

Sunflowers and Umbrellas:

Social Movements, Expressive Practices, and Political Culture in Taiwan and Hong Kong

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Friday, March 16, 2018

9:00 a.m. – 7:45 p.m.

180 Doe Library

UC Berkeley

Saturday, March 17, 2018

9:00 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Institute of East Asian Studies

1995 University Avenue, Suite 510

Berkeley, CA

Sponsors:

Institute of East Asian Studies

Center for Chinese Studies

Conference Participants

Weihong BAO, UC Berkeley

Tze-woon CHAN, Filmmaker

Edmund CHENG, Hong Kong Baptist University

Alex CHOW, UC Berkeley

Thomas B. GOLD, UC Berkeley

Brian HIOE, Independent Scholar

Ming-sho HO, National Taiwan University

Andrew JONES, UC Berkeley

Wai-man LAM, Open University of Hong Kong

Ching Kwan LEE, UCLA

Kai-ping LEUNG, University of Washington

Fei-fan LIN, London School of Economics

Ngok MA, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Chit Wai John MOK, UC Irvine

Lev NACHMAN, UC Irvine

Kevin O'BRIEN, UC Berkeley

Judith PERNIN, National Library, Taiwan

Ian ROWEN, Nanyang Technological University

Sebastian VEG, China Centre, EHES

Jeff WASSERSTROM, UC Irvine

Sampson WONG, Hong Kong Academy for
Performing Arts

Jieh-min WU, Academia Sinica

Guobin YANG, University of Pennsylvania

Mengyang ZHAO, University of Pennsylvania

Agenda

FRIDAY, MARCH 16

180 Doe Library, UC Berkeley

9:10 AM – Welcome and Opening Remarks

Kevin O'BRIEN, Director, Institute of East Asian Studies

Thomas B. GOLD, Co-Organizer

Sebastian VEG, Co-Organizer

9:15 AM - Panel One: Social Movement Approach

Chair and Discussant: **Kevin O'BRIEN**

Discussant: **Ching Kwan LEE**

Edmund CHENG: Movement Leadership in an Era of Connective Actions: A Comparative Study of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement

Ming-sho HO: The Origins of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement: An Analysis of Political Opportunity and Threat

Ngok MA: Post-Umbrella Participative Energy: Tales of New Professional Groups

11:15 AM - Umbrella Art Slideshow

Sampson WONG

11:45 AM - Lunch Break

1:30 PM - Panel Two: Visual and Expressive Dimension

Chair and Discussant: **Andrew JONES**

Discussant: **Jeff WASSERSTROM**

Brian HIOE: The Development of Taiwanese Activist Subculture from the Wild Lily Movement to the Sunflower Movement

Sebastian VEG: Music in the Umbrella Movement: From Expressive Form to New Political Culture

Judith PERNIN: The Sunflower and Umbrella movements on film: Documentary, Politics and the Aesthetics of Protest in Taiwan and Hong Kong

Sampson WONG: Creativity in Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement and Beyond: Personal Reflections

3:45 PM - Break

4:00 PM - Panel Three: Identity

Chair and Discussant: **Thomas B. GOLD**

Discussant: **Guobin YANG**

Jieh-min WU: The Making of Taiwanese National Identity:
Volatility, Perversity, Futility

Wai-Man LAM: Othering and Hybridity: The Hong Kong
Political Identity and the Umbrella Movement

Ian ROWEN: Civic Nationalisms, Contested States, and the
Future of Democratic Politics

6:00 PM - Break

6:15 PM - Forum: Fei-fan LIN and Alex CHOW

7:45 PM - Adjourn

SATURDAY, MARCH 17

Institute of East Asian Studies, 1995 University Avenue, Suite 510

**9:00 AM - Roundtable: The Sunflower and Umbrella
Movements in Comparative Perspective**

**Guobin YANG, Ching Kwan LEE, Kai-ping LEUNG, Chit
Wai John MOK, Lev NACHMAN, Mengyang ZHAO**

10:15 AM - Break

10:45 AM - Free discussion

11:45 AM - Lunch break

1:30 PM - Film Screening: "YELLOWING"

3:45 PM - Break

4:00 PM - Q&A with Director Tze-woon CHAN

**4:30 PM - Panel: Weihong BAO, Andrew JONES, and
Judith PERNIN**

5:00 PM – Adjourn

Sunflowers and Umbrellas

Conference Abstracts

Movement Leadership in an Era of Connective Actions: A Comparative Study of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's and Umbrella Movement

Edmund W. CHENG, Hong Kong Baptist University

Leadership is a crucial factor that influences the dynamics and outcomes of social movements. While extant studies have shown how movement leaders exploit political opportunities, devise strategies, and frame issues, little is known about how they interact with the 'connective' nature of contentious politics. As popular protests nowadays are increasingly decentralized and networked through social media and public space occupation, how do these features shape movement leadership? By focusing on Taiwan's Sunflower's Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement, this article suggests that their diverse protest trajectories cannot be explained simply by the presence or absence of political opportunities but constrained by the complex interplay between movement leadership and its communal, organizational and spatial environments. While both movements erupted spontaneously giving rise to the emergence of decentralized protest structure, prolonged mass mobilization and proactive regime responses, the organizational and spatial environments faced by their protest leaders are different. Trapped in a physical space, Sunflower leaders enjoyed the autonomy to conscientiously

articulate a wider scope of constituency and adjust their protest claims. Submitted to a connective space, Umbrella leaders were restrained to perform strategic retreat and to disregard the wills of "the people" beyond the protest sites and online communities, thereby contributing to movement stagnation and counter-movements. Using semi-structured interviews, participant observation and social media data, we show that the decision-making process of social movements is adversely affected, firstly, by how protest leaders perceive and respond differently to their constituents and spaces; and secondly, by the disruptive impact of online opinions.

The Development of Taiwanese Activist Subculture from the Wild Lily Movement to the Sunflower Movement

Brian HIOE, Independent Scholar

While the sophisticated organization of occupiers within the Legislative Yuan and in the occupation encampment surrounding it may have taken many by surprise, in truth this was the product of a longer development. Since the Wild Strawberry Movement in 2008, an activist "subculture" has developed among young people in Taiwan, with links developing between activist groups on different college campuses. This activist subculture has its own social spaces, celebrities, cliques, fads, and has engendered a self-contained discourse among social movement participants.

As such, the rapid self-organization of Sunflower Movement participants cannot only be attributed to "spontaneity" apropos of nothing, but to a large extent, grew out of existing ties that had developed through activist subculture. But although this

allowed for quick collaboration between activists during the movement, many of the splits within the movement also dated their origin to conflicts which had previously existed within this activist subculture. Such conflicts did not always arise out of concrete political differences, but reflected past interpersonal conflict, as well as the struggle for social and cultural capital within activist subculture.

More broadly, the development of contemporary activist subculture has deeper roots in Taiwan's past history of social movement activism. NGO groups that provided training or political education for Sunflower Movement activists had oftentimes been formed by former Wild Lily movement activists. Some of activist groups which were present on college campuses had histories dating back to the dangwai movement, and the DPP politicians that Sunflower Movement activists found themselves in an ambiguous relation to were sometimes former social movement activists that had since entered electoral politics. This precedent of social movement activists entering into electoral politics would later allow for the rise of post-Sunflower Movement Third Force parties in 2016 elections.

This paper will explore the formation of activist "subculture" in the past several years, its influence on the Sunflower Movement and other movements, and what the role played by activist "subculture" tells us about the relation of social movement politics to electoral politics within Taiwan.

The Origins of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement: An Analysis of Political Opportunity and Threat

Ming-sho HO, National Taiwan University

This paper looks at the external factors that facilitated the advent of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement. Common to these two incidents, political conditions for realizing the movement goals, the opposition to a free-trade agreement with China in Taiwan and an authentic suffrage of chief executive in Hong Kong are not favorable. To use the theoretical perspective of political opportunity, I will examine regime orientation, stability of elite alignment, and availability of political allies in two societies. How did two massive protests erupt in spite of the unfavorable opportunities? I will argue threat, defined as cost of inaction, triggered protest participation. In Hong Kong, the police decision to deploy tear gas against unarmed citizens on March 28, 2014 stimulated spontaneous mass occupation, whereas Taiwan's ruling party's railroading of the agreement in the legislature on March 17 incurred student sit-in action, which in turns invited more participation to protect the besieged students. In both cases, there is a widespread sense of urgency and the fear of the worsening situation, which paved way for the two protests.

Othering and Hybridity: The Hong Kong Political Identity and the Umbrella Movement

Wai-man LAM, The Open University of Hong Kong

This paper investigates how the Hong Kong political identity has contributed to initiating, sustaining, and dividing the Umbrella Movement. It further examines the developments of the political identity during and after the Movement, and the impact of such developments on the democracy movement in Hong Kong. In this paper, political identity is unravelled in terms of one's ethnic identity, beliefs in universal values, and political visions of Hong Kong and in relation to the various ideological traditions sustaining them. The paper argues that the Umbrella Movement signifies, and has intensified, the incompatible trends of hybridisation and essentialisation inherent in the local political identity during its soul-searching journey since decolonisation in the 1980s. It has left behind a series of questions concerning the articulation of the local identity and the direction of democracy movement in Hong Kong to be resolved.

Post-Umbrella Participative Energy: Tales of New Professional Groups

Ngok MA, Chinese University of Hong Kong

As a spontaneous movement, the 2014 Umbrella Movement was a major political awakening experience for many people. While the movement did not produce tangible institutional change, new small post-Umbrella groups tried various alternative forms of movements and participation. Among these are about 20 small professional groups, which achieved

phenomenal success in the subsectoral elections for the 2017 Chief Executive Elections. Based on interviews with some of these groups, this paper discussed the impacts of the Umbrella Movement on young professionals in Hong Kong. It also showed the new directions and limits of their participation in the liberal autocracy of Hong Kong.

The Sunflower and Umbrella movements on film: Documentary, Politics and the Aesthetics of Protest in Taiwan and Hong Kong

Judith PERNIN, National Library, Taiwan

Many scholars have noted strong parallels between recent social movements in Hong Kong and Taiwan, especially during the 2014 Sunflower and Umbrella occupations. Recent developments in both territories seem to have spurred comparable modes of protests and political discourses that are reflected in slogans, artworks, and film and video productions. In the realm of visual studies, this political creativity raises a series of questions: given the informative and activist purposes of documentary images (especially independent films), what is their role in fostering and representing these movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong? Do specific political contexts create different ways of showing social movements, or is there a common aesthetics of protests in recent Taiwan and Hong Kong documentary films?

Although the two territories are fundamentally different socially, politically, and in their film institutions, a comparison of the history and recent developments of Taiwan and Hong Kong protest documentaries allows a fruitful discussion on

activist film and the aesthetics of political movements. This paper sums up comparative research on films and video artworks on the Sunflower and Umbrella movements and aims at assessing the contribution of Hong Kong and Taiwan's recent documentaries to activist cinema.

Civic Nationalisms, Contested States, and the Future of Democratic Politics

Ian ROWEN, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore

If the Taiwan Sunflower and Hong Kong Umbrella Movements represent, in the words of scholar Mark Harrison, “the most important rethinking of 21st Century democratic politics in recent years”, then it is incumbent to think with them beyond their spatial and temporal bounds.

This paper, based on ethnography conducted in both movements, begins by comparing the two protests and their geopolitical conditions of existence. Apart from their difference in scale and stakes, Hong Kong and Taipei's spaces of resistance possessed striking similarities. It wasn't just that most of the activists faces looked young and southern Chinese, or that they were full of thoughtful, considerate, and civil people. It wasn't even that both protests ultimately targeted what some scholars, particularly in Taiwan, have broadly pointed to as the “China Factor”. These are important shared features, but there was an emergent ethos, both cosmopolitan *and* localist, present in both places. It was a sensibility that perhaps could only articulate in liminal polities and

geopolitical oddities like the Hong Kong SAR or the Republic of China in Taiwan.

The paper explores this ethos in light of the movements' aftermath. Although these occupations started rambunctiously as instances of contentious politics, and the Umbrella Movement was widely and unfairly described as a failure not only by its critics but by its champions, the simultaneously *bent* localist *and* cosmopolitan inclinations of both movements received further political institutionalization and cultural consolidation in subsequent elections. I will describe these tendencies as emergent civic nationalisms of non-normative states, and posit them as a path forward for a world riven by racist and right-wing nationalisms that have followed the socioeconomic cleavages of neoliberal globalization.

This ethos is not the ideal-type civic nationalism of a young normative nation. Rather, for Taiwan, it is an emergent sociopolitical consensus in a contested state that lacks external recognition. For Hong Kong, it appears as a fraught but inexorable generational shift in a territorial unit whose capacity for self-governance has been foreclosed by external powers. While resisted, these disjunctures between state and nation and self-determination, have opened space for new forms of coalitional politics, as has been demonstrated both by local organizing and internationally-networked events of affiliated activists, including post-Sunflower/Umbrella meetings in Taiwan, the UK, and elsewhere.

This analysis does not uncritically celebrate Taiwan and Hong Kong as simple geopolitical anomalies. The dislocation between an increasingly consolidated civic identity and indefinitely deferred national sovereignty is extraordinarily frustrating and often humiliating for those who rely on passports, independent judiciaries, and the like to secure their mobility and autonomy both at home and abroad. Nevertheless, a sustained civil occupation of a key government building, as in Taiwan, or three major urban districts, as in Hong Kong, is hard to imagine in most normative nation-states. These achievements point to the seeming paradox of the high degree of political fractiousness and social civility in both polities. It is this polite yet passionate, tense yet tolerant sensibility that I will highlight as a possible way forward for future episodes of contentious and coalitional politics not only in Taiwan and Hong Kong, but beyond.

Music in the Umbrella Movement: From Expressive Form to New Political Culture

Sebastian VEG, China Centre, EHSS

Music typically plays an important role in social movements, in particular in shaping a movement culture and collective memory. Protests end but protest songs endure, and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement was no exception. The Umbrella Movement had a strongly expressive dimension, and music played an important role in the outpour of creativity that far surpassed the movement's strictly political demands. In addition to the "theme songs" of the movement ("Raise the

Umbrella" and "Do you hear the people sing"), many indie performers joined the occupation, and lyrics spilled over onto posters and fed into slogans. But music was also useful in framing the political claims of the movement in certain ways, by referencing the musical culture of previous protest movements, like the June Fourth Vigil and the July First march. Finally, there was a clear circulation of musical elements from the Sunflower to the Umbrella movement. In many ways, music sums up some of the tensions or contradictions of the Umbrella Movement: between cosmopolitan and local culture, consumerist and anti-capitalist practices, traditional protest and the new generation. This paper will try to argue that the music of the Umbrella Movement expresses a change in political culture, in particular a turn away from pan-Chinese themes and the commercial Cantopop that first expressed Hong Kong identity in the 1970s, and towards a local, though cosmopolitan, culture that is in the process of emerging. The current controversy around the application of the National Anthem law in Hong Kong shows how closely music can be connected to identity.

Creativity in Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement and Beyond: Personal Reflections

Sampson WONG, Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts
Abstract unavailable.

The Making of Taiwanese National Identity: Volatility, Perversity, Futility

Jieh-min WU, Academia Sinica, Institute of Sociology

For a long time, Taiwanese identity was a “bonus” of regime change. Democratization precipitated the process of indigenization (bentuhua), which in turn shifted people’s political preference toward Taiwanese identity. This identity has since the early 1990s clearly outcompeted Chinese identity, but the evolution of political identity in Taiwan appears to be neither linear nor irreversible. Firstly, Taiwanese identity reached a peak of 60.6% in 2014 (TEDS surveys), the year the Sunflower Occupy Movement broke out, but it had fallen by 4% come 2017. Secondly, a dual Taiwanese/Chinese identity has proved robust over the years, paralleled by a majority of people regarding Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese as belonging to the “same language, same race” (CIS surveys). This study will explore three trends in Taiwanese identity over the last 25 years—volatility (the Sunflower upsurge), perversity (Ma’s pro-China policy), and futility (Chen’s bentuhua policy)—by taking into account the “power-transfer effect” and the “China factor”. The case of Taiwan will, therefore, test the empirical validity of the theory that nationalism tends to proceed along with democratization.

Sunflowers and Umbrellas

Participant Biographies

Weihong BAO, UC Berkeley

Weihong Bao is associate professor of film and media at UC Berkeley. She is the author of *Fiery Cinema: The Emergence of an Affective Medium in China* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015), which was honored by the Modernist Studies Association Best Book Prize for 2016. She has published widely on silent cinema, transnational film and media theory, historical and contemporary documentary in China, and theory and practice of propaganda in journals such as *Camera Obscura*, *New German Critique*, *Representations*, and *The Journal of Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*. She co-edits *The Journal of Chinese Cinemas* as well as the book series “Film Theory in Media History” for Amsterdam University Press. She is pursuing a few research projects including the geopolitics of film theory, the historical relationship between film and theater, and culture constructions of secrecy as media theory and history.

Edmund CHENG, Hong Kong Baptist University

Edmund Cheng is Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics and Deputy Director of Centre for Comparative Governance and Policy Research at Hong Kong Baptist University. His research interests include comparative politics, contentious politics, political trust, public sphere and urban governance

with a focus on China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Malaysia. He has recently published in *The China Quarterly*, *Development and Change*, *Political Studies* and *Social Movement Studies* as well as co-edited 社運年代：香港抗爭政治的軌跡 *An Epoch of Social Movements: The Trajectory of Contentious Politics in Hong Kong* (Chinese University Press, 2018) and *The Umbrella Movement: Civil Resistance and Contentious Space in Hong Kong* (Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming). He is the Principal Investigator of World Values Survey for Hong Kong and has served on the boards of several learned societies devoted to heritage conservation, literary appreciation and Hong Kong Studies. He received his PhD from the London School of Economics in 2015 and the Gordon White Prize for the most original article published in *The China Quarterly* in 2016.

Alex CHOW, UC Berkeley

Alex Yong Kang Chow was the secretary-general of the Hong Kong Federation of Students in 2014-2015 and the student leader who headed the only televised debate with the top official on political reform during the Umbrella Movement. He also served as the vice president (external) of the Hong Kong University Students' Union and is one of the initiators of Community Citizen Charter Movement and the Community Press Crowdfunding Scheme in Hong Kong. Currently he is a master's student at the London School of Economics and will begin in Fall 2018 his Ph.D. studies in Geography at the University of California, Berkeley.

Thomas B. GOLD, UC Berkeley

Thomas B. Gold is Professor of Sociology at the University of California. From 2000 to 2016 he has also served as Executive Director of the Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies (IUP). At Berkeley he has also served as Associate Dean of International and Area Studies, Founding Director of the Berkeley China Initiative, and Chair of the Center for Chinese Studies. His book, *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle* (1986) was the first to apply theories of dependency, world systems and dependent development – up to that time based mainly on the experience of Latin America - to an East Asian case. He continues to write about changes in Taiwan society since the end of Martial Law in 1987. He currently sits on the boards of The National Committee on U.S.- China Relations, the Asia Society of Northern California, and East Bay College Fund, which provides scholarships and mentors for graduates of Oakland public high schools who attend four-year colleges or universities. He received the Chancellor's Award for Civic Engagement in 2010.

Brian HIOE, Independent Scholar

Brian Hioe was one of the founding editors of *New Bloom*. He is a freelance writer on social movements and politics, occasional translator, and was a yearlong Democracy and Human Rights Service Fellow at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy in 2017. A New York native and Taiwanese-American, he has an MA in East Asian Languages and Cultures from Columbia University and graduated from New

York University with majors in History, East Asian Studies, and English Literature.

Ming-sho HO, National Taiwan University

Ming-sho Ho is professor at Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University. He researches social movements, labor and the environmental issues. He published *Working Class Formation in Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven: Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement* (Temple University Press, forthcoming).

Andrew JONES, UC Berkeley

Andrew F. Jones is the Professor and Louis B. Agassiz Chair in Chinese. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1997. Professor Jones teaches modern Chinese literature and media culture. His research interests include music, cinema, and media technology, modern and contemporary fiction, children's literature, and the cultural history of the global 1960s. He is the author of *Like a Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music* (Cornell East Asia Series, 1992) and *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Duke University Press, 2001). He is co-editor of a special issue of *positions: east asia cultures critique* entitled *The Afro-Asian Century*, and translator of literary fiction by Yu Hua as well as Eileen Chang's *Written on Water* (Columbia University Press, 2005). His latest books are *Developmental Fairy Tales: Evolutionary Thinking and Modern Chinese Culture* (Harvard

University Press, 2011), and a volume co-edited with Xu Lanjun, *儿童的发现 — 现代中国文学及文化中的儿童问题* [*The Discovery of the Child: the Problem of the Child in Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*], (Peking University Press, 2011).

Wai-man LAM, The Open University of Hong Kong

Wai-man Lam is Assistant Professor at the School of Arts and Social Sciences of the Open University of Hong Kong, Honorary Research Fellow at the Academy of Hong Kong Studies of the Education University of Hong Kong, and Honorary Associate Fellow at the Centre for Civil Society and Governance of The University of Hong Kong. Her major research interests include identity politics, political culture and participation, civil society, and democratisation. She is the author of *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (M.E. Sharpe 2004), and the co-editor of *Citizenship, Identity and Social Movements in the New Hong Kong: Localism after the Umbrella Movement* (Routledge 2017) and two other existing volumes on Hong Kong politics. She has also published in academic journals including *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *The China Quarterly*, *Social Indicators Research*, *Citizenship Studies*, and elsewhere.

Ching Kwan LEE, UCLA

Ching Kwan Lee is a professor of sociology at UCLA. Her research interests focus on labor, political sociology,

development, China, global south, and comparative ethnography. Her monographs include: *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women* (1998), *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (2007), and *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor and Foreign Investment in Africa* (2017).

Kai Ping LEUNG, University of Washington

Kai Ping Leung is a graduate student in Political Science at the University of Washington. He obtained his BSocSc and LL.B. from the University of Hong Kong, where he also served as the editor-in-chief of *Undergrad*, a student journal under the student union. His research interests include state-society relations, political networks, authoritarianism and Chinese politics

Fei-fan LIN, London School of Economics

Lin Fei-fan is one of the leaders of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement, the founding president of the Taiwan March Foundation which was founded after the Sunflower Movement and mainly advocates for the rectification of the Referendum Act of Taiwan. He is also a member of Networks of Young Democratic Asians (NOYDA) which formed by young activists across Asia in April 2016. He started his activism as a student activist since 2008, the Wild-strawberry Movement, participated in the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement during 2012 and many other civil movements. He also helped the campaigns for some of the third-parties' candidates in the election of 2016. He received his MA degree in Political

Science from National Taiwan University in 2017 and is currently undertaking another graduate studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Ngok MA, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Ma Ngok is currently Associate Professor at the Department of Government and Public Administration, Chinese University of Hong Kong. His research areas include party politics and elections, democratization, state-society relations, value changes and social movements in Hong Kong. He is author of *Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society and Civil Society* (University of Hong Kong Press, 2007). He has published five books, more than 25 journal articles and more than 25 book chapters on Hong Kong politics.

Chit Wai John MOK, UC Irvine

Chit Wai John MOK is a PhD student in sociology. He has an MSc in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research interests include Hong Kong politics, contentious politics, social movements, political sociology, democratization, and authoritarian politics. He is also a freelance writer on issues ranging from Hong Kong's political development to Sino-Vatican relations. He has been referenced in media outlets such as *The Washington Post*. and *AsiaNews*.

Lev NACHMAN, UC Irvine

Lev Nachman is a PhD student in political science. He has an MA in International Studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Hopkins Nanjing Center. His research focuses on Taiwan and Hong Kong social movements and party politics, specifically looking at when and why social movements institutionalize into political parties.

Kevin O'BRIEN, UC Berkeley

Kevin O'Brien is the Alann P. Bedford Professor of Asian Studies and Professor of Political Science. He is also the Director of Berkeley's Institute of East Asian Studies and the Walter and Elise Haas Professor of Asian Studies. A student of contemporary Chinese politics, he has published more than 50 articles on topics such as legislative politics, local elections, fieldwork strategies, popular protest, policy implementation, protest policing, and village-level political reform. He is the author of *Reform Without Liberalization: China's National People's Congress and the Politics of Institutional Change* (Cambridge, 1990) and the co-author of *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (Cambridge, 2006). He is the co-editor of *Engaging the Law in China: State, Society and Possibilities for Justice* (Stanford, 2005), *Rural Politics in Contemporary China* (Routledge, 2014), and *Grassroots Elections in China* (Routledge, 2011), and the editor of *Popular Protest in China* (Harvard, 2008). His most recent work centers on the Chinese state and theories of popular contention, particularly as concerns the policing of protest and types of repression that are neither "soft" nor "hard." He has won various grants and

awards and serves on the editorial or advisory board of ten journals.

Judith PERNIN, CEFC (Hong Kong), National Library, Taiwan

Judith Pernin is an associate doctoral graduate at the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China (CEFC - Hong Kong). Most of her research focuses on Chinese independent documentary cinema with a PhD entitled "Moving Images, Independent Practices of Documentary in China (1990-2010)" completed in 2012 at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Science (EHESS - Paris). Her dissertation was subsequently published as a monograph in 2015. She is also the co-editor of *Post 1990 Documentary Film, Reconfiguring Independence* (Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

Ian ROWEN, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore

Ian Rowen is Assistant Professor of Geography and Sociology at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. A participant-observer in the Taiwan Sunflower and Hong Kong Umbrella Movements, his research on geopolitics, social movements, tourism, and transitional justice has been published in outlets including the *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, *Annals of Tourism Research*, *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, *Asian Anthropology*, *The Guardian*, and elsewhere. He holds a PhD in Geography from the University of Colorado, Boulder. He has been a Fulbright Scholar, a Postdoctoral

Fellow at Academia Sinica (Taiwan), and a Visiting Fellow at Fudan University (China) and Tubingen University (Germany).

Sebastian VEG, School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences

Sebastian Veg is a Professor of intellectual history of 20th century China at the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHSS), Paris and an Honorary Professor at the University of Hong Kong. He was director of the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China (CEFC) in Hong Kong from 2011 to 2015. His research has focused on the intellectual, literary and cultural history of 20th century China and Hong Kong, with a particular focus on intellectuals, public spheres and the social history of political concepts. Most recently, he has published a series of articles on cultural and political debates in Hong Kong since the handover in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, *China Quarterly*, *the New Left Review* and *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*.

Jeffrey WASSERSTROM, UC Irvine

Jeffrey Wasserstrom is Chancellor's Professor of History at UC Irvine, where he edits the *Journal of Asian Studies* and holds courtesy affiliations in the Law School and the Literary Journalism Program. Holder of a B.A. from UC Santa Cruz, a master's from Harvard, and a doctorate from Berkeley's History Department, he has written, co-written, edited or coedited ten books. His recent publication include the coauthored third edition of *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know* (March 2018) and the *Penguin*

Special Eight Juxtapositions: China through Imperfect Analogies from Mark Twain to Manchukuo (2016).

In addition to writing for academic journals, Wasserstrom has contributed to many general interest venues, among them the *New York Times*, the *TLS*, and the *Los Angeles Review of Books* (LARB). He is an advising editor at LARB and an academic editor of its recently launched China Channel. He has served as a consultant for two prize-winning films by the Long Bow Film Group, was interviewed on camera for the documentary "Joshua; Teenager vs. Superpower," and is an adviser to the Hong Kong International Literary Festival.

Sampson WONG, Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts

Sampson Wong lives and works in Hong Kong, he obtained his PhD in Geography from University of Manchester, U.K. and is currently a lecturer at the Department of Liberal Arts, The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts. Apart from his research and academic interests in contemporary urban studies and cultural formations in Hong Kong, he is an artist and independent curator. His creative practice focuses on socially-engaged art, creative activism, community art and public art, among others. Sampson Wong has co-founded the Hong Kong Urban Laboratory, emptyscape, Umbrella Movement Visual Archive, and Add Oil Team, his art projects were previously awarded the first prize of the Freedom Flowers Foundation Award and selected in the fifth Asian Art Biennial.

Jieh-min WU, Academia Sinica, Institute of Sociology

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Guobin YANG, University of Pennsylvania

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