

# HONG KONG GOVERNANCE IN THE SHADOW OF CHINA

**Dr. Kenneth CHAN**

[Kenneth Chan](#) (D.Phil. Oxon) is Associate Professor at the Department of Government and International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, Director of Comparative Governance & Policy Research Centre, and President of the Hong Kong Association for European Studies. He was a member of the Legislative Council in 2012-2016. His [research and civil society activities](#) cover European affairs, Democratization, EU's external relations as well as Government and Politics of Hong Kong.

## **Objectives:**

This subject enables students to

- 1) become acquainted with the political institutions and political development of Hong Kong;
- 2) understand the dynamics of political and social change from a colonial system to a Special Administrative Region of China after 1997;
- 3) study the concept, practice and perplexities of "One Country, Two Systems";
- 4) be familiar with the controversies over the Basic Law; and
- 5) critically evaluate the major theoretical debates about the continuity and change of the political system of Hong Kong.

## **Contents**

### **The British Rule and the "Hong Kong Model"**

- Interpreting the British colonial legacy: continuities and changes
- The role of Hong Kong in China's political and economic development
- Hong Kong as an Administrative State: "administrative absorption of politics"
- Political culture of Hong Kong and the government's ideology of "minimum interference"

### **The 1997 Question: Negotiating over the Future of Hong Kong**

- "One Country, Two Systems"
- Sino-British Agreement on the future of Hong Kong (September 1984)
- Decolonization without Democratization

## **Trilateral relationship during the transition period and the drafting of the Basic Law**

- Decision-making process for constitutional changes: Drafting of the Basic Law
- China-Hong Kong relations and the repercussions of the 1989 Democracy Movement
- Promises of the Basic Law

## **The Executive Organs**

- Strives for legitimacy from the Governor to the Chief Executive
- Methods of choosing the Chief Executive
- The Executive Council
- The Principal Officials Accountability System and the Civil Service
- Overseeing the administration

## **The Legislative Council**

- Origins, structure, composition and the introduction of elections
- Process of legislation
- Powers and Functions
- How to Become Lawmakers
- Constitutional constraints since 1997
- Semi-authoritarian elections

## **Development of political cleavages and party politics from early 1990s until now**

- Emergence of political parties for the future of Hong Kong
- Party politics: limits, problems and prospects
- Rise of “radical democrats” since 2010
- Significance and implications of the 2014 “Umbrella Movement”
- The rise of localism and the politics of identity

## **Public Opinion and Political Participation**

- Shaping public opinion in politics and policy-making
- Uses and abuses of opinion polls and public consultations

- Political participation: the civil society, pressure groups and interest groups
- Social media and political mobilization

## Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region

- Who Governs?
- Failed democratization and political decay
- Hong Kong and the Mainland: Integration versus separation
- Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the HKSAR
- International status of Hong Kong
- Hong Kong beyond 2047

## Mode of Tuition

Lectures, Class Discussion

## Assessment

Essay	50%
Participation	50%

## General Readings for Beginners:

### [The Basic Law of Hong Kong](#)

Miners, N. The Government and Politics of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Sing Ming ed., Hong Kong Government and Politics. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Lam Wai-man et al. ed., Contemporary Hong Kong Government and Politics. Expanded second edition, Hong Kong University Press, 2012.

Lo, Sonny, Hong Kong's Indigenous Democracy: Origins, Evolution and Contentions. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Fong, Brian C.H., Hong Kong's Governance under Chinese Sovereignty: The failure of the state-business alliance after 1997. London: Routledge, 2015.

Hong Kong in Figures – [Key Statistics - Numbers and Figures](#)

Hong Kong Civic Hub, [China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong](#), September 2018.

## Internet Sources:

Official: China and Hong Kong

<http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/index/index.html>

<http://www.chinaembassy.org.sa/chn/xwdt/2014yaowen/P020140611516113858993.pdf> or <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zxbd/wz/Document/1372867/1372867.htm>  
<http://www.gov.hk/en/residents/>  
<http://www.gov.hk/en/residents/government/political/index.htm>  
<http://www.legco.gov.hk/index.html>  
<http://www.judiciary.gov.hk/en/index/index.htm>  
<http://www.districtcouncils.gov.hk/index.html>  
<http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/laws/treaties.html>  
<http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/public/external.html>  
<https://www.landforhongkong.hk/en/views/index.php>

#### External and Local Perceptions

<https://ourworldindata.org/>  
<https://freedomhouse.org/>  
<http://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>  
<https://www.fraserinstitute.org/studies/human-freedom-index-2018>  
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/china-and-tibet>  
<https://www.henleypassportindex.com/>  
<https://www.imd.org/wcc/world-competitiveness-center-rankings/world-competitiveness-ranking-2018/>  
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital>  
<http://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings>  
<https://www.wipo.int/publications/en/details.jsp?id=4330>  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/six-monthly-reports-on-hong-kong>  
[https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/5104/european-commission-and-european-external-action-service-issue-2015-annual-report-on-hong-kong-special-administrative-region\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/5104/european-commission-and-european-external-action-service-issue-2015-annual-report-on-hong-kong-special-administrative-region_en)  
<https://www.hongkongwatch.org/>  
<https://www.hkupop.hku.hk/english/>  
<http://www.hkiaps.cuhk.edu.hk/eng/default.asp>  
<http://pathofdemocracy.hk/>  
<https://hkcivilhub.com/>

#### News and Media

<http://www.hkja.org.hk/site/portal/Site.aspx>  
[http://rthk.hk/index\\_eng.htm](http://rthk.hk/index_eng.htm)  
<http://www.scmp.com/frontpage/hk>  
<http://www.thestandard.com.hk/>  
<http://hk.apple.nextmedia.com/>  
<http://news.mingpao.com/>  
<http://std.stheadline.com/>  
<http://orientaldaily.on.cc/>  
<http://www.hkej.com/template/landing11/jsp/main.jsp>  
<http://www.hket.com/eti/>

<http://www.wenweipo.com/>  
<http://www.takungpao.com.hk/>

## **Recommend Readings Selected From:**

### Books in English

- Ash, R. et al. ed. Hong Kong in Transition: One Country, Two Systems, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Bonavia, D. Hong Kong 1997: The Final Settlement. Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1985.
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., Newman, D., Rabushka. A. Red Flag over Hong Kong. Chatham, N. J.: Chatham Publishers, 1996.
- Burns, J. P. Government Capacity and the Hong Kong Civil Service. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Chan, Ming K. ed. China's Hong Kong Transformed: Retrospect and Prospects beyond the First Decade, City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.
- Cheng, J. Y. S., ed. Hong Kong in Transition. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Cheng, J. Y. S. and Lo, S. S. H. ed. From Colony to SAR: Hong Kong's Challenges Ahead. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1995.
- Cheng J. Y. S. ed. Political Development in the HKSAR. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2001.
- Cheng J. Y. S. ed. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in its First Decade, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007.
- Cheng J. Y. S. ed. Evaluating the Tsang Years 2005-2012: The Second Chief Executive of Hong Kong SAR, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2013.
- Cheng J. Y. S. ed. New Trends of Political Participation in Hong Kong, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2014.
- Chiu, S. W. K. and Lui, T. L. eds. The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2000.
- Chiu, S. W. K. and Liu, T. L. Hong Kong: Becoming a Chinese Global City. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Cottrell, R. The End of Hong Kong: the Secret Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat. London: John Murray, 1993.
- Dimbleby, J. The Last Governor. London: Warner, 1997.
- Flowerdew, J. Critical Discourse Analysis in Historiography: The Case of Hong Kong's Evolving Political Identity, London: Palgrave, 2012.
- Fong, B. C. H. Hong Kong's Governance under Chinese Sovereignty: The Failure of the State-Business Alliance after 1997, London and New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Goodstadt, L. F. Uneasy Partners: The Conflict between Public Interest Private Profit in Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.
- Goodstadt, L.F. Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Wealth, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015.

- Goodstadt, L.F. A City Mismanaged: Hong Kong's Struggle for Survival, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2018.
- Gottlieb, R. and Ng, S. Global Cities: Urban Environments in Los Angeles, Hong Kong, and China, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2017.
- Gussgen, A., Seidelmann, R. & Ting Wai eds. Hong Kong after Reunification. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000.
- Halper, S. The Beijing Consensus: Legitimizing Authoritarianism in Our Time. New York: Basic Books, 2010.
- Hsiung, J. ed. Hong Kong: the Super Paradox. New York: St Martins's Press, 2000.
- Hughes, R. Borrowed Place, Borrowed Time. London: Deutsch, 1976.
- Jao, Y. C. et al. Hong Kong and 1997 Strategies for the Future. Hong Kong: Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1985.
- King, A.Y.C. and Lee, R. P. L. eds. Social Life and Development in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981.
- Lai, C. and Lo, C. From Nowhere to Nowhere: A Review of Constitutional Development. Hong Kong – 1997-2007, Hong Kong: Civic Exchange, 2007.
- Lam, W. M. Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2004.
- Lam, W. M. and Cooper, L. eds. Citizenship, Identity and Social Movements in the New Hong Kong: Localism after the Umbrella Movement, London and New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Lau, C. K. Colonial Legacy. A Hong Kong Chinese's View of the British Heritage. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1997.
- Lau, S. K. Society and Politics in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000.
- Lau, S. K. and Kuan, H. C. The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1988.
- Lau, S. K. The First Five Years of Tung Chee-hwa Administration: the First Five Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002.
- Leung, B. and Cheng, J. ed. Hong Kong SAR: In Pursuit of Domestic and International Order. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1997.
- Li, P. K. ed. Political Order and Power Transition in Hong Kong. Hong Kong Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1997.
- Lo, S. S. H. The Politics of Democratization in Hong Kong, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Lo, S. S. H. Governing Hong Kong: Legitimacy, Communication and Political Decay, New York: Nova Science, 2001.
- Lo, S. S. H. The Dynamics of Beijing-Hong Kong relations: a Model for Taiwan? Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008.
- Lo, S. S. H. Competing Chinese Political Visions: Hong Kong versus Beijing on Democracy, Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger Security International, 2010.
- Loh, C. and Civic Exchange eds. Building Democracy. Creating Good Governance for Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003.

- Loh, C. Underground Front. The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong (Second Edition). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2018.
- Ma, N. Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society, and Civil Society, Hong Kong : Hong Kong University Press, 2007.
- Neves, M. S. and B. Bridges eds. Europe, China and the Two SARs, London: Macmillan, 2000.
- Ringen, S. The Perfect Dictatorship: China in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016.
- Roberti, M. Fall of Hong Kong: China's Triumph and Britain's Betrayal. New York: John Wiley, 1996.
- Roberts, P. and J. M. Carroll eds. Hong Kong in the Cold War. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016.
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- Scott, I. Public Administration in Hong Kong. Regime Change and Its Impact on the Public Sector. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005.
- Scott, I. and J. P. Burns. The Hong Kong Civil Service: Personnel Policies and Practices. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984.
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- Sing, M. Hong Kong's Tortuous Democratization: a Comparative Analysis, London: Routledge, 2004.
- Sing, M. ed. Politics and Government in Hong Kong: Crisis under Chinese Sovereignty, London: Routledge, 2009.
- Siu, H., R. Wong and D. Faure Rethinking Hong Kong's Human Resources and Competitiveness: A Pre-Policy Study. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press: 2005.
- So, A. Y. , Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Thomas, N. Democracy Denied. Identity, civil society and illiberal democracy in Hong Kong. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Ting, W. The External Relations and International Status of Hong Kong. Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, No. 2-1997 (139), University of Maryland School of Law, 1997.
- Wong, M. W. L. Re-Ordering Hong Kong: Decolonisation and the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance. London: Wildy, Simmonds and Hill Publishing, 2017.
- Wong, Y. C. ed. "One Country, Two Systems" in Crisis: Hong Kong's Transformation since the Handover. Lanham: Lexington, 2004.
- Yahuda, M. Hong Kong: China's Challenges. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Young, S. N. M. and R. Cullen Electing Hong Kong's Chief Executive. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010.
- Yep, R. ed. Negotiating Autonomy in Greater China: Hong Kong and Its Sovereign before and after 1997, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2013.

#### Books in Chinese (Optional)

金耀基編，香港的發展經驗，香港中文大學出版社，1985

鄭宇碩編，香港政制及政治，香港天地圖書，1987

史深良，香港政制縱橫談，香港三聯書店，1988

劉兆佳，香港政制改革與政治發展，香港廣角鏡出版社，1988

蔡子強，香港選舉制度透視，明報出版社，1998

黃炳坤編，“一國兩制”法律問題面面觀，香港三聯，1989

鄭宇碩編，過渡期的香港，香港三聯書店，1989

李昌道、龔曉航，基本法透視，香港中華書局，1990

文思成，香港政府與施政架構，香港三聯書店，1990

蕭蔚雲編，一國兩制與香港特別行政區基本法，香港文化教育出版社有限公司，1990

王叔文編，香港特別行政區基本法導論，北京中共中央黨校出版社，1990

張結鳳等，不變、五十年？中英港角力基本法，香港浪潮出版社，1991

徐克恩，香港：獨特的政治架構，北京中國人民大學出版社，1994

鄭宇碩、雷競旋，香港政治與選舉，香港牛津大學出版社，1995

王廣武編，香港史新編(上)(下)，香港三聯書店，1997

黃文放，中國對香港恢復行使主權的決策歷程和執行，香港浸會大學，1997

郭錫嘏，港澳問題研究論文集，台灣：法務部調查局，1999

葉健民編，再造香港，進一步，2000

張家偉，香港六七暴動內情，香港太平洋世紀出版社，2000

劉兆佳，香港廿一世紀藍圖，香港中文大學出版社，2000

馮應謙、陳浩文編，特區·政策·倫理，香港：麥穗，2001

盧兆興等，董建華政府的管治和危機，香港明報出版社，2002

羅永祥、陳志輝，香港特別行政區施政架構，香港三聯書店，2002

呂大樂，王志錚，香港中產階級處境觀察，三聯書店，2003

馬嶽，蔡子強，選舉制度的政治效果：港式比例代表制的經驗，城市大學出版社，2004

劉兆佳，香港社會政治的延續與變遷，香港中文大學香港亞太研究所，2004

孟慶順，一國兩制與香港回歸後的政治發展，香港社會科學出版社，2005

周平，香港政治發展：1980-2004，北京中國社會科學出版社，2006

曾銳生，管治香港：政務官與良好管治的建立，香港大學出版社，2007

強世功，中國香港：文化與政治的視野，牛津大學出版社，2008

魯平，香港回歸，香港三聯書店，2009

江關生，中共在香港（上下），香港天地圖書，2011，2012

潘小濤，國情：維穩壓倒一切，圓桌文化，2012

薛鳳旋，香港發展報告（2012），北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2012

李鵬廣，英國解密檔案的啓示，香港牛津大學出版社，2012

王慧麟、陳雲編，九評政府黨，次文化堂，2012

蘇鑰機編，特首選戰、傳媒、民意，天地出版社，2012

馬嶽編著，香港80年代民主運動口述歷史，香港城市大學出版社，2012

馬嶽，港式法團主義：功能界別25年，香港城市大學出版社，2013

劉兆佳，回歸後的香港政治，香港商務印書館，2013

劉世良，大香港人，上書局，2013

八十後自我研究青年，反抗就是罪名：政治檢控與罪名，香港基督徒學生運動，2013

韓成科、林健忠、李曉惠編著，香港特區選舉制度與競選工程，新民主出版社，2015



- 陳弘毅、鄒平學編，香港基本法面面觀，香港三聯書店，2015
- 呂大樂，香港模式：從現在式到過去式，中華書局，2015
- 馬嶽編著，民主十問，香港城市大學出版社，2016
- 羅金義編，回歸 20 年香港精神的變易，香港城市大學出版社，2017
- 周永生，香港人的身份認同和價值觀，中華書局，2016
- 劉兆佳，回歸後香港的獨特政治形態：一個自由威權政體的特殊個案，商務印書館，2017
- 劉兆佳，香港社會的政制改革，商務印書館，2017
- 劉兆佳，香港社會的民主與管治，商務印書館，2017
- 劉兆佳，香港人的政治心態，商務印書館，2017
- 鄭煒、袁瑋熙編，社運年代：香港抗爭政治的軌跡，香港中文大學出版社，2017

## How to prepare your essay

**Length: 4 pages (15000 characters)**

**Deadline: TBC**

1. Familiarize yourself with the main topics of the Course, choose a topic of interest and define your research topic specifically.  
*For example: "Neither Free nor Fair: Explaining Elections in Hong Kong"*
2. Systematic and in-depth reading of the suggested materials.  
*For example: Read books / academic articles on Democratization, Elections etc. in the political science literature and relevant studies on Hong Kong*
3. Formulate your research questions clearly. Research papers should be analytical rather than descriptive → from knowing to understanding.  
*For example: In what ways and to what extent can elections in Hong Kong be seen as democratic? Why? What theories and concepts can one employ to make sense of this situation?*
4. To demonstrate your good understanding of the chosen topic, you should be able to explain and make critical comments on the issues at hand.
  - ❖ *A straightforward introduction, with clear definition of concepts and term. Appropriate application of theories and historical knowledge about Hong Kong and/or through comparative study.*
  - ❖ *Always support your arguments with evidence.*
  - ❖ *Express your critical remarks on rational grounds, as reasoned opinions.*
  - ❖ *Point out and explain limitations, if any.*
  - ❖ *A solid conclusion to wrap up the research paper.*
  - ❖ *Strong and relevant references in bibliography.*

**No plagiarism.**