

**SOSC 1661 Contemporary Hong Kong: Government and Politics**  
**Division of Social Science, HKUST**  
**(Spring, 2019)**

**Instructor:**

Ming Sing ([somsing@ust.hk](mailto:somsing@ust.hk)) (Rm. 2352; tel.: 23587839; consultation: by appointment)

**Teaching Assistant:** (for course requirements or other technical matters, please contact Creamy Wong; consultation by appointment)

Creamy Wong ([wyukha@ust.hk](mailto:wyukha@ust.hk)) (Rm 3005; tel.: 23586020)  
Stephen Choy ([choyho@ust.hk](mailto:choyho@ust.hk)) (Rm 3005; tel.: 23587809)

**Aims**

By unfolding the multi-dimensions of Hong Kong's political system, political culture, and political dynamics before and after its handover, this course aims to review the factors shaping the governance of Hong Kong. Throughout the course, intensive class interaction will be encouraged and multi-media teaching instruments will be adopted to stimulate learning.

**Learning Outcomes**

By the end of the term, students should be able to

- Understand important aspects of government and politics in Hong Kong in the context of the changing environment before and after the transfer of sovereignty.
- Possess the knowledge of actors and institutions involved in the operation of government and political arena, and relate them to some basic concepts and theories of political science.
- Understand some important features of Hong Kong's government and politics and to nurture their ability to think critically.

**Assessment and Grading – three options are available:**

<b>1<sup>st</sup> Option:</b>	✓ Test of multiple-choice questions (90%) ✓ Pop in-class activities/ pop quizzes (10%)
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Option*:</b>	✓ Test of multiple-choice questions (45%) ✓ Pop in-class activities/ pop quizzes (10%) ✓ An individual and short analytical paper (45%)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Option*:</b>	✓ Test of multiple-choice questions (30%) ✓ Pop in-class activities/ pop quizzes (10%) ✓ An individual and long analytical paper (60%)

**Remarks:** After the add/drop period, you are required to indicate your choice of assessment by filling in an online form. For more details, please refer to the announcement later. (The deadline of submitting assessment choice is **Mar 8, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm.**)

---

**Assessment Details:**

✓ **Test of multiple-choice questions**

will cover my lectures, lecture notes, and videos shown in lectures and all **12** pieces of **required readings** below. There are NO ‘make-up’ arrangements except for medical or family emergency, which have to be proven by evidence.

✓ **Pop in-class activities/ pop quizzes (10%)**

At least one pop in-class activities/ pop quiz may take place anytime in any lecture. Students will be asked to perform a simple task, such as giving responses to few M.C. questions and/or writing a short reflection.

Students score at least 2% for each completed quiz – 7% if their answers are in good quality and 10% for excellent answers.

✓ **An individual and short analytical paper**

no more than 10 pages (references included) typed and double-spaced. You can work on any aspect of the 6 topics from p.5 to p.13, with or without addressing the questions for each of the topics.

✓ **An individual and long analytical paper**

no more than 14 pages (references included) typed and double-spaced. You need to submit a paper based on one of the following 6 topics from p.5 to p.13, with or without addressing the sub-questions for each topic.

---

**\*For option 2 (short paper) or 3 (long paper):**

**(i) Deadline for Paper:**

\*For those who choose option 2 (short paper) or 3 (long paper), you need to submit your short or long paper to Ms. Creamy Wong in both **hard copy** (to Creamy’s office - Rm 3005 via lift 4) and **soft copy** (via Canvas) by the deadline listed below,

<b>Topics for short paper and long paper:</b>	<b>Submission deadline</b>
1. Human Rights & Freedom of Press since the Handover	Apr 26, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm
2. Quality of Life in Hong Kong	Apr 26, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm
3. Political Participation in Hong Kong - Party Development and Elections	Apr 26, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm
4. Political Participation III: Functional Constituencies: its Presumed Roles and Actual Performance	Apr 26, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm

5. Debates on Hong Kong's Democratic Reform	May 10, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm
6. Causes and Implications of the Umbrella Movement	May 10, 2019 (Fri) 5:00pm
*Remarks: Late submissions of papers will have their marks deducted by 10% for each day, except in extenuating circumstances.	

**(ii) Submission Format of soft copy (via Canvas):**

1. Please submit the paper by clicking the "Assignment" button on the left-hand side of the **Canvas** page.
2. Your essay should be in **.doc** or **.docx** format
3. Name your file in the following format:  
SOSC1661\_LASTNAME\_FIRSTNAME\_STUDENTID .doc or .docx  
(e.g. SOSC1661\_CHAN\_TAIMAN\_12345678.doc ,or  
SOSC1661\_CHAN\_TAIMAN\_12345678.docx )
4. Please also type your **name**, **student ID** and **title** at the first page of your paper.

**(iii) Guideline for your short or long paper:**

- a) When you write your paper, make sure you do not just summarize the readings, but contain your own critical comments and analysis after extensive reading.

For more details, you may refer to **Canvas** page (SOSC1661 (L1)):

"Files" → "3. How to write a paper" →

- *General Advice on Social Science Writing* by John Gerring
- *Academic Writing: Tips for Students* by John Bradbeer

- b) The following criteria will be used for assessing the papers:

**i/ scope and depth of literature review;**  
**ii/ clarity of writing and coherence of ideas;**  
**iii/ sufficiency of evidence and**  
**iv./originality of arguments.**

Each criterion will carry the same weight in scoring the papers.

- c) Harvard referencing system is preferred, though it is not compulsory:

<https://www.imperial.ac.uk/media/imperial-college/administration-and-support-services/library/public/harvard.pdf>

- d) Absence of adequate referencing will be interpreted as **plagiarism** and lead to a failure for you for the entire course! Other punishment may also be added for plagiarism (Pls. see: <http://www.ust.hk/vpaao/integrity>).

## **Course Structure**

Most of the following aspects of Hong Kong government and politics will be covered, depending on the availability of time and political contexts:

1. Umbrella Movement: A New Political Era for Hong Kong?
2. Challenges to governance & Quality of Life in Hong Kong since 1997: A snapshot review of Hong Kong's past 19.5 years since the handover.
3. Past model of economic and political development before 1997: Why was legitimacy problem less obvious than the post-handover period? Can the past model still work for the post-handover Hong Kong?
4. Past aborted democratization before 1997: Role of the public, democracy movement, Beijing and London.
5. Executive and legislative branch: Why has there been a high degree of tension since the handover? Empirical Assessment of Performance of Functional constituencies: should they be maintained?
6. Political parties and elections – main features in a hybrid regime?
7. Discussion of some of the following challenges for Donald Tsang's / CY Leung's regime
  - i. Is there government-business collusion in HK?
  - ii. Rising income inequality – political implications
  - iii. Freedom of press under threat?
  - iv. Debate and Conflict over express rail / moral and national education: implications?
  - v. Younger generation, social movements & Hong Kong politics: causes, nature and strategies.
  - vi. China-Hong Kong tensions.
8. Changing political culture: a new generation?
9. Civil society and political mobilization
10. Debate on democratic reform: should universal suffrage be implemented as soon as possible? Is Hong Kong ready for it?
11. Causes of the Umbrella Movement
12. New Political Development after the Umbrella Movement

## Required Readings for Selected Topics for Lectures

### **1: Human Rights & Freedom of Press since the Handover**

**Question:** To what extent have we experienced retrogression in human rights and freedom of press since the handover?

(To what extent has the Basic Law protected Hong Kong's way of life without limiting its continuous development?)

#### **Required Readings:**

Ma, Ngok (2007). State-Press Relationship in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Constant Negotiation amidst Self-Restraint. *The China Quarterly*, 192, 949-970.

Sing, M. (expected, 2018). An Overview on Hong Kong's Politics and Government. *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*, edited by Farazmand, Ali (Ed.), Springer.

#### **Optional:**

Chan Joseph M. and Lee, Francis. (2012). "Mass Media and Public Opinion" in Wai-man Lam, Percy Luen-tim Lui and Wilson Wong eds., *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Hong Kong Journalists Association (2012), "NEW LEADER RAISES FEARS: Challenges for freedom of expression in Hong Kong" ANNUAL REPORT. (<http://www.hkja.org.hk/site/portal/Site.aspx?id=A1-1005&lang=en-US>).

HK Bar Association's submission to UN Human Rights Committee on the Second Periodic Report on HKSAR in the light of ICCPR (13-31 March 2006), New York. [http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/upr/HK\\_Bar\\_Asso\\_submission\\_UNHCR.pdf](http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/upr/HK_Bar_Asso_submission_UNHCR.pdf)

Pepper, Suzanne (2008) "Two Systems Becoming One: The 2047 Timetable" in Ming K Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Hong Kong Journalists Association:

<https://www.hkja.org.hk/site/portal/Site.aspx?id=L1-215&lang=en-US>

#### **Supplementary Readings:**

Lo, Sonny (2008). "The Implementation of the Basic Law" in *The Dynamics of Beijing-Hong Kong Relations*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Shiu, Sin-por (2008) "The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: Ten Years Later", in Ming K Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

王家英,尹寶珊(2008a). “主要官員問責制的成效及對政治發展的影響” in *Understanding Hong Kong Society and Politics from Public Opinion*, pp.94-121 (in Chinese) 從民意看香港的社會與政治. Hong Kong Chinese University Press.

王家英,尹寶珊(2008b). “一國兩制實踐的十年變化” in *Understanding Hong Kong Society and Politics from Public Opinion*, pp. 173-199 (in Chinese) 從民意看香港的社會與政治. Hong Kong Chinese University Press.

Resources on Article 23: <http://www.article23.org.hk/english/main.htm>

Resources on Human Rights: <http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/>

Racial discrimination in Hong Kong:

[http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/racial%20discrimination/main\\_eng.html](http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/racial%20discrimination/main_eng.html)

[http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/racial%20discrimination/main\\_chi.html](http://www.hkhrm.org.hk/racial%20discrimination/main_chi.html)

Hong Kong Bar Association's Views on the National Security (Legislative Provisions) Bill (Link to Bar Association website) (April 2003):

[http://www.hkba.org/whatsnew/submission-position-papers/2003/20030411\\_chin.doc](http://www.hkba.org/whatsnew/submission-position-papers/2003/20030411_chin.doc) (Chinese).

[http://www.hkba.org/whatsnew/submission-position-papers/2003/20030411\\_eng.doc](http://www.hkba.org/whatsnew/submission-position-papers/2003/20030411_eng.doc) (English).

## **2: Quality of Life in Hong Kong**

**Question:** To what extent is Hong Kong a developed society in terms of its socio-economic development? Is Hong Kong a place of opportunities or a place of inequities? What opportunities will be provided by the changes in levels of social inequality and who will benefit more? To what extent is there an uneven distribution of wealth in Hong Kong and what is its impact on society?

### **Required Reading:**

Research Office, Legislative Council Secretariat (2015). “Social Mobility in Hong Kong”, Jan, 2015. (<http://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/1415rb02-social-mobility-in-hong-kong-20150112-e.pdf>)

Wong, Yi-Lee and **Anita Koo**. 2016. ‘[Is Hong Kong no longer a land of opportunities after the 1997 handover?: A comparison of patterns of social mobility between 1989 and 2007,](#)’ *Asian Journal of Social Science* 44(4/5): 516-545.

### **Optional:**

Estes, R. (2005). Quality of life in Hong Kong: Past accomplishments and future prospects. *Social Indicators Research*, 71(1), 183-229.

Sing, Ming (2009). “The quality of life in Hong Kong.” *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 92(2):295-335, June 2009.

Wong, Hung (2012) "Changes in Social Policy in Hong Kong since 1997: Old Wine in New Bottles?" in *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, edited by Lam Wai-man, Percy L T. Lui, Wilson Wong & Ian Holliday, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Cheng, J. Y.S. (2007). "Hong Kong Since Its Return to China: A Lost Decade?" in Cheng, J. Y. S. ed., *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Ho Kin-chung (2007), "The Environment After 1997" in Cheng, Joseph Y. S. *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*, Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong Press.

Kwan, Alex Yui-huen. (2007) "The HKSAR's Welfare Policy and Services for the Elderly" in Cheng, J. Y. S. ed., *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Loh, Christine (2007), "Hong Kong: A Review of Environmental Policy and Quality (1997-2007)", *Hong Kong Journal*, Oct. Accessed on Apr. 13, 2009.  
[http://www.hkjournal.org/archive/2007\\_winter/5.htm](http://www.hkjournal.org/archive/2007_winter/5.htm)

Ngan Raymond and Mark Ki-yin Li (2007) "Responding to Poverty, Income Inequality and Social Welfare" in Cheng, J. Y. S. ed., *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Sing, Ming (2009). "Perception of Governance, Social Capital & Quality of Life in Hong Kong," in a book project of Asian cultures of Seven East Asian Societies edited by Inoguchi, Takashi based on the Asia Barometer Project.

Wong, Hung (2006). Just Wages and Minimum Wage  
<http://web.swk.cuhk.edu.hk/~hwong/publication/Seminar/Just%20wage.doc>

Wong, Hung (2006) "Who Created Poverty - Causes and Handling of Poverty",  
<http://web.swk.cuhk.edu.hk/~hwong/publication/Conference/Cause%20of%20Poverty.ppt> (Chinese).

YIP, Yan-yan & Christine LOH (2008), "New Generation, Greening Politics and Growing Civil Society", in M. K. Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University Press.

Wong, H. (2005). "The quality of life of Hong Kong's poor households in the 1990s: cost of living, income security and poverty situation." *Social Indicators Survey*.

公共專業聯盟 (2008). "機會之都? 香港中產萎縮研究報告".

Zheng, Victor and Siu-lun Wong (2007) "Class, Mobility and Social Transformation: Hong Kong Before and After 1997" in Cheng, J. Y. S. ed., *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Publications from Society for Community Organization (SoCO) (香港社區組織協會) on inequality, human rights, discrimination:  
[http://www.soco.org.hk/publication/publication\\_index.htm#two](http://www.soco.org.hk/publication/publication_index.htm#two)

**Website of SoCo:** [http://www.soco.org.hk/index\\_c.htm](http://www.soco.org.hk/index_c.htm):

i/ 香港社區組織協會 香港人權聯委會 沒有民主時間表! 沒有消除貧窮問題 - 就聯合國全球週期檢討會議 向聯合國人權理事會提交香港區人權報告 (2008 年 9 月) 報告(英文版)

ii/ Hong Kong Human Rights Commission No time table for democracy or eradication of poverty - Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Council for the Universal Periodic Review of Hong Kong SAR, China (September 2008)

iii/ 基層勞工在職貧窮調查報告 (2008 年 10 月) 報告(中文)

iv/ 貧窮兒童調查系列八：學前教育資助對貧窮兒童的影響調查報告 (2008 年 8 月) 報告(中文)

v/ 貧窮兒童研究系列七：貧窮兒童對兒童發展基金意見調查報告 (2008 年 6 月 1 日) 報告(中文)

vi/ 預算案欠長遠經濟政策 香港海嘯下前景堪虞 --- 香港社區組織協會 回應 2009/2010 年度財政預算案 新聞稿 (2009 年 2 月 25 日)

**Newspapers:**

-中產向下流貧富愈見懸殊 23-2-7\_files

-許寶強：經濟增長可以扶貧嗎 16-4-7\_files

-雷鼎鳴：香港並無出現「M形」社會 20-3-7\_files

-香港樓市連續第 9 年全球最難負擔 不吃不喝 20.9 年才能買樓 2019-01-21



### **3: Political Participation in Hong Kong - Party Development and Elections**

**Question: Is it true that Political elections in Hong Kong have been basically battles fought between pro-China and anti-China forces”? What factors have shaped the development of political parties in Hong Kong?**

(Do Hong Kong people have equal opportunities in political participation? What are the factors that influence Hong Kong people’s political participation?)

#### **Required Reading:**

Ma Ngok. (2012). “Political Parties and Elections” in *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, edited by Lam Wai-man, Percy L T. Lui, Wilson Wong & Ian Holliday, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Wong, Stan Hok-Wui (2015). "Elephants Versus Termites: Lessons from Hong Kong." *Electoral Politics in Post-1997 Hong Kong*. Springer Singapore, 149-162. (can be downloaded by entering <http://goo.gl/MFsi22> )

#### **Optional:**

Chan, Kenneth. (2007). “Party Politics without Democracy” 葉健民主編, *從九七算起 – 公民社會的第一個十年*, 進一步多媒體有限公司出版.

Kuan Hsin-chi & Lau Siu-kai. (2000). “Partial Democratization, ‘Foundation Moment’ and Political Parties in Hong Kong”, *The China Quarterly*, September 2000, no. 163, pp. 73-88.

Lam, Wai-man. (2012) “Political Identity, Culture, and Participation” in *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, edited by Lam Wai-man, Percy L T. Lui, Wilson Wong & Ian Holliday, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

#### **Supplementary Readings:**

Lau Siu Kai and Kuan Hsin. (2003). Chi “Intermediation environments and election in Hong Kong” in *Hong Kong government & politics*, ed. by Sing, Ming, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Ma, Ngok, “The Costs of Procrastination”, *Hong Kong Journal*, Oct (4).  
[http://www.hkjournal.org/archive/2006\\_fall/ma.htm](http://www.hkjournal.org/archive/2006_fall/ma.htm)

Sing, Ming. (2004). “Origins of Anti-partyism in Hong Kong”, *East Asia: an International Quarterly*, Piscataway, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

#### **4. Political Participation III: Functional Constituencies: its Presumed Roles and Actual Performance**

##### **Question: Should we abolish functional constituencies in Hong Kong?**

(Do Hong Kong people have equal opportunities in political participation? What are the factors that influence Hong Kong people's political participation? Under the existing system, does the government respond to the demands of the general public in a positive way? Are there adequate means for Hong Kong people to monitor the government and redress their grievances?)

How should our way of life continue to develop under 'one country, two systems' and the Basic Law? To what extent has the Basic Law protected our way of life without limiting its continuous development?)

##### **Required Reading:**

Jake van der Kamp & Carine Lai (2006). "Non-positive interventionism: How functional constituencies distort the free market" in Loh, Christine and Civic Exchange ed., *Functional Constituencies: A Unique Feature of the Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Sing, Ming. (2007). "To What Extent Have Members of the Functional Constituencies Performed the "Balancing Role" in Hong Kong?" in *The HKSAR -- the Lost Decade?* Joseph Cheng ed., Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

##### **Optional:**

A top website on problems with functional constituencies: [www.afc.hk](http://www.afc.hk)

Catholic Monitor on Legislative Council Chap. 1-2 2008.doc  
(<http://www.bunlab.com/lcm/report2008.zip>)

Kwok, Rowena Y.F. & Chow Chiu Tak. (2006). In Loh, Christine ed., *The dynamics of social policy making in Hong Kong: The role of functional representatives (1998-2004)*.

Sing, Ming, 應否全面廢除功能議席? (Ming Pao)  
[http://ihome.ust.hk/~somsing/Democratic\\_reform\\_and\\_functional\\_\\_constituencies\\_-Ming\\_Pao.pdf](http://ihome.ust.hk/~somsing/Democratic_reform_and_functional__constituencies_-Ming_Pao.pdf)

Sing, Ming. (2007). "Crucial Debates on Democratic Reform: Excessive Welfare and Functional Constituencies", paper submitted to the HKSAR Government, (English and Chinese).

##### **Supplementary Readings:**

郭儀芬 (2005). "香港應該保留功能界別選舉嗎?" (2005) in Hong Kong Democratic Development Network. (eds.) (2005) *Ten Questions on Democracy* (in Chinese). 民主十問. Hong Kong: (see [www.hkddn.org](http://www.hkddn.org))

Other years: [http://www.geocities.com/legco\\_catholic\\_monitors/](http://www.geocities.com/legco_catholic_monitors/)

## **5. Debates on Hong Kong's Democratic Reform**

**Question: Should universal suffrage be used to elect the Chief Executive and the entire legislature for Hong Kong in 2012? To what extent can the public pressure for democracy be dissolved by the HKSAR and Chinese government's use of "economic cards"?**

(How should our way of life continue to develop under 'one country, two systems' and the Basic Law? To what extent has the Basic Law protected our way of life without limiting its continuous development?)

### **Required Readings:**

Fong, B. (2016). In-between liberal authoritarianism and electoral authoritarianism: Hong Kong's democratization under Chinese sovereignty, in *Democratization*.

Sing, Ming and YS Tang. (2012) "Mobilization and Conflicts over Hong Kong's Democratic Reform", *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, eds. by Lam WM etc. ed., Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press.

### **Optional:**

陳健民 (2005). "為甚麼要民主?" in Hong Kong Democratic Development Network. (eds.) (2005) *Ten Questions on Democracy (in Chinese)*. 民主十問. Hong Kong: (see [www.hkddn.org](http://www.hkddn.org))

Cheung, Peter T.Y. (2012) "The Changing Relations between Hong Kong and the Mainland since 2003" in *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, edited by Lam Wai-man, Percy L T. Lui, Wilson Wong & Ian Holliday, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

馬嶽 (2005). "香港是否「條件成熟」推行民主?" in Hong Kong Democratic Development Network. (eds.) (2005) *Ten Questions on Democracy (in Chinese)*. 民主十問. Hong Kong: (see [www.hkddn.org](http://www.hkddn.org))

[Sing, Ming 為什麼補選對香港那麼重要?.pdf](http://ihome.ust.hk/~somsing/By-election.pdf) (Aug. 2011)

Sing, Ming. (2006). "The Legitimacy Problem & Democratic Reform in Hong Kong", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 15(48), pp. 517-532.

[Sing, Ming \(2010\). 全球民主化对香港的启示.pdf](http://ihome.ust.hk/~somsing/Overview_of_HK%27s_Democratic_Development.pdf) (2010年9月21-22日, Mingpao)

Sing, Ming. (2014). "民主有助管治—回應王卓祺教授". in *MingPao* 27-3-2014  
<https://goo.gl/3Df6Nw>

Sing, Ming. (2009). "Hong Kong at the crossroads—Public pressure for democratic reform", in *Politics and Government in Hong Kong: Crisis under Chinese Sovereignty* ed. by Sing, Ming, London, Routledge.

### Supplementary Readings:

陳韜文 (2005). “港式人民力量：七一的動員形態與民意政治的重構” in 香港.文化.研究. 香港：香港大學出版社.

張楚勇 (2005) “民主帶來不穩定？” in Hong Kong Democratic Development Network. (eds.). *Ten Questions on Democracy (in Chinese)*. 民主十問. Hong Kong: (see [www.hkddn.org](http://www.hkddn.org))

Davis, Michael C. Davis. (2008). “After the December Decision: Eight Hurdles on the Road to Full Democracy” *Hong Kong Journal*. Accessed on April 13, 2009. [http://www.hkjournal.org/PDF/2008\\_summer/3.pdf](http://www.hkjournal.org/PDF/2008_summer/3.pdf)

Diamond, Larry. (2008). “A Comparative Perspective on HK Democratization: Prospects Toward in Ming K Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.

雷鼎鳴 (2004). “福利主義與普選政治”，替香港經濟把脈. 香港：天地圖書有限公司.

雷鼎鳴 (2004). “必須訂下普選時間表”，替香港經濟把脈. 香港：天地圖書有限公司.

盧子健 (2008). 民主理情, 第 1 至 43 頁. 香港：明報出版社有限公司.

Pepper, Suzanne. (2008). “Two Systems Becoming One: The 2047 Timetable” in Ming K Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.

Ng, Margaret. (2008). “Democratization of the Hong Kong SAR: A Pro-democracy View” in Ming K Chan ed., *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.

Sing, Ming. (2006). "The Legitimacy Problem & Democratic Reform in Hong Kong", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 15(48), pp. 517-532.

Shiu, Sin-por. (2008). *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: Ten Years Later*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.

Wang, Zhenmin. (2008). *A decade of Hong Kong Basic Law Actualization*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.

黃偉豪 (2005). “民主會帶來免費午餐嗎？” in Hong Kong Democratic Development Network. (eds.) (2005) *Ten Questions on Democracy (in Chinese)*. 民主十問. Hong Kong: (see [www.hkddn.org](http://www.hkddn.org))

## **6. Causes and Implications of the Umbrella Movement**

**Questions: Has the Umbrella Movement been a failed campaign? What are the causes and implications of the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong?**

### **Required Readings:**

Cheng, Edmund W. and Wai-yin Chan. 2016. "Explaining Spontaneous Occupation: Antecedents, Contingencies and Spaces in the Umbrella Movement." *Social Movement Studies*.

Sing, Ming (2019). "Mass Support for the Umbrella Movement", In Ma Ngok, Edmund Cheng, and Samson Yuen, *Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement: New Boundaries of Resistance in a Hybrid Regime*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.

### **Optional Readings:**

陳奕廷. (2015). *傘裡傘外：民主前夕的香港故事*. 香港：水牛

鄭煒、袁瑋熙. (2015). 「雨傘運動」：中國邊陲的抗爭政治. *二十一世紀評論*, 147, pp.22-32. 香港: 香港中文大學中國文化研究所.

Davis, M.C. (2015). "Beijing's Broken Promises", *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (2), pp. 101-110, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Fong, Brain C.H. (2014). "The Partnership between the Chinese Government and Hong Kong's Capitalist Class: Implications for HKSAR Governance, 1997-2012". *The China Quarterly*, 217, pp. 195-220, Cambridge University Press

Hui, Victoria T. (2015). "Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement: The Protests and Beyond", *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (2), pp. 111-121, National Endowment for Democracy and Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lee, F. L., & Chan, J. M. (2018). *Media and protest logics in the digital era: The Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong*. Oxford University Press (<https://goo.gl/7nmHk1>).

Sing, Ming (2019). *How Students Took Leadership of Umbrella Movement-Marginalization of Prodemocracy Parties* in Lee Ching Kwan & Ming SING eds., [Take Back Our Future: An Eventful Sociology of the Hong Kong Umbrella Movement](#), Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Veg, Sebastian. "Legalistic and Utopian." *New Left Review* 92 (2015): 55-73.

傘下的人. (2015). *被時代選中的我們*. 香港：白卷出版社

---

## Additional References

### Videos:

1. Streaming Videos of HKUST: <http://catalog.ust.hk/stream/>
2. <http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/index.php?c=tv>, especially:
  - a. 議事論事  
[http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/programme.php?name=legco\\_review&d=2010-02-04&p=866&e=&m=episode](http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/programme.php?name=legco_review&d=2010-02-04&p=866&e=&m=episode)
  - b. Pulse  
<http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/programme.php?name=thepulse&d=2010-02-05&p=2862&e=&m=episode>
  - c. 鏗鏘集  
<http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/programme.php?name=hkcc&d=2010-02-07&p=858&e=&m=episode>
  - d. Hong Kong Connection,  
<http://programme.rthk.org.hk/rthk/tv/programme.php?name=hkce&d=2010-02-04&p=1981&e=&m=episode>
  - e. 新聞透視 <http://programme.tvb.com/news/newsmagazine/episode/>
3. SOCREC: <https://new.livestream.com/socreclive>

### Key references:

1. Lui, T., Chiu, S. W. K., & Yep, R. (Eds.). (2019). *Routledge handbook of contemporary Hong Kong*. London, Routledge (online version: <http://goo.gl/PsNLBJ>).
2. 成名 (2016). 《民主與香港管治》出版社: 進一步.
3. Chan, Ming K ed., (2008) *China's Hong Kong transformed: retrospect and prospects beyond the first decade*. Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong Press.
4. Cheng, Joseph ed. (2008) *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade*, Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong Press.
5. Fong, B. C. (2014) *Hong Kong's governance under Chinese sovereignty: The failure of the state-business alliance after 1997*. London, Routledge.
6. Lam, Wai-man, Percy L T. Lui, Wilson Wong & Ian Holliday (eds.) (2012) *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.
7. Lau Siu Kai (ed.) (2002) *The First Tung Chee-hwa Administration: The First Five Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Hong Kong, Chinese University Press.

8. LEO F. GOODSTADT, (2013) *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence. How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.
9. Loh, Christine & Civic Exchange ed., (2006) *Functional Constituencies: A Unique Feature of the Hong Kong Legislative Council*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong Univ. Press.
10. Loh, Christine & Civic Exchange ed., (2003) *Building democracy: creating good government for Hong Kong*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong Univ. Press.
11. Loh, Christine and C. Lai (2007), *From Nowhere to Nowhere: A Review of Constitutional Development*. Hong Kong, Civic Exchange.
12. 馬嶽 (2016). 民主十問. 出版社：香港城市大學
13. Sing Ming (ed.) (2003) *Hong Kong Government and Politics*. Hong Kong, Oxford Univ. Press.
14. Sing Ming (2004) *Hong Kong's Tortuous Democratization*. London, Routledge Curzon.
15. Sing, Ming (ed.) (2009) *Politics and Government in Hong Kong: Crisis under Chinese Sovereignty* ed. By Sing Ming. London, Routledge.
16. Sing, Ming and Lucy Cummings (2010) *Constitutional Reform for Good Governance in Hong Kong*. Faculty of Law, University of Hong Kong: Center for Comparative and Public Law.
17. Ask for weekly newspaper cuttings: [hkjp@hkjp.org](mailto:hkjp@hkjp.org) (an excellent source of updated newspaper cuttings).
18. Hong Kong Democratic Development Network: <http://www.hkddn.org/>
19. Newspaper cuttings (Search through Wisenews).
20. SynergyNet, Hong Kong Deserves Better Governance, [www.synergynet.org.hk](http://www.synergynet.org.hk).
21. HKU Public opinion data: <http://hkupop.hku.hk/>
22. Lingnan University Public opinion data: <http://www.ln.edu.hk/rsp/info/self-funded.htm>
23. Hong Kong Transition Project Public opinion data: <http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp/>
24. Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong: [http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/tellab\\_press12.html](http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/tellab_press12.html)
25. Classroom for Democratic Education: [www.cdehk.com](http://www.cdehk.com)

## Useful Websites for Writing Term Paper & Conducting Research

1. **Hong Kong Free Press** <https://www.hongkongfp.com/>
2. **立場新聞** <https://thestandnews.com/>
3. **眾新聞** <https://www.facebook.com/hkcnews/?fref=nf&pnref=story>
4. **端傳媒 Initium Media** <https://theinitium.com/>
5. **獨立媒體** <http://www.inmediahk.net/>
6. **Hong Kong Journal** <http://www.hkjournal.org/>
7. **852 郵報** <http://www.post852.com/>
8. **OUR TV** <https://www.ourtv.hk/> or [https://www.ourtv.hk/cgi-bin/ourdb/bdetail?session\\_id=start&share=ourdb@ourtv.hk&dbname=vid\\_Category&template=344118260201&key=190](https://www.ourtv.hk/cgi-bin/ourdb/bdetail?session_id=start&share=ourdb@ourtv.hk&dbname=vid_Category&template=344118260201&key=190)
9. **Professional Commons** <http://www.procommons.org.hk/>
10. <http://www.ddepot.org/>
11. **National Democratic Institute**  
<http://www.ndi.org/worldwide/asia/hongkong/hongkong.asp>
12. **Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government Information Centre**  
<http://www.info.gov.hk/>
13. **《思》雙月刊** <http://www.hkcidata.org/database/sze/sze.html>
14. **正義和平委員會** <http://www.hkjp.org/index.htm>
15. **My Radio** <http://www.hkreporter.com/myradio/>
16. **Hong Kong people reporter** <http://www.hkreporter.com/>
17. **HK Legislative Council** <http://www.legco.gov.hk/english/index.htm>
18. UST Lib. Databases: ProQuest database, Academic Premier, Wisenews; Encyclopedia of Britannica Online.
19. **Political Science Resources website** <http://www.ucd.ie/~politics/genpols.html>;  
<http://www.hku.hk/ppaweb/sitemain.htm>
20. **Hong Kong Human Rights Commission (香港人權聯委會)**  
[http://www.hkhrc.org.hk/homepage/index\\_c.htm](http://www.hkhrc.org.hk/homepage/index_c.htm) (Contains very useful data on both local and overseas human rights as well comments on local human rights)
21. **Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor** (similar to above),



<http://hkhrm.org.hk/english/index.html>

22. **Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民建聯)**

<http://www.dab.org.hk/en/index.jsp>

23. **Civic Party (公民黨)** <http://www.civicparty.hk/>

24. **Hong Kong Democratic Party (民主黨)** <http://www.dphk.org/>

25. **Liberal Party (自由黨)** [http://www.liberal.org.hk/liberal\\_dev/index.htm](http://www.liberal.org.hk/liberal_dev/index.htm)

26. International websites: **BBC** <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

27. **Important resource on HK's political reform**

<http://www.hku.hk/ccpl/Constitutionalreform.html>

28. **International Herald Tribune** <http://www.iht.com/pages/index.html>

29. **Financial Times** <http://news.ft.com/world>

---

**Book shops:** <https://goo.gl/HaHWpN>

**序言書室:** [www.hkreaders.com](http://www.hkreaders.com)

**Eslite Causeway Bay Store:** <https://www.esliteliving.com/main.aspx?a=HK&l=b>