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Historiography and Community Identity: Hong Kong Christians and the Recording of the 2014 Pro-Democracy Movement

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Abstract

Identity is constructed in relation to an “other,” and proven in narratives of events which present this contrast. One way the people of Hong Kong define themselves is through their struggle for civil liberties. The 2014 Occupy protests were not only socio-political, but also religious. Religious identity is engrained in Hong Kong people’s self-understanding as an embodiment of the freedom they enjoy in contrast to those across the border. Through their ideological encounter with the government, Hong Kong’s Christian community negotiates their uniqueness not only through protest, but also through literature which interpret the movement theologically, serving as a collective memory preserving and consolidating the group’s self-identification. This paper, through the methodology of historiography and social identity theory, intends to study the self-identification of the Hong Kong Christian community as a force behind the protest, and how their identity interacts with the recording of events as part of Hong Kong history.

Key words: history writings, community identity, Hong Kong Christian participants, the Umbrella Movement

INTRODUCTION

Undergoing the most serious political crisis in recent years, thousands of Hong Kong people broke silence and walked on the street in the 2014 pro-democracy movement to express their opposition to the decision on August 31, 2014 of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) that disapproved full universal suffrage in Hong Kong. This movement has shocked the whole China, and caught the attention of the rest of the world. The 2014 pro-democracy movement, also commonly called the Umbrella Movement, is not merely a political movement. The visible number of Christian participation colors the movement with the interpretation from their faith tradition which is deeply rooted in their self-identification. Thus it adds a religious dimension to the movement. To Hong Kong Christian participants, it is not only a chance for them to articulate their political pursuit of universal suffrage, but more importantly a platform for them to negotiate and manifest who they are in the social-political transition. Tons of writings composed during this period serve as their collective memory about this movement and as a form of identity negotiation at the crucial time for Hong Kong's future, preserving and consolidating their self-identification for generations. This paper, focusing on the participation of Hong Kong Christians in the 2014 pro-democracy movement and their writings,¹ intends to discuss how the identity of Hong Kong Christians interacts with the recording of event as part of the history of Hong Kong from the perspective of historiography and social identity theory.²

¹ Although both Protestant and Catholic communities participated in the movement, the identity of Christian community studied in section IV is limited to the identity of Protestant community, since the majority of literature found are written by Hong Kong people with a Protestant background.

² The author does not intend to construct one Hong Kong Christian identity that applies to every Hong Kong Christian regardless of their attitude toward the movement. After all, the complexity of the movement and diversified voices raised within the Christian community renders it difficult to do so. Instead, the paper is an attempt to study identity of the Christian participants and see how this movement changes their self-identification as Hong Kong citizen and Christian from a hermeneutical perspective.

I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY

In the past few decades, biblical scholars such as Gary Knoppers and Louis Jonker have been taking the angle of historiography and community identity to study the Hebrew Bible, and tracing the ideological elements of the Israelite people in the biblical narrative, especially the Deuteronomist history and the Writings in the Hebrew Bible. Although modern view on history writing differs in terms of the role of critical think from historiography in the ancient times, especially the biblical narrative, it does not necessarily become an obstacle for us to study a text from the angle of history writing, since the key is the presentation of ideological elements in the recording of events.

A. What is Historiography?

The word “historiography,” which came from the Greek word “*historia*,” meaning “inquiry” into the past, does not refer to retelling commonly accepted stories from the past. Instead, it contains certain implication concerning the message the text passes out. Although the word *historiography* is simply explained in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* as “the recounting of the past,”³ the author implies in the entire article that this activity, whether in the form of ancient Mesopotamian, Israelite or Greek historiography, points to the purpose of specific compositions. In other words, the author means to express a certain idea with the selection of genres, such as the king list. No matter what the purpose is, the authors do not escape from the idea of who they are socially, politically or religiously. That is to say, the text is always immersed in the ideological frame of a certain people. With such understanding in mind, biblical scholars have been attempting to excavate the Israelite people hidden the ancient biblical texts.

Although the trend of using historiography to study biblical narrative started in the mid-nineteenth century under the influence of empiricism and historicism, it should not stop the use of historiography in

³ Donald Laleiner, “Historiography,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 205.

contemporary writings, since the core spirit of it is the ideological reflection of the presentation of historical events. As it is said in a famous quote: "History is written by the victors," there is no way to approach a purely scientific and objective history. Since the nature of historiography, as examined by various scholars and historians, is the recording of events in the past within certain means, using various genres, any narrative of the past event is coated in the writer's ideological elements, intentionally or unintentionally.

In modern historiography, the events recorded in the texts do not simply refer to what happened in the past. Instead, the ideological narrative of the events is preserved in the form of collective memory of a community. The term "collective memory," which was first raised by Halbwachs, is considered to be "embodied in objectifications which store meanings in a concentrated manner, meanings shared by a group of people who take them for granted."⁴ It means that events told by authors in various forms, such as narrative or poem, are a group perception. Once it is taken out of its context and reinterpreted and objectified in the form of writing, it absorbs the common value and tradition that marks the uniqueness of the group of people who verifies and accepts such narrative as their past. As collective memory, it preserves who the group of people is in a specific moment when the event takes place, and it marks the continuity and discontinuity of this community in the past and possibly in the future together with other writings in the past and future.

Historiography, therefore, is a path which a group of people rationalize and affirm their common past with a certain ideological paradigm. It is also a path to preserve the common value and tradition that is updated and reformulated by recounting the events with their own ideological concerns.

B. Identity: Definition and Characteristics

Identity, to be simple, is a question of who an individual or a group is in the past and in the present. It is composed of collection of elements such as ethnicity, traditions, languages, and etc., which differ from a person or a group to another one. Just as T. S. Elliot mentioned in his

⁴ Agnes Heller, "Cultural Memory, Identity and Civil Society," *International Politics and Society* 2 (2001): 139-143.

chorus “There is no life that is not in community,”⁵ identity always maintains a collective sense. Various labels always mark different groups of people, or an individual that belong to a community, such as kin-based communities, the most fundamental type of community, which mainly identify themselves based on biological markers, and faith-based communities, which hold the same belief and worldview, as well as common ethical rules. These labels, however, are not exclusive to each other. Most of the time, a group may have various labels to identify themselves. Also, these markers are not merely derived from the instant circumstance, but also inherited from the past. No matter the kin-based community or faith-based community, or other types of community, there are more or less elements inherited from their ancestors, or the preceding community in the past.

Identity is often highlighted after social transitions. As Kobena Mercer comments, identity “only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty.”⁶ Since identity is rooted in the cultural elements that is closely related with the social, political and/or religious circumstance, when a social-political or religious transition takes place, the continuity and discontinuity of these elements renders a comparison and reevaluation of the markers that the community have from before the transition, either maintained, or inherited from the past generation. This comparison and evaluation becomes an “identity”⁷ in response to the changes. Thus, important event that brings big transition to a society, such as social movement, is the best occasion to capture a renewed identity of a certain group, and their reformed value and tradition in comparison to the past.

Identity is ideological. Sinisa Malesevic refers to identity as an ideological device.⁸ The term “ideology” here does not point to the dom-

⁵ T. S. Elliot, “Choruses from ‘The Rock,’” in *The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909–1950* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1952), 101.

⁶ Kobena Mercer, “Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics,” in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 43.

⁷ The term “identity negotiation” developed in the beginning of 1980s as a crucial part of the social cultural identity theory. It accentuates the process of self-identification driven by inter-personal and inter- or intral-community relations. The significance of introducing this concept in this study is that it prompts identity formation to be considered as “a communication phenomenon” among various people, involving change of messages over a period of time.

⁸ Sinisa Malesevic, *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3.

inant political entrepreneur in a narrow sense, as Marxists and fundamentalists interpret. Rather, in a sociological sense, ideology “appeals to individual or group interests, moral norms or superior knowledge claims in order to justify actual or potential social action.”⁹ That is to say, ideology is universal, and it introduces moral norms and group interests that mark the identity of a specific group or an individual for the purpose of fostering “the politicisation of social difference.”¹⁰ As sociologists point out, identity is not at all natural and consensual, and it is more or less intentionally pushed by people to create uniqueness. In this sense, therefore, identity also maintains an ideological dimension for the purpose of group identification in a certain social political or religious context.

Since identity is determined by various markers, it has an exclusive character. By labeling people with the same trait(s), it circles the people who share common ideological realms, such as common value, and rules out the ones who are not in. It, therefore, sets up a boundary between the insiders of the community and the outsiders—“we” and “others.”

Identity, therefore, is how an individual or a group defines themselves in relation to others, and separates themselves from others based on the ideological systems that they receive or maintain from their interaction with others in the social, political, and religious environment. It is especially tangible when the outer world is in great change, which shakes their original perception of who they were and forces them to quest for new understanding of who they are.

C. Historiography and the Approaching of Community Identity in the Umbrella Movement

Steph Lawler describes identity as “‘made up’ through making a story out of a life.”¹¹ He does not refer to identity as a creation. Instead, identity is “creatively produced through various raw materials,”¹² including memories of different events, which contain experiences and interpretation of those who participated in the events directly or indirectly. In this sense, historiography, the recounting of the past based on

⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰ Malesevic, *Identity as Ideology*, 228.

¹¹ Steph Lawler, *Identity: Sociological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 11.

¹² Ibid.

certain ideological paradigm of a community, always contribute to identity (re)formulation, since histories are often updated to continue, adapt, correct, and criticize old traditions according to the development of social-political or social-religious circumstances. By reading the newly updated history writing, we are able to recognize a community behind the text and trace their newly reformed identity according to the transition of a society.

In the case of the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, as a social movement, the Umbrella Movement also shakes Hong Kong people, especially Christians who participated actively to call for democracy, and wakes up their dormant self-identification of who they are between boundaries. In facing the new context, they constantly consult their worldview and common value and tradition, in search of an interpretation and a solution of their current situation. These activities, which come along with the development of the movement, become memories of the community and are recorded in the forms of writings by the participants within their ideological paradigm. The texts, therefore, are a medium where reformulated identity of Hong Kong Christians in the Umbrella Movement is reachable.

II. BACKGROUND: THE 2014 HONG KONG PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT¹³

September 28, 2014 is an unforgettable day for Hong Kong and the rest of the world. The week-long class boycott by the Hong Kong Student Federation and Scholarism, calling for full democracy from the central government of China, escalated into a seventy-nine-day long “Umbrella Movement” (Yusan yundong 雨傘運動 / Yusan geming 雨傘革命).¹⁴

¹³ Although not an eye-witness or participant of the movement, the author follows closely the development of the movement from various sources in the United States. The background information presented in this session is based on the newsfeed on mainstream media in the States and Facebook, as well as media in the Mainland China and Hong Kong.

¹⁴ In Cantonese, the movement is also called “Zheda yundong 遮打運動,” which includes three meanings. First, “zhe 遮,” meaning “to block” refers to umbrella in Cantonese. It takes the meaning of umbrella as a defensive tool. Second, the word is the Cantonese transliteration of Chater Road in Central, one of the very first places protesters gathered at the beginning of the movement. Last, the character “da 打,”

This term, given by Western media because of the umbrellas used as defensive tools against pepper spray the Hong Kong police released to clear the protestors, became a symbol of the entire movement. In essence, it is the ensuing movement of Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP), which was started as early as March 2013 by Benny Tai, Chan Kin-man and Chu Yiu-ming. The goal of OCLP, identical to that of the students, is to have universal suffrage in the election of Hong Kong chief executive. Although OCLP was carefully planned, the protest was not carried out successfully due to the escalation of student strikes on the same day that OCLP was executed. The demonstration, later known as the Umbrella Movement, was no longer limited to student groups. Tens of thousands of Hong Kong people, regardless of their social level and occupation, walked on the street and occupied several centers of Hong Kong including Mong Kok, Admiralty, and Causeway Bay. OCLP became the supporter of this ensuing movement instead of organizer.¹⁵ Compared to OCLP, the Umbrella Movement is neither carefully organized nor officially led by any leader. It is a rather non-centralized occupying movement.¹⁶ Although the Beijing government rejected the demands of Hong Kong demonstrators, the movement did achieve success in that “it brought about the political awakening of an entire generation, many of whom won’t give up their fight to determine their political fate.”¹⁷

The Umbrella Movement is a political movement. It was instigated by the decision of the NPCSC on August 31, 2014 concerning the nomination of the city’s legislative council members and the election of the city’s chief executive. The political disagreement between Hong Kong people and mainland China, however, has been in place since the

meaning “to knock down,” refers to one of the goals of the movement, the resignation of Hong Kong chief executive Leung Chun-ying.

¹⁵ Benny Yiu-ting Tai 戴耀廷, “Dai Yaoting: Xianshi yusan yundong fei zhanzhong—Zhou Rong zhiyi huaqing jixian, Dai cheng liqing gainian xucheng yundong” 戴耀廷：現是雨傘運動非佔中——周融質疑劃清界線，戴稱釐清概念續撐運動 [Benny Tai: It is the Umbrella Movement, not OCLP], October 31, 2014, accessed February 9, 2016, http://news.mingpao.com/pns/戴耀廷：現是雨傘運動非佔中-周融質疑劃清界線%20戴稱釐清概念續撐運動/web_tc/article/20141031/s00001/1414691854518.

¹⁶ Rose Wu, “The Rebirth of Hong Kong,” *Syndicate: A New Forum for Theology* 1, no. 4 (November/December 2014): 88. The third section of this journal issue is dedicated to “The Umbrella Movement and Theology: A Special Symposium” and edited by Justin K. H. Tse.

¹⁷ Emily Rauhala, “Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement, One Year Later,” October 2, 2015, accessed October 10, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hong-kongs-umbrella-movement-one-year-later/2015/10/01/d496e6ba-6781-11e5-9ef3-fde182507eac_story.html.

handover of Hong Kong from Britain in 1997 and the implementation of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy. The border between the territory of Hong Kong and the frontier city Shenzhen is a live embodiment of the relationship between China and Hong Kong.

The “One Country, Two Systems” principle excludes Hong Kong from direct control by the central government and ensures the city’s relative freedom and independence to keep the political system inherited from Britain. Compared to the rest of China, Hong Kong’s uniqueness comes from its freedom to question the government, freedom of speech and religion, and autonomy in relation to the central government. The central government, however, has been taking steps to eradicate this system by manipulating the election of the chief executive and by attempting to impose a propagandistic curriculum to Hong Kong students. This means that the promise made by the government before handover in 1997 is becoming blurry. The perception is that Hong Kong is becoming another province of China, a province without access to Facebook, without freedom to express one’s ideas of how they wish to be governed and how they wish the place they live to be. Their uniqueness will be replaced by uniformity, assigned leaders, an imposed national identity, and obedience without any critical thinking. Hong Kong, following on the experience of British colonialism which ended with the colony’s return to China in 1997, is inclined to feel political control of the central government as another “colonization.”

The Chinese government, however, has a reason for its increasingly tight control. Hong Kong, with its current political system and freedom, is a challenge to the Communist Party’s leadership, because of its potential to jeopardize the Party’s control over the entire country. The Chinese history from Qin to Qing dynasty suggests that stability in China is secured by a single ruler’s sole control of its people and land—an autocracy. Harmony and peace are created by forbidding an objective voice, because any advice or even criticism is considered to be dissatisfaction of the “peaceful condition” and a sign of separation, which can therefore lead to a revolt or overthrow of the current power. In recent years, more and more Hong Kong people, especially young generation, identify themselves as Hongkongers instead of Chinese. The surge of localist identity is considered by the central government a potential threat to the unity of the country. Control from the central government, therefore, is required to prevent separation.

III. CHRISTIAN PARTICIPATION AS A FORM OF IDENTITY NEGOTIATION: THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF THE MOVEMENT

Although the Occupy Central Movement and the Umbrella Movement are largely defined as a political movement due to its pursuit of political reform, they also present a “powerful moral critique” of China’s current autocratic system, and this moral critique is expressed primarily through religious dimension.

Even though the number of Protestants and Catholics in total only takes up to twelve percent of the whole population, the proportion of Christians supporting the movement is higher.¹⁸ During the entire movement, Christian participation is conspicuous in various forms for the goal of political freedom. The leaders of the movement with Christian background, the presence of Christians at protest sites, participation of churches and clergy, and the involvement of Christian organizations all add to the religious meaning of the movement. Altogether the activities of these Christians are means of presenting their opinions and communicating with the central government, Hong Kong government, and other groups of people. They are also utterance of faith and value that are deeply etched in the self-identity of these Christian participants. The movement, therefore, is also a platform for Christian identity negotiation.

A. Major Leaders of the Movement

It is worth noticing that the Umbrella Movement is relatively loose compared to the clear leadership of OCLP and does not have a clear leadership. There are people, especially students from the Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism, who took up the principal role in the movement. Some of them have Christian background and bring the value of Christianity into the movement. The 19-year-old student leader Joshua Chi-fung Wong, founder of Scholarism, was born and

¹⁸ Reporters of ucanews.com, “Christians Back HK Democracy Protest with Food and Faith,” September 26, 2014, accessed February 9, 2016, <http://www.ucanews.com/news/christians-back-hk-democracy-protests-with-food-and-faith/72056>.

raised as a Protestant Christian. In one of his Facebook posts, Wong expressed that “his Christian faith was the motivation behind his pro-democracy activism.”¹⁹ Although the OCLP became supporter of the Umbrella Movement but not the organizer, because of the same core value that the two movements pursue, the initiators of OCLP also actively participated in the Umbrella Movement and played a crucial role. Two of the Occupy Central trio, Benny Yiu-ting Tai, Chu Yiu-ming and Chan Kin-man, are Protestants. Benny Tai, a professor of law at the University of Hong Kong, shared with the participants how his faith sustained him in the movement.²⁰ Another founder of the Occupy Central Movement, Chu Yiu-ming, is a well-known Baptist pastor and social activist. Although Chan Kin-man is not a Christian, he attended the Lutheran Church in high school. It is he who proposed to add before “Occupy Central” “With Love and Peace,” which has a very strong Christian correlation.²¹ The Christian value, not officially promulgated, was deeply ingrained in the movement because of the leadership of these Christians and their active participation.

B. Involvement of the Church

Levin comments in his newspaper article on *The Wall Street Journal* that churches in Hong Kong played an important role in the protest.²² During the Occupy Movement, especially after the police used pepper sprays on September 28 in the beginning of the Umbrella Movement, a number of churches condemned the use of force by the police in Admiralty, and opened their places as shelters and resting places for protesters. From the beginning to the end, there were up to nine Catholic and Protestant churches from different denominations that opened to demonstrators near the occupation zone in Mong Kok, Wan Chai and Causeway Bay. These churches also provided food, space for press conferences and counselling with prayer. In this way, the inclusive love

¹⁹ June Cheng, “Hong Kong Churches Divided over Whether to Support Protesters,” October 21, 2014, accessed September 24, 2015, <http://www.christianheadlines.com/news/hong-kong-churches-divided-over-whether-to-support-protesters.html>.

²⁰ Kung Lap-yan, “Occupy Central, Umbrella Movement, and Democracy: A Theological Articulation,” *Syndicate: A New Forum for Theology*, 84.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ned Levin, “Hong Kong Democracy Protests Carry a Christian Mission for Some,” October 3, 2014, accessed September 20, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/hong-kong-democracy-protests-carry-a-christian-mission-for-some-1412255663>.

of God was shown to not only Christians, but also non-Christians who participated in the demonstration. According to *UCA News* reporters, “the large-scale involvement of Christians is a clear sign of Church support for the pro-democracy movement.”²³

Although the movement receives support from many churches in various forms, there are still conservative churches which kept distance from the Umbrella Movement. They either stayed neutral the entire time or disapproved the participation. While some churches preached support for the protestors in their sermons during the movement, there were churches which “only kept to the Gospels.”²⁴ The attitude of these churches intrigued the appearance of new forms of “churches” during the movement. Before the police cleared the occupation zone in Mong Kok, a small tent chapel, St. Francis chapel, was set up by three groups of Christians with different denominational backgrounds: Anglicans, Catholics, and Evangelicals. This outdoor chapel was used for masses, services, and prayer meetings in public. Catholic and Protestant versions of the Lord’s Prayer were also posted there.²⁵ As Chan Shun-hing mentions in his paper, one theme of the services in this chapel was “‘moral judgement,’ that Jesus condemned unjust deeds in society and would exercise judgement.”²⁶ The purpose of setting up such a chapel shows that Jesus “protects everyone present in the movement.”²⁷

Another form of church was created during the movement. Umbrella City Cyberchurch,²⁸ a means of proclaiming the Word of God using the internet and instant communication software, is a parachurch and alternative church in contrast to the traditional church based in a designated building. Initiated as early as October 30, 2014, Umbrella City

²³ Reporters of ucanews.com, “Christians Back HK Democracy Protest with Food and Faith.”

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Christie Chui-shan Chow, and Joseph Tse-hei Lee, “After Colonialism, Before Democracy: The Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong: Part II,” *Asian American Theological Forum*, January 28, 2015, 1.3, accessed October 10, 2015, <http://aatfweb.org/2015/01/28/after-colonialism-before-democracy-the-umbrella-movement-in-hong-kong-part-2/>.

²⁶ Chan Shun-hing, “The Protestant Community and the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (2015): 391.

²⁷ Kung, “Occupy Central, Umbrella Movement, and Democracy,” 84.

²⁸ The Umbrella City Cyberchurch is mainly based on its Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/UmbrellaCityCyberchurch>. Also, it has two blogs sharing articles with its readers: <https://umbrellacitycyberchurch.wordpress.com> and <http://uccc-blog.blogspot.com/2014/12/umbrella-city-cyberchurch.html>.

Cyberchurch conveys the hope that it can shepherd its people scattered throughout sites during the Umbrella Movement. It also aims to create an “Umbrella Theology” based on biblical theology and the context of the movement, rebuilding the core values of Hong Kong through the revolution of values (*Wertrevolution*).²⁹

C. *The Involvement of Clergy*

Many clergy also played a positive role in the whole movement. Joseph Zen, retired cardinal of the Catholic Church, although not a founder of the movement, was an active supporter and “has been a visible and critical presence among the students.”³⁰

Rev. Chi-wai Wu, executive director of the Hong Kong Church Renewal Movement, points out the necessity for Christians to be engaged in public affairs like the movement. Because God loves the world, Christians too, must love the world and be involved in it.³¹ In this way, he encourages Hong Kong Christians to participate in the protest. Another example is the Clergy Care at the three occupation sites. Founded by members of a group called Protestant in Support of Constitutional Reform during the movement, Clergy Care gave spiritual support to the participants in need. Beginning from October 8, members of Clergy Care set up new Clergy Stations for Spiritual Support and worked as chaplains from site to site, providing pastoral care and sharing witness to support the demonstrators.³² Through singing hymns, reading the Bible and saying prayers, they delivered messages of peace and hope to the participants of the protest. As Chan Shun-hing mentions in his paper, the clergy station “was decorated with religious symbols and a big

²⁹ Chan Lung-pun 陳龍斌, “Sancheng wangshang jiaohui: Yongbao jiazhi geming” 傘城網上教會：擁抱價值革命 [Umbrella City Cyberchurch: Embracing the Value of Revolution], November 9, 2014, accessed October 1, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=86410&Pid=21&Version=0&Cid=1016&Charset=big5_hkscs.

³⁰ Justin K. H. Tse, “Symposium Introduction,” *Syndicate: A New Forum for Theology*, 78.

³¹ June Cheng, “Hong Kong Churches Divided over Whether to Support Protesters,” October 21, 2014, accessed September 24, 2015, <http://www.christianheadlines.com/news/hong-kong-churches-divided-over-whether-to-support-protesters.html>.

³² Wu Chi-wai 胡志偉, “Zoujin xianchang de ‘jiaomu guanhuai tuan’” 走進現場的「教牧關懷團」 [On the Scene with the “Pastoral Care Group”], September 26, 2014, accessed October 24, 2015, http://christintimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=85548&Pid=6&Version=0&Cid=150&Charset=big5_hkscs.

wooden cross, including slogans such as ‘Take up the cross, defend our city.’”³³

In the movement, ministers also used other ways to support the protestors, such as worshipping, delivering sermons, offering prayers, and providing counseling. On the day of World Communion Sunday, more than thirty clergy and five hundred laity gathered in Harcourt Road, Admiralty to worship and share communion.³⁴

D. Involvement of Individual Christians in the Form of Organizations

During the Occupy Central Movement or the Umbrella Movement, Christians, either in individual or organized as groups, used various means to raise their voice to the central government.

Individuals such as Anson Chan, Hong Kong’s “Iron Lady” and one of the most influential political figures, Jimmy Lai, founder of Hong Kong’s pro-democrat newspaper *Apple Daily*, and Martin Lee, founder of the Democratic Party, are all Catholics.³⁵ They have been working hard to push democracy in Hong Kong. During the movement, they publicly expressed their support to the movement and criticized the central government in different forms.

As early as 2013, some Christian organizations had already been involved in the Occupy Movement. In the ensuing Umbrella Movement, more Christian organizations joined in and supported “universal suffrage” in various forms.

The main outlet for Christian participation was through religious gatherings at the three occupation sites, including prayer meetings, services, and religious assemblies.³⁶ Some students and faculty members from the Divinity School of Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, held a Taizé prayer meeting at Tamar Park during

³³ Chan, “The Protestant Community and the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong,” 389–390.

³⁴ Lai Ka-chun 黎嘉晉, “Jinzhong jietou shengcan chongbai: Wu bai ren ling Zhu bei yu bing” 金鐘街頭聖餐崇拜——五百人領主杯與餅 [Admiralty Street Communion Worship: Five Hundred People, the Lord’s Cup and Bread], October 8, 2014, accessed October 24, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=85823&Pid=2&Version=1415&Cid=944&Charset=big5_hkscs.

³⁵ Reporters of ucanews.com, “Christians Back HK Democracy Protest with Food and Faith.”

³⁶ Chan, “The Protestant Community and the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong,” 383.

class boycott.³⁷ Students and faculty members from Evangel Seminary, Alliance Bible Seminary, and departments of religious studies from different universities in Hong Kong also actively joined the movement either by their presence or through open letters and petitions. As reflected in the speech of Rev. Dr. Man-chee Kwok, the president of Evangel Seminary, evangelical theology should play a positive role by being engaged in its context and respond to the needs of society with the Bible.³⁸ A group of Protestants and Catholics even started a “Christian Watching over Hong Kong Confession” and declared their stance in the movement by quoting verses from the Bible, emphasizing their Christian values and principles that supported them in choosing this stance.³⁹

Some scholars have provided a good summary concerning the role of activists in a social movement in identity negotiation. These activists “construct collective identities, group definitions through which they understand themselves, their connection with one another, and their political place in the world.”⁴⁰ The religious affiliation of all the Christians, clergy, churches, and organizations mentioned above are manifested through their action. The usage of Scriptures, theological interpretations, practice of Christian virtues in the movement, either in relation to the opponents within the Christian community or to other communities, is a vivid declaration of who they are as a community in the negotiation of freedom with their opponent, an atheist political entity, the Chinese government.

The word “activist,” however, is not limited to those who led the Umbrella Movement, but also those who participated in the movement and recorded the event from their own perspective. By recounting the stories in the Umbrella Movement, the Christian writers also present us with a renewed community identity of Hong Kong Christians from their own ideological frame, which can be traced from their writings.

³⁷ Kung, “Occupy Central, Umbrella Movement, and Democracy,” 84.

³⁸ Lo Man-wai 羅民威 and Chan Ying-yan 陳盈恩, “Tianma gongyuan she huanchong qu: Jiaomu tongxin fushi shimin” 添馬公園設緩衝區——教牧同心服事市民 [Tamar Park Set Up as Pastoral Care Buffer to Serve the Public], October 8, 2014, accessed October 24, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.js?Nid=85823&Pid=2&Version=1415&Cid=944&Charset=big5_hkscs.

³⁹ “Christians Watching over Hong Kong Confession,” August 29, 2014, accessed September 27, 2015, http://sites.google.com/site/keepwatchhk/confession_eng 2014.

⁴⁰ David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett, *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 205, introduction to Part IV.

IV. WRITINGS OF THE UMBRELLA MOVEMENT AND THE COMMUNITY IDENTITY OF HONG KONG CHRISTIAN PARTICIPANTS

Since the beginning of the Umbrella Movement, Christian participants in Hong Kong recorded their experience and interpretation concerning this movement in various ways, such as sermons, report of news, expressions of support, and discussions of fundamental reasons for the movement and possible solutions, and theological reflections. By the first anniversary of the movement, hundreds of articles have been composed and are available to read. All these documents, immersed heavily in Christian ideology, are vivid discussions and announcements of their self-interpretation amidst social turbulence, and precious documents for future generations of Hong Kong Christians.

The written documents used in this part come from three main sources. The first is the Facebook page “Database of ‘Hong Kong Christianity in the Umbrella Movement,’”⁴¹ founded by Professor Ying Fuk-tsang, director of the Divinity School of Chung Chi College. The database includes, but is not limited to, the movement and its aftermath lectures, sermons delivered by pastors, activities held by churches concerning the movement, and theological reflections from seminary students and faculty. Another important source is *The Christian Times*, a Christian forum which provides both printed and online versions, covering up-to-date news and articles of interest to Christians. The third source is composed of recently published books, such as *Our Hope beneath the Umbrella*, published in April 2015. It is a collection of articles from three groups of Hong Kong Christians: individual protesters, ministers, and theologians from different Hong Kong seminaries. As Lo Man-wai, chief editor of *The Christian Times*, points out, the main purpose of publishing the book is to leave a record for the Hong Kong Christian community and their spiritual journey during the Oc-

⁴¹ *Yusan yundong xia de Xianggang Jidujiao wenxian ziliaoku* 雨傘運動下的香港基督教文獻資料庫 [Database of “Hong Kong Christianity in the Umbrella Movement”]. Its Facebook page is <https://www.facebook.com/%E9%9B%A8%E5%82%98%E9%81%8B%E5%8B%95%E4%B8%8B%E7%9A%84%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E5%9F%BA%E7%9D%A3%E6%95%99%E6%96%87%E7%8D%BB%E8%B3%87%E6%96%99%E5%BA%AB-801595763216409/>.

cupy Movement, and also as a reference for its readers.⁴² The record, however, is not limited to published books in a broad sense, but is preserved in different forms of writings, released on the media or elsewhere. Other sources, such as journal articles and commentaries, are mainly gathered from monthly church newsletters and sources such as *The Syndicate: A New Forum for Theology*. These articles and journal papers, from an academic point of view, provide theological interpretations or reflections of the movement. Although there are overlaps among different sources, altogether they provide readers a comprehensive understanding of the community identity of Hong Kong Christians in the Umbrella Movement.

A. The Central Role of the Bible in Documents

As the most fundamental system of meaning in Christianity, the Bible, including both the Old and New Testaments, holds a central role in Christian self-interpretation within different contexts. This is reflected vividly in Christian writings on the Umbrella Movement. Different chapters and verses are quoted, and characters and stories in the Bible are used to interpret the current situation and to find a solution for the movement. The Bible, providing a rich source for the Umbrella Movement, best illustrates the identity of Hong Kong Christians.

One of the central contentions of the Umbrella Movement centers on the relationship between politics and faith in God, or the question of whether a Christian should participate in any form of political movement like the Umbrella Movement. As early as February 2014, during the Occupy Movement, *Pastoral Letter 66*, published by the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church Union Hong Kong, deals with the participation of Christians in political movements with an interpretation of the nature of politics, political participation of the church, clergy and lay Christians from a biblical perspective.⁴³

⁴² Lo Man-wai, "The Umbrella is Closed: Depend Anew on The Lord With No Fear for the Narrow Path," in *Ju san dai tian ming: Zhanling yundong Jidutu wenji* 舉傘待天明——佔領運動基督徒文集 [Our Hope beneath the Umbrella: A Collection of Christian Articulations on Hong Kong Occupying Movement], ed. Lo Man-wai, Kwok Ching-yung, and Yan Man-yi (Hong Kong: Virtue and Wisdom Link Books Limited, 2015), 5.

⁴³ Kok Wai-luen 郭偉聯, "Jidutu de zhengzhi canyu" 基督徒的政治參與 [On Christian Political Participation], *Xuandao muhan* 宣道牧函 [Pastoral Letter, Christian and Missionary Alliance Church Union Hong Kong], No. 66, February 2014, accessed

Concerning an understanding of politics, the author quotes many Bible verses from both the Old and New Testaments for a better understanding of “authority.” Multiple examples from the Old Testament show that it is God who gives authority to earthly government, in order to lead God’s people to “execute justice and righteousness” (1 Kings 10:9). In the New Testament, earthly authority is not destroyed. Rather, Paul urges Christians to be subject to authorities (Romans 13:1–7) and “honor the emperor” (1 Peter 2:17). The people, according to both Testaments, are ruled by two authorities: earthly authority and God. Earthly authority is limited and temporal, compared to the authority of God, which is absolute and everlasting.

The author also clarifies the notion of political participation, providing biblical and theological evidence on how the church, clergy and individual Christians participate in political activities, and what their missions are. Based on the Bible, the mission of the church is to proclaim the Gospel. For clergy, it is “to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ” (Ephesians 4:12). As for individual Christians, since they are part of the church, their mission is incorporated into that of the church. However, since individual Christians are also citizens in a society, they should keep in mind that the basic principle is to practice justice and be merciful while attending to earthly affairs.

The careful discussion in this letter on political participation through interpretation of the Bible details biblical guidance for Christians participating in the Umbrella Movement, reassuring clergy and Christians as members of a faith community practicing righteousness and justice in opposition to an autocratic government.

An evangelist writing under the pseudonym “Eutychus” makes an analogy between the story of Paul in Acts 22 and 23 and the situation after the Causeway Bay site was cleared, not only seeking to console despairing Christians after the failure of the movement, but also to plant hope in the hearts of Christians:

Beginning from Acts 22, Paul defended himself before the Jews. In chapter 23, Paul made another defense to the Jewish council. In the end, he was presented to the governor, Felix, crying out for himself again and again, but was refused every time. He was persecuted in Rome without victory.... The chief priest, the Jewish council and the

Roman authorities are long gone today, but the voice of Paul is still preserved and uttered through the Bible, and his witness still influences hundreds of thousands of Christians.⁴⁴

The last journey of Paul, according to his narrative, resembles what happened in the movement in Hong Kong. Just as Paul cried out to defend himself, Hong Kong people also cried out in different forms, either with their bodies or by writing, to fight for democracy. The result is the same, ending with no victory. Even though it failed to convince the central government, the witness of Hong Kong people and their spirit of democracy is left and, like the words of Paul, will influence all future generations. One day, these generations will be able to transform political chaos.

Eutychus' interpretation of the failure of the Umbrella Movement based on a biblical story is not only a reiteration of who they are and how they live following the example of the Apostle Paul, but also is an encouragement for current generation. There is hope for victory, and history will display it throughout the course of time, as long as the Christian community follows God and is righteous in God's eyes.

In the article "He Will Make a River in the Desert of Democracy," written before the occupation ended, Chan Kok-ming, a young journalist staying at the sites of the movement, predicted the results of the Umbrella Movement with disappointment. There is, however, hope for a positive result. Built on the miraculous deeds of God, such hope is expressed not only in the title of the article, which is quoted from Isaiah 43:19, but also in the following way:

Looking for hope, the author turns to 2 Corinthians 4:8–9: "We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed." These short verses are the best description of the entire Occupy Movement. Although afflicted in every way, powerless in front of injustice, and attacked by numerous falsehoods and lies, we should believe that if God opens a door, he will also make a new way.... We have to admit that there will never be democracy in Chi-

⁴⁴ Eutychus [pseud.], "From the Failure of Paul's Defense to the Umbrella Movement," 2014, accessed October 5, 2015, <http://faith100.org/IYZYn>.

na, and democracy in Hong Kong will also be thwarted. Therefore, we can only ask the Lord to yield flowers of democracy in China.⁴⁵

By quoting the Bible, the hardship of Hong Kong Christians throughout the movement is juxtaposed with the situation of the church at Corinth in Paul's second letter, and Chan puts her hope for victory over their common adversary, the central government of the mainland China, to the hands of God. Although having to face the fact that they will not by themselves win over the Chinese government on the issues of democracy, she believes that the Lord will ultimately control everything and return victory to them with His superiority and miracles.

B. The Common Memory of Hong Kong's Past and Hongkonger Identity

Hong Kong Christians, in attempting to redefine who they are as a faith community, do not neglect the other dimension of their self-identification as a group of Hongkongers. This double identification is also revealed in their narratives concerning the Umbrella Movement.

On November 2, 2014, *The Christian Times* published an editorial on the new Lion Rock Spirit in the Umbrella Movement. The Lion Rock Spirit, derived from the 1970s TV show *Below the Lion Rock*, is recalled and interpreted according to the current political situation. The Lion Rock, a hill between Kowloon and the New Territories of Hong Kong, became a symbol of the Hong Kong spirit. As a reflection of Hong Kong people's struggle and success in the 1970s, the Lion Rock Spirit is described as "perseverance and solidarity,"⁴⁶ becoming the core value of Hong Kong people inherited through generations. The Lion Rock Spirit, therefore, as a cultural icon, is a crucial part of the Hong Kong people's identity, including Hong Kong Christians.

Inspired by the banner hung on the Lion Rock announcing the goal of the Umbrella Movement, the author says:

⁴⁵ Chan, Kok-ming 陳珏明, "Ta bi zai minzhu shamo kai jianghe" 祂必在民主沙漠開江河 [He Will Make a River in the Desert of Democracy], November 21, 2014, accessed September 6, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=86676&Pid=2&Version=1421&Cid=999&Charset=big5_hkscs.

⁴⁶ RTHK, "Shizishan xia jingdian zhongwen" 獅子山下 經典重溫 [Under the Lion Rock, Classics Revisited], accessed October 13, 2015, http://podcast.rthk.hk/podcast/item_all.php?pid=568.

The Lion Rock Spirit of Hong Kong society, which is conferred by the last generation, has been rewritten by the new generation after the Umbrella Movement. It is no longer simply helping each other and silently working hard, but to achieve a better system and a more equal society.⁴⁷

In this article, the author refers back to the former Lion Rock Spirit and the memory of Hong Kong people of that period, indicating the change in the Lion Rock Spirit in the context of the Umbrella Movement, namely the pursuit of a system of justice and social equality.

In *Our Hope under the Umbrella*, famous Christian author and marriage and family therapist Anita Yuk-lin Fok addresses the “you and me below the Lion Rock,” in an encouraging letter addressed to all Hong Kong people. In this letter, she encourages participants to accept the challenge and respond with Christian virtues of “faith, love and hope,” following the commandment of Jesus, “Love the Lord your God” and “Love your neighbors.” She also stresses the Lion Rock Spirit of solidarity, and how Christian participants helped fellow Hongkongers through this spirit.⁴⁸

In these writings, the two authors emphasize the double identity of Hong Kong Christians: Christian and Hongkonger. The virtues and ethics of Christianity that the community holds mark them as Christian, yet the common memory of Hong Kong’s past, the recall and renewal of the Lion Rock Spirit, and the tie to their homeland embodied by the Lion Rock all added another layer to their identity: they are also people of Hong Kong. These two layers of identity, both religious and ethnic, are melted into one group of people, and proclaim their uniqueness among other peoples.

⁴⁷ “Luntan sheping: Shuaxin Shizishan xia jingshen, tansuo shehui xinling xinmao” 論壇社評：刷新獅子山下精神，探索社會心靈新貌 [Editorial of *The Christian Times*: Building The New Lion Rock Spirit, Searching New Minds in Society], November 2, 2014, accessed October 12, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=86284&Pid=2&Version=1418&Cid=942&Charset=big5_hkscs.

⁴⁸ Anita Yuk-lin Fok, “An Encouraging Letter: To You and Me below the Lion Rock,” in Lo and others, *Our Hope beneath the Umbrella*, 25.

C. The Construction of “We” and “Others”

In using this form of writing, Hong Kong Christians who support the movement also construct a boundary, drawing an invisible border between “we” and “others” using literary devices. The concept of “others,” namely those who do not belong to the community of Hong Kong Christian participants, is not limited to non-Christian community. It also includes those who do not support the movement and claim that Christians should not be involved in activities related to politics. The difference between these two types of “others” is that pro-democracy Christians still wish to negotiate with Christians who are against the movement, and convince them through the teachings of the Bible and core Christian virtues. With non-Christians, either the opponents of these groups or the government, they take a completely different attitude.

1. “Others” Within the Church

In “One Umbrella, Two Witnesses,” published by *The Christian Times* several days after the Umbrella protests were dispersed, Dr. Benedict Shing-bun Chan, assistant professor at Hong Kong Baptist University, recorded two groups of Christians who held completely different attitudes toward the movement. He says:

There are indeed many Christians coming out to the street because of their faith, which is something to be proud of and to applaud. Of course, they are just practicing the biblical teaching “to do justice, and to love kindness” (Micah 6:8). . . . Their witness of practicing their faith is very touching.⁴⁹

In comparison to this group of Christians, he also mentions another group of Christians in the movement:

⁴⁹ Benedict Shing-bun Chan 陳成斌, “Yiba yusan, liangzhong jianzheng” 一把雨傘，兩種見證 [One Umbrella, Two Witnesses], December 17, 2014, accessed October 5, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=87201&Pid=21&Version=0&Cid=1016&Charset=big5_hkscs.

Many Christians (or even more than half of Christians) are not clear about the meaning of the occupation, or even confused about basic political knowledge. In fact, it is normal to have different voices in a society. . . . There are, however, churches which respond harshly to dissenting voices, or there are clergy promoting their political stance using the power given by the church, even though their basic ideas of faith or political affairs are mistaken. These are all very unacceptable behaviors.⁵⁰

Juxtaposing the two groups of Christians, Chan creates a contrast of “good” and “bad” between the two. By using positive words such as “proud,” “applaud,” and “touching” on the former group of Christians, Chan takes his stand and expresses his opinion on the definition of a good Christian, which is following one’s faith and practicing the teaching of the Bible. By using a negative word “unacceptable” for the latter group, Chan points out the opposite side of being a Christian and criticizes this group for wrongdoing. In this way, the second group of Christians is excluded from the true Christian community, and the boundary between members of the true Christian community and those who are not is drawn. Its purpose is to encourage all Christians to follow the first group of Christians in the movement.

Chan, however, does not give up on the second group of Christians, namely the “bad” ones. In the end, he finishes his paper with the following sentence:

To those who oppose democracy based on incorrect knowledge, we should work hard to explain correct principles.⁵¹

There is still hope for them to turn to the right direction and come back to the community. The boundary, therefore, is not un-erasable. There is still a chance to be accepted into the community, as long as they correct their mistakes, and accept correct principles. The responsibility for the Christians is, in this case, to explain to them what is right.

It is not only Chan who distinguishes between the “we” and “others” within the church. Lee Tsui-shan also expresses her concern about the opposing groups of Christians in the church. In her article “Reflection

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

on the Role of Megachurches in the Umbrella Movement,”⁵² she justifies the responsibility of Christians in the movement with quotations from the Bible, and denounces those churches which refused to participate in the movement. She urges these churches to rethink the role of Christians in a society, and accentuates the multiple identities of Hong Kong Christians.

2. “Others” Outside the Church

Along with the movement, there are many divisions within or among various groups, Christians within the church, police, and citizens, or even younger generations and older generations. There are many “others” that are separated from the community. Among these torn relations, the most obvious and fundamental is that of the Chinese government (including the Hong Kong government) and those Hong Kong people who urge democracy as a whole. The fracture between the two groups is the most obvious and the hardest to repair.

Many articles in various sources ascribe the cause of the movement to the Chinese government, a government that does not respect its commitment to Hong Kong people and does not care for democracy, and also the Hong Kong government, which is blindly obedient to China. Communist ideology, the Communist party, mainland officials, and their subordinates in Hong Kong become the “others” and are excluded from the reconstruction of Hong Kong value identity. In antagonizing the “others” for their own future, Hong Kong people find their core value as well as the pride of being a Hongkonger and their involvement in the movement.⁵³

Each of the narratives analyzed above, preserving memory fragments of the Umbrella Movement from a Christian perspective, mirrors a specific yet unique angle of Christian identity in the Hong Kong 2014 pro-democracy movement. Altogether these elements are crucial for reconstructing a renewed Christian community in the movement. As Christians, they embrace the values revealed in the Bible and use bib-

⁵² Tsui-shan Lee, “Reflection on the Role of Megachurches in the Umbrella Movement,” 2014, accessed October 15, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=85761&Pid=6&Version=0&Cid=150&Charset=big5_hkscs.

⁵³ Choy Siu-ki, “I am Proud as a Hongkonger!” 2014, accessed October 15, 2015, http://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=85654&Pid=21&Version=0&Cid=1021&Charset=big5_hkscs.

lical principles to interpret the movement and guide their demonstration, as well as for predicting the final result of the movement. They also treat Christians with opposing opinions according to the guidance of these values, hoping one day the boundary between them will disappear and they will reunite in God. As members of the Christian community, they also belong to a larger community, the community of Hongkongers. They share common values and the common history of Hong Kong. All these distinctive features separate them from the hostile one, namely the Chinese government, and push them further away from the Chinese political system and the mainland.

V. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY: THE 2014 HONG KONG PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

The 2014 pro-democracy movement is a watershed for Hong Kong and its people, especially the Christian community. It urges the people of Hong Kong to face the increasingly deep gap that the Chinese government has been creating through the manipulation of Hong Kong's political system, which overshadows the freedom that Hong Kong people have been enjoying. It also forces them to respond and clarify what they truly want and take action to pursue this goal. While facing this hegemony and articulating their political pursuits, namely in the form of movement, the people of Hong Kong, especially the Hong Kong Christian community, announce who they are and practice their self-identification in a communal sense. Their community identity is therefore asserted and refined in the fight against hostile groups.

The memory, experience, and interpretations of the 2014 pro-democracy movement, preserved in the form of literature by various authors aiming to keep a record of the movement for the participants and future generations, becomes a means of manifesting the updated identity of Hong Kong Christians in response to the social-political transition. In recounting the movement the centrality of the Bible, the accentuation of Christian virtues and ethics, and the eschatological hope compose a major part of Christian identity. The elements that are incorporated into the identity of Hong Kong Christians, which include being members of a faith community and people of Hong Kong, are also exhibited through the narration of Hong Kong's spirit and its people's memory of the past. The boundary of the

community is also drawn in discerning the antagonizing groups. These elements, put together, present a live community both in the literature and in reality. As recordings of a specific event, the Umbrella Movement, these texts are not isolated from other historical texts in the past. It forms a continuity of the flow of history from the past to the future, and witnesses “who they were,” “who they are,” and “who they will be” in the future. Thus, the uniqueness of Hong Kong Christian community in the movement will live forever with the existence of these writings, and will constantly remind the future generations of “who we are, what our responsibilities are” when they face a similar crisis. Future generations, accompanied and encouraged by these narratives, will follow the footprint of their predecessors, practice righteousness, and pursue democracy. This is, therefore, the fundamental meaning for the history writing of Hong Kong Christians in the 2014 Hong Kong pro-democracy movement.