

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. NEWSPAPERS, TELEVISION NEWS, RADIO NEWS AND FOREIGN NEWS AGENCIES

- “Missing Hong Kong book editor Lee Bo returns home,” March 24, 2016, in <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/24/hong-kong-book-editor-lee-bo-returns-home-disappear-missing>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Remembering the fifteenth anniversary of the death of lawyer Liu Yiu-chu who loved Hong Kong,” April 7, 2012, in <https://www.bnn.co/news/gb/pubvp/2012/04/201204072307.shtml>, access date: March 5, 2019.
- Apple Daily* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, July 17, 2010.
- Bernstein, Sharon, “Second U.S. University cuts ties with the Confucius Institute,” Reuters, October 2, 2014, in <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-confucius-institute-pennsyl/second-u-s-university-cuts-ties-with-chinas-confucius-institute-idUSKCN0HQ4UZ20141001>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- China Economic Review* (mainland Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Hong Kong Commercial Daily* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Hong Kong Economic Times* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Hong Kong Daily News* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Hong Kong TVB interview with Gordon Wu, October 6, 2018.
- Jinghua Shibao* (mainland Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Lee, Yimou and Hung, Faith, “Special Report: How China’s Shadowy Agency is working to absorb Taiwan,” Reuters, November 27, 2014, in <https://www>.

- [reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-china-special-report/special-report-how-chinas-shadowy-agency-is-working-to-absorb-taiwan-idUSKCN0JB01T20141127](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-china-special-report/special-report-how-chinas-shadowy-agency-is-working-to-absorb-taiwan-idUSKCN0JB01T20141127), access date: March 20, 2019.
- Ming Pao* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- New York Times* (American newspaper, various years).
- Oriental Daily News* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Radio Television Hong Kong*, May 2018.
- Sing Tao Daily* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong English newspaper, various years).
- Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Taipei Times* (Taiwan Chinese newspaper, various years).
- The Hong Kong Free Press*, in <https://www.hongkongfp.com/>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- The People's Daily* (mainland Chinese newspaper, various years).
- The Standard* (Hong Kong English newspaper, various years).
- The Sun* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Tian Tian Daily* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).
- United Daily News* (Taiwan Chinese newspaper, various years).
- Voice of America News, "Dissident Hong Kong Book Publisher Returns Home," March 24, 2016, in <https://www.voanews.com/a/dissident-hong-kong-book-publisher-returns-home/3253265.html>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- Wen Wei Po* (Hong Kong Chinese newspaper, various years).

2. GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND GOVERNMENT WEBSITES

- "Buddhist Festival saw the participation of Liu Yandong in meeting the six Hong Kong religious leaders," CPPCC news bulletin, July 27, 2004, in <http://cppcc.people.com.cn/GB/34961/65233/65239/65802/4450761.html>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- "Interpretation of Article 104 of the Basic Law of the HKSAR of the PRC by the SCNPC," November 7, 2016, in https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclaw-text/images/basiclawtext_doc25.pdf, access date: January 27, 2019.
- "Lo Man-tuen," in <http://www.cppcc.gov.cn/CMS/wylibrary/showJcwyxtInfoWylibrary.action?tabJcwyxt.guid=11W001877>, access date: April 24, 2018.
- "Speech by the Chief Executive at Women's Commission International Women's Day 2018 reception," in <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201803/08/P2018030800787.htm>, access date: June 17, 2018.
- "The 2016 Population By-Census," (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2016), in <https://www.bycensus2016.gov.hk/data/16bc-main-results.pdf>, access date: April 22, 2018.
- "Chief Executive Carrie Lam attends the 26th anniversary of the HKUYA and its inaugural ceremony," in <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201808/27/P2018082700848.htm>, access date: February 19, 2019.

- “China’s religious situation,” in http://www.locpg.gov.cn/zggq/2014-01/04/c_125956454.htm, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “The Chinese Communist Party’s United Front Regulation,” September 23, 2015 in <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2015/0923/c64107-27622040.html>, access date: January 26, 2019.
- “The Liaison Office’s announcement,” in http://www.locpg.gov.cn/ldjl/zj/200701/t20070122_1153.asp, access date: January 22, 2019.
- “The meeting between Premier Zhou and the teachers and students from the University of Hong Kong,” *China’s United Front Magazine*, April 8, 2018, in http://www.locpg.hk/jsdt/2018-04/08/c_129845662.htm, access date: March 5, 2019.
- “The Practice of the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region,” June 10, 2014, in <http://www.fmcoprc.gov.hk/eng/xwtd/gsxw/t1164057.htm>, access date: January 26, 2019.
- “Xi elected Chinese president, chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission,” March 14, 2013, in http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/news/Appointments/2013-03/14/content_1783118.htm, access date: February 4, 2019.
- The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government, April 2017), p. 8, in https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclaw-text/images/basiclaw_full_text_en.pdf, access date: March 23, 2019.

3. BOOKS, ARTICLES, MAGAZINES, MONOGRAPHS AND DISSERTATIONS

- A Special Commemoration of the 95th Anniversary of the Fukien Chamber of Commerce and Hong Kong’s 15th Anniversary of its Return to the Motherland (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Fukien Chamber of Commerce, September 2012).
- A Special Publication on the Establishment Meeting of the National Returned Overseas Chinese Association* (*Zhonghua quan guo gui guo huaqiao lianhe hui*) (Beijing: Gaihui, 1957).
- Ahlen, Kristina, “Swedish Collective Bargaining Under Pressure: Inter-Union Rivalry and Incomes Policies,” *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 127, no. 3 (November 1989), pp. 330–370.
- Annual Newsletter of the HKFW*, no. 74 (2017), in <http://www.hkfw.org/chi/activities/publication/issue-74.pdf>, access date: June 16, 2018.
- Ake, Claude, *A Theory of Political Integration* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967).
- Akkerman, Agnes, “Union Competition and Strikes: The Need for Analysis at the Sector Level,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 61, no. 4 (July 2008), pp. 445–459.

- Balassa, Bela, *The Theory of Economic Integration* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1961).
- Beetham, David, *The Legitimation of Power* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).
- Burns, John P., "The Structure of Communist Party Control in Hong Kong," *Asian Survey*, vol. 30, no. 8 (August 1990), pp. 748–765.
- Bernards, Nick, "The International Labour Organization and African trade unions: tripartite fantasies and enduring struggles," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 44, no. 153 (2017), pp. 399–441.
- Bowe, Alexander, *China's Overseas United Front Work: Background and Implications for the United States* (United States: US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, August 24, 2018), in https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China%27s%20Overseas%20United%20Front%20Work%20-%20Background%20and%20Implications%20for%20US_final_0.pdf, access date: March 23, 2019.
- Brunner, Georg, "Legitimacy Doctrines and Legitimation Procedures in East European Systems," in T. H. Rigby and Ferenc Feher, eds., *Political Legitimation in Communist States* (London: Macmillan, 1982).
- Butenhoff, Linda, *Social Movements and Political Reform in Hong Kong* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1999).
- Buzan, B., Waever, O., and de Wilde, J., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
- Carola, Frege, Heery, Edmund, and Turner, Lowell, "The New Solidarity" Trade Union Coalition-Building in Five Countries," in Carola, Frege and Kelly, John, eds., *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Globalizing Economy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 137–158.
- Carnoy, Martin, *The State and Political Theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Chakrabarti, Anjan and Dhar, Anup Kumar, "Labour, Class and Economy: rethinking Trade Union Struggle," *Economic and Political Weekly* (May 31, 2008), pp. 73–81.
- Chan, Chris King-chi, Chan, Sophia Shuk-ying, and Tang, Lynn, "Reflecting on Social Movement Unionism in Hong Kong: The Case of the Dockworkers' Strike in 2013," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol:49, issue:1 (2019), pp. 54–77.
- Chan, Ming, "Hong Kong Workers Towards 1997: Unionization, Labor Activism and Political Participation under the China Factor," *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2001), pp. 61–84.
- Chen, Feng-lan, "Transnational Mobilization of Overseas Chinese Village Officials and Qiaoxiang Social Governance: A Case Study of Mingxi Village in Fujian Province," *Journal of Overseas Chinese History Studies* (in Chinese), no. 1 (March 2017), pp. 19–28.

- Cheung, Tat-ming, *What is the Evidence? Revealing the Black Hand Behind the Scene of Hong Kong's Chaotic Situation* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: San See Cultural and Commercial Information, 2018).
- Cheung, Tommy, "'Father' of Hong Kong Nationalism: A Critical Review of Chin Wan's City-State Theory," *Asian Education and Development Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2015), pp. 460–470.
- Chin, Wan, *A Discussion of Hong Kong as a City-State* (Hong Kong: Enrich Publishing Company, 2011).
- Chiu, Stephen Wing-kai, *Strikes in Hong Kong: A sociological study* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1987).
- Chiu, Stephen Wing-kai and Levin, David A., "Contestatory Unionism: Trade Unions in the Private Sector," in Stephen Chiu Wing Kai and Lui Tai Lok, eds., *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2000), pp. 91–138.
- Choi, Sally, "Feminist and Labor Movements in Hong Kong: Critical and Co-Constructive (Perspective)," a presentation in San Paulo, Brazil, July 30, 2013, in www.solidaritycenter.org, access date: January 7, 2019.
- Choi, Susanne Y. P., "Association Divided, Association United: The Social Organization of Chaozhou and Fujian Migrants in Hong Kong," in Khun Eng, Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart, Evelyn, eds., *Voluntary Associations in the Chinese Diaspora* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).
- Chow, King-fun, "The Origins, Reflections, Unity and Friendship of Hong Kong's Six Religious Groups," in *Religious Reflections* (in Chinese), no. 27 (November 1995), pp. 73–81, in <http://archive.hsscol.org.hk/Archive/periodical/spirit/S027k.htm>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- Chow, Yick. *A History of the Struggles of Hong Kong Leftists* (in Chinese). (Hong Kong: Lee Man, 2002).
- Chu, Cindy Yik-yi, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Cigler, Allan and Loomis, Burdett A., *Interest Group Politics* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1998).
- DeGolyer, Michael, "Local Elections, Long Term Effects? The Hong Kong District Council Elections of 2011," pp. 38–59, in <http://hktp.org/list/district-council-elections.pdf>, access date: April 8, 2018.
- Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, *25th Anniversary Commemoration of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong: Choices and Promises* (Hong Kong: Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, 2017).
- Engeman, C., "Social movement unionism in practice: organizational dimensions of union mobilization in the Los Angeles immigrant rights marches," *Work, Employment and Society*, vol. 29, no. 3 (2015), pp. 444–461.

- England, Joe and Rear, John, *Chinese Labour under British Rule: A critical study of labour relations and law in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- Falkenheim, Victor, ed., *Citizens and Groups in Contemporary China* (Ann Arbor: Center of Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987).
- Federation of Labor Unions. *30th Anniversary of the Federation of Labor Unions* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Federation of Labor Unions, 2014).
- Federation of Trade Unions. *Federation of Trade Unions Walking with You: 65th Anniversary of Historical Essays* (in Chinese). (Hong Kong: Federation of Trade Unions, 2013).
- Fine, Janice, "Solving the Problem from Hell: Tripartism as a Strategy for Addressing Labour Standards Non-Compliance in the United States," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, vol. 50, no. 4 (2013), pp. 813–844.
- Fuzhou city's United Front Department, "Consolidating the work on the representatives from Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and the overseas," *China's United Front Line* (a Chinese magazine named *Zhongguo Tongyi Zhanxin*), August 2010.
- Groot, Gerry, "The Expansion of the United Front Under Xi Jinping," in Gloria Davies, Jeremy Goldkorn, and Luigi Tomba, eds., *China Story Yearbook 2015* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), pp. 166–177.
- Groot, Gerry, *Managing Transitions: The Chinese Communist Party, United Front Work, Corporatism and Hegemony* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Guldin, Gregory Elliot, "'Overseas' at Home: The Fujianese of Hong Kong," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1977.
- Hathaway, C. A., "On the Use of 'Transmission Belts' in Our Struggle for the Masses," *The Communist: A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism*, vol. 10, no. 5 (May 1931), pp. 409–423.
- Horrocks, Robert James, "The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike, 1925–1926: Hongkong Workers in an Anti-Imperialist Movement," PhD thesis, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Leeds, October 1994.
- Hough, Jerry F. and Fainsod, Merle, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), Chapter 14, "The Distribution of Power," pp. 518–555.
- Hung, Steven Chung-fun, "Professional Teachers' Union as interest group fighting for democracy," in Sonny Shiu-hing Lo, ed., *Interest Groups and the New Democracy Movement in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2018a), pp. 86–110.
- Hung, Steven Chung-fun, "Interest groups and democracy movement in Hong Kong: a historical perspective," in Sonny Lo, ed., *Interest Groups and the New Democracy Movement in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2018b), pp. 14–33.
- Hung, Steven Chung-fun, "Student Resistance to Mainlandization in Hong Kong," in Joseph Cheng, ed., *Mainlandization of Hong Kong: Pressure and Responses* (Hong Kong: City University Press, 2017), pp. 125–160.

- Hung, Steven Chung-fun, "Political participation of students in Hong Kong: a historical account of transformation," in Joseph Cheng, ed., *New Trends of Political Participation in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: City University Press, 2014), pp. 240–284.
- Huntington, Samuel P., "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 2., no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 12–34.
- Inglehart, Ronald, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Inglehart, Ronald, "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 75, no. 4 (December 1981), pp. 880–900.
- Islam, Shafiqul, "Gender Difference: How Does It Affect Trade Union Struggle? A Qualitative Study of Female Workers of Bangladeshi RMG Industries," *Socioeconomica: The Scientific Journal for Theory and Practice of Socio-economic Development*, vol. 6, no. 12 (2017), pp. 165–178.
- Kan, Aline Lai-Chung, *The Kaifong Associations in Hong Kong*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley, March 1970.
- Kelly, D., "Towards Tripartism: Industrial Relations in the Steel Industry 1978 to 1987," *Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 30, no. 4 (1988), pp. 511–532.
- Kwong, Bruce, *Patron-Client Politics and Elections in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2009).
- Lam, Wai-Fung and Perry, James, "The Role of Nonprofit Sector in Hong Kong's Development," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, vol. 11, no. 4 (2000), pp. 355–373.
- Lam, Wai-man, *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2004).
- Lam, Wai-man and Lam, Kay Chi-yan, "China's United Front Work in Civil Society: The Case of Hong Kong," *International Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (December 2013), pp. 301–325.
- Lam, Wai-man and Tong, Irene L. K., "Political Change and the Women's Movement in Hong Kong and Macau," *Asian Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2006), pp. 7–35.
- Lee, Eliza, "Gender and Political Participation in Hong Kong," *Asian Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2000), pp. 93–114.
- Leung, Benjamin and Chiu, Steven, *A Social History of Industrial Strikes and the Labor Movement in Hong Kong, 1946–1989* (Hong Kong: Social Sciences Research Center, University of Hong Kong, 1991).
- Li, Qirong and Xu, Haoliang, "Tan Kah Kee's Spirit of Patriotism and the China Dream," *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui* (in Chinese), no. 2 (June 2016).
- Linz, Juan J., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

- Liu, Rumei, "Discussion on the Origins and development of the United Front Work," *Journal of the Academy of Guizhou Socialism* (in Chinese), Vol. 4 (2014), pp. 26–30.
- Liu, Hong, "Old Linkages, New Networks: The Globalization of Overseas Chinese Voluntary Associations and its Implications," *The China Quarterly*, no. 155 (September 1998).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-Hing, "Ideologies and Factionalism in Beijing-Hong Kong Relations," *Asian Survey*, vol. 58, no. 3 (2018a), pp. 392–415.
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-hing and Loo, Jeff Hai-chi, "An Anatomy of the Post-Materialistic Values of Hong Kong Youth: Opposition to China's Rising 'Sharp Power,'" in David Trotman and Stan Tucker, eds., *Youth: Global Challenges and Issues of the 21st Century* (New York: Nova Science, 2018), pp. 95–126.
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-hing, ed., *Interest Groups and the New Democracy Movement in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2018b).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-hing, *The Politics of Policing in Greater China* (London: Palgrave, 2016).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-hing, *Hong Kong's Indigenous Democracy: Origins, Evolution and Contentions* (London: Palgrave, 2015).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-Hing, *The Politics of Controlling Organized Crime in Greater China* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-hing, *Competing Chinese Political Visions: Hong Kong vs. Beijing on Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2010).
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-Hing, *The Dynamics of Beijing-Hong Kong Relations: A Model for Taiwan?* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).
- Lo, Sonny, "The Mainlandization and Recolonization of Hong Kong," in Joseph Cheng Yu-shek, ed., *The First Decade of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Hong Kong: The City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), pp. 179–231.
- Lo, Sonny, Yu, Eilo, Kwong, Bruce, Wong, Benson, "The 2004 Legislative Council Elections in Hong Kong: The Triumph of China's United Front Work After the 2003 and 2004 Protests," *Chinese Law and Government*, vol. 38, no. 1 (January/February 2005), pp. 3–29.
- Lo, Sonny, "Hong Kong, 1 July 2003: Half a Million Protestors," *Behind the Headlines*, vol. 60, no. 4 (2004a), pp. 1–14.
- Lo, Shiu Hing, "Party Penetration of Society in Hong Kong: The Role of Mutual Aid Committees and Political Parties," *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 12, no. 1 (June 2004b), pp. 31–64.
- Lo, Shiu-hing; Yu, Wing-yat and Wan, Kwok-fai, "The 1999 District Councils elections," in Chan, Ming and So, Alvin, eds., *Crisis and Transformation in China's Hong Kong* (London: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 139–165.
- Lo, Shiu-hing, *The Politics of Democratization in Hong Kong* (London: Macmillan, 1997).

- Lo, Shiu-hing, "Legislative Cliques, Political Parties, Political Groupings and Electoral System," in Joseph Cheng and Sonny Lo, eds., *From Colony to SAR: Hong Kong's Challenges Ahead* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995), pp. 51–70.
- Lo, Sonny Shiu-Hing, "The Chinese Communist Party Elite's Conflicts over Hong Kong, 1983–1990," *China Information*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 1–14.
- Lo, Shiu-hing, "Decolonization and Political Development in Hong Kong: Citizen Participation," *Asian Survey*, vol. 28, no. 6 (June 1988), pp. 613–629.
- Loh, Christine, *Underground Front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
- Loo, Jeff Hai-chi, "A localist's critique of Hong Kong's political development: Political decay, legitimacy crisis and reverse democratization," *Asian Education and Development Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2018a), pp. 76–88.
- Loo, Jeff Hai-chi, "Workers as interest groups: Are they fragmented or powerless?," in Sonny Shiu-hing Lo, ed., *Interest Groups and the New Democracy Movement in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2018b), pp. 102–114.
- Lucio, Miguel Martinez and Connolly, Heather, "Transformation and Continuities in Urban Struggles: Urban Politics, Trade Unions and Migration in Spain," *Urban Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3 (February 2012), pp. 669–684.
- Luo, Hai, "Discussion of the Party-Building and United Front Work Under the New Circumstances," *Journal of the Academy of Guizhou Socialism* (in Chinese), Vol. 4 (2013), pp. 40–43.
- Mackert, Jurgen and Turner, Bryan S., "Introduction: citizenship and political struggle," in Jurgen Mackert and Bryan S. Turner, eds., *The Transformation of Citizenship, Volume 3: Struggle, Resistance and Violence* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- Mackinder, Harold J., "The geographical pivot of history," *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 23, no. 4 (April 1904), pp. 421–444.
- Marsh, D. and Grant W., "Tripartism: Reality or Myth?," *Government and Opposition*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1977), pp. 194–211.
- Masiya, Tyanai, "Social Movement Trade Unionism: Case of the Congress of South African Trade Unions," *Politikon*, vol. 41, no. 3 (2014).
- Massey, Douglas S., "The Political Economy of Migration in an Era of Globalization," in Samuel Martinez, ed., *International Migration and Human Rights: The Global Repercussions of U.S. Policy* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 25–43.
- Meyer, Alfred, "Theories of Convergence," in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *Change in Communist Systems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970).
- Michels, Robert, *Political Parties: A Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001).

- Ming, Kenneth Wai-Kin, "Journalists as Interest Groups: Implications for Democracy Movement," in Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo, ed., *Interest Groups and the New Democracy Movement in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2018).
- Ming, Shifa and Li, Lin, "The United Front Path and Improvement in Developing the Religious Sector and Charity Organizations," *Journal of Yunnan Nationalities University (Social Science)* (in Chinese), Vol. 29, No. 5 (2012), pp. 66–72.
- Mongkok Kaifong Association, 1951–2011* (Hong Kong: Monkok Kaifong Association, 2011).
- Mok, Hing-luen, "A Study of women's political participation in Hong Kong," Master of Social Sciences thesis, Department of Social Work, University of Hong Kong, 1991.
- Morris, Paul and Vickers, Edward, "Schooling, Politics and the Construction of Identity in Hong Kong: The 2012 'Moral and National Education' Crisis in Historical Context," *Comparative Education*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (2015), pp. 305–326.
- Nelson, Daniel N., *Elite-Mass Relations in Communist Systems* (London: Macmillan, 1998).
- Nelson, Daniel N., "Political Convergence: An Empirical Assessment," *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April 1978), pp. 411–432.
- Newsletter of the Fujian Members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Zhengxue Tiandi)*, vol. 7 (2017).
- Newsletter of the HKDWA*, no. 52 (November 2017), p. 17, in <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1EP86s3d7v4t-9otbSQem9q5S1S3eiy0w/view>, access date: June 17, 2018.
- Newsletter of the HKDWA*, no. 53 (April 2018), in <https://drive.google.com/file/d/17nUp8QFZAGXHqEVykC8AvuwrteYCRbgz/view>, access date: June 17, 2018.
- Ng, Sek-hong and Ip, Olivia, "Labour and Society," in Cheng, Joseph Y. S., ed., *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First Decade* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), pp. 443–493.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle, "From Mass Media to Mass Consciousness," in George Gerbner, ed., *Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), pp. 269–283.
- Pavlidis, Periklis, "Social consciousness, education and transformative activity," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2 (October 2015), pp. 1–37.
- Pedersen, Axel West; Hippe, Jon M.; Grodem, Anne Skevik; and Sorensen, Ole Beier, "Trade unions and the politics of occupational pensions in Denmark and Norway," *Transfer*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2018), pp. 109–122.
- Pohjola, Matti, "Union Rivalry and Economic Growth: A Differential Game Approach," *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, vol. 86, no. 3 (1984), pp. 365–370.

- Press, Robert M., *Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Democratic Freedoms* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006).
- Pulignano, Valeria, "Union struggle and the crisis of industrial relations in Italy," *Capital & Class*, vol. 79 (2003), pp. 1–8.
- Putnam, Robert D., *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- Putnam, Robert D., *The Comparative Study of Political Elites* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976).
- Pye, Lucian W., *The Spirit of Chinese Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Rodan, Garry, ed., *Political Oppositions in Industrializing Asia* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Scipes, Kim, "Social Movement Unionism or Social Justice Unionism? Disentangling Theoretical Confusion within the Global Labor Movement," *Class, Race and Corporate Power*: vol. 2, no. 3 (2014), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25148/CRCP.2.3.16092119>, in <http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/vol2/iss3/9>, access date: May 2, 2018.
- Scott, James C., "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 66, no. 1 (March 1972).
- Selznick, Philip, *TVA And the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization* (New York: Harper& Row, 1966).
- Seward, Michael, "Cooption and Power: Who Gets What From Formal Incorporation," *Political Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (December 1990), pp. 588–689.
- Shambaugh, David, *China's Future* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).
- Shangguan, Xiao-hong, "A Study of the Returned Fujian Overseas Chinese Associations in the Republic of China," *Journal of Overseas Chinese History Studies* (in Chinese), no. 3 (September 2017), pp. 87–90.
- Shih, Wen, "Political Parties in Communist China," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 3. No. 3 (1963), pp. 157–164.
- Spencer, Sara, ed., *The Politics of Migration: Managing Opportunity, Conflict and Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).
- Sun, Lizhen, "China's Private-Sector Business Groups and the Features of United Front," *Journal of Zhejiang Shuren University* (in Chinese), Vol. 17, No. 1 (2017), pp. 105–108.
- Tai, Benny, "Introduction: The Rise of China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong," in Tai, Benny, ed., *China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Civil Hub, 2018).
- Tan, Kah Kee, "Tan Kah Kee's speech criticizing the Fujian administration in the welcome ceremony of the Fujian *tongxianghui* (townspeople association)," November 24, 1940, in *Fujian Huaqiao Archival History* (In Chinese) (Fujian: Archive Publishing, 1990).

- Tan, Yao Sua; Thock, Ker Pong; Ngah, Kamarudin; Goh, Soo Khoon, "Maintenance and propagation of Chinese culture in a Malay state: the roles of the Chinese associations in Kuala Terengganu," *Asian Ethnicity*, vol. 13. No. 4 (2012), pp. 441–467.
- Tang, Ka-jiao, *A History of Hong Kong Buddhism* (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Bookstore, 2015).
- Tang, Ka-jiao, *The 20th Century Hong Kong Buddhism* (in Chinese) ((Hong Kong: Society of Hong Kong History, 2008).
- Tang, Wenfang, *Populist Authoritarianism: Chinese Political Culture and Regime Sustainability* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- The First Inauguration Ceremony and Office-Bearers of the New Territories Associations Fraternization* (Hong Kong: New Territories Associations Fraternization, 1979).
- The HKTFA Newsletter, in http://www.hktaoist.org.hk/usr/files/newsletter/2018/2018_11.pdf, November 11, 2018.
- The Third National Returned Overseas Chinese Representative Conference* (in Chinese) (Beijing: National Returned Overseas Chinese Association, August 1984).
- Thirteen Lectures on the Spirit of the 19th Party Congress* (in Chinese) (Guangzhou: New Democracy Publisher, 2017).
- Tong, Clement Tze Ming, *The Hong Kong Week of 1967 and the Emergence of the Modern Hong Kong Identity*, unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia, August 2008.
- Tsang, Jasper, *Straight Talk* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Cosmo Books, 1995).
- Turner, L. and Hurd, R. W., "Building social movement unionism: The transformation of the American labor movement," in Turner, L.; Katz, H. C. and Hurd, R. W., eds., *Rekindling the movement: Labor's quest for relevance in the twenty-first century*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 9–16.
- Tuccio, Michele; Wahba, Jackline; and Hamdouch, Bachir, "International Migration: Driver of Political and Social Change?," No. 9794 (Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Germany, March 2016), in <http://ftp.iza.org/dp9794.pdf>, access date: March 8, 2019, pp. 1–42.
- Van Slyke, Lyman P., "The United Front in China," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1970), pp. 119–135.
- Vandenberg, A., "Social-movement Unionism in Theory and in Sweden," *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2006), pp. 171–191.
- Viroli, Maurizio, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Waever, O., "Securitization and De-securitization," in R. Lipschutz, ed., *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).
- Wang, James C. F., *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2002), pp. 15–19.

- Wang, Klavier Jie Ying, "Mobilizing Resources to the Square: Hong Kong's Anti-Moral and National Education Movement as Precursor to the Umbrella Movement," *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2017), pp. 127–145.
- Wang, Mingqian, "'Three-Three System' and 'Two Factions': Regime-Building and United Front in Anti-Japanese Bases in Central China," *Journal of Zhejiang Normal University* (in Chinese), Vol. 40, No. 6 (2015), pp. 34–42.
- Wang, Ray and Groot, Gerry, "Who Represents? Xi Jinping's Grand United Front Work, Legitimation, Participation and Consultative Democracy," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2018), in <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2018.1433573>, access date: April 22, 2018.
- Wang, Xiaojin, "The Evolution of the United Front Theory and Practices of the Chinese Communist Party," *Research on the Chinese Communist Party's History and Building* (in Chinese), Vol. 219, No. 2 (2013), pp. 99–103.
- Waterman, P., "Social-movement Unionism: A New Model for a New World," no. 110 (The Hague Institute for Social Studies Working Paper Series, 1991).
- Walker, Christopher, "What is 'Sharp Power'?", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 29, no. 3 (July 2018), pp. 12–13.
- Waller, Michael, "Communist Politics and the Group Process: Some Comparative Conclusions," in Goodman, David S. G., ed., *Groups and Politics in the People's Republic of China* (Bristol: University of Cardiff Press, 1984), pp. 196–215.
- Wen, Qiaoshi, *Tongzhan Gongzuo (United Front Work)* (Beijing: Chinese Communist Party History Publisher, 2008).
- Williams, Michael C., "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 4 (2003), pp. 511–531.
- Wong, Aline K., *The Kaifong Associations and the Society of Hong Kong* (Taipei: The Orient Cultural Service, 1972).
- Wong, Hoi, *An Analysis of Hong Kong's Social Strata* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2017).
- Wong, Pik-wan and Lee, Eliza W. Y., "Gender and Political Participation in Hong Kong: Formal Participation and Community Participation," occasional paper series, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2006.
- Wu, Bin, "Liao Chengzhi and New China's United Front on Hong Kong and Macao," *Journal of Fujian Institute of Socialism* (in Chinese), Vol. 89, No. 2 (2012), pp. 9–12.
- Xia, Yuqing, "Between the Family and State: *Nanqiao* engineers and the *Nanyang Huaqiao* society during the war years," *Southeast Asian Affairs* (in Chinese), vol. 2, no. 166 (2016).
- Xie, Ying; Tong, Yunping; and Yang, Fenggang, "Does Ideological Education in China Suppress Trust in Religion and Foster Trust in Government?," *Religions*, vol. 8, no. 94 (2017), pp. 1–11.

- Xu, Zhongtao, "The Basic Viewpoints of the Democratic Parties in Publicizing Public Opinion and Maintaining Principles," *Journal of the Academy of Guizhou Socialism* (in Chinese), Vol. 4 (2013), pp. 26–28.
- Yan, Qinghuang, *Overseas Chinese Tradition and Modernization* (in Chinese) (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010).
- Yip, Tin-sang, *A Collection of Materials on Hong Kong's Elections, 1996–2000* (Hong Kong: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001).
- Yuen, Kei-wang, *Twenty Years of History of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chong Hwa Book Company, 2012).
- Yuen, Kei-wang, *Hong Kong Road and the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chong Hwa Book Company, 2011).
- Zhang, Hongyan and Zhang Xiaomin, "The Content, Impact and Implications of Deng Xiaoping's United front Theory," *Journal of Huzhou Teachers College*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (2005), pp. 51–55.
- Zhang, Jiaoxia, "Examining the Characteristics of Intellectuals in Private Tertiary Schools Outside the Party and United Front Work," *Science and Technology Innovation Herald* (in Chinese), No. 11 (2013), pp. 217–218.
- Zhang, Suyun and Xu Jian, "The Anti-Japanese Ethnic Nationalities' United Front and War Victory," *Journal of Liaoning University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* (in Chinese) Vol. 33, No. 5 (2005), pp. 1–6.
- Zhongguo Zhongjiao (China Religion)* (mainland Chinese magazine, various issues).
- Zweig, David, *Agrarian Radicalism in China, 1968–1981* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

4. MATERIALS FROM OTHER WEBSITES AND FACEBOOK

- "A Fading Vatican-China Agreement in the Midst of United Front," May 20, 2018, in <http://kkp.org.hk/node/16793>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- "A report of the visit of the Shenzhen united front department to Hong Kong," in http://www.tzb.sz.gov.cn/xwzx/gzdt/tzsx/mzgz/zjgz/201710/t20171011_9336722.htm, access date: February 3, 2019.
- "A report on the financial chaos within the Po Lin Monastery and its 'close relationship' with the united front officials in the mainland," in <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/17/11/24/n9887395.htm>, access date: January 15, 2019.
- "About HKUYA," in <http://www.hkuya.org.hk/web15/web/subpage.php?mid=8>, access date: February 17, 2019.

- “An Urgent Appeal from the Hong Kong Buddhist Association,” October 5, 2014, in http://www.hkbuddhist.org/zh/page.php?p=preview_detail&cpid=26&cid=1, access date: January 15, 2019.
- “Analyzing the Making of a Republic,” September 9, 2009, in <https://hk.apple-daily.com/entertainment/art/20090909/13188390>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Assist Sichuan after the 2008 Earthquake,” no date indicated, in <http://www.hkcccu.org.hk/news/Szechwan/index.htm>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “Brainwashing the national situation,” June 3, 2018, in <http://apostlesmedia.com/20180603/7833>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “Cardinal Parolin Comments on Holy See-People’s Republic of China Agreement,” September 22, 2018, in <https://zenit.org/articles/cardinal-parolin-comments-on-holy-see-republic-of-china-agreement/>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “Comment on Leung’s visit to China,” in https://www.chinaaid.net/2018/06/blog-post_27.html, access date: February 9, 2019.
- “Confucius Institute closed at US university amid concerns about Chinese influences on campuses,” August 15, 2018, in <https://www.scmp.com/news/world/united-states-canada/article/2159888/confucius-institute-closed-us-university-amid>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- “From the Making of the Republic to the Making of an Army,” July 16, 2017, in <https://kknews.cc/zh-hk/entertainment/2mvjb8z.html>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Fujianese give money and support in the anti-Occupy Central Movement,” in <http://www.post852.com/>, access date: April 25, 2018.
- “Henan officials ordered the deletion of command one from the ten commanders,” January 3, 2019, in https://www.christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=156717&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “History of Muslims in Hong Kong,” in <http://www.islam.org.hk/en/?p=13&a=view&r=27>, access date: January 22, 2019.
- Ho, Si-wing, “Hong Kong film commentary,” October 30, 2010, in <http://www.filmcritics.org.hk/film-review/node/2017/07/19/>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Hong Kong Press Freedom Index,” July 11, 2018, in <https://www.hkja.org.hk/en/survey-report/hong-kong-press-freedom-index/#more-3106>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Hong Kong: The Facts [on] Religion and Custom,” May 2016, in <https://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/religion.pdf>, access date: February, 2019.
- “Interview with Kwok Nai-wang who appeal to the Hong Kong religious leaders and activists not to bow to those who are rich and powerful,” October 10, 2018, in <https://thestandnews.com/politics/>, access date: February 3, 2019.

- “Interview with Zhou Nan,” June 19, 2017, in <https://www.thestandnews.com/politics/>, access date: February 5, 2019.
- “Is the Liaison Office violating the two systems by possessing three publishers? Carrie Lam said we should not interfere as long as it was made in accordance with the law,” May 29, 2018, in <https://thestandnews.com/politics/>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- “Lei Chunmei meets Hong Kong’s religious leaders,” in www.hktaoist.org.hk/index.php?id=317, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “Li Chuwen and the united front work on the Hong Kong religions,” in <http://medium.com/civic-faither/c-e6aa60fe81bs>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “McMaster University severs ties with Confucius Institute,” March 2013, in <https://bulletin-archives.caut.ca/bulletin/articles/2013/03/mcmaster-university-severs-ties-with-confucius-institute>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- “Michael Yeung died and Joseph Ha is an temporary administrator dealing with religious affairs,” January 4, 2019, in <https://topock.kket.com/article/2243350>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “Minister Ip visits the Confucian Academy,” in http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4b32f63a01000741.html, access date: January 21, 2019.
- “Pro-Beijing scholar Leung Yin-shing’s remarks on the PRC protection of religious faith,” in <https://apostlesmedia.com/20180626/8195>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “Reprimanding the PRC United Front Department, Joseph Zen appealed to the mainland Catholics not to abandon and betray the God,” <https://hkaboluowang.com/2009/0105/115369.html>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “Sik Kin Chiu dies and he was involved in scandals with life insurance and a nun,” <https://www.hk01.com>, July 6, 2018, access date: January 15, 2019.
- “Six religious leaders issue a joint appeal in the new year, hoping the nation would be rich and Hong Kong having social harmony,” February 15, 2018, in <https://thestandnews.com/society/>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- “Six religious leaders issue a joint message in the Chinese New Year,” January 27, 2017, in <https://www.thestandnews.com/society/>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- “Submission by the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese to the United Nations Human Rights Council for its Universal Periodic Review Regarding Religious Freedom in the People’s Republic of China,” July 18, 2013, in http://www.hkjp.org/focus_en.php?id=55, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “Taoist Festivals in the Two Straits and Four Places,” in <http://zytzb.gov.cn/zjswxw/70116.jhtml>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- “Thanks for your support at our New Territories region flagday on 11 Nov 2017,” Independent Assurance Report, in <http://ntasc.hk/flagdayreport/Flagdayreport20171111chi.pdf>, access date: February 1, 2018.

- “The 40th anniversary of the six religions’ conference gathering,” in <http://www.hkcc.org.hk/acms/content.asp?site=hkccnew&op=showbyid&id=58427>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- “The confrontation after 1967: the period from red fire to transition,” November 12, 2010, in <https://www.inmediahk.net/>, access date: March 5, 2019.
- “The Doubtful Representation of the Hong Kong Buddhist Association: Loving the Nation and Loving the Religion,” October 31, 2015, in <https://thestand-news.com/>, access date: January 15, 2019.
- “The Forty-two years of linkage between the SRA and Shumshuipo,” in <https://kowloonpost.hk/2018/07/13/20180711p8/>, access date: February 12, 2019.
- “The late Ellen Li,” in <http://www.elicf.com/eng/Dr%20Ellen%20Li.htm>, access date: June 16, 2018.
- “The mystery of Jaime Sze becoming the ACYF vice-chairman,” in https://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/news/20150728/bkn-20150728222031319-0728_00822_001.html, access date: February 19, 2019.
- “Thinking of Liu Yiu-chu,” December 3, 2018, in <https://www.worldjournal.com/5999258/>, access date: March 23, 2019.
- “Two Systems Under Siege,” Release of the Hong Kong Journalist Association, July 2, 2017, in <https://www.hkja.org.hk/en/press-release/two-systems-under-siege-hkja-releases-2017-annual-report/#more-1071>, access date: March 3, 2019.
- Cao, Erbao, “Governing Hong Kong under the conditions of ‘one country, two systems,’” in *Study Times*, No. 422, January 29, 2008, translated into English, in https://www.civicparty.hk/cp/media/pdf/090506_cao_eng.pdf, access date: January 26, 2019.
- Choi, Siu-kei, “How do Christians cope with the religious policy under Xi Jinping’s era,” June 6, 2015, in <http://christiantimes.org.hk/>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- Dreher, Rod, “Rome Betrays Underground China Church,” September 22, 2018, in <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/vatican-betrays-underground-china-church/>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- Facebook of the Quanzhou Association, in https://www.facebook.com/Hong-Kong-Quanzhou-Associations-Youth-Committee-893683283997735/?ref=py_c, access date: April 22, 2018.
- Huang, Zheping and Huang, Echo, “A brief history: Beijing’s interpretations of Hong Kong’s Basic Law, from 1999 to the present day,” in <https://qz.com/828713/a-brief-history-beijings-interpretations-of-hong-kongs-basic-law-from-1999-to-the-present-day/>, access date: April 8, 2018.
- Jiang, Tao, “Authorities remove church crosses on flimsy pretexts,” April 9, 2018, in <https://bitterwinter.org/authorities-remove-church-crosses-on-flimsy-pretexts/>, access date: February 3, 2019.

- Koo, Sun-wing, “Who says Hong Kong has only six major religions?,” October 17, 2016, in <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1045215>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- Lau, Chi-wai, “Muslims in Hong Kong,” in <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-39124578>, access date: January 22, 2019a.
- Lau, Chi-wai, “Islam in Hong Kong: Different Challenges in China and Hong Kong,” March 1, 2017, in <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-39124578>, access date: January 22, 2019b.
- Lau Kwei-biu, “Confucius Temple or Confucius Institute? A Tool of Maintaining Political Stability?,” in <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1018023>, access date: January 21, 2019.
- Lau, Shan-ching, “My first encounter with uncle Kan,” June 23, 2016, in <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1043023>, access date: March 5, 2019c.
- Leung, Po-lung, “The Workers’ Movement in Hong Kong before the Japanese Occupation, 1937–1941,” 2017, in <https://wknews.org/node/1362>, access date: February 9, 2019a.
- Leung, Po-lung, “Hong Kong’s war relief associations and the Chinese Communist Party,” February 10, 2017, in <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1047538>, access date: March 5, 2019b.
- News Bulletin, “Hong Kong Religious Sector in Celebration of the 68th Anniversary of the PRC,” in http://www.hkbuddhist.org/zh/page.php?p=preview_detail&epid=39&cid=1, access date: January 15, 2019a.
- News Bulletin, “Hong Kong Religious Sector in Celebration of the 69th Anniversary of the PRC,” in http://www.hkbuddhist.org/zh/page.php?p=preview_detail&epid=39&cid=1, access date: January 15, 2019b.
- Occupy Central Movement leaders’ declaration in January 2013, see <http://oclp.hk/index.php?route=occupy/book>, access date: January 26, 2019.
- Ramzy, Austin, “Toronto School District Cancels Plans for Confucius Institute,” October 30, 2014, in <https://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/10/30/toronto-school-district-cancels-plans-for-confucius-institute/>, access date: February 2, 2019.
- Rogers, Benedict, “China’s war on Christianity,” September 20, 2018, in <https://catholicherald.co.uk/issues/sep-21st-2018/chinas-war-on-christianity/>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- “Severely condemning the remarks on the democracy wall of the Education University of Hong Kong, requesting the authorities that they should penalize the offenders,” in http://www.ntas.org.hk/blog_post.jsp?rid=91&cate_id=2, access date: February 10, 2019.
- The Facebook of the New Territories West’s Residents Association, in <https://www.facebook.com/>, access date: February 10, 2019.
- The HKIF website, in <http://www.hk-if.org/special.php?id=10>, access date: February 12, 2019.

- The website of HKIWA, in <http://www.hkiwa.org/web/>, access date: June 17, 2018a.
- The website of HKIWA, in <http://www.hkiwa.org/web/album.php>, access date: June 17, 2018b.
- The HKUYA mission and vision, in <http://www.hkuya.org.hk/web15/web/subpage.php?mid=9>, access date: February 17, 2019.
- The website of KWOF, in http://www.kwof.org.hk/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53&Itemid=53, access date: June 17, 2018.
- Woo Chun-loong, "A traitor of Confucius and Mencius," in <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1006169>, February 14, 2010, access date: January 21, 2019.
- Wooden, Cindy, "Vatican signs provisional agreement with China on naming bishops," September 22, 2018, in <https://www.catholicnews.com/services/englishnews/2018/vatican-signs-provisional-agreement-with-china-on-naming-bishops.cfm>, access date: February 4, 2019.
- Ying, Fuk-tsang, "Using Facts to Convince Me: The Six Explanations in Defence of the Chinese Communist's Religious Policy," July 9, 2018, in <http://faith100.org/>, access date: February 3, 2019a.
- Ying, Fuk-tsang, "Today we have to revisit a history of 'united front' work on Christians," January 28, 2019b, in <http://faith100.org/>, access date: February 3, 2019.
- Zen, Joseph Ze-kiun, "The Pope Doesn't Understand China," October 24, 2018, in <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/24/opinion/pope-china-vatican-church-catholics-bishops.html>, access date: February 4, 2019.

INDEX¹

A

- Academics, 8n30, 9, 14, 15, 42, 77, 154, 197, 198, 201, 320, 324, 326–328, 330, 354, 372
- Aircrew officers' strikes, 144
- All-China Federation of Women Hong Kong Delegates Association (ACFWHKDA), 150, 160
- All-China Women Federation (ACWF), 153, 157, 160, 182, 186
- All-China Youth Federation (ACYF), 255–258, 260, 261, 263, 266, 267, 273, 287
- Alliance, 1, 71–73, 100, 106, 110, 126, 130, 184, 190, 229, 238, 301, 370
- America, 12, 198, 302, 375
- Anglican Church, 207, 217
- Anti-foreign, 353
- Anti-national education movement, 3, 265
- Anti-Occupy interest groups, 66, 105
- Apathy, 24, 36, 373, 376
- Apple Daily*, 293, 295
- Article 23, 6n26, 13, 212, 338, 348, 352
- Association for the Advancement of Feminism (AAF), 150, 161, 185, 186
- Association of Hong Kong Nursing Staff, 122
- Attack, 5, 6, 11, 15, 136, 190, 206, 278, 287, 329, 367
- Australia, 42, 111, 302, 363, 364, 378
- Authoritarian, 25, 31–35, 40, 41, 200, 329, 366, 371, 373, 375, 377 politics, 26, 301, 312, 374, 378
- Authoritarianism, 17, 33, 34, 109, 331, 369, 373, 375, 377, 379
- Autonomous, 22, 30, 161, 209, 239, 305, 314, 330, 338, 365, 369, 371, 372, 375

¹Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

Autonomy, 8–10, 13, 14, 28, 202,
205, 211, 304, 342

B

Ban, 6n26, 29, 30, 295

Basic Law, 4, 6n26, 9, 14, 14n42,
68n13, 98, 99n59, 169, 207,
212, 229, 244, 257, 265, 278,
311, 327, 338, 348, 365, 365n1,
366

interpretation, 5, 14, 14n42, 29, 67,
68n13, 70, 99, 99n59, 244,
251, 283, 377

Basic Law Committee members, 98,
100, 342

Basic Law Consultative Committee,
46, 205, 207

Beijing, 4–8, 10, 13, 14, 17–19, 21,
22, 24–32, 36, 38–41, 44, 45,
47, 50, 61, 67, 68n13, 70, 74,
75, 78, 81, 93, 94, 154, 160,
182, 184, 190–192, 194–197,
199, 203, 204, 206–209,
211–219, 225, 230, 232, 233,
255, 256, 258, 267, 270, 272,
273, 275, 280, 283, 293, 295,
298, 301, 305, 306, 314, 320,
324, 326, 327, 331, 334,
338–343, 345, 348–350,
352–354, 356, 357, 359–361,
364–369, 371, 372, 374,
377–379

Bing-leung, Cheung Anthony, 349,
350

Bishops, 210–213, 210–211n77,
213n84

British, 5, 6n26, 23–25, 30, 39, 46,
113–117, 146, 150, 152,
189–191, 195, 203, 215, 222,
223, 225, 232, 277, 298,
310–312, 327, 342, 343, 353, 377

British colonial administration, 222,
223

Buddhist, 185, 189–195, 215–217,
217n94, 219, 361, 371

Business, 20, 21, 25, 44, 69, 79, 80,
83, 91, 94, 106, 111, 140, 142,
143, 150n3, 199, 205, 258, 334,
337–364

elites, 6, 42, 92, 94, 106, 224, 258,
260, 263, 337–364, 370, 374

people, 2, 3, 5, 8, 21, 37, 83, 94,
133, 143, 263, 272, 304, 340,
345n19, 345n20, 346,
346n25, 356, 361, 364, 367

Business and Professionals Alliance
(BPA), 337, 339–342

Businessman, 92, 94, 266, 340,
342–346, 363

By-elections, 16, 51, 52, 65, 66, 70,
74, 91, 185n52, 244, 248, 249,
251, 280

C

Campaign, 4, 5, 16, 33, 64, 66, 100,
103, 110, 126, 160, 165, 169,
208, 218, 225, 229, 235, 238,
240, 249–252, 349, 368, 372
expenditure, 248–250

Candidates, 9, 16, 19, 51–55, 57–59,
70, 84, 88–91, 93, 95, 97, 106,
108, 112, 126, 130–132, 146,
160, 161, 163–166, 168, 175,
184, 211, 221, 229, 230, 238,
242, 244, 249, 251–253, 270,
280, 315–317, 325, 327, 329,
338, 339, 366, 375

Capitalist, 1, 7, 32, 305, 368, 375
class, 1, 6, 17, 368, 370

Catholic/Catholics, 139, 189, 190,
194, 210–215, 217, 219, 314,
371

- Cells, 11, 21, 230
- Censorship, 375
- Central government, 6, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 25, 29–31, 40, 67, 74, 93, 94n56, 154, 184, 197, 206, 275, 295, 326, 338–342, 348, 362, 365, 366, 369, 377
- Chan, Anson, 352, 353, 353n30
- Chee-hwa, Tung, 30, 90, 200, 238, 317, 327, 338, 352, 353
- Chengzhi, Liao, 2, 3, 6
- Cheuk-yan, Lee, 130, 131, 136, 249, 252
- Chief Executive, 19, 27, 28, 30, 32, 37, 39, 49, 67, 68, 78, 96, 97, 106, 132, 141, 154, 157, 195, 199, 207, 208, 213, 215, 229, 266, 271, 276, 317, 322, 338–342, 370, 372, 374
election, 19, 93, 94n56, 96, 97, 154, 338, 349, 352
- China, 1–75, 78, 116, 169–178, 190, 222, 256, 301, 337, 342–347, 368, 373–378
- Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macao Studies (CAHKMS), 324, 326, 327
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 1–7, 4n18, 11–13, 17, 18, 20–23, 31–35, 43, 78–80, 88, 108, 171, 179, 199, 200, 206, 207, 209, 210, 212, 219, 223, 230, 240, 256, 276, 293, 299, 301, 303, 305, 310, 312, 329, 333, 343n15, 344, 360–362, 367, 369, 372–374, 376, 379
- Chinese dream, 17, 26, 198, 260, 303
- Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, 45
- Chinese identity, 4, 7, 13, 15, 23, 43, 360, 365, 376
- The Chinese Muslim Cultural and Fraternal Association (CMCFA), 203, 204
- Chinese national identity, 54, 159, 311, 368
- Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association (CPCA), 210
- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), 2, 11–14, 20, 49, 78, 84, 92, 98, 99, 106, 133, 146, 159, 169, 171–175, 177, 181, 191, 199, 200, 204, 208, 216, 217, 217n94, 230, 240, 247, 248, 258, 271, 305, 340, 340n4, 341, 349, 350, 356, 357, 360–362, 366, 367, 375
- Chinese renaissance, 13, 17, 26, 196, 197, 247
- Chi-wai, Sik, 191, 192
- Christian, 189, 193, 194, 206–210, 215–217, 219, 276, 314, 371
- Chun-hoi, Pang, 125
- Citizenship, 17, 35–36, 109, 360, 363, 372, 373, 375
- Civic Party, 278, 347, 348, 353
- Civil servants, 14, 42, 49, 54, 122, 131, 251, 337–364
- Civil servants' unions, 122, 124
- Civil society, 17, 26–27, 30, 32, 40–42, 289–335, 368, 371–373, 376, 377, 379, 380
- Clans, 14, 16, 54, 65–67, 103, 222, 231, 289, 334, 335, 368, 369, 376
- Clansmen Association, 87
- Coalition, 7, 108, 145, 219, 365
- Collective bargaining bill, 112, 136, 146
- Common interests, 78
- Communist International, 1
- Communist Youth League, 256, 310
- Competitiveness, 57, 140, 273

- Comprehensive jurisdiction, 7, 10, 13, 14, 365, 367, 374
- Comrades, 3, 12, 13, 22, 30, 43, 44, 88
- Confederation of Trade Unions, 107–147
- Confront, 5
- Confrontation, 311n32, 329, 330
- Confrontational, 348
- Confrontational approach, 113, 206
- Confucian, 189, 193, 194, 199, 200, 215, 217, 219, 371
- Confucian Academy, 198–202
- Confucius Institute, 198–202
- Conservative nationalists, 23n64, 32, 353
- Constitution, 4, 10, 205, 265, 362, 366
- Convention, 100, 190, 263, 365
- Convergence, 17, 21–25, 375, 380
- Cooperative Resources Center (CRC), 337, 338
- Co-optation, 13, 15, 19–21, 42, 160, 169–174, 181, 189, 194, 205, 208, 214–219, 224, 225, 232, 263, 271, 274, 279, 301, 309, 320, 327, 337, 342–344, 346, 350, 352, 356, 367, 374
- Co-opted, 7, 157, 158, 169, 171, 181, 182, 186, 187, 195, 199, 200, 206–209, 206n60, 216, 235, 258, 262, 299, 311, 326, 350, 352, 374
- Co-optees, 327
- Coordination, 14, 16, 34, 44, 61–73, 153, 197, 277, 314, 379
- Co-production, 299
- Core, 4, 10, 16, 20, 29, 153, 160–162, 186, 205, 230, 255–256, 258, 287, 292, 339, 368–370
- Court, 13, 91, 169, 185, 251, 283
- Critical Marxists, 280
- Culturally Chinese, 22, 256, 376
- Culturally patriotic, 256
- Culture, 13, 23, 24, 31, 32, 79, 195, 196, 198, 200–202, 217, 239, 266, 271, 290, 293, 376
- ## D
- Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB), 14–16, 43–75, 78, 90–92, 94, 95, 106, 112, 126, 129, 130, 146, 160, 175, 177, 178, 182, 183, 224, 229, 230, 232, 235–239, 244, 245, 248–253, 263, 314, 325, 349, 366, 368, 369, 371, 379
- Democratic centralism, 31, 48
- Democratic parties, 2, 11–13, 43
- Democratic Party, 21, 90, 108, 178, 179, 348–350
- Democratic political reform, 185
- Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), 357, 360, 361, 364, 378
- Democratization, 4, 40, 75, 110, 213, 270, 295, 329, 348, 354, 354n32, 370, 372
- Democrats, 3, 5, 7, 9, 18, 19, 31, 34, 42, 51, 66, 131, 160, 161, 179, 182, 207, 208, 213, 250, 252, 253, 270, 293, 312, 328, 333, 337–365, 367, 370, 375–377
- Depoliticization, 24
- Direct elections, 37n127, 46, 49, 51–53, 55, 65, 70, 84, 126, 130, 146, 161, 164, 169, 171, 207, 242, 246, 251–252, 334, 338, 349, 369, 370
- Disrespect, 14, 29, 169
- Disrespectful, 185, 251, 366, 377

- District Councils, 31, 41, 44, 52–55, 54n11, 59, 74, 84, 89–91, 95, 100, 112, 130, 131, 146, 165, 168, 169, 175–179, 185, 236–240, 242, 265, 266, 272, 328, 342, 369, 373, 377
- District federations, 221–253, 376, 379
- District-based, 96, 152, 155, 156, 171–179, 184, 222, 233, 242, 244, 246
- District-based federations, 39, 42, 178–184, 229–232, 246, 252, 253
- Divergence, 348, 380
- Dock workers' dispute, 144
- Donation, 70, 87, 144, 152, 153, 157, 175, 176, 178, 184, 185, 199, 209, 238, 245, 249, 276, 310, 343, 363
- E**
- Eastern District All-Sectors Association (EDAA), 246
- East Kowloon District Residents' Committee (EKDRC), 242, 243
- Economic integration, 22, 22n59, 244, 273, 292, 353, 367
- Economic interactions, 356
- Editorial position, 295–298
- Editorials, 293, 295, 304, 306, 339, 377
- Education, 3, 4, 6n26, 24, 61, 85, 151, 154, 176, 193, 201, 202, 216, 218, 223, 239, 244, 261, 265, 266, 272, 279, 289–335, 346, 349, 350, 372, 376, 380
- Education functional constituency, 315
- Education sector, 149n2, 289, 291, 309–327
- Educators, 42, 45, 86, 138, 317, 322, 327, 337–364, 372
- Election Committee, 19, 78, 91, 92, 96, 97, 132, 133, 199, 208, 214, 215, 266, 322, 325
- Elections, 9, 44, 49–59, 84, 108, 154, 207, 221, 224, 311, 338, 366
- Electoral affairs committee, 249
- Electoral competition, 17, 30–32, 35, 74, 91, 130, 131, 225, 338, 373
- Electoral engineering activities, 249
- Electoral machine, 106, 253
- Electoral mobilization, 31, 36, 38, 100, 165, 221–253, 368
- Electoral performance, 55
- Elite/elites, 5, 7, 17, 19, 32, 39–41, 44, 48, 91, 94–96, 152, 153, 156, 171, 177, 181, 182, 184, 207, 222, 224, 225, 232, 245, 246, 248, 252, 258, 262, 266, 272–274, 287, 309, 327, 330, 337–365, 373–375, 378
- Elite-mass gap, 17, 25–26, 376
- Elite-mass linkage, 26
- Enemies, 5, 7, 15, 166, 206, 219, 301, 327–331, 340, 353, 354, 365, 367, 377, 378
- Entrepreneurs, 45, 156, 271, 312
- Erbao, Cao, 8, 8n31, 9
- Espionage, 356–362, 364, 378
- Ethnic minorities, 3, 11–13, 15, 43, 48, 85, 196, 205, 368
- Executive Council (ExCo), 9, 49, 136, 140, 143, 144, 162, 169, 338, 339, 342, 349, 350
- Executive Councilors, 49, 163
- External, 2, 9, 42, 92, 272, 280, 337–364
- Extradition arrangement, 340

F

Factionalism, 113, 349
 Federation of Hong Kong and
 Kowloon Labour Unions (FLU),
 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126,
 132, 144, 320
 Federation of Trade Unions (FTU),
 14, 42, 52, 53, 64, 91, 107–147,
 160, 200, 224, 233, 235, 238,
 245, 252, 253, 317, 369, 371,
 379
 Federations, 14, 16, 42, 157,
 178–184, 187, 221–253, 257,
 262, 263, 371, 376, 379
 Feminist, 150, 185
 Fok Ying-tung, Henry, 342–344
 Foreign countries, 42, 271, 295, 337,
 353, 363, 377–379
 Foreigners, 39, 202, 327, 328, 337,
 353, 363, 364
 Fragmentation, 107, 113, 139, 146
 Freedom, 206, 207, 211, 214,
 304–306, 354, 361
 Freedom of speech, 36, 180, 329
 Fujian, 79–81, 80n12, 83, 85, 88,
 106, 150n3, 159, 196, 246,
 263
 Fujianese, 14, 42, 77–106, 246, 253,
 344, 369, 371
 Fujian Overseas Chinese Association,
 80
 The Fukienese Association, 81–85
 Functional constituencies, 31, 91,
 125, 128, 164, 169, 215, 251,
 272, 315, 341, 370

G

Geopolitical, 18, 39–40, 374, 377
 Globalization, 23, 267, 290
 Government Employees Association,
 121

Grassroots level, 55, 64, 65, 106, 122,
 130, 155, 159, 225, 252, 339,
 346
 Greater Bay Area, 15, 22, 42, 84, 179,
 194, 208, 244, 246, 267, 273,
 291, 309, 334, 335, 367, 368,
 370, 372
 Greater Bay Area plan, 15, 291, 331,
 335, 361, 368
Guanxi, 33, 83, 85, 160

H

Hakka, 250
 Hardline, 143, 353, 356
 Hin-chi, Tsang, 346
 The Hong Kong Army Cadets
 Association (HKASTA), 273–277
 Hong Kong Chinese Christian
 Churches Union, 209
 The Hong Kong Chinese Women's
 Club (HKCWC), 150–153, 156,
 185
 Hong Kong Christian Industrial
 Committee (CIC), 161
 Hong Kong Civil Servants General
 Union (CSGU), 122, 132
Hong Kong Commercial Daily, 46,
 298
 Hong Kong CPPCC Youth
 Association (CPPCCYA), 255,
 271–273, 287
 Hong Kong Federation of Buddhist
 Associations, 192
 Hong Kong Federation of Civil
 Service Unions (FCSU), 132
 Hong Kong Federation of Fujian
 Associations (HKFFA), 77, 78,
 81, 83–85, 91, 92, 97, 100–106
 Hong Kong Federation of Women
 (HKFW), 150, 153–160, 166,
 169, 178, 183, 184, 186, 369

- Hong Kong Fukien Chamber of Commerce, 81
- Hong Kong identity, 15, 17, 23, 37, 54, 223, 280, 330, 373, 376
- Hong Kong Island Federation (HKIF), 53, 54, 64, 229–231, 245–248
- Hong Kong Island Women Association (HKIWA), 155, 182–184
- Hong Kong National Party (HKNP), 29, 280, 295, 297–298
- Hong Kong Outlying Islands Women Association (OIWA), 171, 174–177
- Hong Kong Progressive Alliance (HKPA), 44, 45, 53, 91, 129
- Hong Kong Public Relations Professionals' Association, 298
- Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), 3, 17–18, 49, 81, 109, 152, 190, 214–219, 224, 256, 291, 305, 338, 365, 376
- Hong Kong Taoist Federation of Associations (HKTF), 195–198
- Hong Kong United Youth Association (HKUYA), 255–266, 287
- Hong Kong Women Development Association (HKWDA), 150, 150n3, 155, 159–162, 177
- Hong-man, Ng, 45
- Human rights, 37, 68, 75, 185, 202, 214, 256, 304, 306, 370–372, 374
- I**
- Ideological, 17, 23, 28, 32, 112, 146, 289, 290, 349, 372–374, 377
- conflicts, 31–35
- enemy, 113
- inclinations, 256
- indoctrination, 309
- Ideology, 33, 108, 112, 118, 121, 219, 225, 279, 290
- Inaugural ceremony, 85, 177, 265, 265n7, 266, 271
- Independence, 3, 5, 6n26, 8, 13, 28, 29, 43, 68, 93, 244, 280, 305, 306, 320, 354, 356, 364, 367
- Individual, 1, 2, 12, 14–16, 24, 27, 30, 35, 36, 38, 43, 69, 111, 131, 153, 171, 180, 185, 221, 233, 236, 237, 257, 258, 320, 326, 327, 337–364, 372
- academics, 324, 326
- Indoctrination, 32
- Industrialist, 45
- Infiltrate, 17, 40, 80, 153
- Infiltration, 17, 20, 310, 368, 379
- Infrastructure projects, 345, 346
- Intellectuals, 2, 3, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 28, 138, 201, 290, 310, 324, 328, 330, 372
- Interest groups, 12, 14–17, 25–27, 32, 35, 39, 42, 44, 67, 77–106, 110, 149–187, 190, 200, 203–205, 214, 221, 224, 225, 229, 231, 233, 235–238, 240–242, 244–246, 252, 253, 255–287, 289, 309, 310, 314, 317, 319, 324, 325, 334, 359, 363, 364, 367–369, 371, 372, 376, 377
- International Labour Organization (ILO), 111–112
- Internet, 293, 295, 371, 375
- media, 290, 306–309, 371
- Inter-union rivalry, 107–147
- Intervene, 8, 278, 365
- Intervention, 8, 10, 36, 38, 39, 280, 329, 366, 377
- Investment, 85, 136, 190, 331, 343, 346, 374

Islam, 203, 205

Islamic, 79, 189, 193, 194, 203–205,
219, 371

J

Japan, 41, 79, 85, 150, 154, 169, 191,
310, 311

Jiang Zemin, 3, 256

Judicial autonomy, 75

Judicial process, 67

Judiciary, 9

Justice and Peace Commission (JPC),
214, 214n88

K

kaifong, 224, 225

Kaifong associations (KA), 14, 15, 42,
221–229, 252, 379

Kin-chiu, Sik, 192

Kong-wah, Lau, 130, 276, 349

Kowloon City Residents Association
(KCRA), 242, 244, 250

Kowloon Federation of Associations
(KFA), 16, 53, 54, 64, 95, 158,
179, 229, 230, 233, 240–244,
251

Kowloon West New Dynamic
(KWND), 241, 243, 250

Kowloon Women's Organization
Federation (KWOF), 155,
179–182

Kuok Hock-nien, Robert, 344,
344n18

Kuomintang (KMT), 1, 223, 310,
337, 357, 360–362

Kuo-yu, Han, 362, 367

Kwok-kwong, Sik, 190

Kwun Tong Residents Association
(KTRA), 242

L

Labor movement, 113, 118, 147

Labour Advisory Board, 117, 118,
131, 132, 136, 141, 143, 144

Lam, Carrie, 49, 132, 154, 215, 247,
265, 265n7, 271, 304, 304n17,
327, 334, 338, 341, 349, 356

Lee Wai-king, Starry, 46, 47, 183,
229, 244, 245, 248, 252

Legislative clique, 37, 338

Legislative Council (LegCo), 4, 14,
29, 31, 37, 37n127, 41, 44, 46,
49, 51, 52, 58, 65, 70, 73–75,
84, 91, 92, 95, 100, 106, 112,
125, 126, 128–130, 133, 136,
140, 141, 144, 146, 161, 162,
164, 167, 169, 207, 215, 218,
222, 229, 242, 244, 246, 248,
251, 252, 265, 272, 280, 282,
314, 315, 328, 337, 339, 341,
342, 349, 369, 373, 377

Legislative Council members, 92,
150n3, 169, 337

Legislative Councilors, 164, 236, 349

Legislature, 49, 126, 169, 215, 251,
338, 339, 370, 374

Legitimacy, 17–20, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31,
33, 34, 40, 212, 224n7, 301,
309, 330, 354n32, 366, 373,
374, 377

Leung, Baggio, 14, 15, 29, 99n59,
166, 169, 282, 283

Leung, C. Y., 28, 49, 195, 271, 276,
338–341

Liaison Office (LO), 7–9, 14–16,
61–73, 78, 83–85, 87, 100, 153,
156, 159, 166, 178, 179, 182,
183, 190, 193, 196, 197, 200,
204, 213, 228, 244–247, 253,
265, 267, 271, 272, 277–279,
303, 304, 304n17, 311, 317,

- 330, 334, 340, 341, 349, 362,
365–368, 371
- Li-an, Lu, 359–361
- Liberalization, 23
- Liberalize, 30
- Liberal Party (LP), 51, 53, 129, 142,
143, 252, 337–342, 340n8, 363
- Lik, Ma, 46, 91
- Livelihood, 140, 177, 306
issues, 16, 61, 68, 229, 230, 244,
252
- Localism, 61, 279
- Localist groups, 255, 256, 276,
284–287
- Localist/localists, 4, 14, 28, 29, 32,
36–38, 70, 239, 246, 251, 255,
275, 279–287, 292, 320, 373
- Local politicians, 97, 106, 131, 353
- M**
- Macao, 2–4, 2n9, 6, 11–14, 20, 22,
43, 44, 183, 191, 192, 197,
204, 219, 257, 267, 273, 278,
291, 302, 324, 326, 327, 331,
334, 335, 361, 362, 364, 367,
379
- Mainland, 3, 4, 6, 8–16, 18, 20–22,
31, 35, 39, 40, 42, 59, 64,
67–70, 78, 83, 84, 87, 100, 116,
118, 121, 123, 132, 150, 151,
153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 169,
171, 177, 181, 189–192,
194–199, 201, 205–208,
210–214, 219, 221, 222, 225,
230, 239, 242, 244–246,
255–257, 262, 263, 266, 267,
271–273, 287, 291–293,
299–301, 303–310, 312, 324,
326, 327, 329–331, 333–335,
337, 340, 342–346, 349, 353,
356–364, 368–380, 371n5
- Mainlandization, 292, 292n8,
305–308, 374
- Maintain stability, 16, 33, 112, 146,
192, 199, 221, 222, 247
- Maladministration, 289
- Manifesto, 44, 67, 283, 286
- Mao Zedong, 1, 33, 257
- Mass/masses, 12, 13, 25, 25n76, 26,
30–34, 36, 37, 39–41, 64, 80,
184, 213, 225, 229, 238,
289–335, 352, 366, 377
- Mass media, 19, 20, 32, 46, 78, 106,
179, 191, 192, 266, 274, 275,
278, 289–335, 353
- Materialism, 36–38, 374
- Materialistic, 17, 37, 37n127, 38, 40,
160, 221, 256, 287, 372, 373,
375
- May 1967 riot, 116
- Media, 5, 21, 28, 39, 42, 169, 179,
218, 266, 276, 277, 289–335,
353, 367, 371, 375, 377
ownership, 293
- Meeting Point, 349
- Membership, 21, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57,
74, 78, 96, 98, 109, 113,
115–118, 120–123, 127, 159,
175, 209, 229, 230, 232–237,
240, 245, 258, 260, 263, 265,
266, 272, 277, 314, 317, 319,
321–322, 324, 340, 357
- Middle class, 6, 17, 30, 251, 252
- Migrants, 21, 77n2, 109, 222, 230,
242, 263, 267, 291, 331, 333,
334, 371, 378
- Migrate, 45, 46, 79, 92, 151, 242,
263, 312, 331, 361, 370, 371n5
- Migration, 42, 289–335, 370
- Military, 5, 18, 27, 211, 274,
277–279, 287, 301, 309, 337,
362, 367
camp, 278, 367

- Minimum wage legislation, 141–143, 147
- Mobilization strategy, 251
- Moderate, 5–7, 111, 112, 118, 146, 152, 206, 208–210, 213, 251, 256, 280, 293, 295, 347, 349, 365
- Modernization, 3, 21, 23, 30, 80, 209, 342–347, 374, 375
- Mongkok Kaifong Association (MKA), 225, 228
- Mongkok riot, 4, 36, 156, 265
- Muslim, 79, 203–205, 215, 217, 219
- Mutual Aid Committees (MACs), 224, 240
- N**
- Nai-keung, Lau, 349
- Nai-wang, Kwok, 207–209, 207n64, 219
- National education, 3, 3n15, 4, 6n26, 85, 314, 349, 372
- National education policy, 3, 193, 309, 314, 372, 376
- National People's Congress (NPC), 5, 7, 20, 45, 49, 67, 78, 98, 106, 133, 135, 311, 366
- National security, 10, 27, 30–32, 40, 266, 280, 330, 356–362, 364, 373, 376, 377
- National security interest, 7, 246, 365
- Neighborhood associations, 14, 15, 25, 42, 221–253
- Neutrality, 26, 122
- New China News Agency (NCNA), 5–7, 20, 190, 191, 207, 368
- New Party, 337, 357, 357n36
- New People's Party (NPP), 14, 51, 52, 129, 245, 246, 252, 352
- Newspapers, 293–295, 303, 304, 339
- New Territories Associations of Societies (NTAS), 53, 54, 229–240
- Nomenklatura*, 20, 21, 230, 240, 266
- Non-governmental organizations, 161, 198, 205, 228, 279
- North Point, 85, 88–91
- O**
- Oath-taking, 5, 5n21, 14, 29, 70, 99n59, 169, 170, 185, 251, 282, 283
- Occupy Central Movement, 4, 5, 6n26, 9, 35, 66, 67, 84, 100, 103, 131, 149, 154, 156, 160, 177, 179–182, 185, 193, 207, 213, 218, 225, 226, 229, 239, 244, 246, 263, 265, 267, 273, 274, 277, 287, 295–297, 301, 306, 340, 347, 348, 354, 372, 373, 378
- Officials, 6–8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 27, 28, 34, 36–39, 47, 49, 52, 55, 67, 70, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 81n20, 83–85, 88, 93, 100–106, 153, 157, 159, 162, 166, 182, 183, 189, 190, 194, 196, 201, 204, 206, 208, 209n71, 210, 212, 213, 230, 231, 245–250, 253, 265–270, 272, 273, 276, 277, 310, 317, 333, 339, 342, 343, 345, 350, 353, 354, 356–359, 362, 367, 368, 377, 379
- One country, two mixed systems, 379–380
- One country, two systems, 3, 8–10, 8n31, 10n35, 21, 23, 42, 43, 61, 84, 88, 93, 154, 157, 193, 195, 217, 247, 265, 298, 304, 324, 329, 339, 353, 356, 366, 368, 379

- One-way permit, 291, 331–333
- Organization/organizations, 12,
14–16, 19, 20, 25, 26, 33, 39,
41, 44–49, 53, 54, 59–61, 64,
66, 77n2, 78–81, 83–85, 93–95,
103, 110, 122, 150, 153–156,
159, 160, 169, 174–179, 182,
184, 201, 203, 211, 221–223,
225, 228–233, 235, 239–242,
245, 250, 255, 257, 258, 265,
267, 271, 272, 293, 295–299,
304, 305, 317, 327
- Oriental Daily News*, 295, 340n4
- Owners Corporations (OC), 224, 240
- Ownership, 293–295, 304, 305, 371
- P**
- Pao, Sir Yue-kong, 343, 344
- Party, 1, 3, 11, 12, 13n41, 14, 16, 20,
21, 23, 26, 31, 37, 43, 44, 48,
49, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65–68, 78,
81, 88, 92, 94, 112, 121, 130,
175, 176, 199, 204, 212, 224n8,
230, 238, 240, 249, 278,
289–291, 295, 297–298, 301,
303, 309, 333, 339–341,
347–350, 357, 363, 368, 374,
375
members, 59, 179, 252, 353, 357,
363
- Paternalistic authoritarianism, 17, 373
- Path of Democracy, 348
- Patriotic, 4, 7, 11, 16, 22, 24, 27, 83,
106, 122, 212, 233, 239, 244,
246, 256, 258, 260, 271, 292,
311, 312, 339, 343, 349,
365–367, 371, 376
forces, 4, 83
- Patriotism, 88, 118, 200, 257, 271,
274, 287, 299n12, 343, 365, 376
- Patron-client relations, 38, 179, 378
- Peaceful, 100, 185, 193
- Peaceful resistance, 36, 372, 373, 375,
378
- Peaceful reunification, 43–44, 258,
266
- Penetrate, 27, 41, 175, 201, 223, 224,
251, 290, 301, 304, 305, 309,
310, 320, 369, 372
- Penetrative politics, 5–17, 42,
221–253, 255, 291, 305,
309–327, 335, 366, 368, 369,
371, 372, 376, 378–380
- People First Party, 357
- People's Liberation Army (PLA), 247,
265, 271, 278–279, 301, 367
- People's Republic of China (PRC), 1,
43, 77, 107, 153, 189, 221, 255,
290, 337, 365
- Peripheral, 16, 41, 161, 178, 256
- Periphery, 41, 255
- Pluralism, 17, 31, 32, 32n98, 78n6,
370, 373
- Pluralistic, 26, 31–35, 32n99, 39–41,
291, 309, 330, 375, 377
- Police, 4, 32, 100, 113, 116, 139,
154, 182, 222, 223, 239, 244,
251, 274, 277, 309, 350
- Policies, 2, 3, 6–10, 6n26, 10n35, 13,
14, 18, 19, 23, 23n64, 26, 32,
34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 48, 59,
61–74, 78, 80–83, 85, 88, 92,
94, 99, 106, 109–112, 133, 136,
146, 157–160, 162, 176, 182,
184, 185, 193, 194, 202, 206,
209, 213, 214, 217, 218, 223,
225, 239, 240, 247, 253, 255,
257, 267, 272, 273, 289, 291,
293, 303, 304, 320, 324, 327,
335, 340, 342, 345, 349, 353,
356, 359, 361, 363, 365–368,
374, 377
- Policy suggestions, 68, 69

- Po Lin Monastery, 189–195
- Politburo, 3, 11
- Political
- appointment, 121, 217, 258, 309
 - capture, 53, 221, 225, 228
 - control, 19–21, 23, 31, 40, 375
 - co-optation, 15, 208, 216, 224, 225, 232, 252, 263, 271, 274, 337, 350, 352
 - divide, 295, 311, 361, 379
 - enemies, 7, 365
 - force, 9, 15, 44, 90, 91, 106, 225, 228, 258
 - influence, 260, 287, 370, 375
 - ingredient, 182
 - legitimization, 290
 - line, 341, 375
 - mobilization, 26, 32, 54, 103, 123, 166–170, 181, 240
 - opposition, 17, 30–31, 373, 377
 - outlook, 298, 334
 - participation, 33, 35, 61, 77–106, 162–166, 168, 263, 267, 317
 - realities, 67
 - representation, 49, 50, 78, 132, 134–135, 169, 171
 - stance, 67, 354
 - structure, 64
 - struggle, 35n119, 113, 376, 380
 - threat, 18, 374
 - tolerance, 301, 340
- Politically loyal position, 342
- Politically neutral, 156–157, 317, 320, 340, 350, 372
- Politically opportunistic, 256
- Politico-economic convergence, 17, 21–25, 373, 380
- Pope, 210–213
- Popularity, 130, 306–308, 370
- Populist authoritarianism, 32–34, 377
- Positive synergy (PS), 241, 243
- Post-materialistic, 17, 37, 38, 40, 256, 287, 371, 372, 374, 375, 378, 380
- Post-materialist values, 36–38, 373
- Po-yan, Wong, 99, 99n59
- PRC Buddhist Association, 191, 194, 195
- PRC Taoist Association, 195–198
- Press, 4n18, 36, 280, 303, 304n19, 305, 306, 330
- Principal officials, 9, 19, 34, 39, 49, 276
- Pro-Beijing, 149–187
- forces, 34, 45, 51, 52, 54, 55, 74, 78, 95, 106, 161, 165, 166, 182, 225, 253, 315, 317, 320, 328, 334, 335, 367, 369–371, 376
 - front, 52, 221, 255–287, 348
 - schools, 274, 312–314
- Pro-democracy, 9, 10, 17, 19, 30, 34, 37, 40–42, 50, 52, 54, 66, 70–75, 90, 93, 107–147, 150, 161, 162, 165, 166, 169, 170, 180, 185, 187, 207, 213, 214, 219, 224, 249, 251, 252, 256, 265, 276, 293, 295, 306, 309, 315–317, 320, 322, 328–330, 334, 348–354, 370–372, 374–380
- forces, 19, 31, 44, 50, 52, 55, 68, 70–75, 166, 175, 221, 238, 315, 320, 338, 370, 371, 378
- Professionals, 16, 25, 43–45, 48, 61, 133, 146, 154, 155, 159, 160, 171, 258, 260, 271, 272, 287, 298, 306, 314
- Professional Teachers' Union (PTU), 121, 316, 317, 320, 320n42, 322
- Pro-independence, 361, 376
- Propaganda, 159, 201, 280, 289, 310, 357, 369

- Pro-Taiwan, 3, 5, 8, 113, 117, 118, 125, 231, 233, 364
- Protest/protests, 7n28, 8, 8n29, 30, 35, 36, 45, 78, 90, 100, 116, 118, 141, 142, 175, 238, 239, 309, 310, 317, 329, 352, 356, 366, 375
- Protestors, 4, 30, 100, 141, 154, 310
- Provisional Legislative Council, 91, 112, 136, 146, 191
- Public opinion, 2, 2n6, 8, 80, 106, 136, 205, 309
- R**
- Radical/radicals, 5, 7, 14, 29, 36, 42, 112, 118, 133, 136, 160, 169, 218, 255–287, 348, 365, 367, 375
- Rapprochement, 211
- Regional Council, 163, 164, 166
- Religion, 13, 35, 42, 189–219
- Religious, 9, 12, 13, 189, 190, 194–196, 203–210, 213–219, 214n85, 371
- groups, 39, 197, 205, 219, 369, 371, 376, 379
- leaders, 190, 193, 194, 197, 206–209, 207n64, 214–219, 218n98
- Religious and charity groups, 2
- Religious-governmental partnership, 219
- Resist, 36, 38, 40, 42, 210, 214, 255, 276, 287, 338, 375
- Resistance, 17–19, 32, 35–36, 209, 212, 255–287, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 378
- Resistant, 194, 210, 219, 276, 280, 364, 374, 378, 380
- Reunification, 9, 13, 44, 257, 258, 266, 356, 362, 363
- Rule of law, 32–34, 37, 41, 169, 274, 306, 329, 346, 371–374, 380
- S**
- Scholarism, 180, 193
- Schools, 80, 85–88, 151–153, 157, 180, 189, 190, 195, 199, 203, 205, 208, 245, 273, 274, 278–280, 287, 290, 309, 310, 312–314, 317, 320, 346, 367
- SCNPC interpretation, 15, 251
- Secession, 6n26, 212, 338
- Securitization, 27–30, 40, 376
- Security, 7, 10, 27–32, 40, 141, 223, 251, 266, 280, 280n52, 328, 330, 350, 356–362, 364, 365, 373, 376, 377
- Sedition, 6n26, 212, 338
- Self-determination, 280
- Separatist, 280n52
- Separatist activity, 43
- Shumshuipo Residents Association (SRA), 242, 250
- Sing Tao Daily*, 298
- Sinification, 205
- Sino United Publishing, 303
- Socialization, 59, 290
- Socially materialistic, 256
- Social movement, 35, 108, 110–112, 110n16, 306
- unionism, 108–112, 117, 118, 139, 146
- Social stability, 16, 44, 171, 192, 247, 257
- Socio-economic integration, 309, 335
- Socio-political mobilization, 183
- Socio-political recognition, 187
- Southern District All-Sectors Association (SDAA), 246
- So-yuk, Choy, 90–92
- Spiritual development, 185

State-party-military alliance, 301
 Steel benders' dispute, 136
 Strategies, 4, 21, 31, 50, 110–112,
 139, 144, 146, 202, 204, 206,
 224, 233, 251, 252, 335, 347,
 369
 Strikes, 109–111, 113, 116, 118, 136,
 138–140, 144, 146, 222, 247,
 309
 Subjective feelings, 181, 187
 Subversion, 6n26, 212, 338
 Subversive, 280, 330, 364
 Success rate, 54, 55, 57–59, 131, 163,
 164, 166, 168
 Sustainable development, 37, 176,
 185, 256, 306, 327, 371
 Szeto Wah, 315

T

Taiwan, 3, 11–13, 41, 43, 44, 80n18,
 86, 93, 156, 190, 198, 212, 219,
 231, 257, 299–302, 311, 337,
 356–359, 361–364, 378, 379
Ta Kung Pao, 5, 232, 271, 295, 298,
 339
 Taiwanese, 8, 42, 159, 301, 337–364,
 378
 Tan Kah Kee, 79, 79n11, 80n12
 Tang Ying-ren, Henry, 338, 339, 350
 Taoist, 189, 193–198, 215, 217, 219,
 371
 Taoist Cultural Study Center (TCSC),
 198
 Taoist Festival Day, 195, 196, 198
 Terrorists, 9–11, 223
 Think tank, 14, 324, 327, 348
 Third Force, 349
 Tiananmen incident, 6, 343n15, 345,
 374
 Tiananmen tragedy, 311
 Tien, James, 142, 252, 338–342,
 340n4, 340n5, 340n8

Tongxiang, 80n12, 81, 85, 106
 Trade Union Council (TUC), 113,
 117, 118, 125, 145, 146
 Trade union politics, 107, 110,
 113–117
 Trade unions, 20, 25, 42, 107–147,
 233, 235, 289, 317–320,
 323–324
 Transmission belts, 12, 25–27, 64–65,
 106, 108, 171–178, 184, 253,
 258, 369, 379
 Transmission Belts, 25n76
 Treason, 6n26, 213, 338
 Tripartism, 108–112, 117, 118, 139,
 146
 Tsang, Jasper, 45, 46, 183, 252, 314
 Two governing forces, 8
 Typhoon, 190, 278, 287, 367

U

Underground, 21, 179, 210, 210n77,
 211, 211n79, 223, 230, 310
 Uniformed cadet groups, 255,
 271–273, 275, 277
 United Democrats of Hong Kong
 (UDHK), 129, 349
 United front, 5–17
 campaign, 368, 369
 work, 1–75, 78, 78n4, 80, 85, 88,
 93, 106, 133, 149, 157,
 159–161, 166, 171–180, 185,
 187, 189–219, 221, 223, 225,
 229, 232, 239, 247–249,
 251–253, 255–258, 260, 263,
 265, 273, 274, 277, 279–287,
 291–293, 299, 301, 305, 309,
 311, 312, 314, 315, 317,
 320, 326, 327, 333, 335,
 337, 338, 350, 356, 357,
 359, 361–380
 United Front Work Regulations, 11,
 43, 43n1, 43n2

- United Kingdom, 59, 302, 353, 359, 377
- United States, 6, 21, 59, 111, 199, 201, 311n30, 352, 353, 353n30, 367, 375, 377
- Universities, 8n30, 12, 198, 200–202, 206n60, 207, 218, 222n1, 223n5, 239, 258, 263, 266, 290, 309–311, 310n26, 320, 326, 327, 343, 352, 354–357, 360, 361
- Urban Councilors, 165
- Utilization, 16, 17, 33, 34, 186, 229–232, 252, 367, 368
- V**
- Vatican, 210–213, 211n77, 213n84
- Violate, 4, 169, 304, 354, 362, 363, 378
- Violence, 29, 35, 36, 162, 185
- Violent, 4, 5, 34, 113, 139, 270
- Volunteer, 81, 84, 159, 183, 242, 273, 287, 334, 335, 367, 368
- Voter registration, 84
- Voters, 16, 48, 50, 54, 55, 64, 65, 68, 70, 74, 75, 161, 166, 175, 177, 182, 225, 246, 252, 329, 334, 369, 377, 379
- Votes, 7, 15, 37, 49–55, 57, 65, 68, 70, 73–75, 90, 91, 106, 131–133, 161, 178, 184, 215, 221, 230, 238, 242, 244, 249, 251–253, 314, 315, 322, 325, 328, 339n3, 348, 366, 369, 370, 375
- W**
- Wanchai, 245, 246, 277
- Wen Wei Po*, 5, 77n1, 136, 138, 250, 295, 298, 330n55, 353n30
- White Paper, 10, 154, 366
- Women
 activists, 156, 176, 186, 187
 participation, 157, 163–167, 176, 186
- The Women's Welfare Club, 152–153, 185
- Wong, Joshua, 180, 193, 265, 372
- Workers, 1, 43, 45, 69, 79, 95, 110–112, 117, 121, 130, 133, 136, 138, 139, 141–143, 147, 162, 222, 222n3, 228, 233–235, 251, 305, 309n26, 312, 314, 317, 345, 372
- Working class, 6, 7, 17, 108, 113, 116, 133, 142, 147, 162, 224, 238, 368, 369, 372
- Working hours, 141
- Wu, Gordon Ying-sheung, 345, 346
- X**
- Xiangqing*, 80, 81
- Xiangmo, Huang, 363, 364, 378
- Xi Jinping, 3, 3n14, 7, 7n27, 11–13, 13n41, 17, 23, 26, 27, 32, 40, 41, 78n4, 84, 88, 202, 208, 209, 267, 274–276, 278, 303, 338, 338n2, 357, 362, 365–368, 374–377, 379
- Xu Jiataun, 6, 190, 368
- Y**
- Yandong, Liu, 194, 217, 217n94
- Yau-sze, Ling, 361, 362
- The Y Elites Association (YEA), 255, 266–272, 287
- Ying-jeou, Ma, 359–361
- Yiu, Edward Chung-yim, 52, 70, 169, 249, 251, 252
- Yiu-chung, Tam, 46, 125, 136

Yiu-ting, Benny Tai, 5, 328–330,
328n52, 329n53, 369, 369n3,
372, 373

Yiu-tong, Cheng, 138, 143, 245

Youngspiration, 29, 280

Youth, 4, 6n26, 15, 29, 30, 39, 42,
43, 48, 58, 61, 79, 84, 116, 151,
176, 177, 218, 230, 239, 242,
245, 252, 255–287, 289, 306,
334, 335, 346, 357, 367, 368,
371n5, 372, 380

groups, 14, 15, 39, 42, 255–256, 271,
277, 279, 280, 287, 306, 379

Yuen-han, Chan, 129, 130, 136

Yu-shek, Cheng Joseph, 328–331,
328n51

Z

Ze-kiun, Joseph Zen, 211–214,
211n80, 213n82, 219

Zhou Enlai, 5, 200, 310