



<b>Title</b>	<b>Citizenship as perceived in the social media during the civil disobedience movement</b>
<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Fong, Ying-tung, Bonny; 方映彤</b>
<b>Citation</b>	
<b>Issued Date</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>URL</b>	<b><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10722/219935">http://hdl.handle.net/10722/219935</a></b>
<b>Rights</b>	<b>Creative Commons: Attribution 3.0 Hong Kong License</b>



# **Citizenship as perceived in the social media during the civil disobedience movement**

Submitted by:  
**Fong Ying Tung, Bonny**

Student Number:  
**3035009354**

A Research Dissertation  
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Bachelor of Education

Faculty of Education  
The University of Hong Kong  
May2015

# **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this dissertation represents my work and that it has not been previously submitted to this University or any other institution in application for admission to a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

---

**Fong Ying Tung, Bonny**

May 2015

## **Acknowledgement**

I have to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Ora Kwo, my dissertation supervisor for his patience, guidance, valuable advices and encouragement throughout my 4 years university life.

Dr. Kwo is my mentor and companion during the journey of writing my dissertation. Without her inspiring feedbacks, and persistence on every student, the dissertation would not be possible to complete with fruitful knowledge and personal growth.

Lastly, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all the people who support me all along.

# Abstract

Before the happening of Umbrella Movement, a civil disobedience movement in September 2014, political engagement of Hongkongers was not in a high priority. With the emphasis on economic prosperity and materialistic life, most of Hong Kong people seldom take risk to strike for political rights through unlawful action. However, in this occupying movement, over 10,000 participants occupied the road and protested for more participation in Chief Executive Election 2017.

After the start of Umbrella movement, social media become the most vital communication tool that speeded information and provided a platform for citizen to discuss their viewpoints towards this social movement. With the fast pace of information flow, political discourse in social media with various aims, use of language and structure become influential factors on shaping the online citizenship.

Although citizenship is an abstract concept, nurturing 'good citizen' is necessary to build up a civic society with democracy system. In this study, we are going to examine the pattern of various citizenship in social media and understand the formation of those citizenship concepts, therefore we can take advantages of motivate the citizen towards the solution of conflicts and maximize the social good.

# Table of Content

## ITEMS

TITLE PAGE .....	1
DECLARATION .....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
ABSTRACT .....	4
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	5-6
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	7
REFERENCE AND APPENDICES .....	7

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 HONG KONG POLITICAL SITUATION UMBRELLA MOVEMENT .....	8
1.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF HONG KONG CITIZENS .....	8
1.3 ROLES OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN HONG KONG POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT .....	9
1.4 THE MOTIVATIONS OF THIS STUDY .....	9
1.4.1 A HONGKONGER PERSPECTIVE .....	10
1.4.2A FUTURE TEACHER PERSPECTIVES .....	10
1.4.3A PARTICIPANT IN UMBRELLA MOVEMENT PERSPECTIVE .....	10
1.5 Objectives of this research .....	11

## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP.....	12
2.1.1 WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? .....	12
2.1.1.2 POPULAR DEMOCRACY .....	12
2.1.1.3 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY .....	13
2.1.2 CITIZENSHIP .....	13
2.1.2.1 ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP .....	13
2.1.2.2 DUTY-BASED CITIZENSHIP .....	13
2.1.2.3 WHAT IS A GOOD CITIZEN?.....	14
2.1.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP .....	14
2.2 DESCRIBE THE VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP IN HONG KONG ....	14
2.2.1 STANCES OF TWO CAMPS .....	15
2.2.2 THE NATURE OF TWO CAMPS .....	15
2.3 REMARKABLE EVENTS ON HONG KONG POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCE.....	15
2.3.1 OPPRESSING OF THE LEGISLATION OF ARTICLE 23.....	15
2.3.2 PROPOSING THE UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR CHIEF EXECUTIVE ELECTION	16
2.4 CHANGES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN SOCIAL MEDIA.....	16
2.5 THE INFLUENCES OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION .....	17

2.5.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS.....	17
2.5.2 THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN HONG KONG POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.....	17
2.6 POLARIZATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA .....	18

### **CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION.....	19
3.1.1 SCOPE OF DATA COLLECTION .....	19
3.1.1.1 SILENT MAJORITY FOR HONG KONG.....	20
3.1.1.3 THE HONG KONG FEDERATION OF STUDENTS .....	20
3.2 THE PROCESS OF CONDUCTING A QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH .....	20
3.2.1 Framing as a device.....	20
3.2.2 The levels of citizenship as revealed in social media interactions .....	21-22

### **CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDING**

4.1 THE COMPARISON OF FRAMING IN VARIOUS FACEBOOK PAGES DURING THE CRITICAL MOMENTS OF UMBRELLA MOVEMENT .....	23
4.1.1 LEGITIMATION VS. DELEGITIMATION .....	24
4.1.1.2 FRAMING THE LEGITIMATION OF OCCUPYING MOVEMENT .....	25
4.1.1.3 FRAMING THE DELEGITIMATION OF OCCUPYING MOVEMENT .....	26
4.1.2 PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY VS. GENUINE DEMOCRACY .....	26
4.1.2.1 FRAMING THE PURSUIT OF GENUINE DEMOCRACY.....	27-28
4.1.2.2 FRAMING THE PURSUIT OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY .....	29-30
4.1.3 CLEARANCE AS A SOLUTION VS. CLEARANCE AS A STIMULATION OF SENTIMENTS .....	31
4.1.3.1 CLEARANCE ONLY LEAD TO HATRED AND MORE SOCIAL ACTIVISM .....	31
4.1.3.2 CLEARANCE AS A SOLUTION FOR POLITICAL CONFLICTS .....	32
4.2 THE LEVELS OF CITIZENSHIP AS REVEALED IN SOCIAL MEDIA INTERACTIONS .....	33-35

### **CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS**

5.1 ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP VS. DUTY-BASED CITIZENSHIP.....	36
5.1.1 ADOPTION OF ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP.....	36
5.1.2 ADOPTION OF DUTY-BASED CITIZENSHIP .....	36
5.1.3 POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN HONG KONG SOCIAL MEDIA .....	37
5.1.4 THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY AND GENUINE DEMOCRACY .....	37
5.2 THE ANALYSIS OF THE LEVELS OF CITIZENSHIP AND THE COMMENTSS BEHAVIORS .....	38
5.2.1 The needs to set up the citizenship indicators.....	38
5.2.2 Then phenomenon discovered in the data .....	38-40

### **CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION**

6.1 THE CONTRADICTORY POLITICAL GROUPS SHOULD DISCOVER THE COMMON GROUND.....	41
6.2 THE LEARNING OF COURAGE IN DIALOGUE.....	41
6.3 CO –EXISTENCE OF SOCIAL GOOD AND DIVERSIFIED OPINIONS .....	42
6.4 RESEARCH LIMITATION .....	42
6.5 RECOMMENDATION AND FURTHER INVESTIGATION .....	42

# List of Table and Figures

## FIGURES

FIGURE 1 THE LEVEL OF CITIZENSHIP AS REVEALED IN SOCIAL MEDIA INTERACTIONS.....	22
FIGURE 2.1 THE PROPORTION OF LEVELS OF CITIZENSHIP IN COMMENTS OF THE HKFS'S FACEBOOK POST ...	34
FIGURE 2.2 THE PROPORTION OF LEVELS OF CITIZENSHIP IN COMMENTS OF THE SILENT MAJORITY'S FACEBOOK POST .....	34

## TABLE

TABLE 1 FRAMING ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF THE BEGINNING OF UMBRELLA MOVEMENT .....	25
TABLE 2 FRAMING ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT AND STUDENTS DIALOGUE .....	28
TABLE 3 FRAMING ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF CLEARANCE .....	32

# Reference and Appendices

## ITEMS

REFERENCES .....	44
APPENDICE	
APPENDICE 1 HKFS'S POST ON 29/09 (THE BEGINNING OF UMBRELLA MOVEMENT) .....	45-47
APPENDICE 2 SILENT MAJORITY'S POST ON 29/09 (THE BEGINNING OF UMBRELLA MOVEMENT)	48
APPENDICE 3 HKFS'S POST ON 22/10 (DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND STUDENTS).....	49
APPENDICE 4 SILENT MAJORITY'S POST ON 22/10 (DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND STUDENTS) .....	50
APPENDICE 5 HKFS'S POST ON 11/12 (THE CLEARANCE OF ADMIRALTY) .....	51
APPENDICE 6 SILENT MAJORITY'S POST ON 11/12 (THE CLEARANCE OF ADMIRALTY) .....	52
APPENDICE 7.1 THE COMMENT OF THE SILENT MAJORITY'S POST DURING 29/9 .....	53-54
APPENDICE 7.2 THE COMMENT OF THE HKFS'S POST DURING 29/9 .....	55-56



## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Hong Kong political situation Umbrella Movement**

With the decision made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Selection of the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region by the universal suffrage upon nomination by a representative nominating committee formulated similar to the past Election Committee, some of the Hong Kong citizen expressed a strong disappointment towards the constitutional reform.

A series of civil disobedience protests were followed after the announcement of 2017 Chief Executive selection framework, Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism staged a class boycott from 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2014, and follow by the support of Occupy Central with Live and Peace on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014. This civil disobedience movement develops into a long-term opposition aims to fight for realizing a democratic universal and equal suffrage in Hong Kong though illegal, has to be absolutely non-violent. (Press Release by Occupy Central with Love and Peace 2014) Civil disobedience aim not to displace the lawmaking institutions or the structure of legal governance, but rather to change the existing laws by demonstrating the injustice. (Bernard E. Harcourt, 2013) Occupying Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) would like to strive for the election of the Chief Executive by universal and equal suffrage in 2017 through occupying the road to block the traffic.

### **1.2 Political Participation of Hong Kong citizens**

Some of the Hong Kong people have been demanding more rights as defined under citizenship (Chan Ping Fai, 2005) Hongkongers demand more participation on outlining policies, started from the right of abode issue and the intended legislation of the Article 23 of Basic Law in 2003, nonetheless Hong Kong government has not addressed their petitions properly with a democratic reform. Therefore, the conflicts between pro- government and democrats remain unsettled, activist loath to take radical and confrontational method to pressurize government and gain social sympathy. (Kit-ling, 1994)

### 1.3 Roles of social media in Hong Kong political development

The Umbrella Movement is the largest demonstration in Hong Kong recently, the participants widely used social media as a mean to release information and exchange their views. According to a total of 522 young people aged 10-24 have done a survey of Youth Research Centre between June and July 2014 related to the online social participation, over half said they had received invitation online to attend protest rallies or demonstrations. Among them, 40% said they had acted in response, it proofs the influences of social media has been extent from online to offline, on which the social behaviors and ideologies are being shaped or transformed. This study focuses on how Facebook pages and the readers' interactions alter the advocacy of citizenship during occupying movement.

### 1.4 The motivations of this study

Umbrella movement is a turning point of Hong Kong political development, as it highlighted the conflicts that have been expanded since the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong. The movement provides a ground to nurture many new and interesting thoughts related to the political identities of individuals and path of political development. Although they do not have absolute answers, it is vital to discover potential risks on social harmony and educate the public to engage on discussion that promote collective interest and finally enhance the advancement of civic consciousness. The motivations of on studying the influences of citizenship of this movement in various views are described as follow.

#### 1.4.1 A Hongkonger perspective

From the narration of media, Umbrella Movement led to social segregation between various political groups. 'Crisis create opportunities', it is a chance for Hong Kong to review the conflicts undermined and put forward the growth of citizenship by tackling the problems.

#### 1.4.2 A Future teacher perspective

Promoting civic education is a global trend to enhance students' understanding on their own rights, responsibilities and the connection to the state. Liberal Studies is the core subject in the NSS curriculum, students are advised to receive civic education and understand about the knowledge and values of citizenship, rule of law, democracy and intended at empowering students to be conscious of the society with critical view on social issues. In the umbrella movement, students' socio-political participation has been actively increased, yet their learning outcomes and the interpretation of citizenship vary with different students, through precise analysis, we can have a better understanding of various voices and review its side effects on Hong Kong socio-political condition.

#### 1.4.3 A participant in Umbrella Movement perspective

Being a pro democracy participant in the movement, I am overflowed by all kinds of criticism towards the authority. When I review the movement from the angle of democrats, it is easy for me to build up hatred towards the pro-government camp with one-sided viewpoint. I found that it is an alarming attitude shared by many protestors, this study can examine why we develop enmity towards the opposition and authority, and try to provide some solutions.

## 1.5 Objectives of this research

This research investigates what changes did social media sparked on the advocacy of citizenship by analyzing the phenomenon and the conversation in Facebook during umbrella movement. It is expected to understand the diversified mindset of Hong Kong people on socio-political participation, democracy and citizenship during the civil disobedience movement, to which different ideology, discourse collected from Facebook enable us to understand the usual pattern of interactions and ideas of a part of the social media in umbrella movement. Through evaluate the conversation in Facebook, it is hoped to identify the effects of diversified opinion on citizenship to Hong Kong society and suggest some ways to lay forward social good about democracy and citizenship.

- (1) To identify various framing of citizenship in Facebook pages of various political camps and
- (2) To examine whether different cultural forms of reasons and argumentation are admitted into deliberation.
- (3) To analyze how do the comments behaviors shape the values of citizenship in Facebook pages.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

Hong Kong is a civil society with diversified political voices with the unique system as a Special Administration Region; the political conflicts are intensified since 2003 with many controversial policies being implemented and discussed without proper acknowledgement on different opinions in society. Umbrella Movement exposed the conflicts and provided an opportunity for Hongkongers to review the values of citizenship in political participation. In this section, relevant literature related to the Hong Kong political background, the influences of social media, the concepts of democracy and citizenship, and polarization will be reviewed.

### **2.1 The relationship between democracy and citizenship**

#### **2.1.1 What is Democracy?**

Democracy has many different models and definitions. This is a topic that is being shaped by leaders and citizens everyday.

In this study, the focus is about the rights and responsibilities of democratic participations in elections and policy drafting. The democratization process should hold the belief of Levinson (2011), the continual striving toward a social order that sponsor reasoned deliberations, promotes civic participation in decision-making, justly and equitably distributes political-economic power and facilitates cultural inclusiveness.

#### **2.1.1.2 Popular democracy**

Stresses self rule but a free and equal people, sees government as an expression of the people's will and thus seeks to maximize citizen participation. It does this both electorally and other ways, such as demonstration as it recognizes that the outcomes of elections do not always reflect the popular will. This model is similar to the thought of pro-democracy camp; they suggested civil domination, which maximize the participation of citizen by granting the right of direct nomination on Chief Executive's candidates.

### 2.1.1.3 Representative democracy

The forms of government in which representatives who are elected by the citizenry enact legislation. The majority delegates' power to a minority nominated to act in their interest. The government and pro-established camp favor the representative democracy that the decision made by Standing Committee on 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2014 is a kind of limited representative election, yet some people think the limitation (forming a nomination committee to elect potential candidates) can not be classified as democracy.

### 2.1.2 Citizenship

In like manner, citizenship has a lot of models that put their attentions on various aspects. In general, meanings, rights, and obligations of membership in publics are the elements constitute citizenship. (Levinson, 2011) Two of the citizenship models are illustrated below to explain the situation in Hong Kong.

#### 2.1.2.1 Engaged citizenship

This norm stress the individual involvements for citizens to directly voice out in the decisions related to them, it is a 'Strong Democracy' concept promote by Benjamine Barber (1984) It emphasizes on the self expression and participatory norms that is not only about duty ,but also present their political perferences. Therefore , the engaged citizenship should have a potential on delibreative discussions and political activities.

#### 2.1.2.2 Duty-based citizenship

This citizenship model follows the traditional notions of responsibilities. In contrast to the engaged citizenship, it puts the priority on the duties such as voting, follow the laws of government, with a limited emphasis on participation. This aim to strengthen he existing government and political order with limited citizens' influences.

### 2.1.2.3 What is a good citizen?

Citizenship is beyond the rights and responsibilities called by legal duties. A good citizen should be an attitude that embraces with the acceptance of responsibility, moral and political, for the condition of the general welfare of community. ( Merriam & Robert, 1954) A good citizen aim to find a suitable system for the authority and society that may change over, rather than only stress on an absolute answer.

### 2.1.3 Relationship between democracy and citizenship

Citizenship is about the production and maintenance of democratic publics. Through actualizing the right and responsibilities mentioned in citizenship, the social order can be maintain in a reasoned deliberation. (Levinson, 2011)

Any public that manifest such a striving in practice ought to be considered democratic. , a critical approach to evaluate the social movement thus emphasis on the promotion of what kinds of meaningful participation ( peaceful vs violence ) , and to what extent power is justly and equitably distributed to maximize the social good.

## 2.2 Describe the various interpretations of democracy and citizenship in Hong Kong

Politics in Hong Kong is facing complex problems and dynamic situation under the system that dominated by the People's Republic of China, on the other hand, with the principal of 'One Country, Two Systems'; Hong Kong enjoys high degree of autonomy and its power on legislature and rule of law. However, after the 1997 returning of sovereignty, Hong Kong, has undergone significant transformation in its political culture and patterns of political participation under the cultural shock and the changes of political policies in Mainland China.

### 2.2.1 Stances of two camps

There are two main political camps in Hong Kong, the pro- Beijing group, including the local administration that supported by the Chinese government and big business, favors a slower pace in the democratization process that are based on the ‘actual situation’ and accepts the degree of autonomy that is allowed by the Chinese government While the pro-democracy group, consist of most of the middle-class in Hong Kong, including church workers, social workers, academics, legal profession and journalists who support a more rapid pace and keeps fighting from the maximum degree of autonomy. (Oksanen, 2011)

### 2.2.2 The Nature of two camps

Pro –democracy tends to be more conflicts driven than the pro government camp.

They try to reframe the ideology of popular democracy, within Hong Kong people by challenging the existing frames on the election of legislative council and Chief Executive.

Pro –Beijing parties or government officials tend to echo the frame with consensus, unity and harmony, the so-called values of Hong Kong that we always attached great important to social harmony. ‘ A family that lives in harmony will prosper’



## 2.3 Remarkable events on Hong Kong political circumstance

### 2.3.1 Opposing the legislation of Article 23

Demonstration by 500,000 on opposing the legislation of Article 23 on 1 July 2003, the pro-Beijing politician have emphasized on the indispensable on putting economy and stability above everything else.

While some Hong Kong citizens afraid that it is a strategy for central government to control the freedom of speech. The mutual distrust between the authorities and citizen undermine the conflicts in the preferences of political system.

### 2.3.2 Proposing the universal suffrage for Chief Executive Election

In 2007, Standing Committee of the National People's Congress suggested that Beijing would allow universal suffrage for elections starting in 2017; yet, many details are left for later arrangement. These revived an intensified conflict over the meaning of democracy.

Pro-government interpret the universal suffrage as a chance for Hong Kong to achieve a starting step on more democratic system with the preservation of freedoms and rule of law that required the endorsement of Beijing's government in a progressive manner.

Pro-democracy group showed their worries about the uncertainties on universal suffrage. They required a concrete democracy timetable and public participations (dialogue between various parties) to obtain international standards of democratic government. By establishing new democratic frames in political discourse, democrats are expected to push forward the democratic reform.

Finally, the Standing Committee of National People's Congress made a decision on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014. A representative nominating committee will be formed to nominate two to three candidates for the Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Selection of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR.

## 2.4 Changes of Public Participation and political communication in social media

Political participation has experienced changes over the decades. Though most public agree on the saying of ‘ A family that lives in harmony will prosper’, some political issues arouse the insecurity of Hongkongers, thus arouse the attention and condemnation of some citizens towards the existing political system.

During the Umbrella Movement, people suggest populism that supported by the use of social media in the movement. Refused to follow the elites and political leaders, the mass tended to use social media, that free from the censorship or self-censorship pressure, as a way to mobilize the public to participate in the movement, also circulated and express information and opinions that rare in traditional media.

## **2.5 The influences of social media on political participation**

### **2.5.1 The relationship between social media and politics**

The growth of the concept of digital democracy enable like-minded individuals to connect with one another on an issue-by-issue basis, have undermined the traditional commanding position of organizations and hierarchies as a result of political empowerment of individuals, especially the grassroots. The openness of the Internet, in particular, contributes to the rise of “open-source politics” (Buss & Redburn 2006, p. 265)

The discussion over Hong Kong politics on the Internet facilitates the information flow, develop a common understanding between individual, and finally mobilize political power. “We have no organization. The only tool we use is the Internet. We start pages and groups on Facebook and Twitter, and people just show up on the day of the protest without prior arrangement,” said by a youngster. (Lam Wai-Man, 2012)

### **2.5.2 The use of social media in Hong Kong political activity**

Hong Kong social movement enters into a new era with a broadly use

of Internet sources. Under the overload information situation, many Facebook pages develop an understanding on how Internet influence students' attitude will be useful to nurture the critical thinking of students, develop their own stance and be a responsible participant in the social issues.

## 2.6 Polarization in Social Media

Still, if individuals are exposed on large amount of information that reinforces their existing beliefs, democracy suffers. (Sustein2002) Social Media users can avoid people and information that they do not support, their ideology then become increasingly extreme and difficult to include others' opinions.

While there are literatures state that social media encourage the share of various views by utilizing the weak tie in social media, you can contact with people that you do not usually have face-to face interactions. Thus, participating in social media can enlarge the knowledge base and chances of discussion.

The influences of social media towards the agreement of the society do not have an absolute formula. It depends on the concepts of citizenship of readers and pages owners; also the users behaviors on the social media.(whether they browse the account of opponents or not.)

## **Chapter 3 Research Methodology**

This chapter explains a detail plan and methodologies used in this study. The research questions will be presented. Then, the rationales of choosing qualitative research methods and how to select data will be discussed. Lastly, the limitations of the research design are mentioned.

### 3.1 Research questions

This research aim to discover how do the concepts of citizenship is being shaped in social media. This study revives the implications of the language used in the Facebook pages and how do the Internet interactions affect the levels of citizenship actualized in the Internet.

The following research sub questions are showed to echo the above objectives:

- (1) How do the use of language frame the concepts of citizenship in various Facebook pages?
- (2) What are the comment behaviors of Internet user in terms of levels of citizenship?
- (3) What are the influences of framing and interactions in Facebook pages towards the social good?

#### 3.1.1 Scope of data collection

In this study, two more popular Facebook pages with higher shares of the posts from pro-democracy and pro-establishment are chosen to be the study area. Therefore, these pages can truly reflect the concepts of citizenship in mainstream online users. The selected posts are from three critical moments in the Umbrella Movement when the conflicts are being accelerated and arouse controversies and discussions. The contents and comments of each post are being analyzed to have a better understanding of the trend and the potential risks of Hong Kong citizenship.

### 3.1.1.1 Silent Majority for Hong Kong

It is a pro Beijing political group in Hong Kong founded by a group of Hong Kong citizens including Mr. Robert Chow Yung, Mr. Ho Lok-sang who concerned about the disruption of Occupy Central Movement. It was founded on 8 August 2013. They aim to raise public awareness about the potential damage of Occupying Central on Hong Kong's economy, livelihood, law and order. They are the most popular pro-government pages that contain 102,922 likes with posts more than 200 shares.

### 3.1.1.2 The Hong Kong Federation of Students

It is a joint university organization that actively participates in socio-political issues. In the Umbrella Movement, they acted as one of the main organizers. They aim to motivate its members to care about the political development as the responsibility of a university student. They are the official and popular Facebook pages with 145,980 likes and posts over 200 shares.

## 3.2 The process of conducting a qualitative research

The qualitative research is divided into two stages. Firstly, the use of language and frames in Facebook posts released by journalists of that page will be interpreted to know about the influences of the pages. Secondly, the comments from the readers are being classified into various levels of citizenships in order to discover the trend of the comments and how they affect the society.

### 3.2.1 Framing as a device

Framing is a mental map that characterizes the use of language and a strategy and provides a framework for individual understanding of events in a particular representation of reality. (Goffman 1974) (Gamson and Modigliani 1987) suggested some framing devices, including metaphors, catchphrases, exemplars and depictions to justify how the journalists and readers think about the issue.

According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor is a primarily cognitive phenomenon in which the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain.

Exemplars are the dramatized accounts of real events, either produced by journalists or witnesses, which are then used to represent abstract issues. It can be single valued or dynamic.

Catchphrases including slogans, tags or theme that attempt to summarize the statements about the principal subject.

Depictions are routine characterizations of the principal subject.

Through analyze the selected discourses in the Facebook Pages. It is expected to understand how the founders shape the stance of their pages and its effects on the readers.

### 3.2.2 The levels of citizenship as revealed in social media interactions

The uses of language in comments arise great impacts on the political discussion. According to the figure 1, the comments are divided into 6 categories and arranged in sequence related to the extent of influences towards social good or polarization.

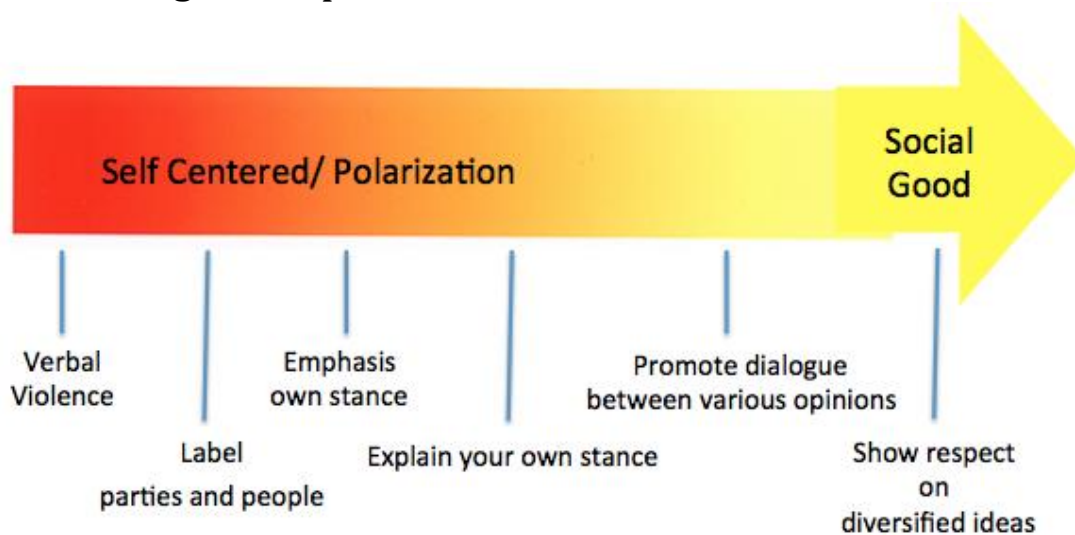


Figure1 The levels of citizenship as revealed in social media interactions

## A Brief Description of Each Level of Citizenship in Facebook Interactions

1. Verbal violence: Verbalize a threat to democracy or individual rights
2. Label: stereotype and associate a person with a group by using label. Oversimplification in infotainment and the rhetoric of conflicts that treated as name - calling
3. Emphasis own stance: State his /her own stance without explanations
4. Explain the stance: Narrate his/her stance with rational arguments
5. Promote dialogue between various opinions: show and expect more arguments from the opponent
6. Show respect on diversified ideas: Agree on disagree and conduct constructive interactions with whom they disagree
7. Others: Suggest strategies on the movements and others statements that irrelevant from the discussion of the occupying movement.

\*

## **Chapter 4: Presentation of Research Finding**

This Chapter presents and discuss the data are found form the Facebook with two mainstream pages that carry contradictory stance on the Umbrella Movement. The first stage consist of framing analysis about the posts released in the Facebook pages and what are their implications; the second stage aim to organize the pattern of the comment behaviors within this two Facebook pages.

### 4.1 The Comparison of framing in various Facebook pages during the critical moments of Umbrella Movement

In the first stage of data presentation, the comparison between the posts of the HKFS and Silent Majority discover that there is three fundamental ideologies are opposing each other. It is including the legitimation of the occupying movement, the democratization of Hog Kong political system and the clearance as a solution on this occupying movement. Tables and the quote in the Facebook post are being used to illustrate the findings.



#### 4.1.1 Legitimation vs. Delegitimation

Legitimation, as the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of explanations and justifications of the actions carried. (Fairclough 2003:219) While delegitimation is the explication to persuade others should not obey the decision or leaders.

Framing Devices	HKFS	Silent Majority
Metaphor	(1)Occupying Movement <b>Blossoms Everywhere'</b> (偏地開花) in Hong Kong. (2)We would witness the <b>glimmer of success</b> (曙光) if we insist the civil disobedience action.	/
Exemplar	/(	(4)Portrayed an accusation of an old lady towards Mr. Ho Chun Yan on blocking the road and ruining the livelihood of citizens. This story was pejoratively illustrated as an unlawful disturbtions.
Catchphrase	(3)'Resist with dogged determination' (抗命不認命)	

Table 1. Framing analysis and comparison of the beginning of Umbrella Movement <calling for insist of the civil disobedience movement (Appx. 1) vs. A pedestrian scold Mr. Ho Chun Yan on blocking the road. (Appx.2) >

#### 4.1.2 Framing the Legitimation of occupying movement

In (1), Hong Kong Federation of Students frames the development of civil disobedience movement in terms of 'blossom everywhere', reading the occupy action in various areas as a flourishing picture. HKSF justified the mass occupation when Chief Executive Mr. Leung Chun Ying didn't response to the class boycott before the occupying action; hence a mass action with larger scales is exercised to pressurize the government response to the frustration of some citizens towards the limitation set by the central government.

In (2), journalists describe the future of persistence in occupying the road in terms of 'glimmer success', predicting the outcome of this social movement will be promising, it is interpreted the success is achieving civil domination in Chief Executive Election 2017. Disobedience of the law can be an appropriate means of protest when something inherently undemocratic and the motive form the movement only employ as a mean to a betterment of the system. (Smith, 1968) The article assumed that people, who engaged in occupying Admiralty, Causeway Bay and Mongkok, discontented on (1) the limitation set by the central government on Chief Executive Election 2017, (2) narrow recognition of consultation on constitutional reform and (3) Police brutality threaten the peaceful protestors, therefore, involved in the act of civil disobedience to look for the responses and changes of policies from government.

Further, by using the word ' Hongkongers' repeatedly in the declaration, they generalized all the citizens, especially the participants in the occupying movement, agree on the goal to attain civil domination in Chief Executive Election 2017.

In (3), writer utilizes ' Resist with dogged determination' as a slogan to narrate the objective of this occupying movement. The slogan convinced the participants to voice out the injustice in the procedures of Chief Executive Election 2017 through civil disobedience movement. 1

Moreover, 'Hongkongers' is being used repeatedly in the statement to generalize all citizens, especially the protestors that their goal is to achieve 'civil nomination' in the Chief Executive Election as mentioned in the declaration. It may create an illusion that most / the entire Hong Kong citizens support the objectives of HKFS

#### 4.1.3 Framing the delegitimation of occupying movement

In (4), Silent Majority portrays an accusation of an old lady towards Mr. Ho Chun Yan on blocking the road and ruining the livelihood of citizens. This story was pejoratively illustrated as an unlawful action that destroys Hong Kong's social order. It is a dynamic case that demonstrates the core value of Silence Majority is to maintain social order in the first concern and the resentments towards the participants in Umbrella Movement.

In addition, the article also mentioned the old lady lodged a complaint on Mr. Ho Chun Yan that he led students go astray by sitting in the road, which implies this Facebook page generalize students are provoked by politician to participate in the movement.

#### 4.2 Progressive Democracy vs. Genuine Democracy

As the second part of the engaged citizenship frame and duty base citizenship frame in Umbrella Movement, the stances of democratic political development will be discussed. On 21<sup>st</sup> October 2014, a dialogue between government officials and students representatives of HKFS was held to discuss the future development of political reform under the oppositions on the restriction set by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on Chief Executive Election 2017.

With a nearly one-month occupying movement, government and HKFS tried to negotiate their conflicts on the democratic election process of Hong Kong, yet, the dialogue failed to bring up any compromises between them. Similar to the previous cases analysis, it interprets what are the rationales and ideologies behind the parties' frames and effects on political environment in Hong Kong

#### 4.2.1 Framing the pursuit of genuine democracy

Framing Devices	HKFS	Silent Majority
Metaphor	<p>(5) Government officials <b>trifled with</b>(玩弄) vote and comprehended it as democracy</p> <p>(6) The government continued to <b>fudge</b> (遊花園) the people in Hong Kong.</p> <p>(7) the protestors are our strong <b>comrade</b>(戰友)</p>	<p>(9) Hong Kong government <b>climb down</b>(下台階) over the Chief executive election issue, but HKFS was not appreciated the effort.</p>
Exemplar	/(no events described)	/
Catchphrase	(8) ' <b>Resist till the end, never give up</b> ' (抗爭到底，誓不低頭)	/

In (5), HKFS used **trifled with votes** and comprehended it as democracy to describe the speeches of government officials. It implies HKFS do not treat the proposed Chief Executive Election method in 2017 is a democratic reform.

In the dialogue between government and HKFS, one of the HKFS representatives restated: '民主是很多人的決定，不是精英玩弄的東西，這次是很多不同階層的人在街頭實踐民主，這與官員說的袋住先的民主相比更加進步。希望港府提出實質性方法，就 2017 年特首普選的規限提出方法，港府最終要面對全港市民，將全港市民都放到討論中。' HKFS strongly insisted to achieve genuine democracy under the influence of liberal democracy ideology and in the fear of negative effects of losing freedom, for this reason, they tend to frame the importance of improving current systems to protect the future's right of citizens.

From the view of engaged citizenship, HKFS act according to conscience. They do not comply the policy that clashes with their definition of democracy.

HKFS stressed on the citizen participation in the Chief Executive Election 2017, including the rights to elect, nominate and be elected, and they required the government to provide a concrete timetable on implementing democratic element in political system. (Dialogue with HKFS and government) When the government only promised to construct a discussion platform for long term political development after Chief Executive Election 2017, HKFS found that its unpromising with too many uncertainties, therefore, HKFS decided not to make any concessions after the dialogue.

In(6), HKFS used fudge with Hong Kong people to show that they considered government is not responding to them when the officials only promise to set up a platform for constituency discussion and a report addresses Umbrella Movement, which, from the stance of HKFS, indicate government do not promise their requests on (a) abolishing functional constituency in legislative council, (b) adopting civil domination in Chief Executive Election 2017 and (c) do not discuss the political reform under the presumption of 831 decisions. (Hong Kong Federation of Students, 2014)

Moreover, according to (7) and (8), HKFS used strong **comrade (戰友)** to describe the protestors and '**resist till the end, never give up**' (**抗爭到底，誓不低頭**), above metaphors indicate the determination of HKFS to achieve their optimal democracy in political system and even considered it as a battle between pro democracy citizens and the government, somehow it shows a rigid persistence of HKFS on their stance, which is one of the factors that ended the dialogue in disagreement and confined progress of the negotiation between government and protestors.

#### 4.2.2 Framing the pursuit of progressive democracy

On the other hand, Silent Majority revealed their support to the performance of government officials during the dialogue. In the page of Silent Majority, they described Hong Kong government '**climb down over the Chief executive election issue**' to depict government tried to concede on the political reform of Chief Executive Election 2017, in endeavor to end the movement and disorder in Hong Kong.

In the meeting between HKFS and the government representatives, the officials pointed out that the HKFS should solve the political crisis by urging the protestor to leave and emphasize the responsibility of government is to balance diversified opinions. In response to the request of the HKFS, the government suggested four responses: (a) In the second round of public consultation on constitutional reform, authority will try to maximize the discussion and the possible changes of the nomination methods and election frameworks. (b) Chief Executive Election 2017 is not the permanent election practice; the future government can proceed '5-step Process of Constitutional Development' again to further modify the election procedures. (c) Government will construct a platform for public to discuss the long-term development of constitution. (d) Government will present a report to Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office that concerning the citizen's opinions on the framework set by the Standing Committee of National People's Congress.

From the perspective of pro-government parties, notwithstanding on the government efforts to satisfied the requests of student representatives, the HKFS failed to show their willingness to strike for a consensus over the issues of Chief Executive Election 2017.

Pro-government may also want democracy in the political system, however, they emphasize on the progressive democratic process that do no harms on the national security and stability. Pro-Beijing camp believes fighting for democracy brings instability that contributed by a too combative mentality of democrat. The civil nomination proposed by the HKFS

may hinder the central government's rule over Hong Kong when an anti- Beijing candidate is selected to be the Chief Executive. (Oksanen, 2011) Furthermore, pro – government camp regards genuine democracy is only an abstract concept that does not have an absolute definition, the most important task of Hong Kong government is to achieve consensus and therefore, they assure the proposed 'one people one vote' election method is an advancement that can move towards a democratic system and maintain society's stability.

### 4.1.3 Clearance as a solution vs. Clearance as a stimulation of sentiments

Framing Devices	HKFS	Silent Majority
Metaphor	(10)The government <b>believes that they can restore the peace</b> ( <b>太平世界</b> and continue their (11) <b>Incapability ruling (辦公室管治) over Hong Kong</b>	<b>(13)Dawn (晨曦)</b> come again  (14)A brand new day, Hong Kong, <b>restart from the bottom of the pit (重新出發)</b>
Exemplar	/	/
Catchphrase	(12)' Insist on non-cooperation movement, until there is democracy in Hong Kong' ( <b>不合作到底 直到民主到臨香港</b> )	
Depiction	/	/

Table2 Framing analysis and comparison of clearance

<Showing the disappointment to the unresponsive government (Appx. 5) vs. showing support towards the clearance as a solution to the political crisis (Appx.2) >



#### 4.1.3.1 Clearance only lead to hatred and more social activism

In (10), the HKFS satirize the government on clears the occupying area to revive the peace and rule of law in Hong Kong, yet, the authority founder to settle the conflicts over the procedures of Chief Executive Election 2017.

In (11), the HKFS describe the government continue their incapability ruling over Hong Kong, it displays the skepticism of the HKFS towards the government, the HKFS opines the government seldom take citizens 'opinions into account, therefore, it can not outline a political reform that balance all aspects of opinions.

In (12), the slogan ' Insist on non-cooperation movement, until there is democracy in Hong Kong', show the determination of the democrat to achieve their ideal form of democratic election.

#### 4.1.3.2 Clearance as a solution for political conflicts

In (13), the journalist uses dawn to describe the coming morning of the occupying area in Admiralty after the Clarence. It shows that they believe the clearance bring positive effects on Hong Kong, which is interpreted as the returning the normal life with rule of law.

In (14), they stated that Hong Kong **restart from the bottom of the pit. (重新出發)** It is another implications on the pro-establishment camp treated the clearance as the solution of the political conflicts.

However, clearances do no mean to solve the conflicts between two camps, and it is observed that some of the democrats tend to adopt more extreme way, or even violence, to get the public attention and bargain to with government on the extent of political participation.

## 4.2 The levels of citizenship as revealed in social media interactions

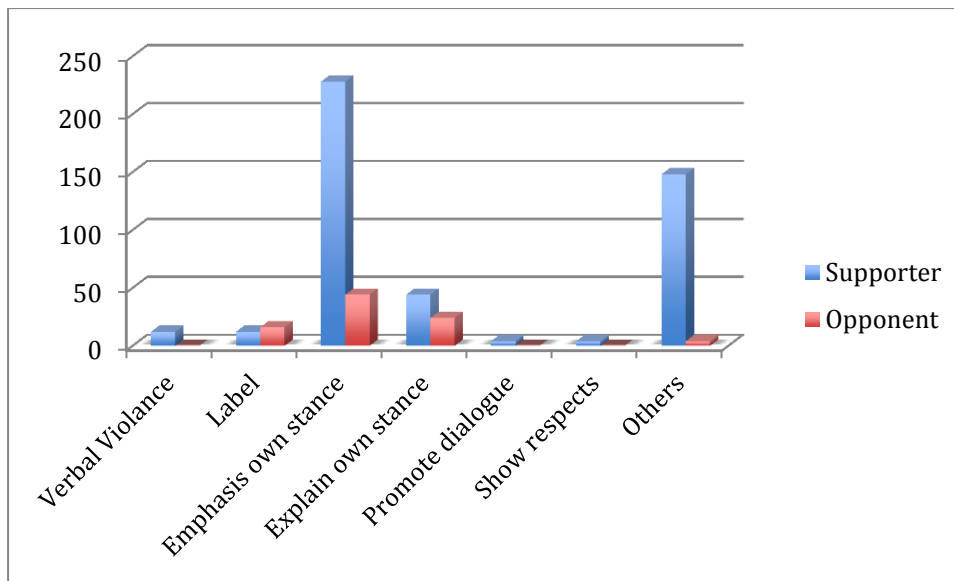


Figure 2. 1 The Proportion of Levels of Citizenship in comments of the HKFS's Facebook Post

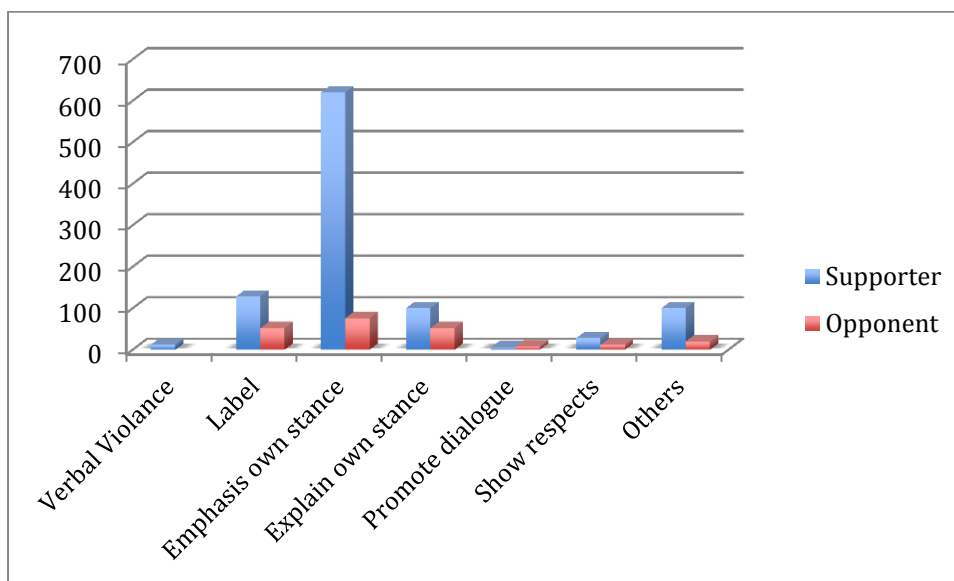


Figure 2. 2 The Proportion of Level of Citizenship in comments of the Silent Majority's Facebook Post

The analyzed data echo with the literature mentioned about polarization, it shows the similar comment pattern that usually seen in social media. More than half of of the comments posted on the Facebook pages are not favoring creating social good, although rare

extremely destructive. A total of 50 % and 57% of comments only mentioned the commenters' own stance without explanation. Most of the comments only express their feeling or judgment towards the ideologies or event described in the Facebook post.

Near 5% and 15% stereotype comments are found under the HKFS's and Silent Majority's post. Most of the labeling in the HKFS's named the opposition of Umbrella Movement as 'Mainlander ' or 'Fifty -cents party' (people who employed by the pro-government parties and earn money by posting some assigned comments). For instance, a supporter of the movement said the opponents should return to mainland if they do not support the protestors to fight for democracy by occupying road in a humiliating tone and derogatory words. At the same time, supporters of Silent Majority insult their opponents as 'Traitors', 'Angry Young' and 'Rioters' who only create destructions and inconvenience to others.

While 13% and 12% rational explanation comments are found under the HKFS's and Silent Majority's post. Most of these posts describe why they support or anti the Umbrella Movement.

Comments that contained violence only consist of 2 % and 1 % under the post of the HKFS's and Silent Majority Facebook Pages. The commenters intimidate to use or even provoke others to use violence on their opponents, which threaten others freedom of speech.

Likewise in the distribution of the comments that promote dialogue and show respects on various comments, they only consist of a small proportion in both Facebook pages. In the HKFS's post, there are 1% on promoting dialogue and show their respects on various opinions. In Silent Majority's post, there are 2 % of comments promoting dialogue and 3% of comments show respects to all kinds of opinions. These commenters encourage the protestors and pro-government citizens to discuss how to solve the problems of both camps and discuss how to construct a better Hong Kong; some of them even show their respect to the opponents.

In the post of the HKFS, comments sometimes are the ways of communications between around 29% of comments are classified as Others, since some of the web users keen on posting some occupying strategies and reminders in the comments to mobilize the protestors, which is not relevant on the research topics.

After all, the data revived the comments under the HKFS's post have slightly higher tendency towards social good when compared with those under Silent Majority's page.

Finally, comparing the distribution of the comments that oppose the stance of the Facebook pages, most of them are categorized to the side of polarization. The HKFS has 1 out of 22 whereas Silent Majority 's post also has 36 out of 56 comments are categorized as verbal violence, labeling or emphasis on their own stance.

## **Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion of Research Findings**

### 5.1 Engaged citizenship vs. duty -based citizenship

Citizenship literature stated that duty-based citizenship and engaged citizenship should aim at similar political wills—enhanced democracy, develop a balance of power and system for society and build up patriotism—it is only the means are different in these models. However, in the case of Hong Kong , engaged citizenship and duty based citizenship cannot reach the agreement and even contradict to each others.

#### 5.1.1Adoption of Engaged Citizenship

Aim at encouraging and assuring citizens to participate and voice out the injustice in the policy making process, the HKFS emphasized the citizenship as the right and responsibility to engage in policy-making processes and pursuit for a more democratic political system. This type of citizenship is defined as engaging citizenship by Dalton (2008). In the high-engaged citizenship, people tend to question government and act according to conscience. Citizens are more likely to engage themselves in direct political activities, peacefully protest and try to understand the reasoning of other citizens. It is interpreted that HKFS put the political participation and their determination to have a more democratic election processes in a higher priority than maintain the social order, therefore they chose to occupy the road that is attempted to change the law by making it impossible to enforce the law or by making the process of such enforcement extremely high. (Smith, 1968)

#### 5.1.2Adoption of duty-based citizenship

In contrast to the stance of HKFS, Silent Majority stresses on the responsibility of citizens is to maintain social order and the livelihood of Hong Kong's citizens. It is estimated that they incline to the view of duty -based citizenship that sees the role of citizen as obeying law; they are more trusting of government and have more feelings of national pride. (Dalton 2008) Therefore, Silent Majority delegitimize

the protestors on the creation of public disturbance in the occupy movement, that actually do violence on people's daily activities.

### 5.1.3 Political polarization in Hong Kong social media

Above analysis display the partition between pro democracy (HKFS) and pro government (Silent Majority) when their Facebook 's post are being compared. From the observation, HKFS legitimate themselves as the citizen that strike for democratic election, on the other hand, Silent Majority delegitimize the occupying action. It is possible that web users tend to organize into homogeneous communities segregated along partisan lines. (Adamic and Glance,2005) Both of them insist on their own ideologies without understand others' standpoints.

### 5.1.4 The conflicts between progressive democracy and genuine democracy

Pro democratic parties opine that democratization process is too slow and uncertain due to the ineffective and unresponsive government. While pro-government parties express their worries on extreme democrats that fail to balance every aspect of society and do harm to the central government rule over Hong Kong. Therefore, mutual distrust and suspicions has been built up between two camps.

In the Facebook post between the HKFS and Silent Majority, the distrust of each other is significant, for instance, the HKFS do not trust the abstract plans suggested by the government officials as the authority has no credibility from the view of democrats, on the other hand, the official emphasized the decision of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress cannot be changed, to a certain extent, this restriction is to prevent the democrat impose some democratic process that may interrupt the authority' rule in 2017 Chief Executive Election.

### 5.2 The analysis of the levels of citizenship and the comments behaviors

Prior framing analysis found that the HKFS and Silent Majority revive two contradictory ideologies on citizenship and democracy during the Umbrella Movement. The data collected from the comments can

further discover how do social media interactions further influence the current hostile situation.

### 5.2.1 The needs to set up the citizenship indicators

The civility is an indicator depends on the extent of democratic consequences of commenters' behavior. When people demonstrate offensive behavior or disrespect the collective social and democratic identity of an individual, people, the actions can be defined as uncivilized that threaten democracy, stereotype or deny the personal freedoms toward individual or a group.

Most of the commenters express their political viewpoints emotionally without justification, and it is hard to find some comments want to influence other' views. Moreover, the interactions between respondents are limited, there are only 6 out of 365 posts and 10 out of 158 posts in the Silent Majority and HKFS replied to others respectively. Most of them only express their feeling rather than discuss or understand the rationale behind the viewpoints, which greatly hinder the uniqueness of social media on providing an online discussion platform. Without the exchange of ideas, Facebook users lack the chance to expose to a diversity of opinions that accelerate a higher political tolerance and consensus making process. (Barbera, 2014)

### 5.2.2 The phenomenon discovered in the data

As shown from figures 1.2 and 1.3, the statistic discloses the impulsion of labeling and categorizing towards the opponents among the web users. Those negative political labels entrenched in memory easily, for instance, may supporters of Silent Majority labeled Mr. Ho Chun Yan as 'AV Yan'<sup>1</sup> and concluded that he is destructing Hong Kong intentionally, on the other hands, the readers of the HKF's page categorized the anti-occupying group as 'Fifty cents parties'. The phenomenon will become a part of accepted knowledge, then citizens will use the 'cognitive

---

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ho Chun Yan is a legislative councilor and the past chairperson of Democracy Party. Some newspaper discovered he was watching pornography stars during the Legislative Council Meeting; therefore, the online user labeled him 'AV Yan'.

shortcut' to generalize pro-government and democrats as network hatchet and spies from western countries respectively. It subsequently becomes a ways of politics thinking and encourages unreflective usage of these words. (Cap, 2010) Gradually, the labeling induces people to speak and think in a planned way, which amplifies emotional tension and verbal escalation.

Verbal violence is an extreme of mutual exclusion between two camps, although verbal aggression comments take up mere fraction in both Facebook pages, they still count as a potential peril of shaping citizenship on the Internet discussion. Commenters in these Facebook pages menace the individual or groups that do not vibrate the same perspectives with them, and manifest the hatred and political bias that exacerbate the problems of polarization. The aggressions infringe the freedom of speech of their opponents and hinder the deliberation democracy.

On the contrary, there are small amount of comments facilitating democracy and trying to bring mutual respects between readers. Providing reasonable arguments promote conclusion making, citizens should discover the solutions of the political conflicts, on which the aim of devising arguments should advance the collective other than individual interests. ( (Amy Gutmann, 1990) Social good can be maximized not only with presenting argument, but also respect others' position and view. People engage in mutual respect are less inclined to dogmatism and emotional expression; they treat disagreement as a prerequisite of conflicting and diversified opinions. However, with scare effort on facilitate social good, both Facebook pages hardly can they act as a platform for

To sum up, more than half of the commenters in both Facebook pages are not constructing a favorable online deliberation on social good. Though some minority comments convinced the readers to calm down and discuss the common grounds of various opinions, they seldom got responses from others. In addition to the small proportion of opposition comments in the Facebook group, there is a danger that Internet only functions as an 'echo chamber' in this social movement,



and citizens are exposed to like minded political views. (Adamic and Glance 2005) The general citizenship perceived in these Facebook pages is the right of freedom of speech without the emphasis on its attached responsibilities and self-consciousness. In this case, the perceiving of citizenship in Umbrella Movement transforms the political participation into personalized and self-expressive.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

### 6.1 The contradictory political groups should discover the common ground

Though Dalton (2008a, 87) has mentioned that engaged citizen is more likely to be open to understanding other views, it's not the case in Hong Kong as shown from the analyzed data. The supporters of the engaged citizenship frame ( the HKFS) shared similar proportion of the comments that lay towards polarization.

Further data research on the contrast view of citizenship should be examined in Hong Kong, for example there are people who promote using violent as a mean to achieve As Dalton (2008a) said citizen should consider both types of citizenship important. It would be not appropriate to draw on a conclusion that contrasting views of citizenship or a focus on only one view of citizenship is the factor contributing to polarization.

### 6.2 The learning of courage in dialogue

Courage is a commitment to resolution and persistence in the face of risk and uncertainty. A fearless act, moreover, need not be a violent one. It is commonly believed and well documented, for example, that nonviolent resistance activities, protests and communication with opponents can require courage, especially in the face of verbal abuse, or physical violence. Dissent and ethic of political courage are vital elements of democratic participation.

Commitment to dialogue to enables new position to emerge as other viewpoints are acknowledged. The importance of dialogue in which 'each group becomes better able to consider other groups' standpoints without relinquishing the uniqueness of its own standpoint or suppressing other' views. And they also will to shift view in dialogue with those of other identities and values.

In the Liberal Studies curriculum or civic education, teachers and the curriculum planner always put emphasis on the right and the

responsibilities that a citizen should have rather than the political tolerant attitude. When student developing the citizenship concepts through a social movement during Liberal Studies lesson, the focus should be the attitude and response towards diversified opinions and how to maximize the social good in you own endeavor, rather than stress on the right or responsibility that oneself should have.

### 6.3 Co-existence of social good and the diversified opinion

Larmore's universal norm of rational dialogue: People who disagree need not prescind from publicly professing belief nor should they retreat to neutral grounds. Instead they should search for-common group.

### 6.4 Research Limitation

Since the selected data are limited to two major Facebook pages that cover the pro-democracy and pro-government camps, there are also diversified views and conflicts within democracy camps. Moreover, this online study only limited to a fraction of population, the whole online political development and the relationship between online and offline political participation are not included in this research.

### 6.5 Recommendation and further investigation

After the Umbrella Movement, many youngster actively participate in politics, and some new forms of participation, such as using violence to fight for bargaining power and the categorization within democrats should be the focus of study. Without detail examine on the reasons of this entire phenomenon, the contradiction between various political camps, generations or stakeholders will probably extend, and the prolonged political polarization may end up in the use of violent.

A research with larger sample base and continuous examination on the formation of citizenship among Hongkongers should be conducted when there are intensified political conflicts between government and citizens. Moreover, as stated above, clearance is not a proper mean to solve the political conflicts within the society, therefore the gap between opposition camps are widening, and it's the duties of all citizens to be a rational participants and save our generation from the sea of hatred.

# References

- AUVINEN, A. M. (2012). Social Media-The New Power of Political Influence. *Suomen Toivo Think Tank Document. Centre for European Studies*. [online], [http://thinkingeurope.eu/sites/default/files/publication-files/kansio-digital\\_democracy\\_-\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://thinkingeurope.eu/sites/default/files/publication-files/kansio-digital_democracy_-_final_en.pdf) (Accessed Feb 2014).
- Adamic, L.A. and N. Glance. 2005. The political blogosphere and the 2004 US election: divided they blog. In Proceedings of the 3rd international workshop on Link discovery.
- Albert, C. S., & Salam, A. F. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Toward Theories in Social Media*.  
Barber, B. R. (2003). *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age*. Univ of California Press.
- Barberá, P. (2014). *How Social Media Reduces Mass Political Polarization. Evidence from Germany, Spain, and the US*. working paper.
- Conover, M., Ratkiewicz, J., Francisco, M., Gonçalves, B., Menczer, F., & Flammini, A. (2011, July). Political polarization on twitter. In *ICWSM*.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). *The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics*. SAGE.
- Gutmann, A., & Thompson, D. (1990). Moral conflict and political consensus. *Ethics*, 64-88.
- Levinson, B. A. (2011). Toward an Anthropology of (Democratic) Citizenship Education. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Education*, 279-298.
- McBeth, M. K., Lybecker, D. L., & Garner, K. A. (2010). The Story of Good Citizenship: Framing Public Policy in the Context of Duty-Based versus Engaged Citizenship. *Politics & Policy*, 38(1), 1-23.
- Merriam, C. E. (1928). *A history of American political theories*. Transaction Publishers.
- Oksanen, K. (2011). Framing the democracy debate in Hong Kong. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20(70), 479-497.
- Okulska, U., & Cap, P. (Eds.). (2010). *Perspectives in politics and discourse* (Vol. 36). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2004). Democracy online: Civility, politeness, and the democratic potential of online political discussion groups. *New Media & Society*, 6(2), 259-283.
- People, Y. Political Participation and EU Citizenship: Perceptions and.
- Rawls, J. (2013). The justification of civil disobedience. *Arguing about law*, 244-253.
- Smith, D. D. (1967). Legitimacy of Civil Disobedience as a Legal Concept, *The Fordham L. Rev.*, 36, 707.
- Sunstein, C. 2002. The law of group polarization. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 10(2):175–195.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1



在此，我們重申向政權的四個訴求：  
September 29, 2014 at 6:10pm

訴求一：開放公民廣場以及添美道予群眾集會。港人受《香港特別行政區基本法》第27條及《人權法》保障，享有集會自由，惟警方多番無理封鎖道路，我們在此要求警方開放添美道予群眾集會。

訴求二：梁振英以及政改三人組下台。學界罷課一星期，政府單以聲明和記者會的形式，指尊重和明白學生訴求，卻從未與學生直接對話，聆聽學生訴求，因此我們要求政改三人組下台。

訴求三：收回人大決定。人大決議，粗暴否定港人提出的公民提名，無篩選普選特首及立法會的訴求。而且，人大並沒有權力為香港的政改事務作實際的框架，違反高度自治的承諾，在此我們要求收回人大決定。

訴求四：公民提名，必不可少；廢除立法會功能組別。  
當初梁振英承諾的「一枝筆、一本簿、一張櫬」從未兌現，反而「總有一次要出動防暴警察和催淚彈」就成現實。在獨裁政權當前，為了香港人的未來，我們絕無退守的餘地，亦誓將與在各地鎮守的香港人堅持下去，直到此仗獲勝。佔領運動，就是為了重奪未來。確實只有堅持，我們才會迎來曙光。

希望在於人民，改變始於抗爭。

香港專上學生聯會  
學民思潮  
二零一四年九月二十九日



## 香港專上學生聯會(學聯)

### 【佔領運動遍地開花 抗命到底將見曙光】

#### 學聯及學民思潮聯合聲明

佔領運動遍地開花，象徵香港人誓必抗命不認命。自922學界罷課開始，香港人展現誓不低頭的精神，誓抗強權，力爭公義政制。惟梁振英作為公僕，不只一再逃避、拒絕向市民問責何以政改諮詢報告一塌糊塗，更派出警察暴力襲擊和平示威的市民，一再公然濫用公權力。香港人先後自發佔領金鐘、銅鑼灣、旺角等地，逼迫政府必須回應港人對真普選的訴求。為了民主，港人不得不展開不合作運動，以短暫的阻礙換來長遠的公義自治發展。面對失控政權，學生宣布無限期罷課，香港人奮起自發佔領運動，確是對政權的有力反撲，施予龐大壓力。

警方聲稱使用「最低武力」，是因為見到港人的「裝備」必會衝擊防線。惟現況是香港人僅配備水、傘、吶喊和誓要追求民主的決心，警方卻用上防暴警察、警棍盾牌、胡椒噴霧、催淚彈、配備數種長槍。公民抗命爭取普選，卻遭警方暴力鎮壓，甚至牽連圍觀市民和記者，梁振英政府以暴力對待市民及學生，完全是不可理喻。

雖然我們見到警方暴力鎮壓香港人，但不少市民仍然恪守非暴力原則，堅拒防暴警察無理挑釁。昨日佔領者的自發佔領行動令人感到鼓舞，並相信港人面對更艱苦的狀況，仍可沈著冷靜，以我們堅定的決心贏得更多人的支持。然而，我們擔心當權者將安排滋事者刻意製造混亂，以將佔領運動抹黑成暴動，故此我們呼籲市民宜遠離滋事者，並紀錄過程。我們相信香港人絕對能夠守望相助，避免陷入當權者的挑釁及計謀。另外，行動現場充斥不少誤傳消息，希望市民萬勿廣傳未經證實的消息。有關學聯及學民思潮的動向，將以官方Facebook Page為準。

面對公權力失控，學聯及學民思潮會堅守街頭，繼續參與及支援市民的自發性佔領運動。我們經已開始與各個佔領區的市民溝通，互相協調需要，相信所有佔領者皆秉持同一信念，守望相助。而三個佔領區目前皆自發有序，不少當區狀況的消息都被誤傳，希望各位對自發的佔領者抱持信心，並直接往現場了解狀況，以避免誤解擴大，影響運動的團結性及多元性。

而各大院校的罷委會亦正陸續調度人力物資前往有需要的佔領現場作支援，並將與不同公民社會的團體溝通、協調未來對佔領區的支援；律師團隊亦已準備協助處理法律問題。



## Appendix 2 Silent Majority's post on 29/9 ( The beginging of Umbrella Movement)



幫港出聲 Silent Majority

Page Liked · September 29, 2014 ·

途人指罵示威者 斥何俊仁教壞學生

東方日報 2014-09-29 新聞

在銅鑼灣軒尼詩道，現時仍有大量示威者佔據馬路，較早前有一名65歲姓林的婆婆在崇光百貨對出，指罵示威者阻塞通道，擾亂市民日常生活，並與一名示威者發生口角衝突，一度令現場示威者起哄，糾察隊即時出面調停。

林婆婆表示，早上從香港仔出發到中環向中醫求診，但因封路被阻而無法前往，而封路亦令其孫仔、孫女無法上學，令她感到十分憤怒。林婆婆亦有指罵在現場靜坐的立法會議員何俊仁，指他教壞學生，更諷刺他「畀你做特首好唔好？」

[http://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/news/20140929/bkn-20140929111010714-0929\\_00822\\_001.html](http://hk.on.cc/hk/bkn/cnt/news/20140929/bkn-20140929111010714-0929_00822_001.html)

[See Translation](#)

Appendix 3 HKFS 's post on 22/10(Dialogue between government and students)



香港專上學生聯會(學聯)

October 21, 2014 at 10:00pm · Edited ·

【金鐘現場】2205

學聯五位對話代表回到金鐘大台，解釋對話情況。五人向市民鞠躬致謝，指每一個頂住壓力參與過這場運動、在物資、醫療等等不同崗位上付出過，互相結連、組織的人，都已經在實踐民主，比政府高官將區區一張選票——還是經官員玩弄的選票——理解為民主，已是豐富得多。

岑敖暉批評，今日政府帶了全港市民「遊花園」。只要政府不回應人民訴求，不還香港人最基本的政治權利，香港人必定會抗爭到底，誓不低頭！

學聯對話代表，將會緊接到旺角及銅鑼灣佔領區講解對話情況。旺角與銅鑼灣的朋友，都是這場運動上的堅實戰友！

[See Translation](#)

Like · Comment · Share

2,103 people like this.

Most Relevant



**幫港出聲 Silent Majority**

Page Liked · October 22, 2014 ·

學聯：

"政府提出虛無縹緲的建議旨在拖延，因此會繼續留守佔領區。"

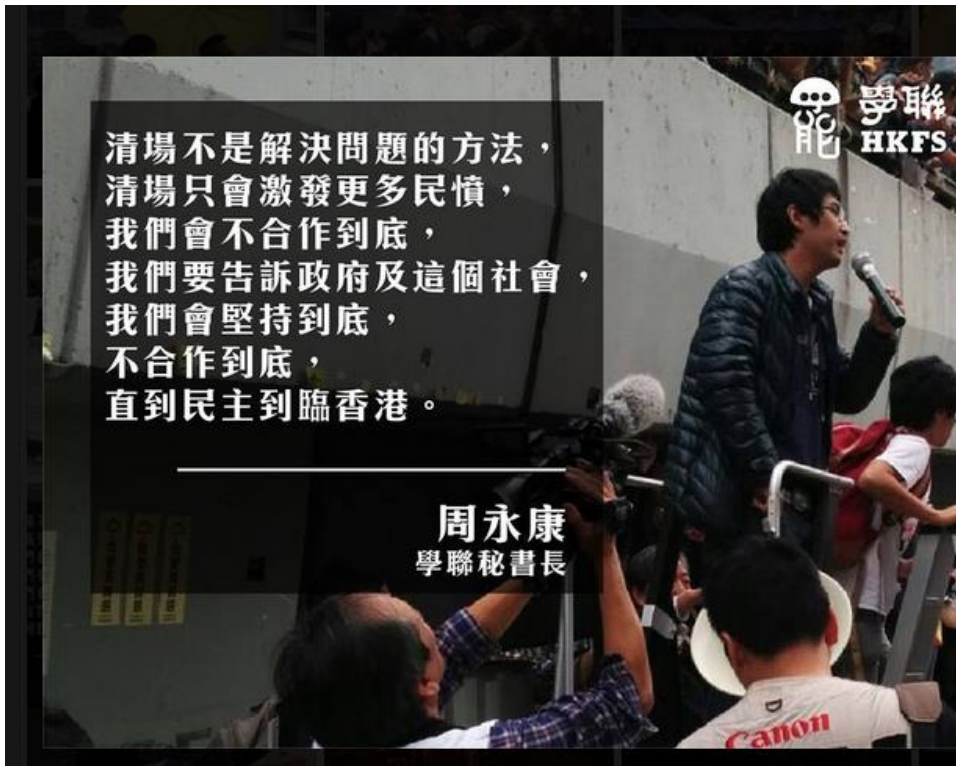
"人大決定「並非不能感動」。"

消息指政府拋出「民情報告」是中間人居中斡旋的訊息，冀給予學界下台階，政府對於學聯的反應感到驚訝，因與早前「摸底」的結果截然不同。

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

Appendix 5 HKFS 's post on 11/12( Then clearance of Admiralty)





香港專上學生聯會(學聯)

December 11, 2014 · 🌐

【學聯秘書長周永康，12月10日發言節錄】

被捕不是我們行動的目的，我們留守到最後一刻因為這場運動由始到尾是公民抗命，是公民不服從，當政府可以橫蠻無理施行暴政，因為大家容許它這麼做。如何顛覆它？暴力可能是一個方法。不合作是另一個方法。

有人認為暴力可能是不合作的其中一個分支，但雙學是要配搭非暴力原則。因為我們知道不服從反抗時，政府無法濫權。大家回想運動初期，政府是否管理得到？顯言而見，不是。其實直到今天政府依然無法管治。這只是它自欺欺人。夏愨道通車，它以為它可回復它的太平世界，繼續它的辦公室管治，去管治七百萬人。但事實是我們的不合作運動其實還有很多策略及方法是未用得透徹，未試過盡未用盡在香港這地方。大家當初說罷課時，有提過罷工罷市是否一個可能性，當政府或公共交通工具公共服務全部停頓時，這個政府還能管治下去嗎？... [See More](#)

[See Translation](#)

— with [Edith Wong](#).

Appendix 6 Silent Majority 's post on 11/12( Then clearance of Admiralty)



x



幫港出聲 **Silent Majority**

Page Liked · December 11, 2014 ·

晨曦重臨，清角吹寒，夏愠道仍在，只是換了人間。

2014年12月11日，新的一天，香港，重新出發。

圖片：[on.cc](http://on.cc), [zh.wikipedia.org](http://zh.wikipedia.org)

[See Translation](#)

Like · Comment · Share



👍 9,239 people like this.

➦ 280 shares

### Appendix 7The sample of comment analysis

( Due to the excessive amount of analyzed comments, 20 comments are selected to show the process of data analysis. i.e. the number besides each comment are echo with the number assign in Chapter 3.2.2)

#### Appendix 7.1 The comments of the Silent Majority's post during 29/9

	<b>Freeman Ho AV, 67 Yan !</b> September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  1	2
	<b>Sandy Tam</b> 收皮啦!亞婆! See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  1	3
	<b>Wendy Yeung</b> 叫人落台，比你們班提出估中的人做特首可以達到你班人提出條件咩！紙上談兵，談可容易。 See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  4	3
	<b>Edward Chan</b> 唔表態未來是怎樣，下一代怎過，大家放眼看吧！雖未必成功，但有做過，得失無憾了！什麼也沒做，受苦是下一代不是我們七十後那代，為下一代鋪好些條路，好不好走靠他們了！ See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  6	4
	<b>Sakura Lau</b> 認同，不是出不了，而是店都不開了，學校也停課，你們這班綁黃帶的真的看不到嗎？交通半癱瘓就是你們要爭取的？ See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  17	4
	<b>Yiu Chung Wong</b> 婆婆利害，av 仁想當特首都被妳看穿 See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  9	2
	<b>珍珍薯片</b> 亞婆好晒理！一眼睇出誰是壞人！ See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  5	3
	<b>Dan Dan Li</b> 冇學番 而家已經冇啦！仲等遲d?! See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:02pm · Like ·  1	3
	<b>Anna Wong</b> 何先個腦只想上網看性感女郎 See Translation September 29, 2014 at 9:03pm · Like ·  4	2

-  **Ken Lee** 何俊淫聯得咸野多 不配選特首  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  3
-  **Andy Tang** 小得好，呢位何能棍正垃圾，白鴿黨全是政棍，譴街兄，李焯人，全是。  
See Translation 2  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  4
-  **Hinghing Tsang** 唔好講到自己咁偉大，你地比人利用左，可悲。  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  3
-  **Lai Kiu Chung** 啊婆日後你D孫唔好是香港讀書、唔好去外國留學，要返國內讀書！大陸是沒得遊行！就没人阻住你們架啦！  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  8
-  **Mei Sze Lam** 香港警察，加油！ ✕  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  13
-  **Kuok Kin Lei** 我都想知你班廢柴有咩唔影響人既爭取方法  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:29pm · Like ·  12
-  **Yin Ma** 好，好奇！咁多人能預知未來嘅事，咁肯定將來一定唔好！似97般以為香港一定無好結果.....但到現在呢！大家有目共睹！大家一起經歷過！  
See Translation 3  
September 29, 2014 at 9:30pm · Like ·  3
-  **Zen Cheng** 其實係宏觀同微觀既問題 好難相提並論 只係觀點與角度既問題。但最起碼我知道事實係如果得一百人或者一千人企出黎都唔會造成"影響正常生活"，即係話想企出黎既人其實唔少。有人想追求既係而家眼前正常生活，有人追求既係以後既正常生活。其實都係角度問題。大家係唔係都應該尊重呢部分企左出黎既人，比佢地用稱唔上暴力既方式黎表達自己既聯法？  
See Translation 6  
September 29, 2014 at 9:30pm · Like ·  4



Appendix 7.2 The comments of the HKFS's post during 29/9

 **Leung Yat Wing** 大家無需要再轉發令大家仇視警察既信息, 昨日的成功因為大家刻制自己, 刻制滋事分子, 唔好上內鬼當呀!!! 清醒呀!!!  
See Translation  
Like ·  1 · September 29, 2014 at 8:14pm 6

---

 **Kemp Leung** 樓上呢位又唔使咁激動, 我只係俾個建議你地去保護自己  
See Translation  
Like ·  1 · September 29, 2014 at 8:25pm 7

 Write a reply... 

---

 **Johnny Fok** 重申, 佔中從未發生!!!  
佔中三恥嘍宣報啟動佔中後一個鐘左右, 已經收回佔中, 改為支援學生, 原因係當場俾人鬧爆騎劫學生運動, 為佔中找數! 請廣傳, 以正視聽!!!  
See Translation  
Like · Reply ·  14 · September 29, 2014 at 7:43pm 7

---

 **Samuel Cheng** 係有人鬧三子, 要求佢地啟動佔中. 大家目標相同, 講騎劫, 好on居!  
See Translation  
Like · October 2, 2014 at 10:45pm 7

 Write a reply... 

---

 **范哲華** 香港加油 撐下去 台灣人支持你們  
See Translation  
Like · Reply ·  13 · September 29, 2014 at 7:33pm 3

---

 **Ks Chan** 台灣人支持香港大乱, 四小龙少個对手。  
See Translation  
Like · September 29, 2014 at 8:56pm 2

---

 **John Zhao** 台灣和香港是共同為民主奮鬥的戰友  
See Translation  
Like ·  2 · September 29, 2014 at 9:14pm 3

 Write a reply... 



**Ralf Chan** "令獨裁政權不得不向人民低頭"

少咗個不字

[See Translation](#)

4

Like · Reply · 25 · September 29, 2014 at 4:16am



**Tsui Bo** 總之，留意那些故意挑釁，叫停左都仲係到伺機再挑的人。

如果見到有人手持架生，請勸他放下，因為這是警察暴力對付市民的好藉口。小心間諜！

[See Translation](#)

7

Like · Reply · 28 · September 29, 2014 at 4:50am



**Yu KayKay** 樓上學識繁體先返嚟，到時我地再考慮教識你咩叫公民責任，唔識繁體，廣東話都講唔正，未夠班教我地做嘢

[See Translation](#)

Like · Reply · 22 · September 29, 2014 at 7:03am



**Travis Chang** 天亮了，台灣人依然支持香港人

[See Translation](#)

3

Like · Reply · 10 · September 29, 2014 at 6:04am



**Christopher Law** 請放心，呢邊雖然有組織，但市民好有自覺，有人企圖起哄都會即刻喝止，剛才學聯同學過嚟叫人散水，實在令人失望！開左咁好嘅頭.....請相信行出嚟支持呢件事嘅市民。或者剛才呢度有人好唔禮貌咁鬧你地，但希望你地明白。

[See Translation](#)

5

Like · Reply · 7 · September 29, 2014 at 4:44am



**王河** 澳門人齊撐香港人！撐住呀

[See Translation](#)

3

Like · Reply · 6 · September 29, 2014 at 5:59am