

the legislature to protest the Kuomintang's attempts to pass the CSSTA without going through the previously agreed item-by-item examination of the agreement.

Copper has a defeatist attitude toward China. China is large and powerful. Its GDP is growing faster than Taiwan's, and Taiwan has become economically dependent upon China. He writes, "The point is that what China does and what its leaders say [does] influence Taiwan's voters" (124), though it is mystifying how any observer of Taiwan's elections can make such a statement. Copper argues that Taiwan's investments in China and the location of its workforce there have "significantly helped Taiwan's economy. The downside is that it caused dependency on China" (125), but he neglects to note that, fortunately, the Tsai government has worked to reduce Taiwan's dependency on China. Copper also strikes this reviewer as naive when he writes, "Chinese leaders are arguable [*sic*] not in a big rush to bring Taiwan under their control" (125) even though he admits China uses its economic muscle, Taiwan's diplomatic isolation, and military threats to pressure Taiwan; and Copper demonstrates inconsistency when he almost immediately adds a comment about "China's ambitions to be a global power and perhaps eventually to rule the world" (126).

This review can cover only a few of the many difficulties this book presents. For example, Copper shows no evidence of understanding the historical, social, and political reasons why Taiwan identity is growing so rapidly on the island. Readers with an interest in Taiwan would do better to read the more coherent analyses available elsewhere.

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社運年代: 香港抗爭政治的軌跡 (An epoch of social movements: Trajectory of contentious politics in Hong Kong), edited by Edmund W. Cheng and Samson Wai-hei Yuen. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2018. xxx+366 pp. US\$18.00 (paper).

Hong Kong has long been described as a "city of protests." Ever since the successful large-scale July 2003 protest over a proposed law that would have curtailed civil liberties, the territory has been plagued with waves of popular contention. This edited volume attempts to chart the trajectory of protest movements that culminated in 2014 in the Umbrella Movement and a 79-day occupation of the main business district. Most of the essays focus on the dynamics as well as the "field" where popular contention takes place. They highlight in particular the "plebeian experiences" in the territory's protest movements.

The book is divided into four sections, each containing four essays. The first section reviews the changing discourses in the study of social movements in Hong

Kong and describes how the framings and repertoires of the dynamics of contention affect the territory's evolving identity politics. Hong Kong has long practiced a liberal autocracy with no universal suffrage. Democratic leaders since the 1980s had mainly adopted an active negotiating strategy with the government: the pressure for political reform was achieved through winning seats in the Legislative Council, supplemented occasionally by protest demonstrations in the streets. The resultant electoral politics relied mostly on the organized mobilization of the middle class and increasingly became disengaged from the wider populace. Since the 2000s, however, social movements in Hong Kong have no longer been confined merely to a call for democratic reform, and the realm of popular contention has broadened to the arenas of cultural preservation (and the concomitant rise of a stronger sense of local identity or "localism"), LGBT rights, and so on. This new wave of protest movements departs from conventional electoral politics both in terms of the "field" and "repertoire." The actual "practice" of protest has also become more performative and expressive, which need not necessarily be collectively organized but can be personalized and individualistic. In this light, the Umbrella Movement in 2014, being largely a self-mobilized movement, could be understood as subverting the past democracy movement in Hong Kong.

The second section explores the spatial expansion of contentious politics in Hong Kong. Struggles over the preservation of local cultural heritage as well as LGBT rights have extended the boundary of contentious politics to outside the legislature. Popular activism now takes place not only in the streets and public spaces but also in less visible spaces, such as the social media and neighborhood communities. In addition, protest movements in Hong Kong have undergone a creative turn and have been manifested in various artistic forms. These are expressed not only in public art works but also in how protest participants ingeniously make use of the occupied space for their "collective joy."

The third section focuses on the contentious practices of the protest participants—the "plebeian experience." The visual images of physical confrontations between the police and protestors that are depicted in the conventional media have ignited a sense among the general public of "suddenly imposed grievances" (178). This has been further fueled and spread by the new social media, thereby mobilizing more people to participate in the Umbrella Movement and sustaining it as a months-long protest movement. The Umbrella Movement also departs from past mass protests in Hong Kong in its relative spontaneity and occasionally "militant" clashes with authority.

The last section discusses the impact of contentious politics on the future political development of the territory. On one hand, the Hong Kong government eventually suppressed the Umbrella Movement but at a huge cost—political trust toward the authorities has declined significantly and regime legitimacy is much weakened. On the other hand, the increasing tendency to engage in a decentralized approach in mobilizing protest is not contributing to the solidarity of civil society. The lack of any centralized organizational structure and collectively organized mobilization

made the Umbrella Movement unable to transcend popular participation by converting it into actual political gains. It therefore constituted only “moments” of collective resistance but not a sustainable “movement” leading to long-term social change. The book is imbued with a rather pessimistic tone—that the past protest movements and, in particular, the Umbrella Movement have not produced any sustainable change in the territory in the face of a neoliberal autocratic government.

The Umbrella Movement is not an isolated phenomenon; it has similarities to other new and relatively “decentralized” and “fragmentized” social movements across the globe, as can be seen in the cases of the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street movement. The Hong Kong case therefore provides a comparative perspective in the study of new forms of social activism and changing contours of contentious politics in other societies.

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