see that an identity claim is not a free choice made by individuals independently of existing institutions.

For those respondents who were quite upfront about their identity claims, a mixed identity appears to be prevalent. I will address their comments on two mixed identity claims in sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4. However, an exclusive Hongkonger identity and open rejection of the Chinese national identity is unusual and problematic, because they appear to imply a separatist view, at least from the official perspective of the Chinese government. In the following subsections I will address the reasons behind this blunt desertion of Chinese identity.

4.2.1. Exclusive Hongkonger Identity

Before we explore the reasons for an exclusive Hongkonger identity, it is worth noting that there are at least two facets of such rejection of Chinese identity observed from the interviews. Firstly, respondents rejected the CCP rule over Hong Kong. Secondly, they rejected the Chinese nationals of the PRC, whom they called 'mainlanders'. In addition, I describe this rejection of Chinese identity as a 'desertion' because most respondents who claimed an exclusive Hongkonger identity went from attaching to detaching from Chinese identity. In other words, some of them used to identify themselves as Chinese to some degree, but they now refused to be called Chinese. This development of identity claim will be addressed in the later section in this chapter. Now we will unpack the reasons behind respondents' rejections of China and its people.

Amy first refers to China as a neighbouring country instead of her motherland; it reveals her lack of affection for China. Then, she perceives the disruptions in Hong Kong caused by the CCP in recent years as harmful to Hong Kong. She then concludes that Hongkongers and Chinese are different. It shows how politics can affect intergroup relationships and a person's view of other groups. Amy shares her views of China:

R: ... When I go on holidays, I will say 'no, Hong Kong, from Hong Kong!' if I am mistaken as Chinese.

I: Why do you deny being Chinese?

R: ... Because actually this place [China] had always been a neighbouring country since we grew up before the handover. ... Also these few years they [China] just wants to suck us [Hong Kong] dry… , simply put, I really don't have any affection (for it). ... I don't think we [Hongkongers and Chinese] are the same people. (Amy, post-1970)

Daniel shares a similar view to Amy, that the CCP government shows no concern for the interests of Hong Kong people; hence he does not feel that Hong Kong is considered part of China. He also points out that the different habits and lifestyle between mainland Chinese and Hongkongers separate the two groups. Daniel's narrative shows that political events, ruling state, and cultural differences between Hongkonger and Chinese are significant factors affecting his identity formation. Here Daniel gives his reasoning for not identifying himself as Chinese:

Because China has never viewed Hong Kong as part of them after June 4th 1989. They wanted to take back Hong Kong just to satisfy their financial needs or for

territorial integrity. They don't care about Hong Kong people at all. ... In addition, those mainlanders working in Hong Kong do things very differently from Hongkongers, including their habits and lifestyle, or their subconsciousness. Therefore, I don't think (I belong to) the same ethnic group with the Chinese. (Daniel, post-1990)

Desmond complains that he has no stake in the national affairs in China and feels excluded. It reveals that political participation is a crucial component of national identification to Desmond. Desmond explains his expectation of and disappointment with his relations with China:

... If identity is about give and take, then what do I receive after I have given so much and admitted that I am Chinese? I don't think I am sharing the glory of being Chinese, especially not nowadays. Secondly, I don't have a vote for the National People's Congress. How do I attach to claiming myself to be Chinese when I can't participate in different affairs in China? (Desmond, post-1990)

Betty shares similar views to Daniel, that mainlanders and Hongkongers are two distinct groups which cannot be integrated. The conclusions drawn by Betty and Daniel are based on their day to day dealings with mainland Chinese in Hong Kong. Betty explains why she rejects the Chinese identity:

... Firstly... I absolutely don't want myself or my own place being ruled by mainland or the CCP although it is perhaps a reality. Secondly, ... I worked for a Chinese enterprise for one and a half years. The dealings of the Chinese

colleagues made me feel strongly reluctant to be in the same group with them.

(Betty, post-1980)

These responses reveal two common threads: they are troubled by the CCP rule and the cultural differences between mainland Chinese and Hong Kong people. At the same time, the Chinese identity is represented as problematic, which some respondents use not only to justify their mixed identity claim, but also to specify why they own or disown a Chinese identity. For example, Carrie explains that as there are multiple aspects of China, an identification with particular aspects of China is not always revealed from a Chinese identity. Carrie articulates the complexity and ambiguity of claiming a Chinese identity:

I feel very ambivalent in which there are multiple levels of our understanding of China. For example, cultural China, the PRC regime. ... We only identify with certain levels of China which are relevant to us, but there isn't a clear boundary. So it becomes very ambivalent. (Carrie, post-1980)

4.2.2. Chinese Identity

A language issue needs to be addressed before I proceed. The English word 'Chinese' conveys the meanings of 'the national / citizen of the People's Republic of China', 'ethnic Chinese', or 'Chinese language'; but in Cantonese, each of these three meanings is represented by a separate word. The most commonly used translation for 'Chinese' is 'a national of the PRC'. In the interest of clarification, 'Chinese' herein refers to 'a national of the PRC', in which the equivalent Cantonese word 中國人 was used in the

interviews. Among the mixed identity responses, I summarise the three interpretations of 'Chinese' which are most relevant to the discussion.

The first interpretation is 'a national of the PRC' 中華人民共和國國民. Respondents who take on this Chinese identity accept the current political reality of Hong Kong being part of China; however reluctantly. They acknowledge that reunification is a historical fact and that their nationality is Chinese as symbolised by their passports. For this group of respondents, as exemplified by the following excerpts, national identity is a 'given' and is equivalent to citizenship or nationality. It is not a personal choice and any denial or alteration of such 'given' identity is unrealistic. To them, national identity implies the legitimacy of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong, since the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China in 1997, whether one likes it or not. For Bianca, documentation provides the legal basis of a national identity which is a 'fact' about her national identity. On the other hand, her subjective will to being differentiated from Chinese is still strong. It reveals a tension between the 'objective fact' and the subjective will of how Bianca is perceived by others in terms of national identity. Bianca feels ambivalent about her identity:

I: If I ask whether you are a Chinese [national of the PRC], how will you answer?

R: Hmm… I won't deny because… because the nationality on my passport still says Chinese. … But… I don't want others who are not from China or Hong Kong think that Hongkongers are Chinese. (Bianca, post-1980)

For Bruce, documentation is not a sufficient identifier since one can hold multiple passports; it is the historical 'fact' that Hong Kong was returned to China that one can

do nothing about. He can only passively accept it, as children are expected to take on their family names in most cultures. Bruce expresses that national identity is not a simple personal choice:

I: So why did you identify yourself as a 'Hongkonger in China'?

R: I can't do anything about it. Can't get rid of it. Once you recognise another mother [referring to the Chinese state], you have to take on her surname. You don't really have a say. Even though you are a British Overseas National passport holder, it [BNO] is just a travel document which doesn't mean anything. So you don't have a choice, you don't really have a choice. ... (Bruce, post-1980)

Although this group of respondents assert that Hong Kong is part of China, they do not recognise the CCP as their state. Some of them even explicitly state their opposition to the ruling party. This antagonism towards the ruling party of China is prevalent in most responses regardless of their varying interpretations of Chinese identity.

The second interpretation is the 'Chinese nation' 中國族群. Respondents who hold this interpretation accept China as a historical and cultural nation before the CCP became the ruling party. The respondents' sentiments towards the Chinese identity are based on their passion and infatuation for the cultural heritage, customs and rituals, landscape which is loaded with the symbolic values of the nation. For example, although Becky rejects the legitimacy of the Chinese state, she demonstrates a wish to embrace cultural China:

I: Some people start to deny being called Chinese [national of the PRC], why don't you make such claim?

R: No no... because I am not without any affection for China. I have affections for China. I only dislike the [CCP] regime. For example (when) I travel(led) to mainland (China), I saw its beautiful landscape, I felt very pleased. The beautiful landscape I saw in mainland (China) and Europe (gave me) different feelings. When I saw that beautiful (landscape in China), I was more pleased because I am part of China; but when I saw some people spitting (on the floor), I was distressed. However, in Europe I didn't feel that way. I felt that the beautiful landscape in Europe that I saw belonged to someone else. ... I have great affections for Chinese culture. I have great affections for the 5000-year culture, (and) history. Thus I do not reject being a Chinese. I only want it to overthrow the regime, (and to become) more probity, that's all. (Becky, post-1980)

Due to their positive identification with the nation: its history, traditions and culture, this group of respondents is more active in claiming Chinese identity compared to the first group. Some respondents from this group perceive mainland Chinese as their compatriots, although the majority are eager to differentiate themselves from mainlanders on the basis of diverging, even incompatible, values and cultures. Furthermore, this interpretation is slightly different from the third interpretation of 'Chinese', which is the ethnic Chinese, because people of the 'Chinese nation' here refer solely to those in the People's Republic of China excluding Chinese diaspora elsewhere in the world.

The third interpretation is 'ethnic Chinese' 華人. Respondents who interpret 'Chinese' as 'ethnic Chinese' refuse to be called 'Chinese' at all, because this identity label is too

ambiguous. According to them, it does not specify which 'China', between the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the Republic of China (ROC) it refers to. The truth is that PRC has largely replaced the ROC in international politics as well as everyday life. Our first association with 'Chinese' is generally a 'national of the PRC'. Basically, this group of respondents does not want to have anything to do with the PRC and therefore they identify themselves as 'ethnic Chinese'. The definition of the Chinese diaspora is not limited to certain geographical boundaries but among those who share similar cultural customs, racial identification and ethnic descent, such as Taiwanese, Malaysian Chinese, and Singaporean Chinese living across the globe. Betty distinguishes ethnic Chinese from Chinese national:

I will acknowledge myself as 'ethnic Chinese' but I won't acknowledge myself as 'Chinese'! … For example, Malaysian Chinese and Singaporean Chinese all share some attributes of ethnic Chinese, for example, they are perhaps relatively reserved, relatively pragmatic, relatively hard-working. Their concepts of family are probably traditional. … I regard these as ethnic Chinese culture and attributes which aren't necessarily Chinese. (Betty, post-1980)

It is not surprising to see the Communist regime being rejected by most respondents explicitly, regardless of their different interpretations of 'Chinese', as previous studies show that Hong Kong people are generally sceptical about and resistant to a 'political China', represented by the CCP, yet open and accepting to a 'cultural China' (C. K. Chan, 2014; Kaeding, 2011). Nonetheless, current data suggests that there is an increasing resistance to an 'ethno-cultural China' amongst respondents. It seems unusual, especially when ethnicity and cultural heritage shared by 'Hongkongers' and

'Chinese' is often taken-for-granted by the post-war Hong Kong population, which mainly consisting of political refugees from mainland China. In addition, a strong attachment to the distinctive local identity remains salient and claimed as an exclusive identity; there is a growing tendency to reject dual identities as far as the 'Chinese' identity is concerned. This rejection of dual identity, however, was not taken lightly by the Chinese authorities. Fifteen years after the resumption of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong, Hao Tiechuan, Director of Publicity, Cultural and Sports Affairs at the central government's liaison office, expressed open criticism on the longitudinal study on ethnic identity of Hong Kong people after results suggested a historical low in a sense of Chinese identity among Hongkongers since 1997 (Chung and Tai, 2012). Hao denounced the study as 'unscientific' and 'illogical' because Hong Kong people should not be asked to choose between a dichotomous measurement of 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' now that Hong Kong is a part of China. This incident shows that ethnic identity had become a political issue and any assertion of Hongkonger identity can be viewed as a form of political statement. The tendency to reject Chinese identity among the post-1990 generation is particularly distinct from other generations. These features of identity claims will be discussed in the next section on the generational conception of national identity.

In addition, previous studies point out that the acceptance of Chinese identity by an increasing number of Hong Kong people in post-1997 Hong Kong is due to the economic gains which the Chinese market brought to Hong Kong (C. K. Chan, 2014; Matthews et. al., 2008). The claim for a hybridised identity - expressed by their enthusiasm for the cultural and economic aspects of China, but their criticism of the

Communist regime - is due to an instrumentalist and pragmatic approach. In order to check whether respondents build their Chinese identity upon the economic relation with China, I confronted them with the question, 'Isn't it better for Hong Kong to be seen as a financial city of China since China has now gained high status in the international arena and is a global rising power?'. Daniel asserts his distrust of the Chinese economy and financial model. Thus, he does not see the benefits of building an economic relation with China:

First of all, I believe in 'China meltdown' 支爆 [financial meltdown of China's economy]. I personally think that the current economic model in China is not feasible [sustainable]. They keep issuing notes and pushing GDP growth. It's probably fake. ... Being dependent on China is not long-lasting because anywhere else, even those underdeveloped countries, are able to release their Gini coefficient except China. Actually it's very risky to believe in such economy. (Daniel, post-1990)

Adam also rejects the idea of Hong Kong being a financial city of China because he sees more harms than benefits. Firstly, he foresees a financial meltdown of China. Secondly, he contends that Hong Kong will lose its uniqueness. Adam contends that Hong Kong should not become another Shanghai under China:

... At this moment I [Hong Kong] don't identify myself as a financial city under you [China]. ... I don't see myself as another Shanghai. Perhaps I will earn less, but when China has a meltdown, I won't suffer from it. ... If Hong Kong becomes another Shanghai, that is just one of the cities under China, what characteristics does it still have? (Adam, post-1970)

Benjamin argues that Hong Kong's economic development should not depend on China solely. Even if an economic relation is built with China, he thinks that business and sentiment should not be mixed. Here Benjamin shares his view regarding building an economic relationship with China:

R: ... Obviously, Hong Kong may be benefitted financially if China develops well. ... but we can't depend on China entirely.

I: Hong Kong people take money very seriously though.

R: That's right, but there are so many ways to make money. They don't necessarily have to be related to China.

I: Why is there a problem with having a relation with China?

R: They are two separate things. I won't fall in love with China if I am only doing business with her. I will only take advantage of her, do you understand? (Benjamin, post-1980)

Denise believes that Hong Kong is leaning towards tourism which focuses excessively on Chinese tourists. In her opinion, the current economic model has led to uniform economic industries and severely imbalanced economic development. Therefore, she does not think it is a good idea to be dependent on China in terms of economic development. Denise gives her views in regard to the current economic relation with China:

Economically, I believe that Hong Kong does not need to depend on China. It is said that our tourism relies on Chinese tourists heavily. I don't think so. Next to China there are Japan, Korea, and Europe and the US. Hong Kong is still a

financial city which I believe that we don't necessarily need tourism… to help us. Chinese tourists bring us economic benefits; on the other hand, our everyday life is affected. For instance, rent continues to increase. Pharmacies and jewellery shops are everywhere to satisfy tourists. Hongkongers don't need so many of them. I believe that Hong Kong can be self-sufficient without being dependent on China in terms of its economic system. (Denise, post-1990)

4.2.3. Hongkonger in China

During interviews, respondents were asked to explain the identity claims they make or do not make, and were also given space to comment on any national identity claims they felt relevant. In the following subsections, I will illustrate some of the elaborations of the two mixed identity labels, including Hongkonger in China and Chinese in Hong Kong.

Being a Hongkonger in China appears to be a reasonable and taken-for-granted identity for Aaron. He accepts the historical fact that Hong Kong is a part of China geographically but he also thinks that Hong Kong is so distinct that the Hong Kong identity should be included and emphasised in his identity claim. Here is Aaron's view:

… I am a Hongkonger in China, which should be a generally accepted identity among Hong Kong people, because Hong Kong is a very unique place. … We have always claimed ourselves as Hongkongers. … I don't necessarily have to identify with China. (Aaron, post-1970)

Dustin regards claiming a Hongkonger in China identity as a pragmatic and calculative choice and he does not agree with that. According to Dustin, those who claim such an identity view national identification as a tool to gain the best interest for themselves. They make multiple identity claims depending on the situation and their personal agendas. Darwin shares his interpretation of Hongkonger in China:

I: Some people claim themselves as Hongkonger in China. How will you define these two identities, Hongkonger in China and Chinese in Hong Kong?

R: ... For instance when China wins something, (those people) identify themselves as Chinese; but when it's something concerning Hongkongers, (they) think of themselves as Hongkongers.

I: You mean they vary depending on the situations?

R: Yes, situational. ... They don't have a particular identity. They only care about their self-interests. If China pays me, I will claim myself as Chinese. If Hong Kong pays me, I am a Hongkonger. (Dustin, post-1990)

Neither does Daisy claim to be a Hongkonger in China. She considers those who identify with such a claim under the influence of traditional culture and ethnic descent. Here she shares her interpretation of the identity claim:

R: ... If you claim yourself as Shanghainese, you refer to Shanghai in China, ..., just like Sichuan in China, that sort of logic. ... I think if they claim to be Hongkongers in China, it is because they can't get rid of their roots.

I: What roots?

R: Perhaps their parents were born in mainland China and traditional culture emphasises seeking your roots… which leads you to think that you should belong to your parents' hometown. That's why you are Chinese. (Daisy, post-1990)

4.2.4. Chinese in Hong Kong

No respondent identifies themselves as Chinese in Hong Kong, but some still comment on this identity claim. Both Amy and Damon are convinced that there are some subtle yet significant implications between Hongkonger in China and Chinese in Hong Kong. Amy feels that the identity of Hongkonger in China is more favourable than the identity of Chinese in Hong Kong. Someone who claims to be Chinese implies his priority of China over Hong Kong. Amy thinks that the identity of Chinese in Hong Kong places the emphasis on the Chinese identity:

I: If someone claims himself to be a Hongkonger in China or Chinese in Hong Kong, what do you think he wants to convey?

R: (He) wants to please both sides. … There's a slight difference between 'Hongkonger in China' and 'Chinese in Hong Kong'. The former sounds better to me.

I: What is the difference if he claims himself to be Chinese in Hong Kong?

R: He regards himself as Chinese. China is more significant than Hong Kong from his perspective. (Amy, post-1970)

Damon attempts to explain why a person claims the identity of Chinese in Hong Kong. In his view, either those born and raised as mainland Chinese immigrants or Hong Kong people under the influence of socialisation would make such an identity claim, implying

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a cultural and political affiliation with China. Here is Damon's interpretation on the identity of Chinese in Hong Kong:

I can hardly understand why a person living in Hong Kong simply claims himself as Chinese unless you grow up in mainland (China). Perhaps those who have just immigrated to Hong Kong recently will identify themselves as Chinese in Hong Kong because they were indeed born and raised in China. They certainly have those cultural and political identities. However, for a native Hongkonger, a self-claimed Chinese identity can only be a result of socialisation or cultural identification. (Damon, post-1990)

4.3. The Generational Conceptions of National Identity

With regard to generational differences, the post-1990 generation is more inclined to perceive 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' as mutually exclusive entities. Eleven out of 18 individual and focus group respondents deny the 'Chinese' identity when they identify themselves as 'Hongkongers'. At the same time, there appears to be a rejection of both the political / state and ethno / cultural aspects of Chinese identity. Specifically, some respondents are critical of the validity of Chinese nationalism based on ethnic roots or blood relations. For example, Ethan points out the absurdity of the ethnic myth of 'Chinese blood' from a medical perspective, and concludes that ethnic nationalism is irrational:

I quite buy (the concept of) the Hong Kong nation. In the end I think in terms of a nation, it is not that you are yellow-skin, black hair, black eyes. What does it mean by 'Chinese blood in my veins' (anyways)'? I really, from (a) medical perspective, I am really… really… sorry, what the fuck is Chinese blood? I just can't figure out

this thing, I really can't! My view is that the factor determining where one belongs is the culture you are mostly affected by. When everyone speaks the same language, (is) affected by the same culture, know the same thing, this group of people is called a 'political community'. I can identify with this group of people. However, if you ask me to identify myself as one of the 1.3 billion [mainland Chinese], I will definitely disagree! So I think (Hong Kong and China) should separate. Hong Kong is Hong Kong, China is China. (Ethan, post-1990)

Some respondents from this generation compare themselves to the Taiwanese younger generation, described as the generation of 'natural independence'. 'Natural independence' emerged from the Sunflower Student Movement in Taiwan in 2014 (KMT, 2015) and was invented by former Democratic Progressive Party chairperson and veteran activist Lin I-hsiung in his book *The Natural Independence of the Younger Generation* (Su and Chung, 2015). The term implies that the younger generation in Taiwan grew up in an era when Taiwanese independence was the mainstream discourse in which the reunification discourse was being replaced. Similarly, some post-1990 respondents explain that the mainstream ideologies of Hong Kong independence or self-determination have replaced the 'democratic-reunification' (民主回歸) discourse especially since the 'failure' of the Umbrella Movement in 2014. Democratic-reunification discourse was advocated by democrats in the 1980s and 1990s who supported the reunification of China with Hong Kong with the hope that the democratisation of Hong Kong could democratise China (Veg, 2017).

The democratic reunification discourse has affected some respondents. For instance, post-1970 Alex recalls that there was a slight hope that Hong Kong would be able to influence China even though it might not be realistic during the handover. It is worth noting that he regarded those, himself included, who had hope in future change after the handover as being 'unable' to leave Hong Kong rather than staying behind by choice. He does not specify in what way could Hong Kong influence China, but his narrative sounds like wishful thinking, rather than a genuine hope and trust in 'one country, two systems' and the CCP. According to him, Hong Kong has not been able to change China at all after 1997. Alex speaks of his disappointment under 'one country, two systems':

... Although everyone knew about 'one country, two systems' and what the CCP was like, there was once a false hope that... Hong Kong could eventually influence China. ... It is because they [Hongkongers] knew that the handover would be an unchangeable fact. ... when you were unable to leave Hong Kong, you wished there would be at least some changes, regardless of how small they might be, but then there was no change at all. (Alex, post-1970)

Amos admits that faith in 'one country, two systems' was completely destroyed after the Umbrella Movement. He does not specify how, but asserts that 'one country, two systems' no longer works. Post-1970 Amos announces the death of 'one country, two systems':

The Umbrella (Movement) was obviously our last straw... because in the process, you could no longer believe in 'one country, two systems'. 'One country, two systems' has failed. (Amos, post-1970)

Post-1980 Collin agrees that 'one country, two systems' has failed:

... Why we keep saying that it would not solve any problem even if Leung Chun-ying was replaced is because Leung Chun-ying made us realise that 'one country, two systems' has failed, and that it was pointless to communicate rationally [with China]. (Collin, post-1980)

It is worth noting that some respondents of post-1990 also believed in 'one country, two systems'. Both Dominick and Dustin express that 'one country, two systems' would work as long as the promise was kept; both of them lost faith in it. Here Dominick speaks about the loss of confidence in 'one country, two systems':

At first we believed in this thing [one country, two systems], at first we believed that you [China] did your job and we [Hong Kong] did ours. You could still offer, if you could still offer any benefits to us, we would be willing to continue to stay as a special administrative region, or be part of it. But it looks like this imagination will not emerge anymore. (Dominick, post-1990)

Dustin blames the CCP for the failure of 'one country, two systems' and the rejection of the Chinese identity:

Only if the CCP would behave and comply with the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, wouldn't it be better? No one wants to deny being Chinese but you Chinese always cause so many troubles, how can we still trust you? (Dustin, post-1990)

It appears that all three generations remain unconvinced that the integration of the two systems will continue to benefit both places due to intensifying conflicts in everyday life, as well as in the socio-political aspects. As a result, they may opt for Hong Kong independence or self-determination as far as the future of Hong Kong in concerned. For instance, post-1990 Desmond contends that even if China democratises, it will not be beneficial to Hong Kong. It reveals that he is not convinced by 'democratic-reunification' discourse. On the other hand, he is drawn to the idea of Hong Kong independence. Desmond explains his reasons for supporting Hong Kong independence:

I am all for Hong Kong independence. … And I can't think of how Hong Kong can survive even if a democratic China is finally in place. … Not to mention that Hong Kong and China had separated for quite a while. Forcing the two together simply doesn't work. Therefore I am all for Hong Kong independence. (Desmond, post-1990)

Post-1980 Carl speaks of his own transformation from a supporter of 'one country, two systems' to a Hong Kong nationalist. It appears that the turning point for him is that he felt that Hong Kong's way of life was changing under the influence of China so he can no longer believe in the co-existence of 'two systems'. Here Carl reflects on his transformation:

In the past when problems emerged everyone just wanted to hold onto 'one country, two systems'. … After all we were a family, I couldn't say no to you [China]. However, in regard to two systems, as a Hongkonger, I was hoping that Hong Kong and China minded their own business, but when (the proposed policy) such as Article 23, the High-Speed Rail, National Education, were all meant to

transform Hong Kong into China, then you had broken the fantasy on 'one country, two systems'. When the promise of (Hong Kong's) way of life remained unchanged for 50 years was broken, there was resistance. ... Everyone started to think whether I can build a nation called Hong Kong. (Carl, post-1980)

Cody thinks that an aftermath of the Umbrella Movement was the polarisation of political ideal:

... The whole Umbrella Movement, or Scholarism, had pushed a certain group of people to think radically: Is it possible for us in Hong Kong not only to govern ourselves under one country, two systems', but can we even forsake 'one country, two systems' and walk on the path of independence? (Cody, post-1980)

Amy personally supports Hong Kong independence as she has always considered Hong Kong and China as two different entities:

Independence? I'm okay with it if possible. I have always thought that the two places [Hong Kong and China] are so different in terms of systems, ideologies and values, how can we ever integrate? I can't see anything that will get better, but will only get worse and worse. (Amy, post-1970)

It appears that all three generations tend to believe that 'one country, two systems' is no longer applicable to Hong Kong and China. For them, Hong Kong and China are indeed two separate entities and should be treated as such. No single factor or incident has caused polarised views on national identity, yet there are some common threads observed from the responses. Firstly, some respondents are dissatisfied with the broken

promise of the 'two systems', evidenced by the growing interference in Hong Kong's way of life and internal affairs by the CCP. They did not start pondering the possibility of Hong Kong as a nation, or Hong Kong independence until they felt the promise of 'two systems' was not honoured by China. This change from supporting 'one country, two systems' to wanting to depart from China echoes their identity development - from the co-existence of Hongkonger and Chinese identities to an exclusive Hongkonger identity. In other words, most respondents did not want to separate from China right from the start of 'one country, two systems': they wanted to make it work but its failure caused them to think otherwise. Secondly, the impact of the Umbrella Movement should not be overlooked. Several respondents assert that the Umbrella Movement was their last hope for 'one country, two systems'. The failure of this fight for democracy officially certified the death of 'one country, two systems'.

A controversy elicited during the Anti-NME Movement was the debate over the words 'citizen' and 'national'. A civic identity, associated with self-ascribed membership, rights and active participation in the community, is clearly defined in the following responses. Here respondents reject being Chinese nationals, referring to passive submission to the nation-state and a state-prescribed identity, but embrace the civic identity as a 'citizen' of the Hong Kong community. Respondents from the post-1980 focus group had a particularly heated discussion on this issue. Before the introduction of the national education curriculum, students in Hong Kong only knew of the subject of 'citizenship education' - the civic education developed in the context of depoliticisation and the absence of nation-building (Fairbrother, 2003). Here Crystal points out that the use of 'citizen' often implies an avoidance of national identity controversy:

... 'Citizen' is a rather neutral word. Do Hongkongers define themselves as Chinese, British or Hongkongers? There exists lots of controversies. ... The use of the word 'citizen' is perhaps a bit close to Western society. What is neutral about this word is that I am the citizen of this place, which is perhaps their self-identity and is easier to be accepted by the Hong Kong citizens too. (Crystal, post-1980)

Catherine further articulates the subtle difference between 'citizen' and 'national'. To her knowledge, a national implies a subordinate status to nation, whereas a citizen is associated with rights and responsibilities, and a more democratic system. Catherine makes the distinction between 'citizen' and 'national':

... it seems that the more democratised countries tend to name their so-called nationals as 'citizens'. When (I) see (the word) 'citizen', I will associate it with this: a citizen should have both rights and responsibilities. As for national identity, it appears to downplay (an individual) to a certain extent... for instance I am just an appendant when I am a national of a country. (Catherine, post-1980)

Cody's view on 'citizen' and 'national' supplements Catherine's, in which the word 'national' implies loyalty and obedience to the nation-state; especially the state, in contrast with the notion of liberal citizenship. In particular, Cody sees a displacement of 'citizen' by 'national' as the displacement of Hongkonger identity by Chinese identity:

I always think that 'national' is closely related to 'nationality'. ... that is you are a national of a place if you hold a Chinese or British passport. As for 'citizen', you will participate in, you will show concern or at least you will identify with the place where you claim to be citizen of. ... What I understand from the word

'national' of the national education is that actually you can no longer have the

concept of Hongkonger but the concept of Chinese. What is Chinese? That is like

(what) the curriculum guide (described). Similar to the example everyone just

mentioned, (a Chinese) should cry when (he) sees the national flag. The CCP is

always the best. That kind of so-called respect or obedience. (Cody, post-1980)

Other than that, the interplay of passion of a cultural, but a rejection of a political China is mostly manifested by post-1970 and post-1980 generations. Among post-1970 generation, one out of eleven respondents claims an exclusive Hongkonger identity and rejects Chinese identity. Seven out of 25 post-1980 respondents openly reject their Chinese identity. Others are perplexed by the ongoing identity politics but most of them are still attached to cultural China. This attachment to China may be built upon their personal experiences and encounters with China from a young age, for example, travelling experiences, family ties, work relations and working experiences in China. Although some have developed an alternative interpretation of Chinese identity, that is seeing themselves as 'ethnic Chinese' instead of 'a national of the PRC', it is not the same emotional journeys as the younger generation have gone through. In fact, respondents from post-1970 and post-1980 generations demonstrate strong and deep sentiments towards China and Chinese identity, as distinct from those in the post-1990 generation. Most had been or still are patriotic; their version of 'patriotism' is not what the Chinese state expects and demands. In the eyes of respondents, the object of patriotism is the Chinese nation but not the state, which apparently fails to fulfil the CCP's standard of patriotism - love the nation, love the party 愛國愛黨.

Previously, a notion of patriotism which is only in opposition to the ruling party but not the Chinese nation was widely circulated, although Anthony admits that he only came to know and reflect on this notion since the Anti-MNE Movement. Anthony narrates how the Anti-MNE Movement caused him to reflect on his patriotic view:

I reckon the pan-democrats have… never talked about subverting the CCP. What they demanded was rehabilitate the 1989-democracy movement. However, the MNE has exactly led people to reflect on this statement - the love for the nation is not equivalent to the love for the party. I guess for me, this statement didn't occur to me before the MNE. (Anthony, post-1970)

Andy observes that people changed their perception of patriotism after the Anti-MNE Movement. They could previously draw a line between loving the nation without loving the state, but they realised that the nation had already been mixed with the party-state and therefore they were no longer accepting of the notion patriotism. Andy shares his observations before and after the Anti-MNE Movement:

Before the (anti-)national education (movement), some people still had the old-fashioned saying like 'love for the nation but not the party' [愛國不愛黨]. But after the (anti-)national education (movement), some people don't even say that anymore. 'Stop talking about patriotism. Don't try to fool me with patriotism. There is no such thing as "love for the nation but not the party" because it has already included the worship of the nation-state. (Andy, post-1970)

At the same time, Chinese identity is still salient to these generations, possibly due to critical events during their upbringing. One critical event which later on constructed an

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intergenerational collective memory is the Tiananmen Square Crackdown on June 4th 1989. The event and its annual vigil has incited strong sympathy for, and national attachment to the nation. In fact, the significance of the June 4th Crackdown in shaping the different generational conceptions of national identity is becoming more visible and apparent since 2013. Despite their complete rejection of the CCP, some respondents still wish for progressive reform in China. With regard to the future of Hong Kong, they do not necessarily opt for Hong Kong independence, but perhaps building a nation without state as long as it retains its political autonomy. I will continue to discuss relations between the development of identity claims and critical events in the next two sections.

4.4. Narratives of National Identity Development

In the following section, I will articulate some features of identity development through the narratives of Andy, Billy, Dominick and Daisy. Each of these accounts demonstrates how different factors, such as critical events, institutional context and family, play vital roles in shaping their national identities. To start with, Andy's account illustrates how critical events in Hong Kong before and after the handover affected his loyalty and attachment to his national identity.

As a locally-born and raised Hongkonger in the mid-1970s, Andy witnessed the June 4th Tiananmen Square crackdown during his adolescence, which is what Mannheim conceived as the formative years in his collective memory theory (Lee and Chan, 2013). According to Andy, the incident incited intense emotions and concern for China and left an 'unremovable and lifelong imprint' especially in the minds of post-1970 and post-1980 generations compared to post-1990 generation. Right after the 1989

crackdown, Andy was faced with the future of Hong Kong after 1997. On the one hand, his heartfelt wish for China to prosper and democratise continued to grow after the June 4th crackdown. On the other hand, he much preferred to retain the status quo than the transfer of sovereignty simply because of his distrust of the ruling party of China and the wide gap in terms of modernisation between Hong Kong and China. Andy felt much let down by the worsening situation in post-1997 Hong Kong and he attributed the problems to Chinese rule. However, he would still identify himself as 'Chinese in Hong Kong' before 2008.

While the world fixed its eyes on the Beijing Olympics in 2008, Andy was distressed by human rights issues in China. As an online opinion leader and activist, Andy called his readers to boycott the games in protest. He was not put off by an overwhelming counter-protest suggesting that sport and politics should not mix, but was still hoping that reform would emerge. However, he was 'utterly disappointed' with the reaction of the Chinese state and the subsequent arrests of human rights activists. As a result, he stopped claiming Chinese national identity. Currently he identifies himself as an 'ethnic Chinese' based on ethno-cultural attributes and claims a Hongkonger identity.

Several features of Andy's identity struggle can be identified. Firstly, his experiences of colonial rule and the 1989 crackdown during his formative years have inevitably affected his identification with a Chinese political identity. For instance, Andy did not show any desire for an end of colonial rule and repeated three times '1997 would not happen' when he recalled his days before 1997. This would be considered unbelievable to many Chinese patriots as the Chinese state regarded colonial rule as a long chapter of

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national shame. He certainly did not share the national pride but wished for the continuation of British colonial rule in Hong Kong. Especially when the SAR government performed poorly in 2003, Andy was contemplating the 'good old days': *'If only Chris Patten [the last Governor of HK] was still the Governor…'.* On the other hand, he showed great concern for Chinese affairs, such as human rights issues and democratisation because of the 1989 democracy movement. He would not uphold national unity based on nationalism when there was an obvious clash between his liberal values and the authoritarian approach of the Chinese regime. It reveals that he was torn between patriotism and liberalism, which Elaine Chan and Joseph Chan (2014) describe as 'liberal patriotism'.

Then, Andy uses the metaphor of marriage to illustrate his identity development:

The parting of Hong Kong from China is like getting a divorce. You can only get a divorce after being married. … I think the post-1970 and post-1980 have / had to separate from the (Chinese) society and nation because they experienced the imprint of June 4th.

Andy addresses two points here. First, he suggests that there is a generational difference in terms of identification with Chinese identity. Specifically, he sees that identity developments of post-1970 and post-1980 generations are distinct from that of post-1990 generation. While the former generations underwent processes of attachment and separation, just like getting married to and then a divorce from Chinese identity, the latter generation has never felt attached to Chinese identity and hence there is not any separation either. Second, he sees that collective memory of contemporaneous

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generations affect their identity development. Specifically he regards the June 4th crackdown as a critical event which causes generational difference.

In addition, emotion is visibly an integral part of Andy's identification with Chinese identity. Here he discloses the emotions which arise from parting from Chinese national identity:

It is indeed a painful process. You once had hope and emotional attachment politically, not just culturally. In fact you would feel something is missing after the separation.

In summary, the key to Andy's separation from Chinese national identity is the loss of hope. When he no longer felt hopeful, he lacked the motivation to keep his national identity. Second, what is unusual about his emotional journey of identity change is that while most respondents claimed a Chinese cultural identity without attaching to the Chinese state, Andy once identified with political China as well as cultural China.

Next, Billy's account illustrates how he turned from being a believer of democratic reunification discourse to a localist. Billy was born in the mid-1980s. He recalled that he still identified with the Chinese identity when he was studying secondary school. He believed that China was still hopeful and people of Hong Kong would be able to influence Chinese with their Hongkonger identity. According to Billy, this hope was built upon the Warlord Era between 1916 and 1927. In short, it was a period before the PRC was established, when 'national authority in China disintegrated and the country broke apart into a jigsaw of regions, each controlled by powerful local leaders' (Kucha

and Llewellyn, 2019). At that time, the central government was in Beijing. The nationalist Kuomintang government of Sun Yat-sen, referred as the 'Father of the Nation' in the PRC, and was the great leader of the Xinhai Revolution trying to overthrow the Qing dynasty, based in the southern province of Guangdong to contest the legitimate government of Beijing ('Warlord Era', 2020; Kucha and Llewellyn, 2019). Billy was hoping that Hong Kong could play the role of the then Guangdong and to exert such influence on the PRC.

Billy recalls that he was still proud of being a Chinese in 2008. However, Billy's identification with Chinese identity has been changing in recent years. From being hopeful for bringing changes to China, Billy became pessimistic and gave up his hope when he realised that Hong Kong had very limited influence on China. This gradual change began since the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012, when Billy was led to reflect on the nature of a nation. Billy's narrative clearly shows how his Hongkonger identity was reinforced through distinguishing 'us' - Hongkongers - from 'other people' - mainlanders. In particular, Billy points out that the values he upheld in Hong Kong, which are lacking in mainland China were causing him to distance himself from mainland China:

... They (Scholarism) took the lead in protesting against National Education really made us think what a nation is. We rejected National Education because we local people have our own ideas, (and) our own values, but (we) didn't accept the indoctrinated values of mainlanders. ... I was constructing my self from opposing the mainland values. I began to find out what sort of values I hold onto. I enjoy the rule of law (in Hong Kong) but I don't like the fact that mainland (China)

doesn't have the rule of law. ... We Hongkongers are full of human touch but I

don't like the fact that mainland (Chinese) refuse to help someone dying.

He became completely detached from his Chinese identity during the Occupy Movement in 2014. Here he narrates his changing perception of China and his attitude toward China:

... But in recent years, I have become pessimistic. China to me is actually the

embodiment of evil. Or it is such an enormous force that even the world can't

ignore. How can a tiny such as Hong Kong resist it? Even since I realised that it's

impossible to resist (China), I never had any wild hope that we could turn around

or make an impact unless miracles happened. I started to think how to protect

ourselves. ... I would claim a Chinese identity in the past, but now I think I am a

Hongkonger. In the past I thought about how we could actually help China, but

now I think about how keep ourselves safe. China is no longer a place where we

are able to save or change in our capacity.

Billy was not explicit about why he had such changes regarding his view of China and national identity, but it appears that it was because China was not developing up to his ideal. Billy would only be proud of his motherland if China was 'democratic, strong, just, and high quality of citizenship'. Nevertheless, he could not bear to identify with a 'problematic and trouble-making' China. Therefore, he has chosen to distance himself from Chinese identity and further attach to Hongkonger identity. On the other hand, detaching from Chinese identity was not without any struggles. Billy articulates his ambivalent feeling concerning Chinese identity:

Undoubtedly, we are perhaps inseparable from China as far as ethnicity is concerned. However, we are still reluctant to acknowledge our Chinese identity because the word 'China' implies something negative.

Billy's narrative reveals his subscription of 'liberal patriotism'. His previous identification with Chinese identity shows that he was patriotic. Nevertheless, his patriotism was not unconditional. Billy, like Andy and other respondents, are discouraged by the lack of democratic development of China for he himself upholds liberal democratic values. Although he did not specify when and why he decided to desert his Chinese identity, the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement, which he termed 'the Occupy Movement', in 2014 appeared to be the decisive events which led to the change.

Then, Dominick's account reveals to us how a few significant institutional contexts, including his secondary school, the mass media, and his social movement organisation, affected his process of identification. These are not three separate institutions, but a web of institutions formed which Dominick was embedded in simultaneously.

Dominick was born in the mid-1990s. He currently claims an exclusive Hongkonger identity and demonstrates a strong rejection of Chinese identity. From Dominick's narrative, there did not appear to be a single critical event which sharply altered his views. Instead, his identity change was a gradual process. Dominick recalls that when he attended a pro-communist secondary school, he adopted the school-instilled national identity and a pro-China stance. However, when he started using Facebook, he was

exposed to a variety of news sources. In particular, he was curious about 'the other side' of the story of the June 4th crackdown, which was treated as a taboo subject at school. Here social media served as an alternative source of further information. Dominick states that he critically examined different evidence and was eventually convinced by alternative views to those heard previously. He also participated in a student camp organised by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China. This experience did not only deepen his understanding of the event but also caused him to challenge official version of events.

When the SAR government wanted to implement the national education curriculum in schools in 2011, he was alert to the potential impact it might have so joined Scholarism in 2012. Scholarism served as a platform for peers' interactions where Dominick could exchange ideas. The motivation for his participation in Scholarism and its social mobilisation was to raise awareness and encourage critical thinking under the influence of the national education project. Since then Dominick has become involved in student activism. Before 2011, Dominick was sympathetic towards pan-Chineseness, implying patriotism toward the Chinese nation, but not the state. His view was slowly altered:

... When Chin Wan proposed the concept of localism in his 'Theory of the Hong Kong City-State' (my translation, 香港城邦論) in 2011, 80 to 90 percent of us [members of Scholarism] treated it as a joke. After all we thought it was an insane idea. At that time we mostly identified with Hongkonger identity, but we were not certain about the need for a concept of nation or an idea of an independent sovereign state. ... I believe it was because for most of us, who resisted national education, slowly started to identify with Hongkonger identity, and rejected

Chinese identity. From then onwards ... Hong Kong and China were badly mismatched. ... Are we really able to support the democratisation of China? ... We can only defend our territory... our homeland first. Actually this is quite similar to what localism advocates. ... first, we no long agreed with pan-Chineseness. Next, (we) were to build localism upon this foundation and develop Hong Kong consciousness. Now some people pursue nationhood or even an independent sovereign state. ... Even I didn't expect such rapid change within four years.

Here Dominick depicts the evolution of his identity. Within four years, Dominick went through a dynamic process of gradual discovery and incremental acceptance of localism. Dominick first found out about localism from *Theory of the Hong Kong City-State* proposed by Chin Wan in 2011, in which a prioritisation of Hong Kong interests above national interests was advocated. It did not impress Dominick and his peers of Scholarism then but prompted them to reconsider their commitment to advocating democracy for China through the June 4th vigil. When he realised that Hong Kong might not be able to have the 'moral influence', which the Alliance emphasised over the years to building a democratic China, he shifted from the notion of pan-Chinese nationalism and towards a pragmatic localist breakaway meaning of the June 4th. More significantly, his rejection of an ethno-cultural national identity and a separatist Hongkonger identity developed in parallel. Differing from Andy's perception of post-1990's identity development, Dominick also went through a 'divorce' from Chinese national identity: he was committed to democratising China by claiming Chinese identity, but he deserted and denied Chinese identity by claiming an exclusive Hongkonger identity after he encountered and turned to localism.

The last account is from post-1990 Daisy, whose narrative clearly points out how family, knowledge and media shaped her identity. In her case, Daisy's father played a significant role in establishing and altering her identification with China in her upbringing.

Daisy's father was born in mainland China but he immigrated to Hong Kong illegally before Daisy was born and raised in Hong Kong in the early 1990s. She remembers vividly how her father constantly reminded her that China was their root and home by repeating 'we are going home' rather than 'going to mainland' every time they visited her grandparents in her father's hometown in China. Daisy's father is a typical example of a settled Chinese immigrant with refugee mentality. He fled from China's political turmoil and settled in Hong Kong for a more stable livelihood. Although he established his own family in Hong Kong, he saw it as a temporary place of residence. He might have detached his emotions from political China, but the deep rootedness with family ties still feeds into his perception of China as a homeland. This has also affected how Daisy has felt attached to China. In addition, the ancestral property in China was represented as 'home' by her father, giving the symbolic meaning of a permanent and ultimate destination for Daisy. A permanent property and family ties nurtured Daisy's sense of belonging to China, contrasted with her then home in government housing in Hong Kong, which implied a temporary and unstable living space. As a result, Daisy was convinced when she was young, that China was her permanent home, not Hong Kong. Her sense of attachment to China was expressed by her exclusive Chinese identity:

In the past I would claim to be Chinese. I didn't even consider about Hongkonger

in China. I would directly claim to be Chinese.

A particular event which manifested her sense of belonging to China: the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. It was the deadliest earthquake to hit China which caused tremendous economic loss, many to be injured and lose their homes (Daniell, 2013). Daisy recalls her feelings towards the event:

... The year when I was at secondary three... when some of the fundraising events

for the Sichuan earthquake displayed the footage (of it), I still had a feeling that

China was our home. I felt heartbroken and wanted to help with donations after

witnessing the disaster.

Daisy's account illustrates her identification with victims involved in the crisis, not from a universalistic but a nationalistic perspective. Not only did she recognise China as her home, but she also felt the pain brought by the natural disaster and was responsive in offering practical help. This reaction reveals her sense of 'we'-ness or belonging with her Chinese compatriots that the disaster is 'ours' instead of 'theirs'. This differs from the position taken by another respondent Chris, who would show sympathy for disasters that happened in China, the same way he treated those in Japan. In other words, China to Chris is a neighbouring country, instead of his country.

However, Daisy's Chinese identity was soon challenged. Three significant factors led to her current exclusive Hongkonger identity. The first factor was the apparent change of her father's conception of homeland:

My dad started to ask me to emigrate. ... My dad received mainland education before so he knew how terrifying it was after he had arrived in Hong Kong. He also feels fortunate to come to Hong Kong to witness what a modern society should be like. He also thinks that if he was given the choice again, he would still choose to migrate to Hong Kong. Now he sees Hong Kong, apart from mainland (China), as his home too. He also thinks that the ways of handling issues in mainland China are terrifying. Nevertheless, he thinks that Hong Kong will be just like mainland (China) soon. He doesn't like it but he doesn't think it can be changed. That's why he asks us to leave.

Daisy's father's intention for his children to 'return home' has changed. Suddenly, this home is no longer the one he dreamed of returning to. That may imply a loss of identity and rootlessness. At the same time, he finally acknowledged Hong Kong as his home indicating his settlement into the host society. On the other hand, this account illustrates the persistence of the refugee mentality. While he sees the threat of mainlandisation in Hong Kong, he suggests his children follow in his footsteps and emigrate. It implies a lack of moral commitment to Hong Kong and a persistent avoidance of political tensions, even though the family were more affluent and stable now.

The second factor was the gradual discovery of the shortcomings of the Chinese system. In particular, Daisy, similarly to Andy, was put off by the corruption and human rights issues in China:

... However, a few years later the donations (for the earthquake relief) were missing... You felt that you had to stay away from it [China] and keep some

distance. (Chinese affairs are) none of my business. (I have) this kind of feeling.

... You won't send any more donations to it.

Daisy also feels obliged and entitled to any critical opinion about social injustice or social ills in the PRC. She sees it as the manifestation of patriotism. This patriotic act is, however, unrewarded but punished in China. That has discouraged her sense of belonging to the country. Here Daisy explains her lost sense of belonging to the country:

Those terrible things can occur, like the Tofu-dreg projects. If you intend to do good to the country, you speak out and gather a group of people to investigate, you will actually end up dead or imprisoned. You thought you only spoke out because of the love for the country, but then that's how I would end up if I did that. How can I maintain a sense of belonging to this place?

The third factor is the collective memory of colonial rule. It is worth noting that the media continued to play a role in shaping Daisy's perception of colonial rule. Although she did not have any first-hand experience of the Crown Colony, she was impressed by what she saw in the media about the Ceremony of Hong Kong Handover:

When he [the last Governor] was leaving, those two daughters, the two daughters of the Governor were crying and reluctant to leave. When you saw those images, you felt that they really liked Hong Kong, felt attached to it and wanted the best for it. ... I might not have experienced that at the time because I was not old enough yet, but I had these feelings after watching some footage as I grew up.

All these factors worked complementarily in the process of Daisy's identity change. The shift from an exclusive Chinese identity to Hongkonger identity is especially apparent when she goes on holiday. She feels the need to make explicit the statement 'Hong Kong is not China', when she is asked about her identity and place of origin.

4.5. Critical Events of National Identity Development

Taking the respondents' observations together, some critical events were repeatedly mentioned when talking about their identity development. In this section, I identify and systematically discuss some of these events which played significant roles in their identity formation. These events include the transfer of sovereignty of 1997, the Sichuan Earthquake and Beijing Olympics of 2008, the annual June 4th vigil and the Causeway Bay Bookseller Disappearance in 2015.

4.5.1. The Transfer of Sovereignty in 1997

The transfer of sovereignty in 1997 conveys different meanings to those who experienced it. Some respondents from post-1970 generation appear to take on their national identity soon after the handover. For instance, Aaron recognises that Hong Kong became a part of China after the handover and therefore he should also take on the national identity:

> *... I have returned to China. I should be Chinese. Or the better way to claim myself is Hongkonger in China. (Aaron, post-1970)*

Alice also asserts that Hong Kong is under the Chinese rule after 1997; however, she feels that the change of identity is not entirely out of her will. In some practical

situations such as filling out forms, 'Hong Kong' is no longer a separate option from 'China'. This has a significant impact on Alice to accept the political reality and identity. Alice talks about how things have changed since 1997:

Before 1997, I probably would not claim myself as Chinese. For instance in my passport I was stated as a British National Overseas. ... If someone asked, 'are you Chinese?' I wouldn't say, 'No, I am not Chinese.' but 'I am from Hong Kong.' ... After 1997, the foreigners also know that Hong Kong is part of China. So it's not up to you to say you are not China(ese). For instance, when I fill out some forms, 'Hong Kong' is stated under 'China'. If you don't choose 'China', you can't have 'Hong Kong'. You have to accept it then. (Alice, post-1970)

Both Annie and Alex state that national identity only became an issue after the handover. Annie describes herself as 'politically apathetic' and national identity did not concern her before 1997. Passports are symbolic of her national identity in Annie's case which gradually led her to recognise Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong. Annie recalls how the handover has prompted her to reconsider her national identity:

... In early days Hongkongers were often described as politically apathetic. It's true. I couldn't be bothered as long as I had fun studying. ... I didn't think I was Chinese at that time because of the British rule. I was fine with being a Hongkonger. ... I only began to consider that my identity should be Chinese perhaps after the handover. ... I believed that (Hong Kong) had really returned (to China) and my identity was like, my BNO (passport) is replaced by the SAR passport. (Annie, post-1970)

Alex was uninterested in the question of national identity before the handover too. He attributes such indifference to the depoliticised education of the colonial government. After the handover, Alex was affected by top-down nation-building which prompted him to reflect on his national identity. Here he depicts the changes:

… I didn't really think about (my national identity) … because before the handover, the British government was… teaching the children to study, make money and succeed in the future. However, after the handover, the Hong Kong government or CCP always emphasise that 'your identity has changed'. Then of course I thought about (my identity). (Alex, post-1970)

Respondents from post-1980 generation demonstrate nostalgia for the colonial era, even more acutely than post-1970 generation, although they were possibly too young to remember anything about those days. For instance, Brandon acknowledges that the gradual loss of the British legacy, such as the social infrastructure and a well-established legal system, reminds him of the 'Good Old Days':

… To be fair, we were only 12 or 13 in 1997. Did the British have great impact on my life? I wouldn't go that far, but somehow you only cherish those things when you lose them. You see everything that the Brits did which we now lost. You then feel, wow, they (British) have really done a great job, such as establishing all institutions and the rule of law. (Brandon, post-1980)

Betty also reminisces about the colonial past, a time when life seemed more carefree. She admits that her Hongkonger identity has been reinforced by the 'glorious past' before the handover:

I should be 16 in 1997 so in fact most of my childhood and adolescence of my life was spent under the British Administration of Hong Kong. I remember I was relatively, or even my parents were, less troubled. ... I felt much more blissful than now so that's why I identify myself as Hongkonger. Actually I just reminisce about the life before 1997. (Betty, post-1980)

4.5.2. The Sichuan Earthquake and Beijing Olympics in 2008

Statistics show that Chinese identity among Hong Kong people reached its peak in 2008 (HKUPOP, 2019). Two major events may have fostered a strong sense of Chinese identity: the Sichuan Earthquake in May and the Beijing Olympics in August.

A study on the attitude of Hong Kong people towards the Sichuan Earthquake indicates that it had strengthened the national identification of the Hong Kong people (CUHK, 2008). While the percentage of respondents from Hong Kong who identified as Chinese rose significantly from 35.9 percent in October 2007 to 55.9 per cent in May 2008, the percentage of those who identified as Hongkongers dropped from 51.7 per cent to 28.1 per cent in the same period. My study agrees with this finding. Respondents Emma and Edward expressed their deep affection for Sichuan and demonstrated their commitment to making donations. Emma recalls the sadness and compassion she and her peers felt for the disaster:

In 2008 it was the (Beijing) Olympics and there was the Sichuan earthquake in May. At that time the national identification of Hong Kong (people) was at its peak. ... Everyone thought that we ought to help Sichuan. I was only Secondary three, I was very young. I remember everyone went to the [school] hall to watch a

footage. Then (we) felt very sad and some classmates even cried. We had to go to

many memorial events. (Emma, post-1990)

Emma is not the only one from post-1990 generation who felt compassionate for her Chinese comrades, Edward also recognised his Chinese identity overtly because of the natural disaster. At his young age, he even tried hard to save up and donate to the relief work:

There were changes within me. I seemed to identify myself as Hongkonger in

China during the 2008 Olympics. I even made donations from my money for food

to the Sichuan Earthquake (relief) every day, one (Hong Kong) dollar per day. ...

At that time Chinese identity still existed. However, if you ask me to acknowledge

myself as Chinese now, I will consider it as a sad thing. (Edward, post-1990)

Subsequent enthusiasm was displayed for the Beijing Olympic Games in the same year. Respondents such as Darwin and Daniel assert how proud they felt of their national identity because of China's achievements. For instance, Darwin recalls how the Olympic Games in 2008 fostered his national pride:

When I was little, the sense of pride would be enhanced by the many achievements

which China made, especially during my primary school, for example ... the 2008

Olympics... As a Hongkonger, I felt proud of being part of the Chinese

achievements. (Darwin, post-1990)

It is worth noting how Daniel perceives the 2008 Olympics as a competition with 'Western' opponents beyond the sporting ground. His sense of national pride

corresponds to the official discourse of national humiliation, in which China was portrayed as a victim of imperialism by Western powers over a long period of time to stir nationalism. In particular, Daniel quoted Mao's slogan to describe the deeper meaning of the achievement behind the sporting event:

China was the host and the overall champion of the 2008 Olympics. At that time it felt awesome. (China) Overtook and surpassed the UK and the US [超英趕美]. I felt very proud of being a so-called Chinese. Eight years ago, I was eleven or twelve so I didn't have critical thinking but accepted this sheer socialisation or family education. In the context of Hong Kong, there was a pan-Chinese sentiment at school and on the media. (Daniel, post-1990)

4.5.3. The Annual June 4th Vigil

The attitudinal change towards the annual June 4th vigil can be seen as one of the significant indicators of the Hong Kong people's complex national identity. To begin with, the shared intention which motivated some respondents to attend the vigil was 'liberal patriotism', a mixture of pan-Chinese patriotism based on shared ethno-cultural characteristics and liberal values, such as the concerns for human rights and democracy, of Hong Kong people (Chan and Chan, 2014). For instance, Collin was driven by the sense of 'we-ness' and moral responsibility for his compatriots when he first participated in the vigil:

... At that time [around 2008], I perceived myself as Chinese. I figured that the vindication (of those perished) during the June 4th was necessary because China is part of us, and Chinese are our compatriots. (Collin, post-1980)

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Moreover, Collin's personal encounter with Chinese students in regard to their understanding and attitudes towards the June 4th crackdown convinced him that people in Hong Kong shared the obligations of safeguarding the free flow of information and speaking against the wrongs of the regime. His narrative demonstrates a strong liberal value of freedom of speech. Here is his encounter at university:

… When I was studying at university, a lecturer was talking about the June 4th incident. He was only stating facts: the tank was blocked by a person. Then those exchange students from mainland reacted quite strong and said, 'The tank did not run over the student. He was only there. What's wrong with that?'. … They arrived in Hong Kong where they received free education and some other different information. If they were given the chance to be reflective, could they really reflect on facts and right and wrong? I personally think that many mainland (Chinese) students have always had the belief that many of the things which the CCP did are not wrong. From their perspective, the regime might have been subverted and country might have started to break up if I didn't suppress this student movement. … we hope that the values we believe in will not be twisted for whatever reason. … We are brave to speak out and right their wrongs when we are faced with some strong powers or any regime. This is the value we believe in. (Collin, post-1980)

In a similar way, Amy was also driven by her assertion of the right to patriotism when she initiated her veteran participation in the June 4th vigil since she first witnessed the June 4th crackdown on the Hong Kong media in 1989. Despite her young age as a primary school student, she still remembers this shocking experience:

... Even though you were still a colony, you still had a concept that you were actually part of China. And then because I really had first-hand experience by watching the news from when they first gathered around the Tiananmen Square until it ended. ... It was very shocking because you figured that they were doing the right thing by coming out but many were dead. I felt for it deeply probably because I had first-hand experience. ... It was rumoured that there would not be any June 4th vigil after 1997, so I had been attending it since 1995 or 1996. ... Perhaps it was also due to some ambiguous patriotic feelings which you (felt) part of China. (Amy, post-1970)

While the June 4th vigil marked the liberal patriotism of many people in Hong Kong for the Chinese nation, this identification has surprisingly changed and been reinvented in recent years. For example, the veteran participant of the June 4th vigil Amy articulates her struggle with persisting in showing concern for the matter:

R: As I said, I had been attending the June 4th (vigil) annually since secondary school. ... In the last two years, I really felt a bit tired. And frankly the Hongkonger identity has indeed been re-established for me personally. Some people said that 'China is none of my business'. It hasn't gone as far as cutting myself off. After all, it was a very shocking incident right from the start of the massacre. ... But if you ask me at this moment, between Hong Kong and June 4th, of course I will take care of issues in Hong Kong first. ... I do have this attitudinal change during these two years.

I: These two years refer to…?

R: After the Umbrella (Movement). (Amy, post-1970)

Amy's account demonstrates a shift from a pan-Chinese identification expressed in the June 4th vigil to a localist concern; where events that happen in China and HK are prioritised. Amy highlights that she has not withdrawn her concern for China but she began to stop holding onto the relevance of the vigil. Both Alex and Charles' narratives illustrate a slightly different shift. They were first influenced by ethnic nationalism, but now they have turned to localism and put Chinese affairs completely behind them. Here Alex acknowledges his breakaway from the goals of the June 4th vigil and a redefinition of who 'we' are:

I: Have you ever felt that the relations between Hongkongers and Chinese are actually like 'blood is thicker than water'?

R: I did think so. I did think that the so-called rehabilitation of the 1989 pro-democracy movement or fighting democracy for the people of the PRC was very important. Recently my view is leaning more towards localism, that these are problems of another country and none of my business. ... I now define 'blood is thicker than water' as those who are closest to me, such as friends or relatives. Other relations are only built upon shared interests but not 'blood is thicker than water'. Therefore, I am now alert and need to find out what these words actually mean when I see 'patriotism' and 'blood is thicker than water'. (Alex, post-1970)

Charles also describes his gradual transformation with respect to the relevance of the June 4th vigil:

When I used to attend the June 4th (vigil), I would chant slogans, all four of them, like 'demand accountability of the June 4th massacre', 'build a democratic

China'. I can't remember the exact four slogans. In early years I still chanted the four slogans. Gradually I stopped chanting 'build a democratic China' and now I don't attend the June 4th vigil. Eventually... I felt that it was none of my business. China is a massive cancer cell and is sort of incurable. The Chinese (people) are perhaps the small cancer cells. What I can do is I cut myself off from them. I now feel indifferent to them. (Charles, post-1980)

Although the three accounts all emphasise their prioritised local concerns, only Alex and Charles' accounts highlight indifferent feelings towards the goals of building a democratic China and their clear demarcation from the Chinese nation and its people. In particular, Alex treats the rhetoric of pan-Chinese identification with scepticism and this affects his moral commitment to the meaning of June 4th and other national affairs. Charles' account further associates his feeling of powerlessness with the breakaway from the June 4th vigil. This is maybe rooted in the seemingly impossibility of building a democratic China as Charles portrays both China and its people as 'incurable' cancer cells. For Charles, mainland Chinese are seriously affected by the propaganda and the authoritarian governance of the CCP. He does not have any confidence in changing their minds or shaking the regime. The phrase 'Chinese as smaller cancer cells' suggests a racial framing of mainland Chinese, but Chris understood it differently. Chris reasserts that he regards both the CCP regime and mainland Chinese as cancer cells, but from his perspective, it merely means that there are problems in the PRC which requires fundamental 'treatment'. To him, even though cancer sounds like a deadly disease, there is always a chance to treat it. Here Chris responds to Charles' opinions towards the Chinese regime and mainland Chinese:

The CCP regime is probably a cancer cell, but whether or not Chinese are cancer cells, he (Charles) did not make a footnote. I have been thinking about it, and still think that actually Chinese are like what we discussed, under their education and society, Chinese are cancer cells! But the point is that even if someone has cancer, which is a serious illness, it doesn't mean that he can't recover. ... No matter how slim the chance of recovery for a cancer patient, there's still chance for him to be cured. I think that 'Chinese are cancer cells' is a statement rather than an insult or devaluation. If you were a cancer patient, you should even put more effort into healing your illness. (Chris, post-1980)

4.5.4. The Causeway Bay Bookseller Disappearance in 2015

A more recent critical event which has influenced identification with Chinese identity is the Causeway Bay booksellers' disappearances. Between October and December 2015, five staff members, including the owners of Causeway Bay Books in Hong Kong went missing. One of them, Lee Bo was last seen in Hong Kong and was reported missing by his wife. She later on received a phone call from Lee reassuring her that he had to go to mainland to assist with investigations. However, his home return permit was left at home in Hong Kong. The Immigration Department had no record of Lee having left Hong Kong, and Hong Kong did not have any extradition agreement with the PRC. Many suspected that Lee was abducted by the mainland public security bureau from Hong Kong to China, which would be a violation of 'one country, two systems' (Chou and Siu, 2016; Liu, 2016). Here Brenda points out how the case shows China's promise of 'one country, two systems' to be fraudulent:

... the situation of the Causeway Bay Bookstore is indeed very worrying. It's so-called 'one country, two systems' now, but I think it has already turned into 'one country, one system'. Hong Kong has no bargaining power negotiating with the central (government) at all. (Brenda, post-1980)

Darwin is one of the respondents who views Lee's disappearance as an example of Chinese illegal interference in Hong Kong. It appears that this issue has reduced his concern for Chinese affairs:

R: In the past, (I) might have thought that Hong Kong was obliged to help China but now (I) don't think so. ... Now the impression left by China is that China is seemingly helping Hong Kong, China appears to patronise Hong Kong. So I think it isn't necessarily for Hong Kong ... to help mainland China.

I: Are you implying that China is not always helping Hong Kong?

R: ... Something which the Chinese government is doing, especially what happened to Lee Bo recently, is undoubtedly interrupting Hongkongers' everyday life. (Darwin, post-1990)

Here Brandon points out that the case implies the loss of freedom of the press in Hong Kong:

... Those five including Lee Bo and Gui Minhai were abducted in Hong Kong. It basically tells us that Hong Kong has lost its freedom of the press. (Brandon, post-1980)

Alan expresses his fright at the far reaching impacts on freedom of speech and confidence in the Chinese legal system due to the abduction of the bookseller:

I: Is there any example which makes you feel strongly that the freedom of speech is continuously being restricted?

R: The most obvious and recent case is the Causeway Bay Bookstore with Lee Bo. That really begins to frighten me.

I: What is so frightening?

R: ... I can't be sure whether the Chinese public security bureau really executed the law in Hong Kong, but I would consider it as white terror. We are talking about being 'disappeared' [abducted] because (he) published some books! There's not even a clear prosecution. There won't be any trial process. ... That's not a transparent law execution. That's the most worrying case so far. (Alan, post-1970)

This incident has not only elicited fear for the loss of autonomy in contemporary Hong Kong, but it also caused Denise to worry about the future of Hong Kong. This motivated her to resist in the hope that it would stop Hong Kong from worsening any further. Here Denise expresses her worry evoked by the Causeway Bay Bookseller Disappearance:

... For instance the Causeway Bay Bookstore incident, does it mean that the Central (Government) can just send anyone to interfere with the Hong Kong affairs without going through the police? Actually I have been wondering whether it means that the Central (Government) can just do anything their like in Hong Kong? If we don't fight now, will it get worse? Perhaps next time we don't even know about something like the Causeway Bay Incident. (Denise, post-1990)

The Causeway Bay Bookseller Disappearance has not only induced fear of illegal rendition and freedom of expression among respondents, but it has also shown that China has no respect for the border and values in Hong Kong. Issues such as Hong Kong's autonomy and human rights are also expressed by respondents. Some doubts have been cast upon the credibility and effectiveness of the 'one country, two systems' pledge. The event has deepened distrust of the CCP and accelerated the dissatisfaction with the less autonomous state of Hong Kong.

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the interpretations of multiple national identity labels, including Hongkonger in China, Chinese in Hong Kong, Hongkonger, and Chinese from respondents' perspectives. Not only did respondents articulate how they perceived these identity claims, but they also explained why they made or did not make certain claims. After the Umbrella Movement, there is a trend of deserting or rejecting Chinese identity and embracing an exclusive Hongkonger identity. Previous studies show that a political China or the Chinese state is commonly rejected, but I have found that there is an increasing resistance to an 'ethno-cultural China', which was widely accepted in the past. The claim for an exclusive Hongkonger identity is particularly salient among post-1990 generation. Some post-1990 respondents attribute this phenomenon to the change of mainstream discourse from democratic-reunification to Hong Kong independence or self-determination. It appears that most respondents had hope, regardless of how slight it was, with the 'one country, two systems' which might ensure a high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong even after the transfer of sovereignty, but they

all expressed disappointment and loss of hope with the ways the CCP has been interfering with Hong Kong's internal affairs. This had contributed greatly to the identity development of respondents in post-1997 Hong Kong, as exemplified by their personal narratives and some critical events.

Chapter 5. Cognitive Markers of Hong Kong Identity

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I explored how respondents make their national identity claims, their interpretation of these claims and the changing nature of these national identifications. The previous chapter indicates a salient Hongkonger identity and a weakening Chinese identity, which prompts us to ask, what are the cognitive markers that constitute a salient Hongkonger identity?

In this chapter I intend to explore what cultural and civic markers are involved in defining the Hongkonger identity, and the significance of ethnic markers in affecting the level of acceptance towards immigrants and defining national identity. In so doing, the classical differentiation between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalisms (Kohn, 1944) as they are articulated in Hong Kong identity is critically examined. Traditionally, ethnic nationalism is regarded as 'exclusive' and 'illiberal'; in which ethnic nations are unified by common descent, customs and traditions, and vernacular language; while civic nationalism is considered to be 'inclusive' and 'liberal' in which civic nations are unified by territory, a community of laws and institutions, and a common civic culture and ideology (Bakke, 2000). Although ethnic and civic elements of a nation are often discussed in a dualistic manner, Anthony Smith (1991) states that a mixture of both is more likely to exist in varying degrees in reality. Furthermore, Shulman (2002) points out that cultural markers should be treated as analytically distinct from, instead of included as part of, ethnic markers because they vary in their level of inclusiveness.

In the context of Hong Kong, 'Hongkongers' are not a fixed group and the concept of 'Hongkonger' is not crystallised. In various situations, people define who they are and who they are not according to certain 'markers'. These markers are the attributes or characteristics to which people consciously subscribe, and share with their national compatriots to form a particular 'imagined community'. In the context of this thesis, these markers refer to the 'objective' criteria people use in defining their Hongkonger identity, setting out boundaries of inclusion and exclusion with regard to group membership of the Hong Kong community.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section focuses on the cultural markers in association with the Hongkonger identity. Cultural markers include language and cultural practices. The second section focuses on two civic markers, including 'the will to commit' and 'civic values'. The third section moves on to examine the significance of ethnic markers in differentiating an incomer from the Hongkonger community, and as defining features of national identity. Specifically, three real-life examples of ethnic minorities or immigrants with different ethnic descents are used to investigate respondents' level of acceptance and their reasoning for this acceptance. In addition, respondents were asked to comment on an ethnic discourse on China based on race and shared ethnic ties.

5.2. Cultural Markers

Culture provides the symbolic content of national identity for individuals. A common culture can often build up solidarity among the members of a certain community and provide them a basis of being distinctive from others (Guibernau, 1996). In the

following parts, language and cultural practices in relation to the Hongkonger identity-building are discussed.

5.2.1. Language

Language is a key aspect of culture in consolidating national identity and nationalism (Keating, 2001). In Hong Kong, Cantonese is treated and is used as the mother tongue and everyday language of the majority of Hongkongers. It is an important marker of the Hongkonger identity. Davis emphasises the importance of Cantonese in constructing Hong Kong culture. The feelings of authenticity and pride are evoked through the use of Cantonese but it appears to Davis that the Hongkonger identity is at stake because Cantonese is downplayed. Here Davis speaks about his worries over the loss of Hong Kong cultural identity:

> *The Hong Kong culture is constituted by Cantonese. Our books, ... our songs, movies. ... If you were like those kids who grow up speaking Mandarin, they would be unable to connect with this (Hong Kong) culture. That will be a serious problem because the Hong Kong culture which we are so proud of will cease to pass on to the next generations. (Davis, post-1990)*

Davis expresses a strong identification with Cantonese, in which he contrasts it with Mandarin. He sees the latter as merely a medium of communication and shows no attachment to it. In his opinion, with a world language and a local language, Hongkongers can dispense with the state language. In Davis' narrative, he regards language as an important element of a nation. It is worth noting that Davis seems to imply that he sees Hong Kong as a nation when he feels that the status of Cantonese is

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being discredited. Anthony Smith (1991, p. 73) asserts that nationalism can be linked up with language and symbolism, 'A nationalist language and symbolism… connects that ideology with the "mass sentiments" of wider segments of the designated population, notably through slogans, ideas, symbols and ceremonies'. Davis senses a threat to Cantonese when he hears the future generations speak more English and Mandarin than Cantonese as a result of the language-in-education policy. He is convinced that the aim of Mandarin education, as part of the official nation-building project since reunification, is to replace Cantonese with the Chinese national language and eventually remove this source of pride of Hongkongers. From his perspective, Cantonese has become a minority language especially when the younger generations seem to be less capable of speaking it. This has elicited their fear of losing their cultural identity. Davis explains his concerns for Cantonese:

... I think language is the most important thing (of determining civic awareness). I think that no matter how proficient we are in Mandarin, we will not have the linguistic intuition like the Mandarin speakers. (He raised an example to contrast Cantonese with Mandarin.) ... Learning Mandarin is fine as long as you treat it as a language, like a course offered by University. It (Mandarin) is like German and Japanese. I don't think it is so special that (the schools should be) forced to teach it. There must be a political agenda. Why aren't schools forced to teach Spanish? I think Cantonese and English are sufficient for you to survive in Hong Kong, or even in the world. ... PMI [Mandarin as Medium of Instruction] directly affects the kindergarten students. It's very dreadful! They are speaking Mandarin. They either speak English or Mandarin. It's very dreadful to me! ... Cantonese is being

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belittled to an even lower status. To destroy a nation, first destroy its language. ...

(Davis, post-1990)

To put Davis' concern for the marginalisation of Cantonese into context, it is useful to understand the government's positioning through its language-in-education policy. The SAR government has promoted the national language – Mandarin – towards 'bi-literacy' (to master written English and Chinese) and 'trilingualism' (to speak fluent Cantonese, Mandarin and English), especially in education since 1997 (Evans, 2013). Even so, Cantonese is only considered to be a medium of instruction in the CMI (Chinese as Medium of instruction) schools (Lee and Leung, 2012). No specific funding is attributed to teaching in Cantonese in comparison to Mandarin, in which the government has been providing incentives since the handover. At school, the basic knowledge and daily application of Cantonese has never been included in any systematic curricula. On the other hand, the long-term goal of teaching Chinese Language in Mandarin was fully endorsed by the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR, 2003). Mandarin has since become a core component of the primary and secondary curricula, both as a subject on its own and a teaching medium. With the rise of contacts between Hong Kong and China in all aspects, the role of Mandarin was promoted from peripheral to core status after 1997.

It is under this politicising of language that the common thread of upholding or safeguarding Cantonese vis-a-vis rejecting Mandarin emerges in the interviews. For instance, The post-1990 generation, such as Davis and Daisy, were under the influence of the promotion of Mandarin in education since 1997. Nevertheless, both Daisy and

Davis react to the national language of China quite strongly. In Daisy's view, Mandarin education is meant to replace Cantonese altogether. Both Davis and Daisy believe that children need to be functional in Cantonese in order to operate fully as future Hongkongers but in their everyday life encounters they witness Cantonese to be undervalued by younger generations. Here Daisy talks about her fear of losing the cultural distinctiveness of being a Hongkonger with the reducing use of Cantonese:

... So when they are talking about uprooting [wiping out the past], Mandarin education, those kinds of things, I am very worried. If even the local language or dialect can be wiped out, we will lose our difference [distinctiveness]. ... If I imagine the people in Hong Kong will not know how to speak Cantonese, this feels very worrying. And the kids nowadays are really worse (at Cantonese)... (Daisy, post-1990)

This cultural battle of identity emanates from the competition between Cantonese and Mandarin (these are spoken, or vernacular, language definitions) to the written form of Chinese. Traditional Chinese characters are used in Hong Kong and simplified Chinese characters are used in China. Many view traditional Chinese characters as the authentic symbols of the ancient Chinese culture and develop a sense of pride in them. Respondents such as Denise create an oversimplified dichotomy of the two ethnic groups - Hongkongers who write traditional Chinese vis-a-vis mainlanders who write simplified Chinese:

I: What makes a Hongkonger?

R: The basic and foremost (marker) is speaking Cantonese and writing traditional Chinese because at least mainlanders are not willing to speak (Cantonese). Being

incapable of writing traditional Chinese is also a major difference. In the

mainland, (they) surely don't write traditional Chinese but only simplified Chinese.

(Denise, post-1990)

Such differentiation is interesting for two reasons. First, Cantonese is only a *de facto* official language because the colonial government did not specify which of the Chinese languages should be used when the policy was implemented in the 1970s. In addition, Cantonese is a vernacular language in which its written characters are not recognised as the standard form and therefore are not used in education and public administration (Evans, 2013). For pragmatic reasons, people in Hong Kong would benefit much more if they adopt as many languages as possible, especially when the status of Mandarin is on the rise in the world. However, Cantonese, alongside traditional Chinese, is now used by respondents like Denise to draw identity boundaries as different to Mandarin users in China. It implies that the Cantonese-speaking community in Hong Kong feel the threat to the local language and their Hongkonger identity. Second, Denise chose to make reference to the Mandarin speakers instead of the English speakers. English has a much longer historical rooting in Hong Kong since the beginning of the colonial era. English was not only the 'coloniser's language', but also the language for the privileged minority in colonial Hong Kong. Although the English-speaking community is quite small, English is still an official language in post-1997 Hong Kong. People in Hong Kong seldom question the privileged status of English and its speakers. However, Mandarin has become more prevalent since reunification. Judging from the overwhelming references and examples addressing Mandarin speaking groups from China, it indicates that there is a greater tension between the Cantonese and Mandarin

speaking communities. We can see that the current identity differentiation is associated with a specific language group which in this case is Hongkongers versus mainlanders.

Cantonese and traditional Chinese are not only the determinants of defining who 'we' are, but they have also become the factor of constructing the 'other' people. In this process of ingroup and outgroup negotiation, it affects respondents' perceptions of immigrants and their intergroup relations. In the following, the discussion is centered on how the acquisition of the local language might have affected whether one is to be seen as part of the Hongkonger community. In Cantonese, there is only one word 融入 for both assimilation and integration. In most cases, respondents did not specify which concept they referred to. Thus, I have used 'integration' for all translated quotations unless specified.

To start with, Emma emphasises the importance for an immigrant to learn Cantonese. This is almost the very first step towards one's integration into the host society. She even uses 'must' to make learning the local language a necessary rather than an optional requirement, alongside her stress on the need for learning traditional Chinese:

> … *(Immigrants settling in Hong Kong) must speak Cantonese and read our language. (Emma, post-1990)*

Aaron presents a different view. As far as integration is concerned, Aaron thinks that immigrants should only be required to speak one of the two official languages in their everyday communications. He shows no attempt to promote the prominence of Cantonese. Differing from other respondents, his focus is primarily on the pragmatic

aspect of language in which one would be able to function in either English or Cantonese. Here Aaron illustrates his definition of integration:

What does it mean by integration? For example we speak Cantonese, then you should at least, I don't mean you have to use it all the time, but at least you can conduct in basic conversations. (One should) use Chinese, be able to read the local language. If you say "I don't like using Chinese. I only use English." Fine! You can use English. ... No one will blame you if you speak English. ... (Aaron, post-1970)

Denise, Dominick and Bruce make specific remarks on the immigrants from China when they give counterexamples of integration. They express exclusionary tendencies towards Mandarin-speaking immigrants. It would be incorrect, however, to assume that they exclude all Mandarin speaking immigrants, such as those from Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. There are different levels of integration in their view. Denise seems to suggest that immigrants from China should leave their native language behind and embrace the local language fully once they settle in Hong Kong:

I: What's the criterion (for one to be considered as a local)?

R: ... The second (criterion) is to learn Cantonese, the mother tongue in Hong Kong. If they (immigrants from China) come to Hong Kong and still use Mandarin and simplified characters, they actually don't fit in Hong Kong; they are actually living in China. There's no reason for Hong Kong to accommodate them by changing many things into Mandarin. (It's) impossible. Although many primary schools are teaching Chinese in Mandarin, I still can't accept it. (Denise, post-1990)

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In the same way, Bruce appears to emphasise some status distinctions between locals and non-locals. His emphasis on 'whose land is it?' reveals a strong sense of ownership and dominance. The example of conversation in the market symbolises an everyday encounter with the other people who speak a different language from the locals. The market is represented as a public space which belongs to those who speak the dominant language Cantonese. While Bruce reacts negatively to Mandarin, his attitude reveals to us that he sees Mandarin as a threat to his local language, and Mandarin speakers who, for whatever reason do not speak Cantonese may not fully participate in daily interactions. Their 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), which is a form of cultural capital determining an individual's position in society, is more or less devalued (Lowe and Tsang, 2017) and hence hinders them from being included in Hong Kong society. Here Bruce expresses his disdain towards Mandarin speakers:

… If you arrive here you should behave like, what I have just mentioned, Hongkongers. That means you need to integrate into this society. You need to know whose society we are in. What do we call it? Do what the Romans do. … We speak Cantonese in public, right? You go grocery shopping in the market. The person next to you is speaking Mandarin. You reply in Cantonese. "(I) can't understand. Speak Chinese" [respondent imitated in Mandarin] Why should we speak Chinese? Whose land is it? From the minor issue, we can determine whether you are a Hongkonger. (Bruce, post-1980)

Dominick shares Bruce's frustration with Mandarin speakers from mainland China who are considered to be reluctant to speak the local language and integrate into Hong Kong

society. This is seemingly a narrow-minded nativist attitude towards immigrants, in which displays a 'populist opposition to immigration and ethnic or cultural minority groups' (Lam, 2018, p. 73). However, Lam (2018, p. 73) found that nativism in post-1997 Hong Kong has its contextual root: 'insomuch as nativism is employed by local communities to defend its members against the encroachment of centralised government power or plans, it is paradoxically associated with localist and even multicultural orientations. Nativism can thus mean the attempts of survival, revival or perpetuation of an indigenous culture in opposition to acculturation due to political reasons or globalisation'.

Although Dominick agrees that Chinese immigrants should adopt the local language, he does not reject the use of their native language. He intends to make Cantonese a common language for communication, but not to enhance ethnic differences between different language groups. Here he gives his views:

I: Just now you mentioned the idea of civic nationalism, including values and cultural aspect. I think the idea is contested because you suggested language, and Cantonese is what we usually promote because we all speak Cantonese. But since Hong Kong has been inclined to multiculturalism, will it obliterate the preservation or inheritance of other cultures when we put an emphasis on Cantonese?

R: I think, I think… how to put this? I am not saying… I think we don't really discriminate against a particular language. We don't really… Let's use Mandarin as an example. We don't really dislike Mandarin, to be honest. We dislike Mandarin because of the users. They don't have a humble heart to come to this

place. For instance, will you demand the French to speak Cantonese or Mandarin

if you go to France? You won't do it because you respect the local culture. You

still have the space to use Mandarin but you can't force others to use Mandarin or

simplified characters. You can't do that! This is our place! You have the right to

choose to use it. But in public and groups, I hope they are willing to learn our

culture, to learn our language instead of demanding us, in our land, forcing us to

use their language. I think this is the basic respect for the (local) culture.

(Dominick, post-1990)

While Denise and Bruce are leaning towards the idea of assimilation, Dominick is more inclined to support multiculturalism. Nevertheless, all of them share the fear of language domination in which Mandarin is being made a lingua franca, a prestigious language in Hong Kong through the expansion of Mandarin in education and everyday life.

So far, the 'other people' mostly refers to immigrants from China who do not attempt to speak the local language. In order to check whether the same standard is applied to English-speaking migrants, I raised a question as shown in the following excerpt. In the group discussion, both Emma and Albert refuse to acknowledge the English speaking migrants who do not speak any Cantonese as part of the Hongkonger community, even though English is one of the official languages in the city. Emma and Albert interpret the act of not speaking Cantonese as unwillingness to integrate:

I: If you talk about Cantonese and language, there are many English speaking

Caucasians or migrants, who may have been living in Hong Kong for 30 years,

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and cannot speak a single Cantonese sentence, not to mention reading traditional

Chinese. In your views, do you see them as Hongkongers?

R1: No.

R2: I think (if) he can't speak Cantonese after 30 years…

R1: That means he hasn't tried.

R2: Obviously (he has) not integrated into the life (here).

I: But in Hong Kong, you can survive with English because the official languages

are Chinese and English.

R1: No, if you go to Australia, you can also survive without knowing English. Just

stay in China Town! It's not the point.

I: Is there a standard for integration?

R1: All depends on whether you are willing to try. If you can't speak a single

sentence in 30 years… Depends on whether you are willing to try.

(R1: Albert, post-1970; R2: Emma, post-1990)

Daisy also regards speaking Cantonese as an indication of one's adaptation to the host society. It is not clear whether she assumes that immigrants should give up their languages and replace them with Cantonese. She also mentions that immigrants should take on a 'Hong Kong culture and lifestyle', which shows that language is not an exclusive marker of being included in the 'Hongkonger' community. For her, there is a valid claim for 'Hong Kong culture and lifestyle' which a foreigner can adopt. Overall, responses from Daisy, Emma and Albert reveal that one's commitment to the host society is the ultimate criterion for an incomer to be included and accepted. Daisy

asserts that speaking the native language is only an outward and basic proof of one's commitment to the host society:

If you arrive in Hong Kong, I assume that you want to be part of this place. You will think of ways to integrate into this society. The first basic (way) of integration is that you will certainly learn the language to communicate with others. But if (one) doesn't even know how to speak Cantonese, then I think you aren't... aren't Hongkongers. I think this [speaking Cantonese] is very basic. (Daisy, post-1990)

5.2.2. Cultural Practices

Respondents like Davis and Brian define their Hongkonger identity in terms of the local food culture. In Davis' narrative, specific street food items such as fish balls, bubble waffles and local style diners become symbols of cultural identity, symbols that he does not find in the fancy restaurants nor in popular tourist attractions. However, these symbols embody the in-betweenness of Hong Kong identity because local cuisine can hardly be categorised as Chinese or Western. For example, *Cha Chaan Teng* is a reinvention of Chinese food and Western dining culture. It welcomes any customer including grassroots workers and the middle-class in this cosmopolitan city. The point is made by Davis:

Just now I said that those who have shared cultural background are Hongkongers. That's the simplest (definition). ... There are so many shared cultural (elements), (including) curry fish balls, TVB, bubble waffles, Cha Chaan Teng [茶餐廳 Hong Kong-style diners], eating sushi... they all construct Hongkongers. (Davis, post-1990)

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In particular, Brian thinks of the indigenous drink *Yuenyeung*, which is a mixture of coffee and Hong Kong style milk-tea, as a symbol signifying the hybridised and fluidic nature of Hongkongers:

For instance, Yuenyeung [鴛鴦] is world famous. It has taken someone else's thing and turned into ours, which has been mixed into different things and emerged. The Cha Chaan Teng culture is locally distinct. It's not just food and drink but the whole mode of expression. This is our visible culture. (Brian, post-1980)

The local cuisine is greatly influenced by Southern Chinese food culture. Hong Kong has also bred its own distinctive style from other Chinese cuisine. Local cuisine is well-known for its 'East meets West' characteristics. It is fair to say that Hong Kong food culture is not a product of creation but re-creation. It localises anything foreign to suit the taste of locals on a low budget. Although *Yuenyeung* is perhaps a popular and unique beverage amongst locals, this local drink is hardly 'world famous' compared to sushi, for example. It reveals that Brian's perception of how others view 'us' is affected by how he defines 'us'. The examples given by both Davis and Brian can be considered part of popular culture and are the constituents of their everyday life. It is worth noting that these cultural artefacts are rather grass-root and ordinary which are only known of, and appreciated by, local people.

Apart from their food culture, Brian thinks that Hong Kong people are very adaptable. In his view, people in colonial Hong Kong were not given much freedom to be involved in the then political or social developments before 1997. As a result, they focused mainly on economic activities and were accustomed to utilising whatever resources

were at hand to make ends meet. While he suggests that there is a distinct Hong Kong culture, he does not seem to think that this culture is 'original' or 'indigenous'. Instead, he comments that local culture is affected by 'whatever is imported' too easily, be it British or Chinese culture. This is what Baker (1983, p. 478) depicts as 'Hong Kong Man': 'He is go-getting and highly competitive, tough for survival, quick-thinking and flexible. He wears western clothes, speaks English or expects his children to do so, he drinks western alcohol, has sophisticated tastes in cars and household gadgetry, and expects life to provide a constant stream of excitement and new openings'. Brian's view reveals the multi-faceted and changing nature of Hong Kong culture which is highly tolerant and accepting, and infused with all sorts of influences. In addition, he attributes this adaptable and flexible Hong Kong culture to the economic success of the city. This so-called 'Hong Kong Dream' - a bit of luck and hard work which brings great success - was bred in the midst of rapid socio-economic development in the 1970s (Mathews et. al., 2008). It resulted in a market mentality which prioritises self-interest and pragmatism. Here Brian depicts the adaptable and market-oriented Hong Kong culture:

... I think it's a kind of worldview, which includes a lot of facets and levels of acceptance. For instance, we appear to be very traditional... We are Anglo-China[3]. (We speak) Chinese interspersed with English words. It's a distinct culture. Our level of acceptance is so high that we sometimes don't seem to have any local cultural consciousness. We accept whatever is imported to us. We even still do some of the things that are from China because (we) have had no say since colonial (era). Politically we are not as free as we imagine, we had to do whatever British assigned. ... (We are) flexible because of our utilitarianism. The cultural

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[3] The phrase came from Christopher Munn's (2009) book *Anglo-China*.

expression is finding the simplest and most efficient way for returns. This is also

the British legacy because in so doing we can maintain the highest GDP. (Brian,

post-1980)

Hongkongers are known for their economically-oriented mentality. Their generosity, exemplified by their large donations for humanitarian causes, is hardly mentioned (Lai, 2016). Hongkongers are as complicated as Adam describes. He depicts the materialistic side of Hongkongers by giving the example of how shoppers compete for bargains. At the same time, Hongkongers are defined as a collective willing to share resources at critical times, such as during the Umbrella Movement. According to Adam, the same group of people can both be sharing and competing for resources:

Hong Kong culture… is a collective lifestyle. … You thought that we depend upon

each other. But when there is a crazy sale, the people who fight against you for the

bargains are actually the same group of people who shared resources with you

during the Umbrella (Movement). … That's Hong Kong, a city where economy is

prioritised. … At that time (in the 1980s), everyone said that Hongkongers were

very busy making money. But then… they also had the Chinese culture of caring

for the family. (Adam, post-1970)

Although respondents such as Brian and Adam articulate a heterogeneous and ambivalent Hong Kong culture, some other respondents appear to posit Hongkongers as a homogeneous and unified cultural entity who inherit modernity and civility, that is the 'superior self', by contrasting and outlining an 'inferior other' specifically referring to the 'mainlanders'. For example, Daisy's narrative attempts to emphasise that the

cultural practice of Hongkongers has nothing to do with incivility. The given examples of the public conduct reveals a strong sense of orderly public life and collective discipline:

We (people in Hong Kong) think that we… shouldn't harass others by speaking so loud in the public space. We think (we) should queue, not jump in line. No spitting on the ground. … (Daisy, post-1990)

This belief in public order is shared by Denise as well. She shows pride in the seemingly civilised and considerate manner of Hongkongers, in contrast to her unimpressed perception of the toiletry practices of mainlanders:

Occasionally there are reports saying that they poop and urinate in the public, or speak very loudly. Surely that is a mainlander (if) using Mandarin. And (they) keep shopping in Hong Kong. They don't even have faith in their own stuff in mainland but had to come to Hong Kong. … I believe that Hongkongers are much more civilised. … At least Hongkongers are so educated that they won't relieve themselves just anywhere no matter how urgent it is. (Denise, post-1990)

Despite some of the shared customs and cultural roots between mainland Chinese and Hongkongers, these respondents tend to reject any similarities but magnify the differences between the two groups. In particular, backwardness and incivility are common comments regarding mainlanders. In Davis' opinion, mainland Chinese and Hong Kong cultures are mutually exclusive. He makes a general remark on Chinese culture: uncivilised. Davis asserts that he and his post-1990 generation 'naturally' rejected China regardless of the patriotic education they had received at schools. When

faced with the patriotic sentiment manifested by propaganda in schools, Davis and his peers strategically resisted it by turning the lyrics into a joke:

… (I) dislike their [mainland Chinese] culture. Our cultures cannot integrate… There is a great discrepancy between their impolite(ness), or uncivilised (ways), and our quality of life in Hong Kong. … Fundamentally, it's the issue with China. So I believe that people like us from this age range naturally reject China. … Even when we were singing those songs like 'Be a brave Chinese' [4][at primary schools], we changed the lyrics. My understanding is that we grew up in a time when we are against the Chinese popular culture. The overall cultural influence is stronger than education. (Davis, post-1990)

Since 1997, an anti-mainland sentiment characterised by a cultural clash between mainland Chinese and Hongkongers appears to have been on the rise (Ip, 2015). In the process of defining the Hongkonger identity, respondents attempted to describe who they are not by depicting the 'morally distasteful culture' of mainland Chinese (Lowe and Tsang, 2017). For example, Brandon was unimpressed by my follow-up question on why he disliked mainland Chinese, as if his reasons were self-evident facts. He displays contempt for the public conduct of mainland Chinese and he does not seem to worry about appearing racist. More importantly, he also exemplifies utilitarianism of the Chinese corporate culture. The image of an 'inferior other' to Hongkongers is vividly portrayed in his narrative:

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[4] The original song 'be a brave Chinese', my translation, (做個勇敢中國人) intends to promote patriotism and selfless sacrifice for the Chinese nation which had been under great shame and suffering. The revised song is full of sarcasms, pointing out that almost everything in China was fake.

I: You mentioned that Chinese people are the ones you dislike / hate the second most. Can you tell me what the qualities are?

R: Do I really need to tell you that? Come on! When you go online every day, I mean… the common factors are being unhygienic, messy, noisy, selfish, and harming others without benefiting oneself, … uprooting the good, not just during the Cultural Revolution but actually now, like polluting the environment. … Let me tell you two examples. … Who would come up with the idea of pooping in the subway? Pooping in the subway doesn't just imply the inconsideration of others… he would still poop and not mind being stuck with the bad smell with you for a while even if it wasn't his stop yet. This is the power of Chinese. … The second (example) is the 'big-head babies'[5], killing the next generation just for money. (Brandon, post-1980)

In daily life encounters, some respondents have been faced with situations in which they felt violated and interrupted. For example, Alice shares her unpleasant experience with a Chinese traveller in Hong Kong. Her response to this encounter reinforces the stereotype of mainland Chinese travellers being socially awkward in contrast to the sophistication and civility of urbanised Hong Kong. Furthermore, Alice's personal encounter in China also left with her a generally negative impression of the place and the people, as she continues to describe their unruly behaviours and poor environmental conditions:

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[5] The 'big-head babies' were victims of the fake instant formulas in China in 2004. Around 200 babies were fed the fake milk formulas and had developed the 'big-head disease'. Since then, food safety has become a growing issue in China (Watts, 2004).

I: Is there any daily life example which you can suggest, for instance, how lawless or how much the quality of their citizens varies?

R: Simply speaking, for example, once I went to take a bus. There were many (Chinese travellers on) the Individual Visit Scheme[6] [Respondents called these tourists IVS] in Hong Kong. I was queuing for the bus. I was probably the first (in the queue), waiting for the bus. Suddenly someone was pulling a suitcase. He was obviously an IVS who bought a lot of things. Then he asked me, 'Is this bus going to this place?' I said, 'Yes'. Hmm… Then he appeared to want to stand in front of me when there was a bus coming. It seemed that he wanted to stand in front of me. But there was a long queue behind me. So then I spoke in Mandarin and said that (the queue) was at the back. Actually what I meant was to ask him to go to the end of the queue. After I had got on the bus and paid, (I) saw that he just queued behind me. I felt unbelievable. … And although I felt quite mad, I was thinking, 'Don't you know what queueing is?' … For example, when I went to mainland, I found that neither the people nor drivers cross the roads according to the (traffic) lights. And then the air was polluted in mainland. Then… people went out in their pyjamas, talked loudly. There were cigarette butts and spitting on the floor. (Alice, post-1970)

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[6] The Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) was introduced in July 2003 as a tourism liberalisation measure under the Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement. It was first implemented in four Guangdong cities and expanded several times between July 2003 and January 2007.Under IVS, mainland residents in 49 mainland Chinese cities are eligible to apply for Individual Visit Endorsements from the local Public Security Bureau offices to visit Hong Kong in their individual capacity. Previously, most of them could only travel to Hong Kong under business visas or by joining group tours. In 2009, the Central Government allowed eligible residents with Shenzhen household registration to apply for One-year Multiple-entry IVS Endorsements, in a move to give greater convenience to their visits to Hong Kong for leisure and shopping activities. (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2014).

Charles also depicts an image of an 'inferior other' indicating at Chinese tourists. He concludes his everyday impressions of Chinese tourists of having an 'inelegant lifestyle':

... I think China refers more likely to its cultural content rather than the political institution or the CCP. ... I live in Tsim Sha Tsui [a very popular tourist district] so I see a lot of mainland tourists, who are actually a group of rude, unhygienic, embarrassing tourists. I personally see that. ... In fact, wherever you see Chinese, whenever you hear about Chinese, ... they are more likely to be bad. ... I don't say that I like China very much now. My current attitude is that I don't care about it. (Charles, post-1980)

Apart from Chinese tourists, immigrants from China are also the tangible object of an anti-mainland sentiment. Here, Aaron defines liberal cultural values as the fine culture of Hong Kong, although they are more political than cultural values. He attributes the social exclusion mainland Chinese immigrants may experience to their unwillingness to integrate into local culture. Similar to what Ip (2015) observes, Aaron's anxiety over Chinese political institutions induces him to focus even more on how Chinese immigrants behave. Here is Aaron's view:

If he [the new arrival from China] doesn't identify with Hong Kong, that means he doesn't like Hong Kong. If so, he shouldn't have come. ... He always thinks that Hongkongers exclude him, it's because you don't integrate into this culture. ... His culture is not necessarily called Chinese culture. His is only a regional culture. Of course there is a general Chinese culture which is generalised. ... Chongqing

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people may have Chongqing culture, but it has been assimilated… Sinicised. This

is the reality. ... Therefore… why Scholarism, or even Hongkongers were so afraid

of that brainwashing national education was because we were very concerned

that our fine culture – the culture of free thinking and freedom – people's culture

would be changed by a political institute to replicate the same people. (Aaron,

post-1970)

Nonetheless, not all respondents hold negative feelings towards mainland Chinese. For

instance, Anthony contrasts the different values of people and their demonstration in

everyday life from both cultures. Among 30 individual interviewees, he is one of nine

showing no overt contempt for mainland Chinese. In his narrative, he is merely stating

the observed phenomena and outlining the different cultural practices between the two

communities, without casting any moral judgement. In addition, he appears to show

sympathy for people in China since he does not blame individuals for their behaviours,

but views their public conduct as the result of corrupted institutional practices:

… There are some special values in Hong Kong, where I am living in, very

different from those in mainland. For example, regarding the views of people, it's

a big deal if a vehicle driver hurts someone, while in mainland hit-and-run is

common. (In) Hong Kong (we are) not worried about being taken advantage of. In

mainland, (people are) very worried about being taken advantage of. Many

people in Hong Kong are not like this. That means (they are) not so self-centred.

In mainland it's because of the social institutions he is situated in, many people

want to protect themselves. Hong Kong values integrity. Mainland doesn't.

(Anthony, post-1970)

5.3. Civic Markers

Shulman (2002, p. 559) summarises five major components of civic identity, comprising 'attachment to a common territory, citizenship, belief in the same political principles or ideology, respect for political institutions and enjoyment of equal political rights, and will to be a part of the nation'. In the following parts, I will discuss two main civic markers, including the will to commit and civic values derived from the data.

5.3.1. the Will to Commit

'The will to commit' is a person's will to be part of the community. The equivalent phrase may be 'loyalty to the imagined community'. Here it is defined in the form of emotion and action which research participants use to identify themselves and/or accept a migrant into the local community. I have identified three types of emotions or feelings, including a sense of belonging, love and pride which are often associated with the Hongkonger identity. These emotions or feelings will be explored in Chapter 6. The will to commit is also perceived as different forms of action which any 'authentic' Hongkonger, including natives and immigrants, should carry out to show loyalty to Hong Kong society. Shown below, I have categorised four actions, including showing concern, making contributions, safeguarding Hong Kong in the face of threats and integrating into the society.

Bobby, Alex and Amy consider showing concern for the local affairs of Hong Kong society as a way to express their will to commit. In particular, Bobby identifies political involvement as an area of concern. In his view, political involvement should not be

motivated by any material gain or pragmatic cause; he deems this an 'impure' intention. For example, the media found that some protesters were paid to rally against the pro-democracy Occupy Central in 2014 (Grundy, 2014). Those who have 'impure' intentions are regarded as opportunists, not as Hongkongers. Although Bobby holds a pro-democracy stance, he respects those who hold different political ideologies, and still perceives them as Hongkongers as long as they intend to care for the society for 'good'. He defines Hongkongers based on their political engagement in Hong Kong:

First show concern for the society. Don't tell me that you support the government because 'I get paid'. This is not a pure intention. If you think that… For example, I talk about New Year's Day [the Mongkok Confrontation on New Year's Day] again. It is also a way of showing concern if you believe that beating up police is wrong. It is also one of the core values of Hongkongers if you think that one should not use violence against violence in Hong Kong. … You can support or resist the government but you don't show concern because you have been paid to do so. These are not Hongkongers. They only want the [Hong Kong] nationality to emigrate. (Bobby, post-1980)

Bobby does not make reference to any specific group when he talks about the will to commit, whilst both Alex and Amy place their emphasis on non-native immigrants who seek to settle into Hong Kong. They expect incomers to engage with the host country at least on a cognitive level. Alex specifies that incomers should seek to understand not just a single aspect, but all aspects of society, and not just for themselves but for future generations. This implies that non-native migrants can also be part of the community as long as they care about the host country and seek to settle permanently. In addition, it

also indicates that Alex expects rational attachment rather than merely non-rational or emotional attachment from immigrants to Hong Kong. He links 'showing concern for the host country' with the will to commit:

I: Hong Kong is quite a diverse society. How do you regard someone as a Hongkonger?

R: I regard myself as one because I was raised here. But for someone who was not raised here, if he would live here in the foreseeable future, and he would care, he would understand the changes of society as a whole, including political, economic, infra-structural… everything… he would feel that these things affect him or his descendants, then I think he can call himself 'Hongkonger'. (Alex, post-1970)

Similarly, Amy emphasises that immigrants, especially those from mainland China should show concern for the local affairs after settling into Hong Kong. This emphasis of civic engagement or participation does not necessarily require individuals to address public concerns through action, but to know and pass on information to others. Moreover, Amy associates the concept of home with the host country. To her, 'home' is more than a place to live, more than a private domain where family resides; it is also about feelings and a community. Amy's narrative about home and caring for home is:

You need to treat it as your own home. If you are really a new immigrant, when you settle in here, it is not just any place but your home. You will care about this place when it is in trouble. It is not irrelevant to you. Whenever there emerges an issue, don't be indifferent. Too many people are indifferent. Even though you can't do much, you can still try to understand. At least show some care by sharing the news on Facebook even if you can't come out so that more people will know about

it. … If you treat it as your own home, you will then show your care and concern.

(Amy, post-1970)

The second form of action is contributing to the host society. It is worth noting that all respondents who prioritise this act make reference to examples of immigrants 'taking advantage of' the welfare system or resident status. The stereotype of immigrants, especially those from mainland China, being welfare dependents or opportunists is revealed in their narratives. For example, the 150 people whom Bruce mentions refers to the daily quota of One-way Permit (OWP) Scheme[7]. The scheme is implemented to allow mainland residents to settle into Hong Kong for the purpose of family reunion. Bruce believes that immigrants from China who, for whatever reason depend on welfare, are undesirable. As a semi-skilled worker himself, Bruce is not worried about the increasing competition in the workforce potentially caused by mainland Chinese immigrants; he is more concerned about the appropriate use of public resources. In the following narrative, not only does he prefer those migrants who are self-sufficient, but he also expects them to contribute to the host society through work:

R: You will become part of the society after you come here. You will build it up together and wish the best for it. But you don't come here to take advantage of this place. These are the most essential (attitudes) for Hongkongers. It's not a problem to let 150 people in every day given that all of them are productive and beneficial for Hong Kong, and they are reasonable. I don't think they should be allowed to

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[7] The application, approval and issuance of OWPs fall within the remit of the Mainland authorities. The HKSAR Government only assists in the application process such as verifying the supporting documents submitted by applicants and their claimed relationships with relatives in Hong Kong. But it does not have any authority of approving or rejecting these applications. (Information Services Department, 2014)

come if they are only here to use your public resources … and your welfare… if

they are not productive and don't do anything.

I: How do you define contribution?

R: Work is one part of it. Another part is that you want this society to have better

development… (Bruce, post-1980)

Denise also perceives immigrants from mainland China as potential abusers of the local welfare system. She speaks of a particular group of children, born in Hong Kong to one or both non-Hong Kong resident parents. Since 2003, a number of pregnant women from mainland China have exploited the Individual Visit Scheme to give birth to their babies in Hong Kong through legal or illegal means. This caused a shortage of medical resources. Eventually the SAR government imposed a 'zero quota' policy against mainland pregnant women whose husbands were not Hong Kong permanent residents. In her view, these mothers from mainland China only came to Hong Kong for its welfare:

… Seven years is a reasonable amount of time. Everyone should live for seven

years until they are issued an identity card because (I) have seen children born in

Hong Kong to one or both non-Hong Kong resident parents. It feels like their

parents only come to Hong Kong for the welfare. If not, they would rather stay in

mainland. (Denise, post-1990)

Both Britney and Darwin state that immigrants will not be accepted unconditionally, but they must meet certain criteria, such as spending time and putting effort into Hong Kong. More importantly, immigrants have to demonstrate their heart to serve and

contribute to local society. In terms of contribution, these respondents emphasise the importance of 'productivity', which can be understood as generating economic value by participating in economic activities, and, improving society by participating in volunteer activities. In other words, they expect immigrants to demonstrate their will to commit by devoting their labour, time and skills, rather than receiving aids or resources, from that society. However, the definition of 'productivity' overlooks unrewarded or unrecognised contributions made by certain individuals, such as homemakers or/and carers. An individual's contribution to stabilising families, caring for the vulnerable, and reproduction is often disregarded since immediate and tangible economic value is not generated. An example of Britney's emphasis of proving an incomer's will to commit by giving, rather than receiving from the society, is:

He [an incomer] will not be seen as part of Hong Kong in the beginning. He perhaps needs to pay much effort and spend a very long time to prove that he is committed to this place or he works really hard for this place but not here to consume your resources. ... Some people really come here only for the resources. Neither do they really want to build up this place nor identify with the values of this place. ... If he doesn't make any contribution, and instead he even messes up your place, then I don't think it's okay for them to claim (to be part of Hong Kong). (Britney, post-1980)

Darwin articulates his conception of a person's contribution to the society:

R: ... Simply staying for a long time doesn't only imply their understanding (of Hong Kong) but it also implies you have perhaps served or contributed to Hong

Kong. I think I can accept that they enjoy these rights in Hong Kong under this

condition.

I: Do you define these services and contributions in terms of work, or some other

aspects as well?

R: Hmm… I think mainly define in terms of work. It's quite difficult to define in

other ways.

I: For example volunteering work or any participation in social services…?

R: Then there must be records of all these kinds of work. They can be counted as

services for Hong Kong. (Darwin, post-1990)

The third form of action is to safeguard the community at times of crisis. Amy expects immigrants to stand by the host society when conflicts arise between homeland and the host society. Although she does not demand incomers fight for the interests of the host society, she does not tolerate incomers to remaining neutral. She expects them to stay in the same camp as Hong Kong society as a gesture of commitment, especially when China and Hong Kong are in conflict. Her expectation of loyalty from the incomers is expressed:

I: What if the two hometowns are in conflict?

R: … honestly if the two places are in conflict and you have already chosen to live

here (in Hong Kong), then it is an indication of your choice. If you like the CCP so

much, like 'climbing the wall' (翻牆) [using a VPN to surf the internet in China to

avoid censorship] so much, then go back! Why are you even here? Why are you

here to use Facebook? You always have a choice if the two places are in

conflict. ... You have already made your choice. You should treat this place as

home then. (Amy, post-1970)

Damon's definition that members of the Hong Kong community should share the obligation of defending the place if necessary sounds straightforward. It is worth noting that Damon repeats the specific word 'willing' a few times to emphasise that such loyalty must be initiated by individuals themselves. Damon describes a shared obligation of defending the homeland in the face of threat as the will to commit:

If you treat a place as your home, you will be willing to fight for this home, willing

to safeguard this home. If invaders come with hostility, (you will be) willing to

defend it. (Damon, post-1990)

Dominick also calls for action and sacrifice when Hong Kong is confronted with a 'real' enemy threatening its prosperity and culture. According to Dominick, this external threat refers to the CCP. In his view, the emotional bond which causes individuals to be prepared to fight for a country is a taken-for-granted duty for individuals who become part of that community. He explains:

The basic aspect is that you are against the CCP. Everybody knows this and we

don't need to discuss that. The second aspect is whether you are willing to

sacrifice for Hong Kong, in which citizens do not only have rights but should

contribute. As part of this community, in the Hongkonger community, you should

somehow have some sort of responsibility in defending. ... What you should think

about primarily is how I can protect ourselves, the Hongkongers, be it our

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economic benefits or our culture. ... If he can do that, I will regard him as

Hongkonger. (Dominick, post-1990)

The last but not least aspect of the will to commit is integration into the host society. In addition to the integrationist discourse of 'language', discussed above, respondents evaluate the attitude of assimilation and sociocultural adaptation of immigrants to determine whether or not they are accepted members of the Hong Kong community. These respondents require immigrants to adopt and act with respect to social norms and the cultural practices of the host society. For example, Britney highlights that immigrants should be 'actively' seeking to understand and act within the society. She illustrates with a counterexample to the ideal attitude of assimilation:

For example he is actively looking for jobs, and then actively checking the culture of this place and to adapt to it. For example he would start flushing the toilet after using it when he finds out that people here flush even if he did not do so before. But if he said, 'I don't care what you do but I am not used to flushing the toilet so I won't do it.' I don't think this is actively assimilating into the society. (Britney, post-1980)

Damon lists examples of desired attitude, culturally appropriate behaviours and social skills which immigrants should acquire to demonstrate their active attitude of assimilation and determination:

I: What elements should a person have to show that he actively assimilates into Hong Kong?

R: ... View Hong Kong as home, and willing to assimilate into the Hong Kong society. ... It's difficult to describe what the spirit of Hong Kong is in a concrete way, but for instance some behaviours such as queueing, putting rubbish into the bins, using the toilets properly, less likely to speak (loudly) from one end to the other on the streets, less likely to attain something by hook or by crook, willing to learn the current mainstream languages which are Cantonese, Traditional Chinese characters and English in Hong Kong. I would call him Hongkonger if he has these. (Damon, post-1990)

Aaron perceives language as a crucial indicator of an attitude of assimilation, but his focus is also on a pragmatic level for effective communications between incomers and natives. Similar to Damon, Cantonese and English are the normal languages of his daily operation. In addition, Aaron considers that Hong Kong lifestyle and cultural distinctiveness are the norms of the society which immigrants should learn to adopt. Aaron's views on the link between language and integration is:

You need to adapt to the lifestyle of Hongkongers, even if Hongkongers are utilitarian or workaholic, right? ... I am talking about the reality here. The majority is speaking Cantonese. The official language is Chinese. ... If you don't want to learn Cantonese, then learn English. You need to survive here. This is what we call identification. If not, then you should not live here. You should leave. (Aaron, post-1970)

5.3.2. Civic Values

Shared values constitute part of the Hongkonger identity. Opinions regarding whether there are any shared values of Hongkongers differ though. When Davis is asked about his definitions of a Hongkonger, he makes a distinction between those who live in Hong Kong and those who actually make such claim. Only those Hong Kong residents who make such claim will be accepted as Hongkongers in his view. However, when he attempts to suggest the second criterion, for people to embrace the values of Hong Kong, he is unable to provide an exhaustive list of Hong Kong values not because there is not any, but because there are too many and they are subject to individual interpretation. In Davis' view, everyone is free to believe what they believe and uphold their own versions of Hong Kong values:

I: ... What defines a Hongkonger?

R: ... We all know that Hong Kong is diverse because there are many people from different countries. But only when they acknowledge themselves as Hongkongers, they are counted as Hongkongers. ... I wanted to say that the next step is when they embrace the values of Hong Kong but then I don't really know what these values are. ... Everyone upholds their own Hong Kong values. (Davis, post-1990)

On the other hand, some respondents state that there is at least one prevailing core value in Hong Kong: pragmatism. Both Billy and Bruce think that self-interested pragmatism is the core value of the Hongkonger community, but they have contrasting opinions regarding team spirit in a time of crisis. Billy asserts that Hongkongers stand in solidarity when they are threatened by external forces. This may have roots in the self-preservation of primary interests; they are still willing to defend the collective for the

common good. Here is Billy's view on the manifestation of Hongkongers' selective or situational 'collectivism':

Hong Kong's human warmth is a core value. ... Although undoubtedly the utilitarianistic Hongkongers always talk about money or interest as a metropolitan, at least we see that Hongkongers basically stick together in disastrous or adverse times. ... The second characteristic of Hongkongers is that he has his inherent lifestyle, perhaps he wishes to maintain the status quo. But when he feels that the mainland government is limiting our space in Hong Kong to an extent that it affects those of his secondary issues, which causes changes to his lifestyle and he doesn't feel comfortable with them, then he will stand up and resist. ... But then once he thinks the pressing issues are resolved, he will go back to money-making and buying property etc. (Billy, post-1980)

On the contrary, Hongkongers are primarily individualistic and self-seeking according to Bruce. They neither show concern nor fight for the collective good even in face of pressing issues. Here is Bruce's comment on Hongkonger's individualistic pragmatism:

Hongkongers don't care about any pressing issue, as long as they take care of themselves. If everyone has the 'It makes no difference with or without me' mentality regarding other people's affairs, which many do, then there will be very few people (fighting for the collective interest). So sometimes Hongkongers are like this. He lacks team spirit. ... He [Hongkonger] is very good at money making... but there are more important issues than making money. ... You see Hongkongers are like this even up to this moment. ... Many people don't show any concern for the society. (Bruce, post-1980)

Hong Kong pragmatism is often represented by 'Lion Rock Spirit'. Lion Rock Hill has been a symbol for people in Hong Kong ever since a popular song and TV series 'Below Lion Rock' (獅子山下) was released in the 1970s. Between the 1970s and 1990s, 'Lion Rock Spirit' portrayed the hardworking nature and resilience of Hong Kong people, especially at the grassroots level, in the face of adversity. It also promoted the 'Hong Kong Dream' that whoever works hard will be rewarded with success and wealth. Many claimed that it was one of the main reasons for the great socioeconomic achievements in post-war Hong Kong. Three respondents, including Andy, Becky and Daniel discussed 'Lion Rock Spirit' during the interviews, but they approached this value differently. Andy asserts that 'Lion Rock Spirit' is inherited by Hong Kong people from generation to generation and he claims it to a certain extent. The core idea of this value, as he points out, is the economic-oriented mentality which dominates the lifestyle of the people of Hong Kong. The equivalent contemporary terminology, as he claims, is social mobility. In his view, moving up the social ladder through their own efforts is still the goal of some people in Hong Kong:

I: What are the core values of Hong Kong?

R: ... I don't know whether to describe it as opportunity or social mobility, but it's an opportunity that as long as you are willing to work hard, you will be rewarded.

I: Do you think this is something unique to Hong Kong?

R: Not really, but I think that's the genuine wish of people in Hong Kong, or Hong Kong is used to this. That's why we often say, 'so if you don't work hard you get nothing. You can only get something when you work hard.' ... Even our generation doesn't talk about 'The Lion Rock Spirit' anymore. ... We call it social mobility.

I: Why do you think they are so important?

R: It is because we are under the influence of the older generation after all. The last generation values the concept of 'earn a living'. The older generation taught us to achieve academic excellency, find a decent job, earn a living and then set up a family. So it's passed onto us by the older generation. Perhaps the Hong Kong society generally values earn a living, or social mobility.

I: Is earn a living a means or ends?

R: Actually Hongkongers can't tell the difference. Therefore his core value is he desires, if you see it from a positive perspective, to strive for a better standard of living. This can be a core value too. It is perhaps an ends for him. (Andy, post-1970)

As far as 'Lion Rock Spirit' is concerned, Becky illustrates the 'out-of-date' interpretation of the concept and introduces a 'New Lion Rock Spirit' since the Occupy Central Movement in 2014. The old Lion Rock Spirit was a typical narrative of the Hong Kong Dream, which involved a community of hardworking and self-reliant Hong Kong people trying to improve their standard of living and building a stable and prosperous society (Y. Chan, 2014). While firm believers in 'Lion Rock Spirit' are convinced that there are still plenty of opportunities for whoever is ready to grab them, Becky proclaims the failure of the old spirit because of the unjust political institution and 'property hegemony', referring to the privileged minority with business-government connections. She is critical of the current government which does not provide equal opportunities or fair play, but instead favours well-off developers. She believes that political reform is needed in order to change the government-business

collusion and other hinderances of upward mobility. Hence, the old spirit has been replaced by a new Hong Kong Dream: universal suffrage. Becky does not seem to disapprove the underlying value of the old 'Lion Rock Spirit'; she believes wealth is good and important. She simply thinks that a level playing field is crucial for the old spirit to work. Here Becky talks about the old and new 'Lion Rock spirit':

My understanding of the Lion Rock Spirit, the old version, is that as long as you work hard, and the poor people work hard on their studies, then you can move upward. That spirit was (prevalent) among the generations of grandparents and parents. ... Ever since someone climbed up to Lion Rock and hung the banner reading 'I want real universal suffrage' in the midst of the Occupy Central (Movement), I think the Lion Rock Spirit has changed. That banner is very symbolic to me. ... If you still adopt the old Lion Rock Spirit, it doesn't work. No matter how hard you work, you won't move upward because the government at the top level is not fair. ... It's a dead end. ... It's just silly. Ever since the emergence of 'real-estates hegemony', it became impossible for you to create your future with your own hands. It's impossible. It worked before. ... That's why you modified it [Lion Rock Spirit]. (Becky, post-1980)

Similarly to Becky, Daniel is critical of 'Lion Rock Spirit' but does not offer any reinterpretation of it. In fact, he challenges the fundamental value of personal prosperity and success. His strong language, he uses words such as 'disdain', 'psychological masturbation', and 'superficial', separates him from the firm believers of the spirit. He highlights certain features of the spirit, such as concerns for self-interest and familial interest, and making a living, which are clearly less important to him. He has other

expectations in life. According to Daniel, he upholds the liberal values, of freedom and democracy and wishes to build a better society for the collective good more than just for his own economic benefits. Although he does not believe in 'Lion Rock Spirit', he asserts that a vast number of Hong Kong people still do. Here are Daniel's comments on 'Lion Rock Spirit':

... I quite disdain this group of people because many worship the Lion Rock Spirit. But actually I disdain this spirit because it implies a mere concern for self-interest and familial interest, and a complete indifference to anything else, including politics or needs of society. 'Life is good if I earn a living. I can do anything when I get rich.'... The Lion Rock Spirit is a psychological masturbation (for them) when I[they] work hard and look upon the hill. ... If you people only think that money can satisfy your life, then you are very superficial! Democracy doesn't feed me but I can build a better place with democracy and freedom. ... (Daniel, post-1990)

It appears that a vast majority of respondents agree that 'earning a living' (搵食 *literally means search for food)*, or as some refer to it as 'self-interest' (自利) is a mainstream value of most people in Hong Kong, although it is not necessarily what they perceive and practise as their core value. However, this attribute is not unique to people in Hong Kong. Apparently, mainland Chinese are also described as self-interested by at least five out of 30 respondents. In view of this, I was intrigued to explore whether there were any perceived similarities and differences between the two groups of people regarding this value.

To start with, Daniel gives his negative opinion against this dominant economic-oriented mentality in his previous quotation for he does not think that money or prosperity should be the ultimate goal of life. However, he asserted that this attribute is shared by both Hongkongers and Chinese. I asked him to justify his preference for Hongkongers over Chinese. Here Daniel makes a fine line between being self-interested and selfish. In his view, the Chinese are selfish because they seek their own advantage without regard for others; sometimes they even break the rules and cause damage to others to achieve their goals. Even though Hong Kong people are still considered as self-interested and rationally calculated actors, they are still perceived to be morally superior to the Chinese, self-restrained and law-abiding. Here is his response:

> *I: You mentioned that being self-interested is the characteristic of Chinese. Some say that Hong Kong people will stop protesting if the government provides a lot of resources for them. This is also self-interest. Why do you still resist the Chinese identity yet identify with the Hongkonger identity?*
>
> *R: There is a slight difference between the two. Chinese will get what they want by hook or by crook. For example, if you don't settle the debt, I will rape your wife. This is the extreme case of self-interest. The kind of self-interest of Hongkongers is different. … At least we stick to the rules. Even if Hong Kong has absolute democracy and freedom, you can be selfish, we have to respect everyone's way of life or their own values. But it's not the case with the Chinese. They can do anything for their self-interest and selfish gain … without any rules. Even though Hongkongers are self-interested, the majority are still willing to play by the rules and respect others. (Daniel, post-1990)*

Daniel is not the only one who holds this opinion about the Chinese. Brian also thinks that a lack of conscience is the main feature of the, what he calls 'Chinese utilitarianism', which differs from the Hong Kong utilitarianism. However, he uses 'in the past', which may imply it is no longer the case when he talks about Hong Kong utilitarianism. Regarding Chinese utilitarianism, he makes reference to several well-known examples to illustrate fake and toxic food scandals in China. These counterfeits, including the everyday ingredients and sauces that can penetrate ordinary households and threaten their health. On the surface, it seems to be the malpractice of the food industry. Nevertheless, Brian attributes the food fraud to the bystander effect, which is illustrated by the infamous Peng Yu Effect[8], to point out the moral decay of the society where people learn to be indifferent and every man strives for himself. Here is how Brian highlights the apathetic nature of Chinese utilitarianism:

In the past, Hongkongers were still with a conscience despite their utilitarianism, I think. But the Chinese utilitarianism was without any conscience, (for example) the fake eggs and fake soy sauce. In mainland, (people) are trained to be cold-hearted. ... There are often reports on the news with incidents like when you saw a granny hit by a car on the street, you sent her to the hospital and you ended up being responsible for her medical expenses. The police in China would charge you for improper care causing injuries. That's why (they) are trained to be cold-hearted. (Brian, post-1980)

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[8] 'Peng Yu Effect' refers to China's bystander effect of the 2006 case. An elderly Nanjing woman fell down and a man named Peng Yu helped her to get up. Later on, that woman sued Peng Yu, claiming that she was knocked over by him, and won the yuan equivalent of nearly seven thousand dollars. (Osnos, 2011).

Criticism of Chinese utilitarianism has gone to an extreme as seen by the responses of Damon and Amy. For example, Damon tries to make the property developers in Hong Kong sound less wicked than those in China. Property developers have profit maximisation as their top priority in Hong Kong. In fact, they are infamous for their various shrewd tactics, such as the 'bay window phenomena'. In short, bay windows are built and included as saleable area in newly built properties. Many homeowners spend a fortune on these bay windows which are not only big but impractical in a new home. At the same time, property prices continue to rise and the size of flats continues to shrink (Liu et. al., 2017). Developers have not broken any laws, but show no concern for buyers or for the practicality of living in these apartments. Instead of condemning this unprofessional behaviour of developers in Hong Kong, Damon exemplifies Chinese utilitarianism with the extreme cases of 'Tofu-dreg buildings' and corruption to justify why Hong Kong developers are not as evil as their mainland counterparts. 'Tofu-dreg' buildings refer to shoddy buildings in China originated since 2008. There were allegations of corruption against government officials involved in the construction of schools which later collapsed and caused severe damage and injuries in the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. Since then, the term has been used to describe the corrupted building system in China. Moreover, Hong Kong residents have serious doubts about how their donations are used. In 2013, many were opposed to donating to Sichuan earthquake relief fearing that donations would end up in corrupt officials' pockets. Damon does not show the same level of disdain and refusal to endorse the malpractice of the Chinese utilitarianism towards the Hong Kong utilitarianism:

The difference is that… some Hong Kong businessmen do not counterfeit things.

They do it openly. … (Like) 'I am exploiting you but I don't manipulate accounts.'

'I don't build tofu-dreg buildings [an expression meant poorly constructed

buildings]. Yes I build big bay windows but at least my buildings don't collapse. ...

But mainlanders (build) big bay windows and shoddy buildings. (They) also cut

corners, manipulate accounts, and abuse donations. But that won't happen in

Hong Kong. (Damon, post-1990)

Amy also highlights the counterfeits prevailing in the food industry in China. It appears that she wants to condemn such unethical practices of manufacturers, but she blames the victims in her narrative instead. In fact, she specifies them as 'mainlanders', which exposes her utter revulsion of mainland Chinese in general. Here is her comment on the self-interested Chinese:

Just like you mainlanders can eat anything from the periodic table of the chemical

elements [Any 'food' which is made of artificial elements or chemicals]. They live

a life without any principle. They make money but so what? You kill people! At

least Hongkongers are not like this. (Amy, post-1970)

All these respondents, including Daniel, Brian, Damon and Amy, display their contradictions and irrationalities towards Hong Kong utilitarianism and Chinese utilitarianism. On the one hand, they refuse to condone Hong Kong utilitarianism which is embraced and practised as a mainstream value. On the other hand, the binarism of Chinese utilitarianism vis-a-vis Hong Kong utilitarianism constantly emerges in their narratives while the former is represented as the 'inferior other' and the latter as the 'superior we'. It is especially when Hong Kong utilitarianism is compared with Chinese utilitarianism, Hong Kong utilitarianism has been justified with the phrase 'at least it is

not like…' and concluded to be more acceptable and 'noble'. Their responses reveal that Utilitarianistic Familism (Lau, 1981) or market mentality (Mathews et. al., 2008) which was once embraced by the Hong Kong community is no longer accepted uncritically as one of the core values by the current generations.

If respondents do not agree with a materialistic and utilitarianistic value or a market mentality, what do they perceive as the civic values of their imagined Hongkonger community? Previous studies show that the Hong Kong identity in its civic terms includes civil liberties, the rule of law and respects for human rights (Kaeding, 2011; Ortmann, 2018; Veg, 2017). Similar findings are observed from the interviews too. These civic values which respondents uphold are certain liberal democratic values such as civic liberties, equality, and equity. For example, Denise emphasises the importance of human rights and civil liberties which are lacking in China:

> *... Hong Kong is a free city with different rights, but there is no such thing in China. ... The ideal which Hongkongers believe is that we have our freedom and right to fight for something. ... (Denise, post-1990)*

Alan attributes these core values such as the rule of law and equity to British legacy:

> *... I guess a lot of things are the legacy of British (administration), such as the importance of the rule of law, equity, and justice etc. (Alan, post-1970)*

Darwin states that civil liberties are the top priority of Hong Kong's civic values:

... The most invaluable thing of Hong Kong which Hongkongers should cherish is its freedom; for example, religious freedom, freedom of speech, especially freedom of speech. (Darwin, post-1990)

Among the various civic values, individual freedom is deemed to be the most crucial foundation of Hong Kong society. This is the defining value which differentiates Hongkongers from mainland Chinese as some respondents suggest. Respondents such as Daniel and Adam share similar views of the importance of individual rights and freedom. Daniel emphasises liberalism which in his view is mostly about individual freedom not being violated:

I quite like liberalism. As long as you don't hurt others, basically you can just do whatever you want. That's the basic principle. Of course the details are open for discussions. ... Being free is being able to enjoy one's own freedom in a mutually respected manner. (Daniel, post-1990)

Adam seems to accept the freedom and rights granted by the Basic Law, the mini-Constitution of Hong Kong, even though it is drafted by the Chinese authorities:

To me, being free is to exercise all the rights stated in the Basic Law. One can do whatever he wills as long as it's not harmful to others. (Adam, post-1970)

5.4. Ethnic Markers

According to the Population By-Census conducted in 2016, 92 percent of people in Hong Kong are ethnic Chinese (the Census and Statistics Department, 2016). Although

the majority of the Hong Kong residents share similar ethnic markers, such as ethnic descent and racial features with mainland Chinese, some respondents, who are supporters of Scholarism, still exhibit some implicit or explicit racist and exclusionary comments targeting mainland Chinese. In view of this, I intend to examine the significance of ethnic markers such as place of birth, race and ethnic ties in shaping the Hongkonger identity. In so doing, I included three public figures: Gregory (with Australian heritage), Gill (of Indian descent), and Tang / Fu (mainland Chinese)[9] who are currently Hong Kong residents sharing similar social status and popularity with different ethnic descents in my interviews. Gregory and Tang / Fu immigrated to Hong Kong before and after 1997 respectively, while Gill was born and raised in Hong Kong. Respondents were asked first, where they thought these figures belonged, and secondly the reasons for their answers.

While Gregory and Gill are generally perceived and included as Hongkonger, respondents either identify Fu and Tang as Chinese / mainlander or hesitate to accept them as part of the Hongkonger community. Simply put, respondents are more accepting towards the non-ethnic Chinese residents than the mainland Chinese resident. The following response is typical of how respondents create markers to differentiate who are part of us and who are not. Specifically, Dawn raises language, culture and will to integrate to justify why Gregory and Gill are considered to be part of 'Hongkongers'. The example reveals the significance of all the four markers over ethnicity for the immigrants to be perceived as part of the host society:

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[9] Fu was first used as an example but she was not known to some of post-1990, so she was replaced by Tang for this question.

I: Gregory.

R: Hongkonger because he works very hard to learn the current language-in-use in Hong Kong, that is Cantonese. He is also willing to… to integrate into Hong Kong culture, to eat Hong Kong's food, and he even cares for the Hong Kong society. (He would) think that Hong Kong and China are different. Although he did not completely agree with the movement strategies, overall he would think that Hongkongers embrace freedom, embrace democracy.

I: The second one is Gill.

R: Hongkonger. (He was) born and raised in Hong Kong. I guess he was born in Hong Kong. (He) speaks Cantonese, speaks Chinese, (is) willing to contribute for Hong Kong. No matter that when he worked in the Correctional Services Department, or he chose to be an artist now, he still contributes for Hong Kong. He also has many authentic acts, such as speaking Cantonese coarse language, playing Mahjong. (Dawn, post-1990)

The four most prioritised markers of accepting immigrants as 'Hongkongers' from the respondents are: i) the willingness to integrate / expressed commitment or passion or love for Hong Kong, ii) adaptation of culture, in particularly mastering the local language, iii) upholding the core values and iv) level of participation into the society. The four markers reveal that respondents mostly embrace a civic mode of identification based on civic values and a person's will to commit and participate in society, and a cultural mode based on language. In other words, individuals can become members of the community by acquiring these qualities. Some may argue that a common language and local culture are elements of ethnic nationalism, which may exclude others based on

non-voluntary criteria and lead to the cultural assimilation of minorities. Nevertheless, language and culture are not the determinants of the level of inclusiveness, but how they are used and perceived. From the interviews, the purposes of a common language are to facilitate efficient communications between individuals for integration and enhance political participation of an incomer within a community rather than exclusion. Culture is also perceived to be a way of fostering a sense of shared community while respondents respect that each celebrity has their own cultural heritage. As Keating (2001, p. 12) points out, 'It is not the existence of language and culture policies which determine whether a nationalism is ethnic or civic, but the uses made of language and culture, whether to build a civic nation or to practice ethnic exclusion'.

On the other hand, double standards are employed to non-ethnic Chinese and ethnic Chinese in the process of defining who belongs to the Hongkonger community. Continuing with Dawn's response, she seems to employ double standards to define Tang's identity. While she embraces Gregory and Gill because of their mastery of Cantonese, she still defines her as 'Chinese' based on Tang's place of birth even though she knows that Tang speaks Cantonese fluently and has already become a local resident. Here shows Dawn's reluctance to accept Tang as part of the Hongkonger community and her reasonings behind this:

I: Tang.

R: Tang, Chinese. My first thought is Chinese because… (she was) raised in China, born in China, but perhaps I seldom watch her movies, or her performances, so I only know that her Cantonese is fluent. But this is the first impression. Perhaps I don't know her too well.

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I: But she also got a HKID.

R: Yes, but I don't know much about this person. (Dawn, post-1990)

Similarly, other respondents require a higher standard for immigrants from China to be perceived as part of the Hong Kong community than migrants or residents with other ethnic and cultural backgrounds. For example, Amy acknowledges Tang's fluency in local language, but she still doubts her love for Hong Kong and hesitates to accept her as part of the Hongkonger community. It seems like Tang's effort in mastering Cantonese which demonstrates her will to commit to the society fails to overcome Amy's prejudice. It also reveals inconsistency in the process of deciding whether or not non-ethnic Chinese and mainland Chinese migrants are included as Hongkongers. Here Amy identifies Tang as mainlander based on her gut feeling:

Although her Cantonese is quite good, it's just ... a gut feeling. I think she is a mainlander. ... The HKID is only a means for her to travel abroad easily. I can't feel how much she loves Hong Kong. (Amy, post-1970)

Alan articulates one possible reason for such biased views. It is easy to spot and appreciate someone from a completely different culture adapting to the Hong Kong culture. But for someone from mainland Chinese culture to adapt to the Hong Kong culture is maybe taken for granted because the two cultures appear quite similar. Alan tries to explain the different treatments faced by non-ethnic Chinese and mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong society:

... It is very obvious when (an immigrant from) a foreign culture converts to the Hong Kong culture. But for example, it is less obvious and there is much overlap

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(between the two cultures) when you, who are from mainland culture, convert to Hong Kong culture. (Alan, post-1970)

Apart from using the example of three celebrities, I continued to investigate respondents' ethnic conceptions of national identity by asking them to give their immediate responses when they read the following statement:

We are all Chinese, black hair, yellow skin, blood is thicker than water, it is natural to love one's country.

(我們都是中國人，黑頭髮、黃皮膚，血濃於水，愛國是理所當然的。)

The statement reflects a discourse of Chinese nationalism on the basis of racial features and genealogical ties. Yellow skin is often a taken-for-granted indicator of Chinese. It also associates love for the country with a person's ethnic identity. Below, I will focus on the discussions derived from the interviews on ethnicity as the unifying basis for the nation.

Most respondents immediately reject or question this racial dimension of Chineseness. Some simply give counter examples of non-Chinese, such as Japanese and Koreans, who share similar physical traits of 'yellow' skin. For example, Damon challenges the concept of an exclusionary and homogenous ethnic nation based on physical appearances with the concept of nationality and place of birth:

… This identity is very narrow. For example if some Indians migrated to China, … or perhaps he is born and raised in China but he doesn't have yellow-skin and black hair, can he have a Chinese identity? (Damon, post-1990)

Dominick criticises the official racial discourse of Chinese identity as being too backwards. He rejects such definition of a person's national identity. Here he disagrees with the racial dimension of Chineseness:

Firstly, racially speaking, how do you define those Asian Americans as Chinese? How do you define someone who is perhaps a Japanese or Korean? Anyways, you can't identify with this (discourse). ... We can't continue to apply this official version of ethnic nationalism to define a person's identity. This is very ancient and outdated. Therefore I can't accept it. (Dominick, post-1990)

Aaron simply points out that a homogenous race discourse in China is a myth since China is made up of more than 56 ethnic groups. Although the dominant ethnicity is Han Chinese, the Chinese nationals do not just share one but have multiple physical features. It reveals that the official race discourse of China is a constructed myth. Aaron states the multi-ethnicities nature of China:

Not all Chinese have yellow skin and black hair. Take a look at the 56 ethnic groups (in China), some of them do not have yellow but white skin. (Aaron, post-1970)

Nevertheless, the idea of blood being a defining feature of identity is still embedded in the Hong Kong society. For example, Billy agrees with the official ethnic nationalism based on blood ties and birthplace. His love for the country is conditional and situational, which is dependent on the performance of the country. This love or loyalty is seen as a choice rather than a duty. Billy uses the metaphor of family and of blood relations to describe his relationship to the country:

... Blood is thicker than water is a fact. ... I was really born in China geographically so I am a Chinese. But when the country is not nice, I really can't love it. It's like in my family. I can't change the relationships between my parents and I. But if they are not nice, I can't love them. But if they repent and suddenly say sorry to me, perhaps I will really change my mind because there is a bonding after all... (Billy, post-1990)

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the cognitive aspects, including the cultural, civic and ethnic markers of the Hongkonger identity. Cultural markers include language and cultural practices. Civic markers include the will to commit and civic values. Ethnic markers such as place of birth and ethnic descent are discussed with real-life public figures from Chinese and non-Chinese ethnic backgrounds. The discussions showed that all these markers play vital roles in the shaping of Hongkonger identity in varying degrees and in different forms. I found that, therefore, the ethnic-civic dichotomy only exists on paper. I argued that although supporters of Scholarism appear to uphold liberal values and multiculturalism, some of them exhibited a rather exclusive, unaccepting and even racist attitude towards mainland Chinese. Specifically, some mainland Chinese immigrants are not accepted as part of the Hongkonger community because of their place of birth and respondents' prejudice, even though they may have already made efforts in integrating to the local society by mastering the language and culture. It reveals that double standards have been employed in deciding who can be part of the Hongkonger community. In general cases, Shulman (2002, p. 562) points out that 'a cultural nation will have a bias in accepting immigrants from culturally similar

countries, precisely because this will facilitate their assimilation into the national culture'. It is, however, not the case in Hong Kong. My respondents appear to be more willing to accept non ethnic Chinese immigrants, given that these immigrants are willing to adopt local culture, than mainland Chinese immigrants. In terms of cultural values, respondents often compare and contrast themselves to the Chinese nationals. Their descriptions of Hong Kong identity reflect shared value of cosmopolitanism - sophistication, the pursuit of democracy and freedom, the concern for the environment, a diversified or multicultural community, and striving for equality and social justice in the society. There seems to be no appreciation for diversities and difference on the Chinese nationals. Some respondents even express antagonism towards the Chinese nationals, who are often represented as unruly, immoral and blind patriots. While the Hong Kong and Chinese governments endeavour to build up a 'common we' based on shared cultural heritage, cultural values and customs, some Hongkongers consider themselves irreconcilable and culturally incompatible with mainland Chinese. For two decades since the transfer of sovereignty, the growing frequency of the interactions between Hong Kong and China and their people have not brought the two groups closer to each other. Instead, the identity politics based on cultural differences emerged and fermented in the process of integration.

Chapter 6. Emotions in Hong Kong Social Movements and National Identity

6.1. Introduction

In previous chapters, we have seen an inclination to reject a Chinese identity and embrace a Hongkonger identity. I have also discussed the cognitive 'markers' of these identity claims. National identity is a matter of cognition and also emotion. As Suny (2004, p. 8-9) asserts, 'national identities are saturated with emotions that have been created through teaching, repetition, and daily reproduction until they become common sense'. This chapter attempts to show the part specific emotions play in shaping national identify and the motivation of collective actions in post-1997 Hong Kong, mainly in the cases of the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014. Social action is not always led by self-conscious or reflective decision-making (Barbalet, 1998). Not all social actors can be informed of all the relevant facts, available resources or even their own preferences for their situation. However, 'the connection between emotion and action, whether fully conscious or deliberate, provides an important link in connecting structural environment to human action' (Suny, 2004, p. 10). I argue that emotion is a significant driving force for the two social movements, which have a strong link with the national identifications of Hong Kong people in the post-1997 era. This chapter depicts how diverse emotions emerge and affect social actors in their collective actions and national identifications.

The following sections discuss significant emotions emerging out from the data, including fear, anger, guilt, shame, feeling of powerlessness, love of China, emotions of

belonging and hope. I consider their features, how they are evoked, and the effects they have on the movement participants. Jasper (1998) appraises emotions as 'affective'. Affective emotions are permanent feelings which guide social actors in their social life, such as love for the family and nation. Although emotions are closely linked with actions, some emotions are more likely to lead to certain actions. For example, fear leads to withdrawal and hope spurs action; but causal direction is not always that clear (Goodwin et. al., 2001, p. 10). I found that the links between emotions and actions are highly situational and contextual, meaning that whether an emotion leads to action or inaction can be dependent on the social actors' beliefs and assumptions open to cognitive persuasion (Jasper, 1998) and therefore requires closer investigations. In this regard, Kemper's (2001) power-status relational model is particularly useful in helping us understand how emotions result from social relationships. In brief, power and status are major dimensions of relationship. In a relationship between actors A and B, the interactions between them can lead to different relational outcomes: actor A's power or status rises, remains the same or falls, and vice versa. The changes of power and status of self and other people can evoke different emotions; for instance, fear arises when the power of self falls or is expected to decline. Understanding the dynamic of power and status in social relationships helps us arrive at the emergence of emotions. In addition, different emotions intersect in various ways. For example, we can feel fear and anger at the same time. When fear dominates, it tends to lead to flight or inaction. When anger dominates, it may lead to fight or confrontation. As we will see in the analysis below, the complexity of emotions can hardly be generalised. Understanding the specific features of emotions and their impacts on social actors and social actions may help enhance our knowledge of emotions, activism and identity.

In this chapter the discussions on some emotions, such as guilt and shame, and a feeling of powerlessness, may appear to be shorter than others because they might not be frequently mentioned in the interviews. However, they played a significant part either in the formation of social movements or in respondents' national identifications. Therefore, these emotions are included as part of the discussion. Some emotions such as fear, guilt, shame, feeling of powerlessness and hope may be more universal and well-focused, while others such as anger and love may cover some other feelings. For instance, the section on anger includes the feelings of indignation, resentment and hatred. I consider them as different levels of anger instead of distinct emotions for the ease of analysis, even though I am aware that they are different emotions under refined definitions. The section on emotions of belonging consists of love of Hong Kong, sense of belonging and pride. I consider them particularised forms of feeling attached to Hong Kong for the same reason as above.

6.2. Fear

Fear, exemplified by the 'Red Scare', is a common emotional response to the proposal of the MNE curriculum. Amos describes this 'Red Scare' as the 'cultural DNA' of Hongkongers which implies that Hong Kong people are born with such fear. From the post-1970's perspective, Amos observes that Scholarism and the Anti-MNE Movement reminded many of the older generation of their shared 'Red Scare' and the embedded identity politics - the binary identity claims. Here is Amos' comment on Scholarism and the Anti-MNE Movement:

The story of Scholarism is so worth telling because it unintentionally brought the long-hidden binary opposition to the surface. ... In fact, ... this fear ... is the 'cultural DNA' of Hongkongers. ... Actually this ... instigated many imaginations of 'red scare'. (Amos, post-1970)

This 'Red Scare' is prevalent among respondents across the three generations. It can be seen as a 'collective emotional orientation', which refers to a dominant emotion shared by a collectivity 'as a result of particular common experiences, socialisation, and conditions in a society' (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006, p. 374). A collective emotional orientation may be triggered in society members, with or without direct and personal experiences, when they experience threat and danger. This 'Red Scare' has its own historical root in Hong Kong. The early Chinese migrants who fled the political turmoils of China who settled in Hong Kong brought with them fearful recollections of the civil war. Although many of them regarded China as their homeland, they perceived the CCP as threat and danger. Fear-inspiring experiences throughout Chinese history, especially the Cultural Revolution and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Crackdown, constituted the collective memory of the Hong Kong populace even though they lived in the Colony away from the Chinese state and its rule. Mathews et. al. (2008, p. 46) assert that 'the Tiananmen Square incident turned previously more remote worries about communist authoritarianism into very real fears'. The first decade after the transfer of sovereignty, people of Hong Kong tried to carry on as usual. However, there has been a growing anxiety concerning increasing political intervention by the Chinese state in Hong Kong. The proposed implementation of National Education has effectively

brought the long-suppressed fear of, and distrust, of the CCP of many Hongkongers to the surface, which sparked greater controversies in society.

This 'Red Scare' appears to be transmitted via family stories and the media. For example, Amy recalls how fear was passed on with stories of encounters during the major historical events in China, such as the Cultural Revolution, by the older generations including parents and grandparents in her family. Although she had never experienced these events herself, deep emotional imprints are left in her mind. It is reasonable to assume from her response that these historical events do not stay in the past but their emotional associations actually intertwine with current affairs and debates. For instance, Amy portrays contemporary China as a country full of corruption, poverty, and backwardness even though China's economy has been booming over the last twenty years, making it one of the strongest nations in the world. Amy's description constitutes a negative representation of China under communist rule. It indicates that her feelings towards China are fear mixed with disgust and contempt. Here Amy speaks about the presence of fear and absence of pride with regards to China and the CCP:

I heard a lot of stories about the Cultural Revolution because (I) really have relatives who really experienced the Cultural Revolution. All these stories are indeed frightening. You [China] are poor, you are corrupted, you are backward, that's why there has never been any pride, at least not the China under the CCP's rule. (Amy, post-1970)

At the same time, fear may be retrieved and evoked by past experience and memories (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006). For example, Denise recollects the 'banal nationalism'

embedded in national symbols, such as the national flag and anthem which fostered a sense of nationhood without her consciously knowing. She describes these experiences as 'a process of brainwashing' which makes her wary that children might be 'brainwashed' - not be 'immunised' against Party-state nationalism due to a lack of independent thinking - too. As far as memories are concerned, they are 'never carbon copies of the information provided by learning' but rather 'biased, modified, reconstructed on the basis of stored and absorbed information' (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006, p. 372; E. Smith, 1998; Wyer and Srull, 1989). In other words, some of the sources which evoke fear may be an individual's interpretation of their memories and past experiences rather than facts. Moreover, this fear incited by the past, affects how she thinks about the current situation and the future of National Education which she 'believes' to be a threat rather than a gain. In other words, affective memory has an impact on our cognitive thinking. Here Denise shares her experience and fear:

The Anti-MNE (movement) mainly targeted the primary and secondary school students for the sake of the next generations of Hong Kong. If National Education is really implemented, I think it will be a horrific thing. No one knows what sort of knowledge will be delivered. After all, it is all controlled by the central (government). A very popular vocabulary at that time was 'brainwashing'. I really think that this module is going to brainwash, especially when the primary students lack critical thinking, they will be influenced by National Education. I only found out at secondary 5 or 6 that (my) primary school was a very 'red' [communist] school. I didn't think that was a problem when we had to raise the national flag and sing the national anthem once a month at that time, but when I looked back, I realised that it was a subtle brainwashing process. The implementation of the

National Education curriculum delivers knowledge more than just singing the national anthem, which will make the next generations believe that the motherland is the greatest. (Denise, post-1990)

Denise illustrates the potential influence of communism on Hong Kong youth by the 'red scarf' - symbolising the members of a Communist Party organisation specifically for young children. Denise associates this vivid image with a loss of political freedom and blind patriotism to the Party. Although she has no direct and personal experiences of such organisation, her fear of Chinese indoctrination, which is felt as a threat to the freedom in Hong Kong is evoked by generalised historical knowledge. Here is how Denise portrays her 'Red Scare' representation:

… If (we) follow the China Model, everyone will immediately become red. Every primary, secondary school student has to wear those red scarves to school. If according to the China Model, things will change instantly. For example, the Party is the greatest, ... no political talks, ... It will be very scary. (Denise, post-1990)

In the midst of the Anti-MNE Movement, Scholarism strategically framed the MNE curriculum as a 'brainwashing' tool to inflict fear and anger. Fear was successfully evoked as a number of respondents associated the proposed MNE curriculum, with the rhetoric of 'brainwashing' and its frightening consequences. In particular, the handbook entitled *The China Model*, a teaching material for the MNE curriculum was exposed to incite public concerns and controversy: It was claimed that the positive assertion of the CCP as a 'progressive, selfless and united ruling group' (進步、無私與團結的執政集

團) (Chen and Leong, 2012), criticism on the two-party system in the United States being a 'fierce inter-party rivalry that makes the people suffer' (執黨惡鬥，人民當災) (National Post, 2014) and the deliberate attempt at hiding the negative events, such as the 1989 Tiananmen Square Crackdown and human rights issues in China in the handbook, appear to be particularly biased.

One may argue that the fear of the 'brainwashing' effect which the MNE might bring is a typical example of overthinking. Since Hong Kong's information flow is still relatively free, advanced and accessible, people of all ages are not limited to a single source of information, but can easily obtain access to multiple channels. In that sense, the 'brainwashing' effect may have been exaggerated. Here the actual impact of the MNE does not matter, what matters are the imagined impacts that are anticipated. Fear 'is a passion derived altogether from the imagination, which represents… not what we really feel, but what we may hereafter possibly suffer' (Adam Smith, [1759] 1982, p. 30). These imaginings are not necessarily illusions. Respondents act upon these imaginings and construct their realities. Simply put, the power of fear or emotions can construct realities to individuals in certain situations. For instance, Casper exemplifies his fear with a local film, *Ten Years*, to illustrate the potential deprivation of freedom if nothing were done to stop the CCP from exerting its control and influence in Hong Kong. *Ten Years* was released in 2015 portraying a future Hong Kong in 2025 where human rights and freedoms were gradually wiped out by the authoritarian regime ('Ten Years', 2020). The movie is made up of five short stories and one of them is called 'local egg', which Caper refers to in his narrative. The movie is perhaps imaginary, but the fear evoked by the imaginings feels real to Casper. Here is Casper's account:

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If you have a chance to watch the film 'Ten Years', I think its last story 'Local Egg' is aimed at responding to the Anti-MNE Movement. The story is about a grocery store keeper, whose son is forced to join the Youth Guards to vandalise things, enemies and culture which the Party-state disapproves of after the execution of totalitarian National Education. The son of this grocery store keeper is influenced by some liberal thoughts so he tries to help his neighbours to protect the culture of freedom. Eventually this father finds out that the son has rented a place in the neighbourhood to preserve some historical evidence of Hong Kong. … if we allow the Party-state to do these things, actually Hong Kong will end up like this. The so-called freedom will only be preserved in a room in disguise. … Our education system has always been spoon-feeding. Therefore, students take whatever is spoon-fed to them. In this context, it is indeed very worrying that although students are able to access to the internet realm, eventually they are just stuffed by spoon-feeding. (Casper, post-1980)

Barbalet (1998, p. 152) points out that 'fear frequently arises in social contexts in which the source of fear simply cannot be fled from, and which threatens not only individual well-being (the integrity of being as a bounded organism) but social well-being (the integrity of being relative to the standing of others)'. Both Collin and Charles feel such fear. They both perceive the CCP as a source of threat, not for their own well-being because the proposed national education does not affect them immediately, but for the social well-being of future generations. Both respondents do not have any children, but their concern for others' children reveals their strong sense of belonging to the Hong Kong collective. Moreover, they fear not because of what the CCP has done in the past,

but because of what it may do in the future. Their accounts reveal that 'fear is a prospect-based emotion, that fear is displeasure about the prospect of an undesirable event' (Barbalet, 1998, p. 155). In addition, their shared emotions towards National Education reflect their values and beliefs. For example, they have a strong distrust of the government and the Party-state. Here Collin speaks about his anxiety of seeing the brainwashing effect of National Education:

Actually when this National Education was first implemented, (I) was very alert. The point is that those many things which the communist party dared not say or implement were intended to be instilled in our children. I am utterly against it. ... because I don't want those children to tell me that the communist party is great, the communist party is progressive or the communist party established 'one country, two systems' for the benefits of Hong Kong etc when they grow up. I don't wish to see these weird values in the future. (Collin, post-1980)

Charles explains his fear about the future generations' free thinking:

... Firstly, I strongly believe that the CCP is surely going to brainwash Hongkongers - controlling Hongkongers' minds and behaviours in every way. ... Thirdly, the fundamental reason is that I don't trust the government. If the government tells that that they are not going to brainwash you, you have every reason to believe that they are, especially things related to mainland (China) and the CCP. ... I am also a Hongkonger. I am not so altruistic that I can see others' children as my own, but I do want for the next generations of Hong Kong a relatively objective growing up environment under relatively proper values. It is because even though I don't have any children myself, I will eventually interact

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with these people perhaps at work or family gatherings. I may eventually know

these children in person. Then I am very worried that if they are really

brainwashed by those kinds of concepts, I think that's truly a shame. (Charles,

post-1980)

Fear is conventionally considered as a paralysing emotion, meaning that it anticipates

powerlessness (Kemper, 2001), may lead actors to believe that they will fail (Kleres and

Wettergren, 2017) and cause them to flee (Barbalet, 1998). On the other hand, some

other scholars find that fear 'motivates defence and protection from events that are

perceived as threatening' (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006, p. 372) and may lead social

actors to counter-challenge or fight against the object of fear (Barbalet, 1998). Collin's

decision to take part in the protest activities based upon his fear for the future is a good

example of how fear motivates defence and counter-challenge. Specifically, he believes

that the current situation might get worse and become a future reality if he did not do

anything about it. His conviction corresponds to what Barbalet (1998, p. 157) describes,

'If the agency of the actor makes the future, then the absence of agency – inactivity –

extends the present'. Furthermore, Collin's fear was located in the future - something

bad might happen but not yet in Hong Kong - and hence he was able to identify options

of actions (Kleres and Wettergren, 2017) and decide whether he would do something

about it. Here Collin speaks about his fear-based participation in the Anti-MNE

Movement:

Actually everyone feared the impact of National Education on the children, but we

were even more fearful of what might happen to Hong Kong when Leung Chun-

ying [the then Chief Executive of HKSAR] appeared. Will Hong Kong become a

place where only CCP can exist but not the Hong Kong systems from then on? At

that moment I believe the stronger emotional response was that I didn't want to be

absent from stopping this to happen. Therefore I participated in many of these

(protest) activities. (Collin, post-1980)

Desmond felt that the Hongkonger identity was at risk from the top-down nation-building project through National Education. In his view, the authority was attempting to take away the freedom as a Hongkonger. The people of Hong Kong, especially the younger generation were forced to conform to the official Chinese identity. From his narrative, Desmond takes a defensive stance when he speaks of the threat to the Hongkonger identity and the insecurity caused. Here it appears that his fear was translated into outrage which led him to defend his Hongkonger identity with his life. Here's Desmond's defensive stance:

… At that time [during the Anti-MNE Movement] insecurity emerged. (We were)

forced to be Chinese without any right to decision-making. I must oppose the

MNE curriculum with my life because that [MNE] was basically forcing

Hongkongers to be Chinese! The so-called brainwashing means that you don't

have a choice. (Desmond, post-1990)

Clarissa seems to suggest that the Anti-MNE Movement was a concrete resistant act out of fear against the perceived source of threat - the CCP. She points out that the fear of 'communisation' (被赤化) has long been embedded in Hong Kong society, ever since the transfer of sovereignty. The meaning of 'communisation' is unclear. Whether it refers to the fear of a change from private property to public property owned by the

community, or a transfer of ownership from private to state, or the influence of the CCP, Clarissa did not further explain. However, from her narrative, this fear is leading to defending Hong Kong rather than inaction. Here Clarissa talks about the resistance out of fear:

... I think the Anti-MNE Movement evoked many Hongkongers: in the central government's own words is that Hong Kong people's hearts have not "returned" [to the motherland]. ... This (Anti-MNE Movement) incident is a concrete action telling the government that our hearts are still very fearful of communisation. (Clarissa, post-1980)

Annie's narrative portrays a vivid picture of how fear is acquired and affects her perception and attitude toward China. The information about China which Annie receives from the mass media is mostly negative. This negative information builds up her fear of being affected by the Chinese culture and regulations in the future. This fear is felt as a threat to herself and Hong Kong society and therefore she prefers keeping a distance from China for her survival and that of Hong Kong society. It shows that fear arises when the power or influence of China appears to increase (Kemper, 2001). It also demonstrates how fear causes her withdrawal and escape from China even though Annie claims a Chinese identity. Here Annie articulates how her fear of the influence of China affects her attitude toward China:

I acknowledged myself as Chinese, I did not resent (China) in the past, but when the technology is more advanced now, you discover more negative things. ... Therefore, I still acknowledge (myself as Chinese), but… you will resist things happened up north [China] which might affect me. And scared too, really scared,

scared of the culture and regulations up there might end up here (in Hong Kong).

... It is best that we [Hong Kong and China] don't come too close. ... Therefore I

don't go back to mainland (China) unless I am forced to. I try my best to request

(my work) not to send me to China. (Annie, post-1970)

6.3. Anger

As Kemper (2001) contends, when something previously established is withdrawn

without consent, a complex of negative emotions may arise, such as anger,

disappointment, and dislike for the other actor. In Dustin's case, the unfulfilled promise

of universal suffrage has evoked anger. Dustin felt unfairly treated and deprived of the

opportunity of choosing his leader to determine the future of Hong Kong via elections.

His anger is clearly caused by the denial of universal suffrage as a sign of freedom

being limited by both the Hong Kong and Chinese authorities. Here Dustin vents his

anger:

... Because I think that the Hong Kong government is being very unfair to we

Hongkongers, even something as simple as universal suffrage is not permitted. ...

Why are 1200 (Election Committee) members so important? The problem is that

they have political interests and are not selected by us! ... Therefore I think that

the Hong Kong government wants to restrain us, I mean the central government

wants to restrain us from having so much freedom. (Dustin, post-1990)

To put the responses regarding political reform in context, prior to the Umbrella

Movement Hong Kong had been undergoing intense debates over political reform,

particularly universal suffrage which will elect the chief executive, the city's leader in

2017. The then CE Leung Chun-ying was elected by a 1200-member Election Committee - a body represented by only four sectors in society and stacked with Beijing loyalists and business elites - out of 3.5 million registered voters in 2012. The non-democratic HKSAR government faced a legitimacy crisis. The absence of accountability to the people of the past three CEs demonstrated an immediate need for genuine universal suffrage and democracy. Therefore, the pro-democracy faction made a counter proposal suggesting replacing the 1200-member Nominating Committee with civil nomination for a more democratic reform. However, China's top legislative committee (the National People's Congress Standing Committee, NPCSC) ruled out open nomination, kept the 1200-member Nominating Committee and allowed only two or three candidates to be nominated in which each candidate must have the endorsement of more than half of all members of the Nominating Committee. The Chinese authorities further listed their requirements for the CE, including being a 'staunch patriot', being 'able to secure the good relations between Hong Kong and the central government, safeguarding state sovereignty, security and ensuring the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong' in late August 2014 (Yang, 2014; BBC, 2015; Cheung and Cheung, 2014; Kong and Bianji, 2014). The open interpretations of universal suffrage of the Chinese authorities appeared to have violated the Basic Law, which is the mini-constitution of Hong Kong. The Basic Law states neither the requirements for 'patriotic' chief executives nor using the old Election Committee as a Nominating Committee. More importantly, civil participation would not be enabled in the Chinese conservative electoral reform after the screening of the candidates despite the rights to vote of the citizens in the CE election 2017.

Both Amy and Annie demonstrate rage and hatred towards the leader of Hong Kong. Amy's strong sense of rage and her strong affection and love for Hong Kong lead her to perceive anyone who does harm to Hong Kong as an enemy, so focuses her blame on them and resents them. Amy holds the CCP responsible for the bad governance of the appointed but not elected leader - CY Leung. Her rage was evoked as she felt that Leung's rule was intended to bring destruction to Hong Kong and was not what people in Hong Kong deserved. Here shows Amy's rage towards Leung and the CCP:

… Let's start with ever since Leung Chun-ying took office. I mean… you the mainland got someone like this (to govern us), you obviously wanted us dead! You obviously wanted to destroy Hong Kong! … This is so ridiculous! I don't have any positive feelings about this CCP in the first place. … Why should I feel any affection for you? (Amy, post-1970)

Annie detested Leung for some of his bad policies which seemingly only serve particular groups, but not the majority. Based on that, she has a strong desire for the right to elect a leader who should be accountable to Hongkongers. Annie's rage with the leader led to a desire for political reform is narrated here:

I really detest Leung Chun-ying. … I don't want Leung Chun-ying to continue in office. … He's determined indeed but he did too many bad things which caused others to detest him. … Hongkongers should really have the right to select their leader. … When he [the leader] can understand that his voters are not just a particular group of people but the majority and that he should do something for them. At least the majority won't be mad at him then. (Annie, post-1970)

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Alex thinks that the growing anger is the result of a growing desire for self-determination. He observes an attitudinal change of the people in Hong Kong before and after 1997. Previously they accepted unfair treatment because they did not have high expectations of the colonial government. However, Alex thinks that the status of the people in Hong Kong remains stable even though their expectation was for increase in autonomy: they would like to be their own master and to see a more just society after colonial rule ended. This unmet expectation has led to disappointment and anger just as Alex explains it:

> *More people realised that we are our own master but then (the society) is becoming more unjust. There was injustice in the colonial time, but that was expected. ...But now I should be my own master, and I still see injustice. ... Then of course I am more discontent. (Alex, post-1970)*

Carrie feels resentful of being excluded from the negotiation table to decide their own future or 'fate' with the people in Hong Kong in the 1980s. As Barbalet (1998, p. 68) contends, 'social actors experience resentment when an external agency denies them opportunities or valued resources (including status) which would otherwise be available to them'. This right to self-determination should have been the right of the people of Hong Kong. Nevertheless, when the PRC became a member state of the UN in 1972, they demanded to remove Hong Kong and Macau from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. As a result, the people of Hong Kong were stripped of the right to self-determination granted by the UN's 1960 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' as colonised peoples (Wong and Ngo, 2016). Here Carrie expresses her anger with the deprivation of the right to self-determination:

Why were Hongkongers not involved in the discussion of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984? How could you announce that there would be handover simply after a discussion in the room? It feels like Hongkongers were never involved in it. There has been a big question mark in my heart. Why? (Carrie, post-1980)

Adam's case demonstrates a complex mix of fear, suspicion, distrust and anger. He exhibits a strong distrust of and anger at the CCP, the fear of the National Education policies and their results. According to Kemper (2001, p. 67), 'when fear dominates, anger is less likely to lead to violence. Where anger dominates, then fear tends to be suppressed'. Adam's anger appears to be dominant over his fear, as he is more inclined to take confrontational measures against the CCP. Eyerman (2005, p. 33) contends that 'confrontational movements believe that they deal with a "closed" political system and its intransigent representatives. They set up hatred of the opponent as the feeling rule. Hatred implies the wish to destroy the opponent and thus the employment of violence' in which Adam expresses a strong desire for destroying the CCP. Adam rages when he speaks of the CCP and its National Education policy:

It [the MNE] was not indeed National Education. It was indoctrination which imposed communism on Hong Kong people, especially the Hong Kong students. China, or so-called CCP has mixed the nation and the Party for so many years. This whole thing about patriotism means loving the Party is the most disgusting! On the contrary, if you are really patriotic, you should kick this Party out. (Adam, post-1970)

Amy's account reveals her anger mixed with fear. Her fear arises from a sense of threat to a well-ordered society and the rule of law, which has been perceived as one of the pillars of the core values in Hong Kong society. The rule of law is defined as 'fairness, impartiality and equality before the law' (Scott, 2017, p. 92). Although it is imperfect, it is considered the foundation which ensures people in Hong Kong enjoy their freedoms and human rights. In Amy's view, the rule of man exercised in China implies that whoever is in power is above the law and can decide the fate of the ordinary people. This can lead to corruption, abuse of power and arbitrary interpretations of the law. She feels unprotected under the rule of man. Now the two distinct legal systems which separate Hong Kong from China are seemingly converging, with China's rule of man starting to have a grip on Hong Kong's rule of law. Moreover, ICAC has been one of Hong Kong's proudest government institutions over the years as it fights against corruption and safeguards the integrity of Hong Kong. The recent scandal[10] might have revealed the fall of the institution though (Tony Cheung, 2014). Amy's fear of growing Chinese influence over Hong Kong system and institutions, which may eventually threaten personal freedom and rip away Hong Kong's distinctiveness, could be paralysing as fear tends to lead to withdrawal or flight (Jasper, 1998). However, Amy's fear appears to have developed into anger which tends to lead to fight and help overcome the fear of repression (Flam, 2005). That might explain why Amy chose to join frontline protesters during the Umbrella Movement. Here Amy expresses her fear and anger:

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[10] Independent Commission Against Corruption. In 2013, the former ICAC chief Timothy Tong Hin-ming was found to have overspent on dinners and received expensive gifts from mainland officials during his tenure at the ICAC between 2007 and 2012. He was later on appointed as a local delegate to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Beijing's top advisory body. This controversy has shaken the public confidence in the impartiality of the ICAC.

ICAC is already like (corrupted). Without the rule of law, you are basically turning to mainland (China)'s rule of man, what will the society become? ... Without the rule of law, there's only rule of man left, then you will end up like Li Bo. ... This is ridiculous! No rule of law, no system, no institution, everything will fall apart after so many years of hard work to establish all these. We will become a second or third-tier city which is no different from mainland (China). One day I will end up being abducted to somewhere I don't know when I speak out against something wrong. ... I will end up having no protections. (Amy, post-1970)

Bruce, Collin, Charles and Billy do not shy away from expressing their anger and hostility, even hatred, when they talk about mainland Chinese. In Bruce's case, the rich and powerful attitude of mainland Chinese whose expression demonstrates an exaggerated sense of self-importance and pride make Bruce feel that the deserved status of Hongkongers is being denied by mainland Chinese. In particular, mainland Chinese perceive themselves as superior to others who have been 'looking after' Hong Kong. That invokes Bruce's anger because in history, Hongkongers were the ones who provided for mainland Chinese materially when they underwent hard times, such as the Cultural Revolution and civil war. Here Bruce expresses his anger when he feels his status is denied:

Although some people in Hong Kong are arrogant because of their wealth, those from mainland (China) really have the attitude of rich and powerful! ... Those phrases they use are really despicable, for example, 'if it wasn't for me, you wouldn't have this and that'. We never really depended on them, right? Who sent

all those medications, electronics and money to you when you mainland (China)

was not doing well? Right? (Bruce, post-1980)

Rage or indignation is evoked when Collin hears the phrases and words used by the Chinese Party-state. These phrases seem neutral, but all of them are used in the context of taking advantage of Hongkongers by the Chinese authorities, according to Collin. In this sense, Collin's indignation arises because he feels unfairly treated. Collin narrates his indignation in relation to the language use by the Chinese authorities:

... Regarding vocabulary and language, they the CCP have perhaps used many language skills which they are good at already, but there are a few expressions driving me nuts, including 'blood is thicker than water', 'compatriot', 'we are all Chinese' etc. Every time when I hear these I want to break the TV. ... Every time when these are brought up, the hidden agenda is to take advantage of you, 'we are all Chinese, don't haggle over every penny', 'we are compatriots'. ... (Collin, post-1980)

Charles' hostility toward mainland Chinese may feel automatic and even controllable. He admits that although similar habits are shared among ethnic Chinese, only mainland Chinese evoke his hostility. From his narrative, the emotion evoked seems more like hatred than anger when he said he was 'all flared-up'. According to Elster (1999, p. 65), there is a distinction between anger and hatred: 'In anger, my hostility is directed towards another's action and can be extinguished by getting even - an action that reestablishes the equilibrium. In hatred, my hostility is directed toward another person or a category of individuals who are seen as intrinsically and irremediably bad. For the

world to be made whole, they have to disappear'. Charles' account shows prejudice and racism against mainland Chinese group which affects his judgement and emotions towards them. Here Charles expresses his hostility toward mainland Chinese:

Because honestly, we are all ethnic Chinese, the awful habits I have just mentioned are shared among the ethnic Chinese world. I don't know why but only when they [mainland Chinese] say to me that 'we are all Chinese', you will get a flare-up. ... We are all Chinese, so what? We have different cultures. (Charles, post-1980)

Billy shares a similar level of hostility or hatred toward mainland Chinese as Charles. Not only does he view them as competition for resources, but the emotion is so intense that he wants them to disappear. This intense hatred may have developed from fear, a sense of threat to local values and resources. Both Charles and Billy's accounts show strong emotions and are manifested as Sinophobic attitudes and racism. Here is Billy's intense hatred toward mainland Chinese in Hong Kong:

I: So you also agree that Hongkonger identity emerged or suddenly sharpened was because of the fight over resources?

R: Yes, absolutely. ... Not only are the values of my life being challenged, but my resources are also being competed against. ... At first we [Hongkonger and mainland Chinese] were only different, but now I just hate you. The reason that I don't even want you to exist is that ... your values already clash with mine, and now you wanted to compete for my resources? Please get out of here! (Billy, post-1980)

Some respondents think that Hong Kong is still a colony after 1997. Adam frames the post-1997 China-Hong Kong relation as a coloniser-colonised relation. He exemplifies a conflictual relation between Hong Kong and China with the Second Sino-Japanese War between 1937 and 1945. At that time, Hong Kong was occupied for three years and eight months by the Japanese army. It was a traumatic historical memory to many Hongkongers. Adam's framing reveals such a deep sense of resentment towards the Chinese governance that he sees China as a form of military enemy and invader. It is worth noting that Adam once celebrated the handover and was proud of being Chinese, but his sharp change and current resentment towards China are beyond imagination. Here Adam depicts the conflictual China-Hong Kong relation:

Hong Kong has now reached the state of resistance. ... Just like those days resisting the Japanese invasion, and now it's resisting the Chinese invasion. That's right. In fact the things which China has been doing to Hong Kong since 1997 have turned Hong Kong into a colony. It's not called like that but China is indeed colonising here. ... It doesn't feel like Hong Kong has returned to its motherland. (Adam, post-1970)

Casper feels angered by the everyday colonial subjugation too. 'Colonisation' implies a lack of autonomy, a deprivation of resources and rights, and a loss of the unique status of the colonised locals to an imperial country. According to him, Chinese colonisation is in every aspect of life in Hong Kong. It appears that he is discriminative against Chinese travellers, but his inclusion of Chinese migrants as part of the Hong Kong community indicates that his narrative is not meant to be racist against Chinese, but rather a revelation of a dominant and subordinate relation between the locals and

visitors. His frustration comes firstly from, the growing dominance of Chinese influence over Hong Kong in not just one but all aspects. As a result, he and other Hongkongers feel that they are the subordinates in their own homeland. For example, the city is overcrowded by a flood of visitors in which local interests are often compromised to cater for their visitors' needs (Chugnai, 2012). Secondly, the deterioration and potential extinction of the current system in Hong Kong, especially the legal system which Hongkongers are proud of and depend on, gives rise to a sense of threat and resentment. When one's own power and status are decreasing, this gives rise to fear, anxiety, anger, depression (Kemper, 2001). Here, Casper vents his resentment towards the colonisation of his everyday life:

You [China] are not just (exerting) cultural invasion, you are indeed colonising Hong Kong! ... When your people [Chinese travellers] come here to colonise my place, ... you are forcing them [the local residents] to accommodate you in every aspect of life. ... Actually every domain, (including) legal system, every industry, all our things are slowly changing. For Hongkongers or migrants from the previous generations who had arrived in Hong Kong, they slowly knew how to differentiate between the Chinese and the Hong Kong systems. They would not want to go back to accept that the miserable system, which they experienced in the past and might relive in the new world they had come to. (Casper, post-1980)

In Erica's case, anger triggered by the use of tear gas motivated her activism in the Umbrella Movement. Anger is considered healthy and fundamental in social movements because it makes the powerless and protestors believe that change is possible. 'There's an anger, a rage-driven defiance, that is healthy, ethical and empowering. It contains the

conviction that change is possible' (Lasn, 1999, p. 143). Here is Erica's anger-driven movement participation:

... During the Anti-MNE (Movement), I would only read about it, for instance reading others' opinions online, discussing with others and family, but I never took to the street. ... (During the Umbrella Movement), I did join a class boycott, ... but I didn't think I would participate in any other protest activities after that. But then what happened that night [when tear gas was shot] got me so angry that I eventually took the street. (Erica, post-1990)

Anger, however does not always lead to action. Albert felt angry with the proposed National Education but he did not express it in action. From his narrative, it is evident that his rationality, rather than emotion was dominant in his decision not to act. In addition, it appears that Albert placed familial interests as a top priority, which discouraged any form of activism due to the opportunity cost. It is worth noting that he was not indifferent to the incident, but he chose not to act upon it. Albert regards his inaction as a generational response. Barbalet (1998, p. 133) points out that 'a likely reaction to subordination, unfair treatment, or denial of satisfaction of need may be avoidance or flight'. Albert explains his inaction despite his anger with the National Education:

R: ... I didn't really know know the content of the National Education and what messages the (National) Education wanted to bring out. ... I myself didn't participate in the actions by Scholarism. ... Perhaps our generation are rather lazy. We felt angry inside, but if you asked me to take to the streets, we were perhaps rather lazy.

I: ... So why didn't you turn the anger into actions?

R: Many reasons, one of them is laziness. I won't deny it. Sometimes it's family problems. Sometimes during the weekends, (I) just want to spend more time with family. So why didn't I take to the street at the weekdays? Laziness. (Albert, post-1970)

Davis claims that resentment toward China has been in the 'emotional climate' since he was born. 'Emotional climate characterises a collective when an emotional durable orientation is related to underlying social structure and political programs' (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006, p. 375). According to Davis, this resentment toward China was shared among his peers. His hatred is mixed with contempt as he perceives the Chinese culture as distasteful and inelegant, and incompatible with the 'civilised' Hong Kong culture. Here Davis detests China for its culture:

R: Because of the social climate, ... even when I was born, when I was younger, I was pretty clear that I hated China. My primary school peers were like me. We detest China very much since we were young.

I: What exactly did you hate them for?

R: Several things. I hated their culture. Our cultures are incompatible. ... There is a wide gap between their impolite(ness) or lack of civilisation, and our qualities of life in Hong kong.   (Davis, post-1990)

6.4. Guilt and Shame

Among the various emotions, guilt and shame feelings are powerful in motivating mobilisation. Kemper (2001) contends that bystanders may be motivated by moral

outrage or noblesse oblige to join social movements even though they are not the immediate victims or beneficiaries from the movement. These motivations are evoked by guilt and/or shame.

In the focus group discussion, both Catherine and Carrie ascribed to guilt towards the outbreak of the Umbrella Movement. In particular, Catherine first experienced a moral shock when she witnessed how the younger generation risked their personal safety and future prospects by protesting on the streets for democracy, and were not spared by the police force. Her response to this shock was a guilty conscience, especially while she was seemingly doing nothing to help but watching the news on TV, comfortably at home. Her inaction led her to self-blame and guilt (Kemper, 2001). At the same time, she conveyed the emotion of anger without explicitly mentioning anger, in which she identified the objects of anger, which in this case were the police force and the government, and focused the blame on them. Having someone to blame for what is wrong is crucial to protest (Gamson, 1992; Jasper, 1998). Catherine then transformed her guilt into action. She particularly felt the moral call to protect the students, who represented the future of society. This guilt feeling, together with a moral calling, urged her to be proactive in more direct participation in the movement. Here, Catherine and Carrie speak about their guilt feelings and participation in the protests:

R1: Then it came to the tear gas scene, (we) even saw this group of students [Scholarism] who courageously dashed into the Civic Square, while the police didn't spare them at all. I just thought, woo, how come our society became like this? … I thought, woo, (I) should really protect this group of students. They were the future. I mean they were willing to risk possibly their future prospects. … how

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could we still sit comfortably at home and watch the news? It then weighed on my

conscience. (Catherine, post-1980)

R2: The shame / guilt feeling was quite strong. (Carrie, post-1980)

The guilt and shame feelings were predominantly shared among the post-1970 and post-1980's generations when they saw the younger generation taking up the responsibility by going to the frontline. When these respondents embraced the feelings of guilt and shame, they could no longer shy away from the growing conflicts in society. Joshua Wong, the leader of Scholarism, also attempted to transform these guilt and shame feelings into collective action. In one of the public assemblies right after the tear gas incident, Wong emphasised that the future of Hong Kong was not dependent on one person and reasserted the importance of collective action, of everyone acting in their own capacity so that students who took the lead might not walk alone (Apple Daily, 2014). It appears that Brian agrees that adults bear the social responsibility of speaking up for social issues instead of youngsters. His shame arose when he felt that adults failed to use their status to resist National Education. Similarly, Kemper (2001, p. 65) observes, 'shame results from the recognition (and confirmation) of the fact that one has not acted in a manner to deserve one's usual due of status, or that one has acted in an unworthy manner'. Here, he talks about the feeling of shame when faced with the failure to live up to the ideal:

It was already against our logic in society when the secondary school students

stood out first during the Anti-MNE campaign. Actually adults should be ashamed

of themselves if they did not stand up after the youngsters did.' (Brian, post-1980)

In a similar way, Becky's shame arises when her experiences and knowledge are not as great as the youngsters' in Hong Kong nowadays. Her perception of them mismatches her perception of self, where she feels that she is unworthy of the amount of status accorded (Kemper, 2001). Here, Becky narrates her shame feeling:

Under the influence of media, I previously thought that youngsters in Hong Kong only played video games and achieved academic excellence, ... but later on when a group of kids suddenly came out obviously not for money, fame or interest, ... I was moved. Also, they were much younger than me, ... but they knew much more about the history and future of Hong Kong than me, I felt ashamed. (Becky, post-1980)

Clarissa claimed responsibility for being part of the change makers in the fight for democracy. The ascription of guilt is clearly her primary motivation for participating in the collective action. At the same time, she also identified the government as responsible, or guilty for not meeting the public demands by granting a democratic system. It is interesting how she expected that putting the government to shame might pressurise the government to do something, as if the government would be bothered by feelings of guilt and shame. Here are Clarissa's ascriptions of guilt:

Did I believe that the government would compromise after the referendum? Not really. I wasn't that naive yet. But still, just like what I said previously, I would have a guilty conscience if I didn't even support something put together by a group of well-intentioned people. In addition, even though the government would not yield eventually, I felt that we could at least bring shame to it so that

international media would know that it was the government who betrayed the

public will. (Clarissa, post-1980)

6.5. Feeling of Powerlessness

Undoubtedly, respondents felt frustrated and devastated when the Umbrella Movement became tougher and the Chinese government was restricting the city's freedom. It is observed that feelings of despair, powerlessness and helplessness became the emotional climate in the fight for democracy. These emotions led to a further withdrawal from the ongoing social struggles rather than motivating people to confront the oppressor. For example, the former member of Scholarism Dominick's narrative reveals a strong sense of helplessness which overcame him because he perceived that they were unable to bring changes to the general public. It resulted in his withdrawal from, or a negative response to social activism. Dominick narrates his feeling of despair since early 2014:

Since early 2014, I began to feel that… the whole thing will eventually fail no matter what. … I still thought that no matter what we did, we would not be able to raise the awareness of the public when the (NPCSC's) 31 August (decision) happened. The week when HKFS organised occupy LegCo, I didn't even take any notice. I should say that after I quit (Scholarism), I stopped following any news regarding social movements because I thought it was pointless for we couldn't achieve anything. (Dominick, post-1990)

One of the committed participants of the Umbrella Movement, Amy, also shares her fatigue, frustrations and political despair after the political inefficacy of the protests. In Amy's account, there is a strong emphasis on the physical and emotional exhaustion

generated during her political participation. It appears that feelings of powerlessness and helplessness had persisted over a considerably long period of time, even after the end of the protests. All in all, the feeling of powerlessness is a disempowering and demobilising emotion. Here Amy shares her feelings of being drained and deflected after the Umbrella Movement:

At that time I thought I had already occupied the entire street, so many of us took to the streets and stepped up the actions, but in the end the whole protest was over just like that without a trace. ... Actually it's really tiring, I myself am very tired because these feelings of powerlessness and helplessness are that… I had already done so much… but they were all in vain. ... Ever since the occupied sites were cleared, we have been feeling very exhausted. It has been over a year now. ... What else can we do? (Amy, post-1970)

This feeling of powerlessness which affects self-confidence and agency has been addressed by Becky too. Becky is convinced that feeling helpless is a result of stressful work culture and lifestyle, and 'learned' through many failed experiences of attempted change over the years. Firstly, people are so enslaved to their work and busy lives that they become conservative and calculated, especially with regard to political participation. Gaventa (1980, cited in Dykema, 1985, p. 445) observes that 'individuals unable to engage actively with others to determine their own affairs do not develop political consciousness of their own situation or of broader political inequalities'. It is worth noting that Becky believes that the more working experiences a person has, the more powerless they feel even though they are presumably more resourceful. The consequence is non-participation. Secondly, experiences of continuous failed attempts

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for change and resistance feed into the belief system of learned helplessness. According to Becky, this feeling of helplessness makes people believe that their agency is weak and they are unable to compete with authority, even if they want to. Although she disagrees with a disengagement from social action, she asserts that feeling of powerlessness is dominant in Hong Kong society:

... Those who have been working for over 10 years believe that you only do something which you know you have a chance to succeed. ... The reality will make you become more and more... because you are busy at work and at home, there is less persistence in the ideal, the sense of powerlessness is so much higher. But when these youngsters took to the streets, (they) made us, these so called adults, realise that it didn't have to be this way. You could still come out and try, ... of course you wouldn't succeed right away, but at least there was a start of something. ... We often talk about 'Learned Helplessness' these days. It's true. No matter how you resist it doesn't work. Those government officials aren't accountable for however many bad things they have done. It indeed makes people think that it's useless to speak up. But I myself don't agree to this. (Becky, post-1980)

Benjamin's understanding of the political passivity of Hongkongers is based on the causal relation between the exclusiveness of the political system both in colonial and post-1997 Hong Kong and feeling of powerlessness. In his view, Hongkongers were never given any opportunity to decide their own fate in the political system. The salient sense of powerlessness - the inability to influence or alter government policies and decisions (Lam, 2004) - led Hongkongers into political inaction if they perceived that

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there would be no desirable outcome. This view is similar to Lau's (1984) reasoning of the political aloofness of Hongkongers. Benjamin concludes that Hongkongers were unwilling to act politically under the influence of a strong sense of political powerlessness. Here is Benjamin's reasoning for the political apathy of Hongkongers:

(Hongkongers) are not very keen on politics. ... The second cause is feeling of powerlessness. That's like I don't think I can change the decisions or policy by the Central (government). That's like there's nothing I can do. ... You didn't even have a choice if it was the British rule because the council members were all appointed. ... After the transfer of sovereignty, you [the central government] gave us the doctrine of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong'. Of course I assumed that I am my own master in principle but in reality I am not. Simply speaking, ... among the 1,200 nominees for the election of the chief executive, the vast majority is the deputies of the NPC or National Committee of the CPPCC who show no concern for you and your everyday life but the interest of China, it's pointless to get involved then. (Benjamin, post-1980)

On the other hand, a sense of political powerlessness may not necessarily lead to political passivity (Lam, 2004). For example, Clarissa's account reveals a strong sense of powerlessness due to the indifference of the authorities to public demands. Her sense of political powerlessness, however, seems to lead her to political radicalism - demand for fundamental reform - instead of political fatalism. In her view, Hong Kong independence is the only option left to the current political predicament. Here Clarissa narrates her sense of powerlessness and radical view:

The Hong Kong and central governments are like... no matter how we

Hongkongers resist, not only do they ignore us, but they actually continue to suppress us even more. ... That made me feel that there will only be a dead end unless Hong Kong can be independent from your [CCP] rule. ... I can't think of any other way out which we can live the good old days or change the unjust situations under the CCP rule. (Clarissa, post-1980)

Billy exemplifies the power imbalance between the protesters and China with the story of David and Goliath, except there is no external force helping David (the protesters) to defeat Goliath (the Chinese state) this time. Billy feels powerless as there is seemingly no leader to take the collective into action:

But the trouble is that it's like David and Goliath. How do we master our fate when faced with a giant? It's difficult. ... First there should be a leader. ... I think there should be a leader but I don't think that's me. We really hope for a leader but we can't see any at the moment. ... Everyone of us is furious but the trouble is we can't do anything about it! Our power is too diffuse that we don't know what we can achieve. But if there was someone who could take the lead, I guess the power would be very strong. (Billy, post-1990)

6.6. Love of China

While the claim for Hongkonger identity was regarded as a sign of being unpatriotic to China by the Chinese authority, Chris asserts that Hongkonger identity still co-existed before 2016 with the love of China. This love of China was expressed by feeling obligated to provide aid or to help with China among Hongkongers, whenever China was in need. Here is his argument for Hongkongers' love of China:

Whether it was 1997 or 2016, actually Hongkongers had always claimed to be Hongkongers. But in the past, I am Hongkonger but I ... should also help mainland (China). (Chris, post-1980)

Chris also exemplifies his own experience of showing love of China, with a discussion of helping China to democratise, in his circle of friends during his studies. It was still his, and many other Hongkongers' wish to influence China in regards to democratisation from Hong Kong. The annual June 4th vigil is perceived as a typical example of such collective pan-Chinese sentiment of Hongkongers. Chris recollects his love of China when he was younger:

When we were studying at university, we were discussing how to help China to elect the first Chinese president. That was between 2003 and 2006, ... (we were) saying things like Hong Kong would not have democracy unless China had democracy. (Chris, post-1980)

Edward expressed his love of China through providing financial aid for the Sichuan Earthquake in 2008, even though he was only 14 years old. This appears to be out of his own will and genuine concern for China when he still claimed a Chinese identity. Edward's love of China can be understood as love of the Chinese nationals when he sympathised with their plight. It reveals to us how patriotism can affect young and old. Edward recalls his love of China in the old days:

During the Olympics in 2008, i.e. the Sichuan Earthquake, I donated money, every day. I remember I donated one Hong Kong dollar every day for food. ... At that time, the Chinese identity still existed. (Edward, post-1990)

For those respondents who acknowledge themselves as patriots, they share Becky's conviction of distinguishing the nation from the Party-state, and the love for the Chinese nation instead of the Party-state. Their object of love is the cultural heritage, the landscape, the history, and the people, but never the political institution or the government. This is where their views depart from the official version of patriotism, which demands its patriots be fully committed and demonstrate absolute obedience to the Party. Becky talks about her love and passion for a geographical China:

I have affections for China. I only dislike the [CCP] regime. For example (when) I travel(led) to mainland (China), I saw its beautiful landscape, I would feel very pleased. The beautiful landscape I saw in mainland (China) and the beautiful landscape I saw in Europe (gave me) different feelings. But when I saw that beautiful (landscape in China), I would be more pleased because I am part of China. But then when I saw some people kept spitting (on the floor), I would be distressed. (Becky, Post-1980)

The discourse of Chinese patriotism often conveys a common identity based on physical traits of a 'typical' Chinese - yellow skin and black hair, and a call for solidarity, attachment and loyalty of ethnic Chinese. In order to understand respondents' views on this ethno-nationalist sentiment, I asked respondents to comment on the following discourse in the interviews:

We are all Chinese: yellow skin, black hair. Blood is thicker than water, being patriotic is a given.

(我們都是中國人，黃皮膚、黑頭髮，血濃於水，愛國是理所當然的。)

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Some respondents oppose that patriotism should be taken for granted. Cody questions the rationality of ethnic nationalism when no one can choose their race and ethnicity at birth. He regards patriotism as a feeling rather than a duty, and the feeling has to be genuine and natural rather than nurtured or taught. Here is Cody's view:

What I feel most strongly is why must I be patriotic? Why is being patriotic a given? … If I had to be really mean, do you think I want to be born with yellow skin and black hair? … I will love (the country) if I feel like it. And even if I don't, what are you going to do? (Cody, post-1980)

Similarly, respondents such as Catherine, Alex and Carrie define patriotism as a sentiment or feeling which naturally grows in individuals. Both Catherine and Alex think that this love of China starts to become unauthentic, fake or artificial as soon as political institutions start to 'educate' people to love the country, or when this love and commitment becomes an obligation and a moral duty. Catherine questions the rationality of patriotism:

'Being patriotic is a given' is the most controversial sentence. … It will be genuine if I feel patriotism. If it becomes a given, then I feel that is a top-down way of telling you to love the nation because the authority has some worries. (Catherine, post-1980)

Alex contests the idea of being told to love one's country. In his view, love comes naturally if one feels happy. Alex compares patriotic education to family education:

I think that the word 'patriotism' is what the politicians use when they want

someone to do something. … It's like… I don't say to my children, 'Hey, love your family.' If you feel happy, if you identify yourself as part of it, you don't need to say it. (Alex, post-1970)

For some respondents, patriotism is a response to the policies the ruling power puts in place for its citizens rather than a prerequisite for being a citizen. Alice contends that when the state sets up a fair system to serve the best interests of the majority, then its citizens will show love for the country by making contributions and participating in society. Patriotism is therefore not a demand made by the state, but a response to the constructive state policies for its people. Here Alice gives her definition of patriotism:

R: … patriotism is… being a good citizen. No matter what position you are and what job you have in society, you are still contributing to this society, and helping this society advance.

I: How to make someone patriotic since you mentioned that being patriotic is not a given?

R: … First of all, that country should do its best for its nationals, … to ensure that they live in peace and comfort. … And to establish a system to … build up the confidence of the nationals. To let them know that as long as they are willing to put in effort, they can improve their livelihood. And they can participate in building up this country. The country should not be controlled by a small group of people. Most of the benefits of the country should not be owned by the small group of people. (Alice, post-1970)

Becky contends that there are opportunists who only pretend to be patriotic for their own interests, but not for the greater interest of the country or common good. She argues that many Chinese officials are hypocritical opportunists because they send their children abroad, when they often praise systems, such as education, in the country to be well-established and well-developed. This example is often used to contest the loyalty of these so-called patriots in China. In her view, genuine patriots share wealth and woe with their country. Here Becky comments on the 'fake' patriots in China:

If those (Chinese) people were so patriotic, then they would not send all their children to study overseas. After all, no one in mainland (China) is patriotic, even the mainland officials aren't patriotic! ... You officials just want to take advantage of the corrupted system when you still can. If the regime falls apart, every official will scatter. The definition of real patriotism is even when the whole mainland collapses after an earthquake, you will still stay and rebuild the place together. (Becky, post-1980)

6.7. Emotions of Belonging

6.7.1. Love of Hong Kong

Love of Hong Kong is deemed an important affective tie bonding an individual to the Hong Kong community. Not only does Betty set love as the first priority for defining Hongkonger identity, but she also has a clear framework of what loving Hong Kong means. Firstly, she asserts that Hongkongers who love Hong Kong should help maintain economic prosperity and stability which have been the mainstream values in Hong Kong, and to safeguard non-material concerns such as equality, autonomy and freedom of speech. Her narrative stresses collective, rather than individual interests, in which

Hong Kong has priority. In short, Betty's understanding of the love of Hong Kong refers to an act of protecting the infrastructures of Hong Kong society. Betty's definition of love for Hong Kong is:

R: How to define Hongkongers… First thing is that he will love Hong Kong. … Second thing is that he cares about Hongkongers' interests, instead of selling all the interests of Hong Kong.

I: You first mentioned about loving Hong Kong. How do you define loving Hong Kong?

R: … Actually I think loving Hong Kong is quite difficult for me because I think a person who loves Hong Kong should facilitate the economic prosperity of Hong Kong and show concern for the needs of different social classes in Hong Kong. At the same time, he should be willing to support or safeguard freedom of speech which Hong Kong once had, and should provide space for Hongkongers, even the next generations to develop themselves freely. (Betty, post-1980)

In a similar way, Denise regards the love of Hong Kong as a crucial feature of Hongkonger identity. Nevertheless, her emphasis is on the authenticity of this love which should be proven by actions. She exemplifies her view with a counter-example of those who 'take advantage of' Hongkonger identity in which mainlanders are to blame. For her, self-proclamation is not sufficient for someone to become part of the community. To be accepted as a member of the Hong Kong community an individual needs to prove themselves genuine. Denise's view of inauthentic love for the Hong Kong community is:

... Some people profess their identifications with the local community only for some interests but they were not genuine. Mainlanders make an effort to give birth here so that their children can receive local education. Then they only have to say their identify with (Hong Kong) so they come. ... You won't be treated as a local simply because you profess your identification. You must live here for a while, integrate into the local culture. Actions speak louder than words. (Denise, post-1990)

According to Denise, 'fake love' is when the 'acts of love' are for material gain or interest. Since Denise emphasised that 'actions speak louder than words', I then used 'Caring Hong Kong Power' (愛護香港力量) (Henceforth, 'CHKP') as an example to ask whether she though that the group loved Hong Kong. CHKP is an extremist pro-regime organisation established in 2011 in Hong Kong. Since its establishment, it has organised protests and confrontations against the pro-democracy campaigns and campaigners in the name of 'loving and safeguarding Hong Kong', as implied by its Chinese name. Denise comments that these so-called 'acts of love' by CHKP are 'fake' love because they are suspected to be for material gain:

I: Does 'Caring for Hong Kong Power' love Hong Kong?

R: They are more like patriots. ... Their name does not mean everything. ... You know that they do not love Hong Kong genuinely from their slogans and actions. They 'love' Hong Kong for some interests. For example, police. That's why the police protect them. (I) feel that they must have received interests from someone for such show-off behaviours. (Denise, post-1990)

6.7.2. Sense of Belonging

As human beings, we all desire to belong to certain groups which we consider to be significant. A sense of belonging to a group keeps people in the group (Jasper, 2011). What is it like to belong? Bianca claims that the concept of home in Hong Kong will develop if they feel they belong. She also asserts that a person's sense of belonging will nurture pride and care for the homeland. Her view on the relation between the concept of 'home' and a sense of belonging is:

I: How will you identify a person as a Hongkonger?

R: He has a sense of belonging to the place. … As his own home. Then he will be proud of being part of this place. … If you have a sense of belonging to this place, you feel that it's your home and you naturally wish for the best for it. (Bianca, post-1980)

Bobby exemplifies a lack of belonging with his role of 'being a foreigner' while he was studying overseas in Australia. He felt a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong when he did not feel he belonged in Australia. In this experience, he was confronted by homesickness which made him realise where his home and roots were. Bobby attributes the discovery of his sense of belonging to Hong Kong from his homesickness:

I was still thinking of Hong Kong even in my dreams. I dreamt that I walked back to somewhere nearby my home (in HK). Then I went to a Tai Pai Dong [an open-air food stall in Hong Kong] for a bowl of noodles with spam and eggs. This is called 'homesickness'. You know it if you have ever lived abroad. Because here (Hong Kong) is my root. (Bobby, post-1980)

Desmond regards himself as a Hongkonger due to his strong sense of belonging, especially with regard to local affairs. Feelings are significant indicators of what matters to him and how much he cares. Geographic proximity plays a crucial role here; he did not have the same strength of feeling towards matters in Hong Kong as to the incidents in Belgium. The more he feels attached and involved in society, the higher he posits this place identity, and the stronger feelings affect him. His strong attachment to Hong Kong is closely associated with his passion for local affairs. Desmond contrasts the difference in his feelings towards Hong Kong and elsewhere in the world to indicate his sense of belonging:

I: So what does Hongkonger identity include?

R: It includes your views about this place. I have a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong so I will acknowledge myself as a Hongkonger. I was born and raised here. I have a strong sentiment towards the political and social affairs of this place. Or perhaps I am very much attached to the matters. I have strong feelings about the matters in Hong Kong rather than other places. If you ask whether I feel anything about the bomb explosion in Belgium, yes I do but not that strongly. (Desmond, post-1990)

Annie indicates that having a sense of belonging to Hong Kong is a crucial motivation for being identified as a Hongkonger. Being entitled to stay makes someone a Hong Kong resident, but only when emotionally involved in local society is she 'qualified' to be a Hongkonger. Moreover, this feeling for society 'should' emerge in bad times according to Annie. This implies an expected loyalty from Hongkongers to that community especially in crises. Annie's response is likely to be related to her reflection

on the then political frustrations in Hong Kong at the time of the interview. She differentiates a Hongkonger from a Hong Kong resident after she remarks on two categories:

Hong Kong residents are those who only live in Hong Kong. ... I think a Hongkonger needs to have a sense of belonging and a sentiment to this place. And primarily when he sees Hong Kong gets worse, he should have a strong feeling for it and not wanting it to get worse. I think this is the expression of a sense of belonging. (Annie, post-1970)

Benjamin shares Annie's view that a sense of belonging to a place is a determining factor which differentiates a Hongkonger from a Hong Kong resident. He specifies that a sense of belonging is not generated naturally by citizenship or residency. To belong or not to belong is a choice a person makes no matter what the objective facts are. In his opinion, his self-identification is not based on his nationality after 1997 but on his sense of belonging to Hong Kong. He explains his view:

I: So will you become an American if you migrate?

R: Yes. But identity is different. I have a strong of belonging to Hong Kong but not to China. But legally speaking I am a national of that place [China]. (Benjamin, post-1980)

These views assert that a feeling of belonging is a crucial constituent of Hongkonger identity. It affects how an individual relates to the collective and how he is perceived by others. Two interpretations can be derived from their narratives. Firstly, a Hongkonger identity cannot be easily altered once a sense of belonging is deeply rooted, even in

situations such as migration or a change of sovereignty. Secondly, Hongkonger identity is not limited to locally-born residents, but to anyone who feels and shows a sense of belonging to Hong Kong. At the same time, a person is not considered to be part of the Hong Kong community if he cannot demonstrate his attachment to the place even though he is born there.

6.7.3. Pride

Pride is a common and powerful sentiment of collective identity (Jasper, 1998). Culture can be an important carrier of such sentiment. For example, Brian takes pride in the cultural identity of a Hongkonger as he internalised the distinct culture specific to Hong Kong. He does not feel the same extent of pride in his Chinese identity. The pride in being a Hongkonger is so strong and intense that he even treats the Chinese identity as a mutually exclusive claim. Brian's feelings about both his Hongkonger and Chinese identities:

> *I am a Hongkonger for I was born and raised in Hong Kong by the Hong Kong culture. ... And I am proud of this identity and this is a identity which I recognise. If someone asks me whether I am a Chinese, I will say no. My reply is Hongkonger. (Brian, post-1980)*

However, not all respondents who claim a Hongkonger identity and deny a Chinese identity take pride in the Hongkonger identity. Britney discloses that she does not feel proud of being a Hongkonger, but it seems to be her only choice to identify herself after having developed a negative feeling towards China. Britney's reasons for denying a Chinese identity are:

... mainland (China) is like this. Whatever you want, they don't allow it. They have to intervene in everything, control everything no matter how much noise you make. So eventually you dislike even more this mainland China. I think I dislike it rather than being proud of being a Hongkonger. Actually I am not very proud of being a Hongkonger. Not at all. But I was born here. What else can I say I am if not Hongkonger? (Britney, post-1980)

What causes pride in the Hongkonger identity for some respondents? Sports competitions such as the Olympics and World Cup often have symbolic significance to national sentiment. Dustin finds pride in distinguished sports athletes. He mentions Ko and Li, the table-tennis duo of the Hong Kong national team, who represented Hong Kong in many major games such as the 2004 Summer Olympics and the 2006 Asian Games. Dustin feels proud of their achievements even though he is not an athlete himself. In a way, these athletes are recognised as 'heroes' in his narrative. He uses 'we' to imply being part of the group which he feels represents him, and therefore he is eligible to share in their glory. Dustin ties his cultural identity to the Hong Kong team and the shared honour has caused him to be strongly attached to the Hongkonger identity. He expresses his pride in the Hong Kong sporting team:

I feel that I am a Hongkonger when Hong Kong achieves something prideful. For example Ko Lai Chak (and) Li Ching. Even though we were not the champions, so what? They were willing to contribute to Hong Kong. I already felt that I am a Hongkonger because I can share this glory. (Dustin, post-1990)

When does this pride occur? Betty's pride emerged when she was confronted by a Singaporean driver in a foreign country. In this incident, the driver made fun of the whole Hong Kong community and Betty could have shied away and denied her association with the collective. However, she felt she owned this collective identity which caused her to argue back. She could have felt ashamed of being part of the Hong Kong community because of the criticism received. Nevertheless, she took the criticism well. At the same time, she pointed out all the good qualities of Hongkongers. It shows that she does not take pride in the Hong Kong community blindly, but accepts its weaknesses and appreciates its strengths. Betty explains her pride:

... Once I was taking a taxi for a business trip in Singapore. The Singaporean driver made fun of us Hongkongers, saying that we could speak neither Mandarin nor English. I immediately refuted and said, 'We may not speak Mandarin or English as well as the Singaporeans do, but we Hongkongers are very flexible... They are very smart.' After saying this, I felt proud of being a Hongkonger myself somehow. There are things which Hong Kong is not good at but Hong Kong has it own quality which can stand in front of others. (Betty, post-1980)

Pride tends to draw respondents out to join one another in public protests (Britt and Heise, 2000). For example, Carl asserts that pride and a sense of belonging to one's place generates concern and a connection with society. When he saw that Hong Kong was faced with a series of problems, including an undemocratic political institution, he came out to join public demonstrations during the Umbrella Movement, hoping to make a difference, instead of leaving behind the problems and running away. It shows how

pride can create closeness of self to society. Here Carl speaks about pride in the locality and its subsequent action:

… Actually coming out itself is already an act of feeling proud of one's place. If you are not proud of your own place, what will you do if you think there's something wrong here? Emigrate! I don't need to come out, right? (Carl, post-1980)

Carrie compares her lack of pride to others who exhibit a strong and positive sense of group identity. Seeing an absence of pride in her group membership urges her to reflect on her social role and causes her to feel shame. She realises her self-identity is attached to Hong Kong, which gives rise to a sense of belonging and pride. These positive feelings feed into her solidarity and involvement in Hong Kong society and replace her shame. The dynamic between pride and shame is what Jasper (2011, p. 291) describes as 'moral batteries', meaning that 'an emotion can be strengthened when we explicitly or implicitly compare it to its opposite, just as a battery works through the tension between its positive and negative poles'. Here Carrie depicts an interesting dynamic relation between pride and self identity:

Why are people of other places proud of their identities, proud of their countries, proud of their places? What can I be proud of? These motivated me to reflect on my participation (in society). How do I see myself and my role as part of this place? I think that's kind of related to your identification with that place. ... When the uglier that thing appears, you find that the more you are concerned about this place [Hong Kong]. Then you realise that 'I actually belong to this place.'. (Carrie, post-1980)

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6.8. Hope

A salient sense of hope was generated by the emergence of Scholarism in 2012. The non-partisan student organisation turned many respondents, from being bystanders into constituents or adherents by their passion and clear vision since they started raising awareness of protesting against the MNE. Respondents such as Daniel, Denise and Becky were encouraged and motivated to stand in solidarity with the group. In particular, Denise joined and became one of the core members of Scholarism during the Anti-MNE Movement, and Daniel extended his support for the group to the pro-democracy movement in 2014. All of them, as well as some other respondents were driven by a similar feeling of hope to believe that they could actually achieve something together with Scholarism in their protest activities. Hope is therefore evoked by a concrete positive goal (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006). According to Daniel, the trust in the capacity to act was located in the collective 'Scholarism':

I identified with the organisation (Scholarism) to a great extent at that time. I also felt very hopeful because (they) were of my age. ... I was very encouraged by such a group of people who organised such a large-scale movement with some clear policy goals. (Daniel, post-1990)

Hope is one powerful driving force to induce actions (Kleres and Wettergren, 2017), be it realistic or unrealistic. Hope produced through the action of Scholarism also spurs actions, as Becky reflects:

Firstly I identified with their rationale against MNE. Secondly I was very moved by this group of secondary school students who were willing to spend so much time

and effort to do so many things for the future generation. ... They made me feel

very hopeful about the future generation of Hong Kong. Therefore I moved from

being a bystander to following their news every day, and I would support their

actions. (Becky, post-1980)

Denise's experience reveals that hope in Scholarism helped her build up confidence in her social agency:

... (I) found out that a secondary school student was also able to resist certain

things. I believe that following this group of people gives me hope to do something,

not only in the National Education curriculum, but in the face of universal

suffrage in Hong Kong. (Denise, post-1990)

The power of hope does not only encourage participants from all backgrounds, including highly educated and experienced workers and students, young people and older adults, to be willing to follow a group of inexperienced secondary school youngsters in social action; it also brings in new perspectives to the existing imagination of identity. Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal (2006, p. 374) point out that hope is 'based on ability to imagine a not yet existing reality and on anticipation of future goals'. Here, Carrie reflects on the inspiration and insight into self-identity brought by Scholarism, which took the lead to be their 'own masters' of Hongkongers:

I think it was (a sign of) hope. We had always dared not imagine Hongkongers to

be our own masters. ... When you saw a group of people stood out and expressed,

'Hey, I am willing to bear this (responsibility).' ... I think it was (a sign of) hope.

And it widened the imagination of self-identity. Must I choose between Chinese

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and Hongkonger in China? Are there only two options? ... I think it widened the

imagination. I think it was (a sign of) hope. (Carrie, post-1980)

Catherine's reflections on her Chinese nationality and local identity were also affected by the emergence of Scholarism. The student activist group has moved her from having an inactive and passive role, to an awareness of civic responsibility and to further act upon it actively and positively. Although she was not given a chance to choose what nationality she was born to, the hope manifested by Scholarism inspired her to be a capable social agent. Catherine depicts her changes caused by Scholarism:

... The emergence of Scholarism caused me to (reflect on) this identity, 'should I

get more involved in this society?' In the past, I might feel that, 'It's not my choice.

I have Chinese nationality. I hold a HKSAR passport. I can't choose again.' But

when I saw that many things in this place needed changing, when people as young

as Scholarism raised that, 'actually we all have a civic responsibility to ...

participate, to show concern, I was still holding onto the same identity but with a

more positive attitude. (Catherine, post-1980)

In a similar way, Carl also reflects on his Hongkonger identity and how he should act upon this identity. From a powerless state to an active and hopeful state, Carl articulates the emotional energy sent by Scholarism:

In addition, not only did they [Scholarism] provide me with a choice to be a

Hongkonger, they also… gave Hongkongers a choice: at first we felt very

powerless about the whole thing [fighting for democracy], but ever since they

came out, (I) felt that we could actually choose to act instead of just sitting

around. (Carl, post-1980)

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Cynthia shares one of the struggles which many people in Hong Kong had in the midst of fighting for democracy: to stay or to leave. The fear and hopelessness induced by the China factor had caused increasing numbers of emigrations from Hong Kong; but the insistence of Scholarism and the young generation to confront the great power is giving Cynthia hope to stay without knowing what the future holds. Cynthia talks about her decision to stay:

... China is now testing your limits in which a lot of people's reaction was to leave. It made me think whether I should leave. ... But when I saw that someone [Scholarism] that young had already begun to fight, I am already a grown-up, why don't I stay to see whether he succeeds? Even if I might not be able to help him, I can still stay here instead of leaving. (Cynthia, post-1980)

One crucial factor in Scholarism bringing hope to the public was through its iconic leader - Joshua Wong. Respondents across the generations recalled how Joshua first caught their attention. For example, 5 out of 5 respondents from the post-1980's focus group admitted that Joshua Wong was the main reason for them starting to notice the Anti-MNE Movement. Respondents from other generations were also impressed by this young activist. For instance, Erica regards Joshua Wong as the symbol of Scholarism:

... I think Joshua Wong and Scholarism are related. Every time when we speak of Joshua Wong, we think of Scholarism. (Erica, post-1990)

Anthony describes Joshua as an eloquent, charismatic leader with eloquence when he first appeared in public:

… Their (Scholarism's) message which responded to the National Education policy was quite special. But the charisma and foundation of Joshua Wong himself attracted… my attention to the group. (Anthony, post-1970)

The positive image of Joshua Wong drew public attention and moved its focus beyond the fear elicited by top-down National Education. In addition, the lack of experience in politics and social activism of the group became their advantage, rather than weakness, in their mobilisation, for the public perceived them as a non-political student group with a pure intent. A former member of Scholarism, Damon reflects that student activism contributed greatly to the public trust and hope in them during the Anti-MNE campaign. Damon suggests that the non-partisan nature of Scholarism was the key to building public trust:

Because we Scholarism were not a political party. It wasn't aiming for a safe seat (in LegCo). But (we were) merely a group of students who had an innocent and naive intent to let others know that politics was not always about political party or political swindlers. Students would get involved in politics for the sake of a better society. (Damon, post-1990)

Some responses from the movement participants resonate with this reflection. Respondents assert that Scholarism was mostly perceived positively almost immediately after it emerged. For example, Adam views students as the future of Hong Kong, which indicates hope:

Students represent the future. ... When a political party protests, you will wonder whether it is for paving the way for the next election. But this group [Scholarism] would definitely not so something like that. Therefore everyone would take them more seriously and check why they protested. ... They really didn't have so many concerns for interest. ... Their understandings of right and wrong are the most innocent and genuine. (Adam, post-1970)

The passion, demonstrated by Scholarism portrayed a different picture of youth activism for Alice. As she had always assumed that youth activism was rare in Hong Kong because of youths' indifference to society and public issues, the emergence of Scholarism and its involvement in politics and social affairs made her feel hopeful again:

At that time I thought if there was such a group of youngsters who were interested in politics and insightful in Hong Kong, then there was still hope. (Alice, post-1970)

The representation of Scholarism being the future of Hong Kong was particularly effective in building up hope during the Anti-MNE Movement. Such representation implies that youths are entitled to have a voice in any decision affecting their future as part of the society they live in. In addition, when Scholarism began its mobilisation, most respondents were encouraged, because of the determination and potential they demonstrated. It is worth noting that Scholarism did not seem to create an ideal state of affairs which might appear to be impossible to achieve in reality. The very specific goal which Scholarism set right from the start and presented to the public was realistic and

manageable. At that time, very few respondents would think that the fight against the National Education curriculum was unrealistic although they were being led by a student group which had no previous experience and apparent achievement in social activism. Consequently, participants were able to imagine themselves being part of the change. Even Andy, who was once overwhelmed by pessimism about the protest, experienced a turn to being 'cautiously optimistic' because of Scholarism:

I: You mentioned that you was pessimistic about the Anti-MNE protest because you thought that the government was on the lead during the process. Did your attitude change? If so, why?

R: Yes, there were changes. You saw hope in them [Scholarism] in which something, instead of nothing, might be achieved in the end. I saw their persistence and overall performance. Their advocacy was as well as their public relations, publicity, or strategies. I changed from being very negative to cautiously optimistic or slightly hopeful. (Andy, post-1970)

Prior to the Umbrella Movement, one of the civil actions was the '6.22 Civil Referendum' in June 2014. In short, it was organised by 'Occupy Central with Love and Peace' to encourage the general public to vote on the constitutional reform proposals suggested by civil society to negotiate with the HKSAR government. Any Hong Kong permanent resident aged 18 or above was permitted to participate in this referendum. The overall total vote count was nearly 80,000 (T. Chung, 2014). Respondents, such as Clarissa and Darwin who participated in the referendum shared their reflections on the activity. None of them fantasised a drastic change or compromise from the government. In fact, they did not seem to have much hope in bringing about any change. Instead,

they acknowledged the reality and expected themselves to do their part, or to at least try, before placing hope in any positive result. Clarissa shares her realistic expectation:

If you asked me whether I believed that the government would compromise after the referendum, I was not that naive. But then, ... so much effort was put in the organisation and you didn't even show support, I think I would have a guilty conscience. And even though the government wouldn't yield eventually, at least it could shame the government and let the international media know that the government was against the will of the public.   (Clarissa, post-1980)

Respondents such as Dominick, Anthony, Alex and Crystal all assert that hope was what motivated them to do something and persisted during the Umbrella Movement. Dominick previously spoke of his feeling of powerlessness after the Anti-MNE Movement, but his hope was reignited by the self-organisation of the public when the Umbrella Movement kickstarted. In fact, Dominick did not just regain hope, but he also consequently participated in the Umbrella Movement. Dominick speaks of his experience of regaining hope:

But when they (Scholarism) dashed into the Civic Square on 26th of September, I began to realise that something was happening. ... I saw that the citizens were self-motivated and self-organised to set up medical stations, provide resources, and resist the police. I started to ponder this incident and compare it to our MNE occupy. During the MNE occupy, we only asked participants to sit down and listen to us. But during the Civic Square occupy, more people were self-organised. We were no longer the organiser. ... I saw this change, ... which made me see hope. (Dominick, post-1990)

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Unrealistic hope, or as Anthony calls it 'fantasy' can play a role in motivating respondents to challenge the impossible to reach for their goals. The concept of mass occupation of public space in order to paralyse the city to urge the government to respond to public demands has never been realised in Hong Kong. In fact, meeting public demands and needs was rarely included in the ruling agenda for both the colonial and HKSAR governments. Consequently, Hongkongers are accustomed to having their requests ignored and suppressed. Hope anticipates improvement of the self's power or status standing (Kemper, 2001) even though one's agency might be limited in some situations (Kleres and Wetteregren, 2017). Anthony's narrative reveals a rising consciousness of civic rights and an enactment of his fantasy of Hongkongers' voices being heard. Here he articulates his aspiration for a better Hong Kong through social action even though prospects were negative:

Hong Kong has reached the stage which is either all or nothing because it is facing the CCP. ... According to my knowledge of the CCP, it generally wouldn't allow nomination rights in Hong Kong. Therefore, I participated in the UM with a certain degree of fantasy: Hongkongers could paralyse the roads, such as sleeping on the streets to result in a social cost which might force the administrative government to compromise. I was wondering whether my fantasy, which we might create history by causing the emergence of civic nomination, would come true. (Anthony, post-1970)

It is worth noting that Anthony, unlike Benjamin who conceives the self's limited action as incapacity, places the responsibility and capacity on the collective - Hongkongers -

which stresses the possibility of creating a brighter future. In a similar way, Alex speaks of his hope in using communal force to pressurise the CCP to conform to the Hongkongers' demand:

The hope is that there would be enough people and the CCP would make small compromises under international pressure. I didn't think that the compromise would exactly match my hope and my wild wish but I simply thought that it must compromise if we had enough people. If it did happen, then it would wake many other Hongkongers to realise that sometimes opportunities only emerge if you fight for them. (Alex, post-1970)

Hope generates social action. Nevertheless, hope can also be produced through the persistence of social action at times. Crystal reflects that the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement have brought hope to the public and urged them to take action to prevent the feared destined future even though many previous attempts or social action have failed to change the government's policies. It echoes a widespread phrase during the Umbrella Movement: *A lot of times you don't choose to hold on because there is hope; you hold on, and so there is hope.* Here Crystal expresses the correlation between persistence and hope:

I don't think Scholarism alone was causing me many changes in my way of thinking, … to be frank, if the two movements [Anti-MNE and Umbrella Movements] did not happen, there would still be a strong belief that no matter how much noise you made, National Education would eventually be imposed; the same goes with the political reform. … But I think there's still a mindset that I would still speak out, even though no one would listen and everything would still happen as

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planned. But when someone was willing to come out, a reminder for myself is that… there's hope that perhaps there would be changes if we could persist. (Crystal, post-1980)

Scholarism and other student activist groups such as HKFS were also keen on raising collective consciousness and building up hope for self-determination and autonomous rule. Prior to the Umbrella Movement, the student activist groups launched a class boycott to protest against the NPCSC's decision on the restricting nomination procedure of the election of the Chief Executive of Hong Kong. The alliance published its boycott statement with the emphasis on obtaining autonomy (命運自主) for Hong Kong ('2014 Hong Kong Class boycott Campaign', 2019). After the 79-day occupy movement, on New Year's day 2015, Scholarism published another statement reasserting its will to 'reclaim our time and reverse the future of our city' (重掌時代，逆轉我城未來) (Scholarism, 2015). One of the former core members, who drafted the statement, Damon explains how the statement was meant to create hope for a better future:

'Strive for autonomy' points out that actually Hongkongers have never experienced a real decolonisation even after the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. Only the sovereign state has changed from the UK to PRC. … A real decolonisation refers to the self-determination of the locals who can make decisions on the region's governance, policy, people's affairs and politics etc. … The meaning behind 'Reclaim our time' talks about the current time or the current Hong Kong is not mastered by Hongkongers. … Since the governing authority is not at the hand of Hongkongers, and sovereignty is being exploited, then something needs to be done to 'reclaim' these rights. … As for 'reverse the future',

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if we don't do anything, … Hong Kong will only become a city of China. Therefore the emphasis is placed on doing something to change a very bad future to a good one. 'Our city' highlights an identity which Hong Kong is my home rather than someone else's. (Damon, post-1990)

During the Umbrella Movement, Scholarism and its alliance did not make it clear to the public that they were indeed fighting for self-determination for the city instead of autonomy. The clarification and explanation which Damon provided above reveal that self-determination of the Hong Kong community was the ultimate goal back then. So how did the movement participants understand and feel about this intended yet unclear goal of building hope and will to self-determination? Responses varied. Respondents such as Dominick and Becky appear to be very positive and assertive about the idea of self-determination. Dominick points out the urgency of change in the here and now so that the future may be different from the current situation, especially in the face of the '2047 problem', when the future of the city's blueprint would be unclear because the 'one country, two systems' might alter after it was guaranteed unchanged for 50 years after 1997 by the Basic Law. Dominick ascribes the responsibility of making changes now for future benefit and places hope in self and collective capacity:

I agree [to this slogan] because we, the fate of Hongkongers, self-determination was never achieved before. I repeated several times that our participation in the fate of Hong Kong in the past was lacking. But in the face of the future problem the second time in 2047, … we should not miss this opportunity to decide our fate. … I was born in 1995. That means by then I will be over 50. When will we be able to decide our fate if not then?… I feel like we have a great responsibility to

provide the space for the future generation to be a freeman when they may no

longer to be able change their fate. (Dominick, post-1990)

Becky reveals that she absolutely agrees with, and supports the slogan too. She metaphorically describes Hongkongers as a captain of a ship who once lost the control, but now try to steer the ship again to symbolise their will to decide their own fate:

... We are like driving a ship now. We will steer the ship and we should become the

captain again to steer the ship. Otherwise it will crash on an iceberg. That's how I

understand it. (Becky, post-1980)

In fact, Becky's enthusiasm and hope reach so high that she is the only respondent who speaks of a radical change in China. While the majority of respondents express their overt hopelessness in China and withdrawal from Chinese affairs, Becky demonstrates a hopeful passion in a new China emerging in a miraculous way:

First of all, I didn't think that she [China] is hopeless, I don't think she is hopeless

because miracles happen every day. Mainland (China) is so big! How do you

know how many people in any cities are protesting? ... If you go back to the

Chinese history, before the Xinhai Revolution by Sun Yat-sen succeeded, ... he

didn't know he could eventually make it. ... I have accepted and I won't be

surprised that... perhaps one day when I wake up and watch TV, (and find out

that) the CCP suddenly falls apart. (Becky, post-1980)

6.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the different features of the emotions of fear, anger, guilt, shame, powerlessness, love and hope, how they are evoked, and their impacts on social actors and social life. The complexities of emotions have been discussed by manifesting how different emotions intersect, how they can lead to action and inactions depending on the specific circumstances social actors are in, what belief systems they hold, and how emotions affect the attitudes and judgements of social actors towards the objects of certain emotions. The object of fear and anger is mostly associated with the CCP and its potential harm to Hong Kong. Fear transformed into anger tends to lead to action rather than inaction. The features of different levels of anger, such as indignation, resentment, rage and hatred, have been depicted in the section on anger. These features include anger triggered by unfair treatment, colonial subjugation, hostility towards the leaders of Hong Kong, the Chinese authorities and mainland Chinese. The section on love of China discusses how respondents showed love of China and its people by providing aid and hoping to democratise it. They pointed out that genuine love of China should be a feeling emerging naturally in a person, not an imposed obligation from authority. Discussions on the particularised emotions of belonging including love of Hong Kong, sense of belonging and pride have been illustrated. The last section on hope shows how hope was strategically used to mobilise the Anti-MNE Movement and Umbrella Movement by Scholarism and how it spurred actions which continued to produce hope. I have shown that emotions have been an integral feature of Hong Kong identity and social movements. Emotions are non-rational but not irrational, and are just as significant as rationality or rational calculus in the formation of social movements and identity.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

This thesis has explored the formation and features of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong through a study of the Anti-Moral and National Education Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014, and a youthful movement organisation influential within these social movements known as 'Scholarism'. More broadly, in relation to the disciplinary field, it is a study of the emergence and features of a national identity in the present moment, and during a period of intense social change and political contestation. This thesis is an original contribution in both these specific and disciplinary senses, and its approach to national identity from the bottom up. The original qualitative data collected from 30 semi-structured individual and four focus group interviews with social-movement activists and participants, from 'post-1970', 'post-1980' and 'post-1990' generations shows that national identification is a constructed process rather than a static status. Social actors play an active role in nation-building.

The fluidity and development of national identity is explored in the thesis via an investigation of interpretations and development of national identity claims (Chapter 4). The thesis provides original insights into the cognitive and emotional aspects of national identity through outlining the ethnic, cultural and civic markers of Hong Kong identity (Chapter 5) and the place of emotions in social movements and national identity (Chapter 6). Finally, this thesis challenges the existing discourses of Utilitarianistic Familism and market-oriented Hong Kong identities. Taken as a whole, the thesis is a

significant contribution to the current political situation and developing national identity in post-handover Hong Kong.

This concluding chapter summarises the analytical and methodological approaches adopted in this thesis in section 7.2, reviews the key findings of this thesis in section 7.3, and discusses prospects for future research in section 7.4.

7.2. The Analytical and Methodological Approaches of the Study

I have adopted a bottom-up approach to the emergence of national identity in Hong Kong. I contend that this approach is considered appropriate and vital in understanding how taken-for-granted Chinese nationalism or the state-carved Chinese national identity is understood and interpreted by the 'ordinary people' of Hong Kong. My specific focus has been placed on the various identity claims made by respondents, how these identity claims are justified and how they develop over time. The bottom-up approach deepens our understanding of how national identities emerge and evolve among three political generations in post-1997 Hong Kong.

Given the significance of emotions in the formation of national identity, the thesis also attended to *emotion* as a key analytical focus. National identity is about reason and emotion, but the significance of emotion is often under-represented in the understanding of national identity. In this thesis the power of particular emotions, such as fear, anger, guilt, shame, powerlessness, love and hope, in causing certain courses of actions and inactions has been recognised and articulated in relation to the two social movements in

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Hong Kong. I have shown that emotions played an important role in the formation of Hong Kong identity and collective actions.

As far as research design is concerned, I have conducted in-depth individual and focus group interviews to address the research questions on respondents' self-claimed Hong Kong national identities, the meanings attached to and reasons for these identity claims, how they interplay with different identity claims, and their evolution of over time. The analytical framework of political generations, including the post-1970, post-1980 and post-1990 generations, informed the recruitment process of research participants in this thesis. I carried out a thematic analysis to analyse and report data, resulting in three empirical chapters. This thesis posed the following research questions:

1. How do the conceptions of national identity develop variously over time through three political generations?

2. What are the specific cognitive markers of Hong Kong identity in post-1997 Hong Kong?

3. How significant is emotion in characterising the emergence of Hong Kong national identity and social movements?

Chapter 4 addressed the first research question by evidencing the dynamic nature of national identity. Specific focus was given to the themes of the interpretations of national identity, and the development of national identity in terms of respondents' narratives and critical events. Chapter 5 addressed the second research question by outlining the cultural and civic markers of Hong Kong identity. Chapter 6 addressed the third research question by providing a detailed account of the contents of particular emotions

and the significance of these emotions in contributing to certain courses of actions and inactions.

7.3. Findings of the Study

Chapter 4 explored respondents' interpretations of several national identity claims, including 'Hongkonger in China', 'Chinese in Hong Kong', 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese'. Respondents were asked to give reasons for their self-claimed identities. In particular, those who claimed or did not claim a Chinese identity felt ambivalent because this identity label is too ambiguous. The three common interpretations of Chinese identity are 'the national of the PRC', 'the Chinese nation', and 'ethnic Chinese'. For those respondents who were reluctant to be identified as a 'national of the PRC', which is the dominant interpretation of Chinese identity nowadays, they refused being called Chinese but specified themselves as 'ethnic Chinese' to emphasise the ethno-cultural characteristics shared among the Chinese diaspora beyond the PRC. Antagonism toward the CCP was still prevalent among most respondents whether or not they identified with Chinese identity. There was also a growing tendency to reject mixed or dual identities due to the ambiguity of the Chinese identity.

The key findings of this chapter reveal that an exclusive Hong Kong identity and a desertion of Chinese identity is a prominent feature of post-1997 Hong Kong, especially pronounced with the Umbrella Movement and its aftermath. In his study of Hong Kong identity, Ortmann (2018, p. 127) observes a similar trend of the post-1997 Hong Kong identity: 'The most recognisable change is the rejection of the Chinese identity and the emergence of a separate ethnic Hong Kong identity with growing demands for

independence'. Both Ortmann's and my studies found that most young people, the post-1990 generation in this thesis, are keen on advocating a separate Hong Kong identity and viewing Hong Kong and China as mutually exclusive entities. Identities have moved towards zero-sum terms. At the same time, this thesis shows that some respondents from *all three* generations actively distance themselves, or want Hong Kong to secede from, China. It is a particularly significant finding that some respondents of the post-1970 generation, who were once committed to 'one China' and 'democratic reunification' discourses, are now turning their back on China or wishing Hong Kong to separate from it. This was mainly due to the failure of the Umbrella Movement, which was seen as the last straw when the CCP refused to fulfil its promise of universal suffrage. My analysis indicates that these respondents went from having hope and faith in the 'one country, two systems' framework to feeling utterly disappointed with it. This great disappointment contributed to an overt rejection of and desertion from the Chinese identity.

It is worth noting that an exclusive Hong Kong identity does not necessarily imply an inclination toward Hong Kong independence. Practical issues such as defence, foreign relations and relations with China are the respondents' main concerns. In particular, Hong Kong has never had a military force of its own. Its matters of defence were managed by the British state before the handover. A garrison of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has been stationed in Hong Kong since 1997. On top of these practical concerns, some respondents of the post-1970 and post-1980 generations are hesitant about how realistic it is to build a Hong Kong nation in the context of hindrance and

objection by the CCP. Even so, there is a growing desire to separate Hong Kong from China or realise a right to self-determination amongst respondents.

The critical events which affected respondents' identity development since 1997 demonstrate an interplay between patriotism and localism. In the first decade after the handover, most respondents began to reflect on and embrace their Chinese national identity. The Sichuan Earthquake in 2008 evoked a strong sense of sympathy, togetherness and deep concern for the Chinese nation from the Hong Kong community. The Beijing Olympic Games in the same year was a particularly proud event for people in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong claiming of Chinese identity reached its peak due to these events. However, the identification with the Chinese identity has consistently lost support since the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012. The National Education proposed by the SAR governments exposed the intention to mix love for the Chinese nation with loyalty to the CCP and educate the ethnic loyalty of the next generation. The Anti-MNE Movement was a watershed in the development of Hong Kong identity, as it implied that the people in Hong Kong could no longer draw a line between loving the nation without loving the party-state even if they accepted Chinese identity based on ethno-cultural characteristics. The annual June 4th vigil reflects a clear shift from patriotism to localism. Respondents who previously perceived commemorating the June 4th crackdown and democratising China as the moral responsibility of Hong Kong people under the influence of Chinese nationalism, were now prioritising local affairs. They either became indifferent to building a democratic China or tried to break away from the annual June 4th vigil in recent years. The Causeway Bay Bookseller Disappearance in 2015 shows how civil liberties, especially freedom of speech and human rights were

curtailed in Hong Kong. The incident further pushed people in Hong Kong to take a defensive stance against Chinese illegal interference in Hong Kong as they contested the possibility of remaining an autonomous city under the CCP's rule. This thesis found that each of these critical events had its profound impact on the identity development of respondents.

Chapter 5 explored the markers of Hong Kong identity and examined the significance of ethnic nationalism in defining Hong Kong identity. The key findings of this chapter reveal that the Hong Kong identity is characterised with its salient cultural and civic markers. These cultural markers are loaded with Hong Kong cultural symbols and practices vis-a-vis Chinese culture. For instance, Mandarin, as the national language of the PRC, is now considered to compete with Cantonese, as the everyday language of the majority of Hongkongers. The language battle between Mandarin and Cantonese is rooted in the fear of the increasing mainlandisation of Hong Kong. Some respondents felt that Cantonese has been downplayed since the handover, especially in the government's language-in-education policy which prioritised Mandarin. Others felt that the Mandarin speaking community was reluctant to learn and speak Cantonese. These key findings correspond to Chow, Fu and Ng's (2019) study of Hong Kong identity, in which Cantonese is found to be a significant cultural component of Hong Kong identity. In addition, respondents often compared and contrasted the cultural practices in Hong Kong to those of mainland Chinese. The cultural practices of mainland Chinese are described as 'unruly', 'uncivilised' and 'socially awkward', whereas Hong Kong culture is perceived as superior, civilised and sophisticated. These findings imply that the cultural markers of Hong Kong identity are loaded with Hong Kong culture, which is

considered to be distinct and separate from Chinese identity. More importantly, it is gradually replacing the previous cultural identity, which was based on Chinese culture.

The two main civic markers my research found are the 'will to commit' and 'civic values'. Respondents demanded that those who claim a Hongkonger identity should prove their commitment to the local community in action. While some respondents expressed that showing concern for local affairs by simply knowing what's going on in society is the least one can do, others stressed that actions speak louder than words and being politically involved is crucial for a Hongkonger. The second main civic marker, civic values, is mostly associated with a newly interpreted Lion Rock Spirit, characterised by the concern for post-materialistic values over individualistic material gains, and universal values. These civic markers of Hong Kong identity indicate that being politically apathetic is no longer an option for being part of the Hong Kong community. As a Hongkonger, being politically active is one way to prove commitment. Previously, Hongkongers opted for emigration which revealed pragmatism and lack of commitment to Hong Kong society when they foresaw an insecure and gloomy future (Mathews, Ma and Lui, 2008). Nevertheless, this thesis found that the current Hong Kong identity reflects respondents' strong will to commit to shaping and defending the future of Hong Kong against mainlandisation. More importantly, new arrivals are expected to show such level of commitment to be part of the Hong Kong community. These findings are in agreement with observations in the latest studies of Hong Kong identity, in which the key characteristics of Hong Kong identity are civic elements including proactive political participation and the desire to fight for and contribute to Hong Kong society (Chow, Fu and Ng, 2019; Veg, 2017; Ortmann, 2018).

Previous studies showed that the people of Hong Kong still adhered to an 'ethno-cultural' China although they rejected a political China or the Chinese state. However, this thesis found that the exclusive Hong Kong identity claim contests the concept of Chinese nationalism based on race and ethnicity. Respondents argued that the ethno-cultural Chinese state identity was too narrow-minded, exclusive and outdated and hence rejected it. The key findings of this chapter reveal that this group of respondents rejected the state-carved Chinese identity in ethnic, cultural and civic sides. While previous frameworks depicted most people in Hong Kong as 'liberal patriotism' (Chan and Chan, 2014), this may not be applicable to this group of Hong Kong people as they rejected the pan-Chineseness discourse and the notion of patriotism altogether, as analysed in Chapter 6. At the same time, there appears an increasing antagonism and populist discontent among respondents, who demonstrated hostility and employed double standards towards mainland Chinese. These findings suggest that the rise of Hong Kong identity and the rise of anti-mainland immigrants are developing in parallel in post-1997 Hong Kong (Lowe and Tsang, 2017; Ip, 2015).

Chapter 6 discussed the significance of emotion in Hong Kong social movements and national identity. The empirical findings of this chapter show that a dominant emotion of fear was evoked by the proposal of National Education. This fear is rooted in a deep distrust of the CCP based on collective memories and historical events such as the Cultural Revolution and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Crackdown. In particular, the threat to the free thinking of the next generation elicited by National Education led to self-defence and counter-challenges to the CCP. Anger was evoked by the denial of

universal suffrage which triggered the Umbrella Movement. Some of the attributes shared among the participants of the Umbrella Movement are a strong sense of belonging to local society and a clear demand for a high degree of autonomy in governance. The demand for democracy is more than just a democratic system. Many respondents criticised the SAR government as a puppet state whose governance is primarily for the benefit of China, without a strong will to serve Hong Kong people. They questioned the legitimacy of the governance and are asking for a government 'of the people, by the people and for the people' which is free from manipulation and dictatorship. The growing desire for self-determination, democratic reform and self-governance in Hong Kong was rejected by the denial of universal suffrage. Some respondents felt deprived of this opportunity of choosing their leader and became angry. At the same time, this anger was not only directed toward the SAR and central governments, but also toward the mainland Chinese. The growing anti-mainland sentiment amongst respondents appears to be driven by a mixture of fear, resentment and anger towards the CCP and is manifested by the negative attitudes toward mainland Chinese.

Other feelings and emotions such as guilt and shame, and feelings of powerlessness experienced throughout the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement were shown to be motivating political participation. They are contrasted and complemented by the strong emotions of belonging in Hong Kong and a salient sense of hope. In particular, hope was created by the emergence of Scholarism, which symbolised a politically active and committed younger cohort. Hope was strategically mobilised by Scholarism to spur action, which in turn generated more hope. This chapter gave a

detailed qualitative account of emotions and showed that emotions are an integral feature of Hong Kong identity and social movements.

As far as the broad picture of Hong Kong identity is concerned, this thesis critically examined the conceptualisation of Hong Kong identity as politically indifferent and market-oriented. The active political engagement of respondents in the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement and the stress on civic participation as one of the civic markers show that political participation has become a significant and crucial feature of Hong Kong identity. Since the end of the period of this research, growing numbers of participants in large-scale protest activities, such as the 'Anti-Extradition Bill Movement' (henceforth, Anti-ELAB Movement) in 2019, has further illustrated this point. As for a market-based sense of national identity, the empirical findings reveal that respondents were sceptical about the sustainability of the economic relation between Hong Kong and China. The economic successes of China were also overshadowed by its food scandals, corruption, and sense of moral decay. The closer economic relation between Hong Kong and China and the benefits brought have very limited impact on these respondents' sense of national identity. More significantly, some respondents are either critical of or have redefined the 'Lion Rock Spirit', which promoted the 'Hong Kong Dream' by hard work and endurance. This representation of Hong Kong pragmatism and materialism was dominant in Hong Kong's core values for many years. The new 'Lion Rock Spirit', as defined by some respondents, is featured by its concern for equality of opportunity, freedom, democracy and collective good instead of individualistic gains. It appears that the concern for individual economic gain or materialistic benefit has less significance than post-materialistic values. These key

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findings are in agreement with observations of Hong Kong identity by Yew and Kwong (2014, p. 1110), 'Perhaps most important, as more local people, especially the younger generation, incline toward post-materialism, the "economy first" approach will no longer serve to allay public fears over the perceived diminution of freedoms and civil liberties, as well as Beijing's open incursions into the city's autonomy'.

7.4. Prospects for Future Research

The key findings of this thesis, outlined in the previous section, provide themes and suggest trajectories for further study of ongoing developments in Hong Kong. The recent Anti-ELAB Movement since June 2019 shows how rapidly Hong Kong identity evolves and how it has radicalised in just four years since I conducted my fieldwork in early 2015. Although young protesters were highly visible in both the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-ELAB Movement, the Anti-ELAB Movement saw many senior citizens, even organised in groups, at the forefront of protests, which is rare in social movements in Hong Kong (K. Chung, 2019; H. Chan, 2019). The Anti-ELAB Movement went from the peaceful Umbrella Movement to a militant 'revolution of our times'. When static occupation of major sites in Hong Kong was the main strategy used in 2014, 'be water' - moving quickly and unpredictably, be formless and shapeless - has become the major tactic which has taken the movement to the next level. The militant strategies adopted by protesters, especially the young generation, in the 2019 protests suggest an all-or-nothing outlook. At the same time, the public sentiment appeared to be sympathetic to the protesters even though violent protest tactics were increasingly adopted (M. Hui, 2019). These significant phenomena resonate with the key findings of this thesis, in which an exclusive Hongkonger identity and a rejection of Chinese

identity is shown to have developed, with growing demands for political freedom and autonomy.

Specifically, this thesis found that civic values such as the will to commit and civic participation, especially in terms of active political engagement, are found to be crucial civic markers of the Hongkonger identity. After the Umbrella Movement, Hong Kong society has gone through at least two phases of change: the wave of the recent protests since 2019 and the legislative change in 2020. On the one hand, some people of Hong Kong have manifested their commitment to Hong Kong society through their persistent political participation. In the recent wave of protests, the younger generation has particularly been central to the demonstrations and at the forefront, as revealed by the arrest figures during the Anti-ELAB Movement: 'Of more than 6,100 arrested, around 40 percent are students, and more than 900 are under the age of 18. The youngest is just 11 years old' (Griffiths and Yeung, 2019). In view of the rapidly changing political context of Hong Kong, the protesters are paying a greater price of participation in the current fight for the democracy and autonomy of Hong Kong as compared to the Umbrella Movement, especially with the more hard-line repressive and violent approach taken by the SAR and CCP governments since the end of the Umbrella Movement. On the other hand, some are not so determined to stay and fight. Emigration has again become a heated topic, to an extent not seen in the city since the last wave of emigration before 1997. Young families and professionals are eager to leave Hong Kong for the chance of a better and stable life (Lee and Ripley, 2019). These divergent attitudes towards Hong Kong prompt us to ask: How are civic values such as the will to commit, fight for Hong Kong and civic participation perceived by different age cohorts?

What are the current markers of Hongkonger identity in the midst of all the socio-political changes since 2015? These questions can only be answered by future research but this thesis has provided a significant baseline by giving a detailed qualitative account of the specific civic and cultural markers of Hongkonger identity. This thesis focused mainly on how specific critical events helped shape respondents' national identity; future research may yield fruits by exploring how different generations, especially the post-2000 generation may be shaped by specific critical events.

While this thesis found that the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement were driven by multiple emotions, especially hope, the current wave of protests appears to be much less motivated by optimism and hope (Kuo, 2019). One of the infamous protest slogans used during the Anti-ELAB Movement is 'If we burn, you burn with us', a reference to *The Hunger Games* movies (M. Hui, 2019). It reveals the devastation felt by protesters. Some protesters called it the 'endgame' of Hong Kong. Some other reports suggest that some protesters might have experienced 'extreme fear and terror' (Mogul, 2019). While the current protests are perhaps seen as the 'Umbrella Movement 2.0', the emotional atmosphere and content appear to be very different from the previous movements. One particular salient contextual factor which has greatly affected the emotional atmosphere of the recent Anti-ELAB Movement is the widespread allegation of abuse and excessive use of force by the Hong Kong police. My thesis asserts the significance of emotion in social movements in Hong Kong by demonstrating the interplay of emotions and actions during the Anti-MNE Movement and the Umbrella Movement. Future research on emotion in the current waves of

protests and movement will need to explore the changed emotional terrain and its articulation with protestors' actions.

As part of my discussion of the emergence and features of Hong Kong identity, this thesis has explored issues of Hong Kong independence and self-determination. I found that a separatist sentiment across post-1970, post-1980 and post-1990 generations is emerging but its development and its impact on the Hong Kong-China relationship since the end of the period of this research are yet to be explored. Follow on studies are suggested to focus on the development of the fermenting Independence Movement by studying the emergence of a few localist groups such as 'Hong Kong Indigenous', 'the Hong Kong National Party', and 'Demosisto' advocating Hong Kong's autonomy, independence or self-determination between 2015 and 2016. In particular, the convenors of these groups were of the post-1990 generation, which prompts us to ask: How does this rising youth political culture affect identity politics in Hong Kong? What has caused them to stand up against the CCP's rule? In addition, during the Anti-ELAB Movement, protest graffiti revealing overt anti-China sentiments such as 'Hong Kong is not China', 'Resist Beijing' were seen across Hong Kong (Griffiths and Yeung, 2019). Protest slogans such as 'Hong Kong Independence, the only way out' and 'One nation, one Hong Kong' were widely spread (Creery, 2020), which were not as prevalent and explicitly spelled out in the previous social movements. This prompts us to ask: What are the key factors contributing to this growing force and overt expression of independence? While discussions of the issues regarding national identity and the Hong Kong-China relationship were carried out in the context of 'one country, two systems' in this thesis, future research will need to locate its investigation in a different context

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because of the enforcement of China's national security law in Hong Kong since 30 June 2020. This new national security law criminalises any acts of secession, subversion, terrorism and collusion with foreign or external forces (Tsoi and Lam, 2020), which may imply the end of 'two systems'. At the same time, this legislative change will inevitably become a major obstacle for all participants, including the researchers and the researched, of future research on the matters of national identity and independence, given the sensitivity of the topic and the potential charges of threatening national security and territorial integrity. In view of this, my thesis is one of the few significant pieces of research which has explored emerging Hong Kong national identity, Hong Kong independence, and 'one country, two systems' when respondents were still relatively free and safe to openly discuss these issues.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the key findings of this thesis and outlined prospects for future research. This thesis has drawn out the complexity and specificity associated with the formation of Hong Kong identity in post-1997. It has provided insight into how national identity is imagined, understood and constructed from the perspective of different generations of social movement participants. The novelty and distinctiveness of the Hong Kong experience reflected in this thesis may not be generally applicable to other parts of the world, but it will certainly be a significant documentation and analysis of Hong Kong identity in its relationship with China since 1997.

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Appendix A: Interview guide for individual and focus group interviews

<u>Involvement in the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement and the 2014 Umbrella Movement:</u>

- Let's begin with how you first encountered Scholarism.

- How were you involved in the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement and/or the 2014 Umbrella Movement? What motivated your participation?

- In your opinions, to what extent and in what ways did Scholarism affect the construction of Hong Kong identity in the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012?

- In your opinions, to what extent and in what ways did Scholarism affect the construction of Hong Kong identity in the Umbrella Movement in 2014?

<u>Aspects of individual understanding of identities:</u>

- When we talk about national identity, how do you identify yourself? Why?

- What makes someone a HongKonger (香港人)?

- What makes someone a Chinese (中國人)?

- What makes someone a Hongkonger in China (中國香港人) / Chinese in Hong Kong (香港中國人) ?

- What is the national identity of Gregory Charles Rivers (河國榮), Gill Mohindepaul Singh (喬寶寶), Fu Mingxia (伏明霞) / Tang Wei (湯唯) ?

<u>Aspects of Hong Kong's core values:</u>

- What are Hong Kong's core values?

- Which two of the core values mentioned do you think are the most important, and why?

- How do you understand the following core values, 1) Rule of law (法治) , 2) Freedom (自由)?

<u>Aspects of discourses:</u>

What are your opinions towards the following sentences:

1. We are all Chinese, and blood is thicker than water so we should love our nation and people. (我們都是中國人，血濃於水，所以愛國愛民)

2. Anyone who settles in Hong Kong, regardless of new immigrants from Mainland or ethnic minorities, should be viewed as part of Hong Kong as long as he/she identifies with Hong Kong and its core values. (所有定居香港的人，無論是大陸新移民、少數族裔，只要認同香港這片土地、認同香港核心價值，都應該被視為香港的一份子。)