Queering "The Children's Movement": A Sideways Look at Political Infantilization in the (Post-)2014 Global Imaginary of Hong Kong Protesters

Kai Cheang

GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, Volume 27, Number 4, October 2021, pp. 629-654 (Article)

Published by Duke University Press

QUEERING "THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT"

A Sideways Look at Political Infantilization in the (Post-)2014 Global Imaginary of Hong Kong Protesters

Kai Cheang

I am supporting the government, and you guys, you're like children. You are naughty, ridiculous. Not willing to take any responsibility.
—Anonymous Hong Konger, *Vox*, August 28, 2019

Stand up for ourselves. Be naughty. Be rebellious. Be fearless.
—Denise Ho, Oslo Freedom Forum, September 12, 2019

Queer demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative: it could include . . . some married couples without children, for example, or even (who knows?) some married couples with children—with, perhaps, very naughty children.
—David M. Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*

The boy's identity is unknown. Like many of the participants in Hong Kong's pro-democracy protests, he wears a white mask that covers half of his face in an effort to preserve his anonymity. But the photo of him circulating on Facebook is captioned 時代孤兒, or "Orphan of our Time," indicating that the boy's parents have ostracized him for his defiant participation in the series of demonstrations that erupted in Hong Kong during the summer of 2019 (see fig. 1). The message superimposed upon the boy's body reads: 13歲被捕人士 / 傳遭家人拋棄 / 拒絕透露姓名 / 有冇人識得佢 ("Thirteen-year-old boy arrested / Rumor has it that his parents have rejected him / and refused to disclose his name / Does anybody

GLQ 27:4
DOI 10.1215/10642684-9316882

Figure 1. An anonymous underage Hong Kong protester was captured by the Hong Kong Police Department at a political rally inside a public transit station on October 12, 2019. According to a *Facebook* post by a user with the pseudonym 陳百牆, the boy in question needed adults to bail him out. Courtesy of the Umbrella Movement Information Archive.

know him?"). The photo appeared on the Umbrella Movement Information Archive on October 17, 2019,[1] three days after a citywide rally that sought to pressure the United States Congress to pass the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act of 2019, which imposes sanctions on those who violate the autonomy of Hong Kong. Beneath the photo is the following appeal: "Since there are lawyers trying to bail the boy out, and his parents have not been forthcoming with his information, assistance from adults who can serve as his new guardian is vital to releasing him from the police station."

According to research cited by *Inkstone*, a news outlet sponsored by *South China Morning Post*, "Almost two-fifths of the 12231 protectors cumulatively polled in 19 protests from June to August [2019] were younger than 24 and about 11.8% of them were 19 or below" (Lam 2019). Supporters of self-determination point to the number of youths among the ranks of protesters as proof of the pure, self-evident rightness of the pro-democracy cause, while their pro-establishment opponents, like the anonymous local interviewee cited in *Vox* (Kirby 2019), insist that the youthfulness of so many of the demonstrators explains why they are eas-

ily coerced into reckless behavior. Pro-establishment media outlets outside Hong Kong amplify that narrative and frame the radicalization of underage protesters on the street as a result of concerted efforts by terrorists. On September 23, 2019, the pro-Beijing Chinese Global Television Network tweeted a video titled "Rioters, get your hands off children," accusing instigators of protests of deploying minors under eighteen as weapons: "Taliban / ISIS / use children as suicide bombers / Hong Kong, remove your black hands." The clip juxtaposes footages of the thirteen-year-old Hong Kong girl who burned the Chinese national flag and the thirteen-year-old boy who was indicted by the Hong Kong police for possession of raw materials to cook up petrol bombs, with pictures of gun-toting children co-opted by the Taliban—all to imply that Hong Kong children have been brainwashed by terrorist groups.

Existing work in transnational feminism has carefully detailed how women and children of color are treated by white heteronormative powers in infantilizing ways for self-aggrandizing ends (Enloe 2014), but until recently, few scholars have considered situations where youths of color are infantilized by nonwhite individuals and nation-states to serve different—sometimes hegemonic and other times antihegemonic—purposes.[2] In Hong Kong studies, the fullest attempt at addressing the complicated question of the political valence of the child is a 1992 article by Rey Chow that situates representations of the Hong Kong child in the then emerging postcolonial context. In the piece, Chow analyzes the lyrics of singer-songwriter Lo Ta-yu, which are narrated by a nameless child. Under Chow's interpretation, the 1983 songs "The Orphan of Asia" and "Masters of Future" are not only symbols of Taiwan's post–World War II cries for humanitarian assistance but also parables of postcolonial Hong Kong's appeals to the world, with the special administrative region's democratic prospects metaphorized by the figure of the child. Writing before the handover, Chow could not have anticipated young people's widespread engagement with the Umbrella Movement. Her rhetorical formation of the child must therefore be reconsidered in light of Hong Kong's contemporary protest culture and politics.

New scholarship by Alvin K. Wong and Petula Sik Ying Ho has introduced queer theory to complicate the discussion around representation and inclusion in Hong Kong since the Umbrella Movement. Harnessing queer studies' critical approach to thinking in "multiplicity" (Wong 2019: 1), they argue for a non-heteronormative way of doing, critiquing, and advancing protests in Hong Kong. Their approach demands that Hong Kongers recognize that the movement has important feminqueer dimensions that are too often erased by media narratives that focus on the masculinity of the protesters. As Ho puts it, the protests must "be

able to mobilize the efforts and contributions of people of different ages, gender, class, sexual preferences and social backgrounds" (2020: 18). Thinking alongside this new development at the intersection of Hong Kong and queer studies—especially with minor protesters and their global representations in mind—the present essay returns to and builds on Chow's reading by analyzing the child more expansively as both a metaphor for and a metonymic reality of a generation of resistance that points toward a sideways future for Hong Kong. In so doing, it will extend the multilayered implications of the concept of political infantilization offered in the *GLQ* special issue "The Child Now" (Gill-Peterson, Sheldon, and Stockton 2016a) to the study of the representations of childhood in the global imagination of Hong Kong protests. In her article, "The Queer Child Now," special issue coeditor Kathryn Bond Stockton (2016: 509) theorizes the figure of the "child in peril," a domesticated figure whose precarity incites the worry of bourgeoise Americans. Stockton juxtaposes the child in peril with Paul Amar's (2016) account of the street children who agitated for radicalism in Egypt, to identify the paradox that is at the core of political infantilization: "We fear the children we would protect" (Stockton 2016: 505–6). The same children who symbolize purity can also register as undisciplined infantile figures who fill adults with anxiety whenever they spiral out of control.

The paradoxical effects that surround figurations of the child are fully evident in representations of Hong Kong's pro-democracy protesters: as noted above, Chinese state television depicts impressionable Chinese children as warped by malign Western influences, a rhetorical strategy that robs the youthful protesters of agency and absolves pro-establishment audiences of any obligation to reckon with the protesters' grievances. In very different terms, the child in peril in Lo's songs and Chow's analysis is infantilized, too: positioned as a catalyzing force for global humanitarian concern. These diverging representations of Hong Kong children—with one orienting toward Chinese nationalism and the other appealing to a global humanitarian's pity—are effects produced by the same contradiction: on one hand, adults do not know who children are and thus need ready-made narratives that will make them comprehensible. Yet these popular, prefabricated narratives ignore the lived reality of children. Amar (2016: 597) argues that to return agency to children's rebellion, cultural consumers and critics must "ground infantilized subjects" in contexts including, but not limited to, their "social geographies, political economic structures of work, and political-traditions of unruly collective protest." This essay argues that the same can be said for the studies of youth in Hong Kong in the post–Umbrella Movement era: to attend to the radical potential of infantilized insurgencies requires a contextual reading practice that

carefully considers both what children stand for and what they actually do. This essay applies such a reading to a global archive of Umbrella Movement narratives that centers on a pack of queer children—with queer being antinormative, in David Halperin's (1997) account of the term. In so doing, the essay lends agency to childish subjects whose political infantilization can register as pat objectification but also as a type of disobedient subjecthood that challenges the heteronormative logic of nation building and securitization.

To take seriously the radical potential of childish politics, this essay will first contextualize heteronormative futurity as a dominant narrative in contemporary Chinese politics, one against which student protesters in Hong Kong resist in their struggles for heterogeneous opportunities in the city. Then the essay will turn to a cultural archive of Hong Kong devoted to prodemocratic narratives that depict queer children who are disrupting Beijing's plan for Chinese homogeneity. These narratives include: Hannah Beech and Emily Rauhala's 2014 profile of Joshua Wong, "The Voice of Generation," on *Time*'s website, where the then–eighteen-year-old and Hong Kong are both compared to queer icon Peter Pan; Shirley Geok-lin Lim's poetry collection *Embracing the Angel: Hong Kong Poems* (2015), which narrates the psychic drama of student protesters' "coming out" process as political dissidents in a Confucian culture where familial piety means loyalty to one's "fatherland"; a tweet about the "infamous chalk girl," who was detained after drawing flowers on the staircase leading up to the HKSAR (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) headquarters (December 23, 2014); a *Guardian* documentary (2017) made about her; and Michael Yat-him Tsang's short story "Po Suen" (2017), which tactfully transposes the characters of 普選 (universal suffrage) onto 抱孫 (to have a grandchild) to queer Hong Kong's future, from a heteronormative certainty that is promised by procreation to an electoral ideal for which gay people sacrifice.

Ultimately, the analysis positions children in Umbrella Movement protest narratives as metonyms and metaphors of a generation whose orientation—to use Sara Ahmed's (2014) word—pivots from the course that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has expected of them. Their orientation runs sideways, developing along "energy, pleasure, vitality and (e)motion in the back-and-forth of connections and extensions" that tend toward an "unreproductive" otherwise (Stockton 2009: 13). The antinormative decisions and behaviors by the youthful figures depicted in the works in this archive gesture at the value of unreproductive alternative realities: futures that reimagine existing institutions (like family) and infrastructure (like the streets), turning the structures that are meant to secure domesticity and heteropatriarchy into new political space-times for lateral and reciprocal relations. Examining the Hong Kong protests through the metaphors and realities of child-

adult conflicts allows this essay to expose the soft strategies (such as filial piety) and hard tactics (such as infrastructural control) that the leadership of the CCP-backed HKSAR employs to protect, secure, and correct childish protesters and the city writ large. This lens further permits the essay to analyze young protesters' nonnormative responses to the HKSAR's rigid mandates of filial piety and Chinese neoliberalism, revealing that what the lesbian Hong Kong singer Denise Ho calls "naughty, fearless, and rebellious" (Hui 2019) behaviors might allow for the unfolding of an alternative horizon of possibilities for Hong Kong.

Chrononormativity with Chinese Characteristics

Just as nation-states turn space into places for the separation, regulation, and containment of bodies, time can also be deployed by institutions as an apparatus to manipulate and synchronize citizens' routines to serve the operations of dominant systems. Elizabeth Freeman (2010: 3) calls this enforced, disciplining deployment of time "chrononormativity." Under neoliberalism, it is easy to see how dominant governmental and corporate cultures organize the life schedules of their citizens and subjects to maximize their economic productivity. Though Freeman's analysis of queer and neoliberal temporal forms centers on Western cases, her theory has implications for the analysis of Hong Kong, given the city-state's enmeshment in globalization. One of her most direct acknowledgments of the cultural portability of her notion of chrononormativity comes in her examination of "the advent of wage work" (3). This phenomenon, which has become globalized, "entail[s] a violent re-temporalization of bodies once tuned to the seasonal rhythms of agricultural labor" (3).

In Hong Kong, this shift toward wage work occurred during the rehabilitation period after World War II, when industrialization took off in the city, and factory work became the way of life for working-class people and their decedents (Ng and Ip 2007). This development not only affected the organization of Hong Kong people's public lives (including how many hours they worked and when they worked) but also that of their private lives (such as when to have sex and rear children). For Freeman, who embraces an anti-chrononormativity rooted in erotic freedom, certain forms of maneuvering time, such as "withholding, delaying, surprising, pausing and knowing when to stop" (35), are strategies individuals can use to extract themselves from the grip of chrononormativity. Not only can these practices produce bodily and sexual freedom, they can also challenge the grinding pace of productivity and contest the dominance of subjects by neoliberal corpora-

tions and governments—the sort of dominance that both Western businesses and pro-establishment institutions have sought to exert over Hong Kong.

The neoliberalism promulgated by China goes beyond the liberalizing, fast-paced economic agenda that has long defined Hong Kong's economy. Neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics combines portions of market freedom and liberalizing ideologies with party loyalty and Chinese history. For the current CCP, the expansion of the Chinese economy and the plan to reunify with its lost territories represent rightful reclamations of what were once China. Seen in this light, China's rise represents less the advent of a new global superpower than the long-overdue reclamation of the country's past glory as 中國, which literally means "center of the world." Harnessing aspects of neoliberalism, Chinese leaders since Deng Xiaoping have engineered a new Chinese modernity consisting of a type of temporal and economic simultaneity which is made possible by transregional and cross-continental networks and infrastructures to re-center the Chinese economy in the global order. The sideways temporality of the Umbrella Movement stands as an anti-chrononormative gesture that is perceived as threatening to disentangle Hong Kong from the Sinocentric simultaneity: the protesters' refusal to move along with the rapid pace of Hong Kong, which is designated as a hub of international brokerage in the new Chinese century, has the potential to interrupt the re-inauguration of China's past glory in the twenty-first century. Thus, even though the Umbrella Movement was not ultimately successful in reversing the neoliberal Hong Kong government's decision around suffrage, the protesters' anti-chrononormative practices have had repercussions reaching all the way to the CCP's realization of what canonical Chinese literature—including the ancient *Classic of Poetry*, or *Shi Jing*, of the seventh century— has called the Chinese Dream, a concept that was recently revived by party officials including Premier Xi Jinping.

Unlike the American Dream, in which an individual succeeds on his or her own, the Chinese Dream positions the collective—not the individual—as the protagonist in the rise of China, and the Chinese Dream is specifically laid in temporal terms. As the journalist Robert Lawrence Kuhn (2013) notes in the *New York Times*, the contemporary Chinese Dream is a set of achievements the party leadership wishes China to accomplish, including "China becoming a moderately well-off society by about 2020 [with 2021 being the 100th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party], and a fully developed nation by 2049 [which is the 100th anniversary of the People's Republic of China]." Hong Kong plays a central role in the achievement of these milestones of the Chinese Dream. Already open to traffic on July 1, 2018, the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macau Bridge brings the econo-

mies of mainland China and the special administrative regions closer than ever. Premier Xi clearly sees the bridge as a means of achieving integration; at the 2018 Boao Forum, he announced a plan to create China's own "Bay Area," a huge economic complex that consolidates the economies in nine major urban centers in Guangdong Province along with Hong Kong and Macau. This scheme of economic integration is devised to redistribute the economic opportunities (that the SARs have and Guangdong Province does not) and land resources (that the province has plenty of but the SARs lack)—all in the hope of elevating the average quality of life of Chinese people (counting those inside Hong Kong and Macau), and in turn boosting their economic productivity. Seen from the vantage point of the CCP, Hong Kong's full integration in 2047 will help to usher in the Chinese Dream's grand finale in 2050 by setting a precedent for the future integration of territories like Macau, in 2049, and Taiwan, in 2050 (the year in which, according to Xi's 2015 October address to the Party Congress, "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" will be accomplished). Each of these territorial incorporations will move China a step closer to its dream of global ascendancy.

Hong Kong's position as the fulcrum in the realization of the Chinese Dream is a legacy of British colonialism. Scholars like Aihwa Ong (2004) have pointed out that Hong Kong is a testing ground for other mainland Chinese cities to become international ones. After the city's sovereignty was handed back to China, its economic system did not change. The city has been rated by the conservative Heritage Foundation (2018) in the United States as the freest economy in the world for twenty-four consecutive years. This achievement shows the continuity of Hong Kong's neoliberal, chrononormative schedule of development before and after the handover of the territory from Britain to China. Indeed, the neoliberal economic patterns that took shape in Hong Kong under British rule inspired Chinese economic reforms. Bolstered by the effects of these economic policies, the Chinese government has moved to make the implementation of additional neoliberal reforms a part of its strategy for consolidating its hold over Hong Kong. The city's fast-paced timetable and economic success have connected its residents to the Chinese Dream gradually and largely unnoticeably.

It was not until the eruption of the 2014 Umbrella Movement that China's chrononormative hold on Hong Kong came to widespread media attention. One consequence of the youthful protesters' efficacy in immobilizing the city was the revelation, in a Hong Kong context, that political unfreedom requires the refusal of neoliberal time. Transnational representations of the youthful protesters' refusals of HKSAR and Chinese neoliberal mandates have increased awareness within and beyond the SAR of hidden temporal dimensions of the resistance that would

otherwise be "unimaginable" (Gopinath 2005: 11) within the conventional and nationalist imagination of China. The texts in the archive I have assembled below follow Gopinath's method of imagining impossibility via transnational queer counterpublics. Each reflects an "undercurrent," an unease that refuses to settle into acceptance of the inevitable passage of Chinese straight time (Leung 2008: 5). Unruly children take the center stage in these narratives, impelled by that sense of unease. The minor protesters depicted in these texts reflect the ways home-grown discontentment reacts and responds to the HKSAR's disciplinary strategies and culminates in a queerness that "escape[s], exceed[s], and resist[s] normative formations" (3). This queerness indexes the (post-)handover generation's response to its political predicament and, more specifically, its antinormative growth against and around Chinese chrononormative standards. Using a queer lens, the following analysis aims to shed light on the queer, sideways motions and political mobilizations of unruly youths in the representations of (post-)2014 Hong Kong protests.

Hong Kong Student Protesters; or, Children Who Grow Up Sideways

Unruly children do not make compromises: they refuse the lure of the economic affluence that China offers to Hong Kong as a substitute for universal suffrage. Joshua Wong, who was labeled by the international version of *Time* in October 2014 as the "Face of Protest," exemplifies that spirit. *Time* featured Wong in a cover story; the cover photo is a midrange shot of Wong, then an eighteen-year-old (see fig. 2). In the photo, he sports a white t-shirt with the slogan, 學生運動/無畏無懼, "Student's Movement, No Fear No Dread," printed in a bright orange font. Wong's expression is somber, even as his gaze darts sideways. But his childish bowl haircut and his thick black-rimmed glasses undermine the gravity of his pose, and his hands, which are glued to his cell phone, together with his frail carriage, further highlight his youthfulness.

Wong's ongoing political celebrity in Hong Kong is predicated on his appeal to other young people, a connection conditioned by their common struggle. Beech and Rauhala, senior journalists in China and Southeast Asia for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, understand that struggle to be constructed upon a stubborn reluctance to assimilate into mainstream adult culture. The two authors narrativize Wong's refusal as if it is a bedtime story by J. M. Barrie: "Joshua Wong does not want to grow up. . . . He, like Peter Pan, never wants to become that most disdainful of species: an adult" (Beech and Rauhala 2014: 2). Initially, the authors' decision to belittle the figurehead of the Umbrella Movement may seem patronizing, an attitude typical of the humanitarian logic of Western liberalism

Figure 2. Joshua Wong is featured as the "Face of Protest" on the cover of the international edition of *Time*, October 2014.

that idealizes the figure of the child as the global archetype of innocence and uses the child's violation or endangerment to incite politically galvanizing moral horror. When read from this perspective, Beech and Rauhala's piece can be easily dismissed as anti-Chinese propaganda that diminishes Wong, presenting him as a childlike figure who solicits readerly sympathy against Beijing's actions in Hong Kong. But contemporary events in the United States complicate this reading. The profile of Wong was released two months after the shooting of the eighteen-year-old Michael Brown by the police officer Darren Wilson on August 9, 2014. In light of that shooting and the ensuing protests in Ferguson, Missouri, *Time*'s attention to Wong seems less like an Orientalist fixation and more like an attempt to help US readers draw inspiration, and even hope, from a protest movement fomented by people of color that seemed at the time like it might end with the satisfaction of the protester's demands. If queer theorist Stockton (2016: 506) is correct in saying that "the United States is outsourcing its Child" because the country is nonmetaphorically harming its children by rescinding the privilege of "delay" that once promised American children of all races the space to roam and dream free from ugly adult reality, then Beech and Rauhala's decision to report on another eighteen-year-old (this one living) on the other side of the Pacific is actually locating in Hong Kong the possibility of triumph over state-sanctioned violence, a move that prioritizes the HKSAR over Missouri as the land where innocence has not entirely been lost.

In Beech and Rauhala's profile, Wong's defining feature is his innocence; he is presented as leading a carefree life no different from any other eighteen-year-old in Hong Kong. The casualness of his every routine—which includes slurping

ramen noodles, gorging on grilled scallions, and tapping away on his phone—calls into question the seriousness of the leadership role of this "teen icon" in the Umbrella Movement, and even the seriousness of the Movement itself. But as *Time* discursively indicates, and the news from Hong Kong consistently showed, the Umbrella Movement was a serious endeavor to alter the city's economic and social trajectory and was taken seriously by the Hong Kong police, who violently dispersed the student protesters from their tents in Central on December 11, 2014.

Wong's threat lies in the radical potential of his unadult politics. At the end of his *Time* interview, Wong defines his political agenda this way: "I don't want to follow the games of adults . . . handing out business cards that you'll just put in the rubbish bin, chit-chat. Political reform is not to come from going to meetings. . . . We had to do radical action because our leaders did nothing" (3). Wong does not define what an "un-adult" future looks like. But he makes clear that such a future is not going to be built on the traditional pillars of capitalism and pragmatism that founded the city. Wong's insistence that "the future will not be decided by adults" (2), coupled with Stockton's (2009) analysis of the sideways temporality produced by queer childhoods, permits us to speculate on the alternative motion, orientation, and futurity of Hong Kong. For Stockton (3), children (and for that matter adults) who do not abandon childish habits and divest investments in childish objects are queer, because they "hang in suspense," "grow towards a question mark," and "twist time sideways." In contradiction to Freud, who regards the lack of developmental transitions as pathological, Stockton perceives it as a growth in "involution"—the type of aging that goes against the outward and forward motions expected by the law of revolution by turning inward and sideways (Gill-Peterson, Sheldon, and Stockton 2016b: 502). As Stockton (2009: 11) elaborates, "Growing sideways suggests that the width of a person's experience or ideas, their motives or their motions, may pertain at any age, bring adult and children into lateral contact of surprising sorts." Following this analysis, underage children—along with adults who do not subscribe to or are not ready for adulthood—are all grouped under the rubric of "deferral" (11). Stockton's perspective opens up a surprising framing of the Umbrella Movement as a "lateral contact of surpassing sorts" (11), a sideways movement that joins different age groups in their abandonment of certainty and their search for the (im)possibility of a future otherwise.

As such, Wong's unadult politics are ultimately a rejection of the cautious strategies employed by the politicians before him, strategies that involved lamenting the fate handed to Hong Kong by the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration while doing nothing to contest it. Indifferent to what might seem mature or sensible, Wong's defiant brand of childish politics confronts the system and upends

the mandates issued from the Hong Kong government—commonly referred to as 啊爺 (grandfather) in Cantonese vernacular.

In the HKSAR, the domestic is entangled with the political. The city is heavily influenced by Confucian teachings that advocate a top-down model of governance at home and, by extension, in the nation. These teachings assert that power and wisdom emanates from the eldest and then trickles down to the youngest. As Eliza Wing-Yee Lee (2003: 7) notes, "Colonial domination has led to the perpetuation of patriarchal practices in many ways." One way is through economic means: as British neoliberalism gained steam in the 1970s and 1980s, the Hong Kong colonial government turned the city into a ground of experimentation and encouraged individuals to rely on their families to get ahead in their careers. Under this model, the family becomes the unit through which the colonial government (and later the HKSAR government) disciplines individual citizens. Recent news about intergenerational rifts between parents and children over participation in the protests—with the former cutting the latter off economically—is the consequence of the blurring of the domestic and politics.[3]

Yet even as Confucianism remains a powerful force in Hong Kong politics, so does the legacy of British coloniality. Carrie Lam, the current chief executive of the HKSAR, was a civil servant in the British colonial government. After the departure of the British, the Chinese authorities chose Lam and other prominent former British civil servants for leadership roles in the HKSAR and tasked them with the same mission: to foster Chinese patriotism in the generation that grew up during and after the handover. For instance, in 2012, the Chun-ying Leung administration proposed a "Moral and National Education" curriculum in primary and secondary education. The proposal was objected to by teachers and students alike; among the students, Wong was one of the loudest opponents. In a press conference in September 2012, Wong said that since patriotic sentiment was one of the grading criteria in the guidelines issued by the government for the moral and civic course, the curriculum could be regarded as another of the CCP's impositions upon the HKSAR. With righteous indignation, Wong—then a fifteen-year-old—rallied a small crowd to occupy the HKSAR headquarters for three days, which then extended into ten days and expanded to a mass of 120,000 attendees.

It was in 2012 that the efficacy of Wong's childish politics was first revealed. Even as the paternalistic HKSAR backed down from its curriculum demands, it sought to diminish and belittle Wong's radicalism as childish. For instance, on September 1 of that year, Lam, then the chief secretary for administration, told the students who had been camping overnight in front of the government headquarters to "go back to school" because the new school year had already

started. By denigrating youthful radicalism as a one-time fluke, Lam sought to push Hong Kong toward a compliant, neoliberal future. This was not the first time Lam had dismissed activism as youthful folly. In 2007, when interceding with a group of young people occupying the Queen Victoria Harbor to delay the demolition of the historical monument, Lam recalled her college days, saying, "我當年也曾激情過" (I was once passionate too). Lam's vague allusion to her participation in the 1970s agitation for public housing from the British Colonial government infantilizes protest as a deviant behavior that young radicals will grow out of one day as they mature.

But at least from a purely economic perspective, what made it possible for Lam to grow out of her "immaturity" were the many economic opportunities available to young people in the 1970s and 1980s. The British colonial government used arguments about economic growth rates to appease grassroots agitations on behalf of the working class during the 1960s and 1970s. Those growth rates are history now. And like Beijing's increasing control over Hong Kong, the slowing rate of growth in the special administrative region has further intensified its young people's alienation. Leo F. Goodstadt (2019) has observed that Hong Kong young people's frustration with the government is also a result of the city's unforgiving neoliberal economic policies, which have resulted in the reduction of secondary education from seven to six years, the diminishment of jobs that pay enough to allow workers to make good livings in the city, and the reduction of subsidized housing. The stratospheric cost of housing in Hong Kong means that young people in their twenties and even as old as their thirties must remain subordinated to their parents, living in their parents' apartments like children.[4] In other words, Wong's politics are symptomatic of a new and youthful brand of radicalism in Hong Kong that is reacting against deep-seated structural problems of elitism and economic inequity that have worsened over the last twenty years.

The economic frustrations of child protesters are further depicted in Lim's poetry chapbook (2015: 76), which depicts a pack of youthful protesters who are perhaps "nine, or eleven, or perhaps thirteen, or sixteen." They are the young people who will have to fight politically for the socioeconomic scraps left over by the adults who have consolidated the neoliberal gains of Hong Kong's postwar development. Lim's poetry further shows that, even as young people in Hong Kong endure economic marginalization, they must also overcome guilt for bringing their demands to the street. Young people feel guilty for their participation in civil disobedience because it incurs their parents' shame, a fact that is all the more painful given that family is supposed to help children secure their economic futures in Hong Kong. Children's civil disobedience then is an index of their parents' failure

to transmit the Confucian doctrine of obedience to their offspring. Lim's poetry is a testimony to the complex intergenerational conflicts between (pre-)teen protesters and their elders that arose out of the Umbrella Movement. Lim's poems channel the affective and psychological tensions at the center of Hong Kong politics and bear witness to the conflict between the Chinese heteronormative expectation of obedience and the youthful dissidents' defiant refusal of neoliberal values and outcomes.

Young protesters in grade school and junior high constitute the defining trope in Lim's representation of the Umbrella Movement. Lim, who hails from Malaysia and teaches in the United States, was serving as a visiting professor at City University of Hong Kong when the Umbrella Movement protests broke out. Lim's chapbook centers on uniform-wearing schoolchildren who supported the cause of universal suffrage during the civil disobedience campaign through their presence at occupation sites every day after they were done with their lessons. When asked why she wrote about the child protesters of the Umbrella Movement, Lim (pers. comm., August 15, 2015) said, "I wrote about them not because they are these cute little things, but because I found their story to be symbolic of the process that Hong Kong is going through in this post-colonial and pre-CCP phase." The schoolchildren's experiences of resistance in Lim's poems stand in for Hong Kong's transition from obedient colonial subject to provisionally agential subject that defies the terms of its subordination.

The queer temporality of the Umbrella Movement is here too, regardless of whether Lim is conscious of it in her poems: the children's loss of innocence appears to be queer because the children seem to be awakened to a will sideways. Their exposure to extreme violence arouses in them a desire to self-actualize that, as Lim has it, is a process that follows a sideways course that goes beyond clock time, extending past the temporal boundaries of the Movement.

The collection's first poem, "The Children's Movement ('I'm here because I love Hong Kong': a student at the protests, September 30th, 2014)," layers intimations of queer sexuality on top of the Movement's queer temporality. It dramatizes a child protester's realization of her political desire as a moment when she faces the deep, dark secret hidden behind the "dungeon doors" of her mind. Like a queer child who suppresses her homosexual longing for fear of being ostracized by family and society, the protagonist in Lim's poem has been "pushing [her] questions down into the dungeon of her own making" (76). She hides these questions because she loves her parents, who she believes would prefer her to conform, for, as she says, "obedience is love, love obedience" (77).

However, after witnessing a mysterious "flash," which is quickly followed

by another "eighty-seven flashes," she can no longer deny her desire; together they light up the fears inside her psychic "dungeon," fears that have been feeding on her secrets, which are "growing larger" and "fiercer" like "rats" throughout the years (76–77). Those mysterious flashes, as we find out in the second stanza, are flares from the explosion of tear gas bombs that Hong Kong police dropped on student protesters on September 28, 2014. What ultimately jolts the child out of her usual obedience and forces her to come out as part of the citywide civil disobedience campaign is the searing encroachment of the tear gas bombs. "A radiation imprinted on your retina . . . pierced first your mind, penetrating / the brains' protective tough membrane; then, changing / the equations that regulated the universe" (77). This passage harkens back to a moment in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) when the theorist suggests that the closet is a heterosexual construct full of boxed-up and unspeakable wills and desires. When we use this queer lens to understand the child protester's political closet here, it becomes possible to argue that she represses her political will because coming out as a political dissident in Hong Kong will stigmatize her and her family. But after experiencing firsthand the Hong Kong police's use of extreme force, the child eventually realizes that the closet is society's containment of her. She acts out her political desire even when she knows it is incongruent with the social order, because state violence has proven the law to be morally arbitrary.

Concomitantly, the child protester comes to a different understanding of (dis)obedience, an understanding that shifts from "obedience is love, / love obedience" in the first stanza to "love is disobedience / disobedience love" in the second stanza (Lim 2015: 76–77). This perspective shift is brought about by the child's loving relationship with her father and mother, who have set her the example that a caring parent is one who will not subject a child to extreme abuse like that perpetrated by the government. The police's coercive dispersal of the student protesters with chemical weapons teaches the lyrical subject a painful lesson in the flesh and in perception: that obedience to the government is not filial obedience—a perception that gradually disarticulates the parent from the government. Such disembedding of the family from the nation is shown by the poem to be an empowering experience: it offers up clarity through which the child "sees" a reality that "chang[es] / the equations that regulated [her universe]," a reality that emboldens her to "walk through" the "dungeon doors" and to face her "questions" (77).

By comparing a child's participation in the Umbrella Movement to a coming-out process, Lim's lyrical meditation on civil disobedience presents the campaign as a clash between two political temporalities—one queer, the other straight. The child's political will embodies temporal otherness not because it is

homosexual but because it indexes an intention that the establishment deems dangerous and threatening. According to Ahmed, will has a queer theoretical genealogy. Ahmed (2014: 11) makes this case by referencing Sedgwick's *Tendencies*, which traces the etymology of the word *queer* to its root in the "Indo-European word 'twerk,' [meaning] to turn or to twist, [which is] also related to the word 'thwart'[:] to transverse, perverse or cross." Ahmed's genealogy shows us that the child in Lim's poem fears her own "questions" because the state and state ideologies have deemed questioning unacceptably willful—and even worse, unfilial—since it has the potential to derail "the forward trajectory of a straight line" (11), which, in the case of Hong Kong, is the Chinese Dream. The ending of the first poem in *Embracing the Angel* describes the child's unleashing of her foreclosed political will, which appears to have accrued a different temporality of its own given how long it has been contained inside the "dungeon." The poems that follow zero in on the clash that arises when the queer temporality of the will comes into contact with the city's chrononormativity as the closet door cracks open wider.

For instance, in "Beware the Children," Lim describes the Movement as a process of growth and even initiation for Hong Kong's youthful protesters, who "grow inches by the month. Their voices roughen, / their bodies cannot obey the laws / of waiting" (103). Although the police's violent foreclosure of the Movement complicates Lim's warning about the physical threat to the dominant order posed by a "hopeless and dreamless generation," the developing bodies of the protesters can still flourish in a sideways orientation that turns away from the benchmarks and milestones on the chrononormative growth chart—and they may yet assemble in new forms of protest (103).

In "Riding the Ferry," Lim dwells on the radical potential that rests in the children's silent sideways growth: ". . . these children / who'd slept on city streets, who now sit in school, / stony hopes in pockets, ready for skipping/across the harbor and border tomorrow" (105). The adjective *stony* is worth lingering over. When Ahmed (2014: 11) reads Saint Augustine's *On Free Choice of the Will*, via Lucretius, she writes, "The movement of the will is similar to the downward movement of the stone," meaning that the will, which keeps alive the possibility of deviance, is not unlike "the stone" in that (though static) the former resembles the latter, both imbued with the power "not to be moved straight down in a vertical line" (11). Seen from this queer perspective, the last few lines of "Riding the Ferry" provide perhaps the fullest encapsulation of the queer temporality of the Umbrella Movement, whose "stony" optimism is not certain but whose willful insistence on deviating from the city's predetermined course preserves the future as a potential of the unknown.

In the face of political depression, Lim maintains an optimistic attitude in the poem she wrote during the clearance of tents in Central that was underway; she believes that the children's movement is still brewing in its "dungeon" (76). Specifically, the poet locates hope in the new relation that student protesters build with the conditions that produce them.

The redeployment process is not easy for the children: as my analysis of the case of the "infamous chalk girl" will show, it is a test of a different kind, one that hastens their growth. The process forces children and young people to devise new ways to relate to the people, the city, and the world in the face of political depression. This new method of relating involves forging a new nonsovereign ethos of the political, a strategy that prevents dissenters from falling out from life altogether even when they are excluded from official channels of political participation.

In the aftermath of the Umbrella Movement, student activists conducted a series of guerilla protests across the city, trying to rekindle the energy that had powered the Movement. Though most of these attempts were quickly contained by the police, examples of discontinuous yet ongoing resistance reveal the persistence of the sideways energy of the protesters. One such incident took place in December 2014—more than a month after the Umbrella Movement was disbanded—on the staircase leading up to the Central Government Complex, known during the Umbrella Movement as the Lennon Wall.[5] The wall was famous as a place to post pro-Movement messages of hope written on colorful paper and sticky notes. After the breakup of the protests by HKSAR police, these messages were cleared away and the wall was returned to its original unadorned condition. But a precocious fourteen-year-old girl—dubbed the "chalk girl" in the aftermath of her protest—tried to reopen the Movement's foreclosed temporal otherness by drawing two flowers next to an Umbrella icon pasted on the Lennon Wall. In response to this artful protest, an overwhelmingly large group of police officers confronted her, detained her, and threatened to charge her with a crime. Initially, the story received little attention in the mainstream anglophone media; it was not reported internationally by CNN (Wong 2015) and locally by *EJ Insight* (2015) until January 3 and January 20, 2015, respectively. Despite that, "chalk girl's" arrest and the flowers she painted became the objects of massive global scrutiny: they were photographed and released onto Twitter on December 22, 2014.[6] As shown in these tweeted images, which began to circulate in multiple news outlets, the facial expression of the fourteen-year-old captive is not clear, because a third of her face is hidden behind her scarf; what is made clear in the photos is the power asymmetry between her and the squadron of police officers that held her under duress because of her drawings (see fig. 3). The photo went viral: its depiction

Figure 3. *EJ Insight*'s news report on the "chalk girl" features images of her 2014 arrest by the police and the drawings that caused her to be investigated, January 2015.

of a fourteen-year-old surrounded by thirty police officers attracted widespread condemnation.

Inflammatory comments written in English, such as "Detaining her? For what!?" allow us to reflect upon what catalyzed the spectators' local and global sympathies with the fourteen-year-old. The uproar on Twitter shows the power of the image of the child as an affective magnet for sympathy and indicates that the chalk girl's protest effort at the Lennon Wall was not entirely futile. Just as it did during the active phase of the civil disobedience campaign, the power asymmetry between youthfulness and the heavily armed police created a spectacle of childhood that attracted international criticism of the HKSAR government for targeting an "innocent" child. These and other narratives are reflective of what Oscar Ho (pers. comm., July 15, 2015) has called the "ephemeral phase" of the Movement, which has emerged episodically since 2014. In the ephemeral phase, participants in the Movement retreat from street protest to the realm of the aesthetic and cultural productions, whence they strive to quietly contest the neoliberal present rather than overthrow it directly. During such moments, media narratives like that of the chalk girl flicker throughout the life and dominant temporality of Hong Kong, flashing the possibility of a politics otherwise in Hong Kong every time they appear.

The chalk girl was punished harshly by the HKSAR government for her act of defiance. According to *The Infamous Chalk Girl: The Battle for Democracy in Hong Kong* (2017), a documentary produced by the British news outlet *The Guardian*, the young protester was detained in a children's home for seventeen hours until her father bailed her out, and then she was put on a curfew by the court for twenty days. During this period, she was permitted to go to school but had to be accompanied by her father at all times. From the government's strict, chrononormative perspective, a fourteen-year-old girl is not supposed to be hanging around

government buildings, drawing flowers by herself in the middle of the night. Her suspicious appearance as a minor in public at night is an indictment of her father's parental failure—he failed because he permitted his daughter to appear at the wrong time in the wrong place. And since he was unable to control his daughter's timetable, the court prescribed a schedule for him. The court's decision to put the chalk girl on curfew is a rare moment in which Hong Kong's neoliberal political apparatus intervenes in the familial sphere. The number of hours that the chalk girl was supposed to spend in the apartment, on the street, and in the classroom were handed to her father like part of an official parenting manual, a government program meant to convert the chalk girl into a filial daughter at home and an obedient citizen of Hong Kong in every other part of her life.

But harsh as this patronizing treatment was, the documentary shows that it did not deter the chalk girl from participating in social movements. Despite her alleged fear of extreme violence, she insists at the end of the documentary that "now I feel I have to gamble even more to do something. We need to come out to fight, not just drawing pictures in the background. If the government carries on ignoring young people's voices, it will not be long, the day will come soon: there will be a point of explosion." The urgency contained in the tone of her speech sheds light on how chrononormativity occludes the reality of temporal otherness—and how that occlusion can be overcome. The chalk girl embodies temporal otherness through her precociousness; the full-fledged deviance expressed through her strong political will at this young age shifts her path of growth sideways, a swerve that the government decided it needed to curb, in part by blaming her father for not disciplining her. The chalk girl resisted this accusation: she willfully claimed adult autonomy, confessing to the camera, "I think I deserve the blame too." In the judge's eye, the chalk girl was a minor who had no subjectivity—her father took all the blame because she was his ward. By insisting on taking blame for herself, the chalk girl demanded to be recognized as an adult and as an agent.

The chalk girl's motives were complex, but one factor in her act of protest seems to have been a desire for a family of a different kind, one made up of willful, autonomous individuals unsubordinated to paternal, maternal, and national ties, coming together in the common practice to build a Hong Kong otherwise—a sideways family whose nonpatriarchal structure differs from the government's legal expectation. The chalk girl gestures to this desire in her interview with the documentarian. Parts of the interview take place in the apartment the chalk girl shares with her family, a rather barren space cloistered in one of the city's subsidized housing projects. The sitting room bears no trace of her parents or siblings. At one

point, the documentary captures a conversation that the chalk girl has with her classmate Tino. There, Tino asks her why she would risk her future by challenging the government. To this, the chalk girl responds, "I am not asking people for understanding. But just among my fellow protesters, I found a sense of family in civil disobedience," which she later qualified as a feeling of being "alone together."

The idea of "alone together" is worth exploring. To most young people, 2017 was a time of pessimism. Two pro-democracy lawmakers, Baggio Chung-hang Leung and Yau Wai-ching from the political party Youngspiration (made up mostly of students, including the chalk girl), were barred from entering the Legislative Council because of their theatrical refusal to properly swear their oath of allegiance to the People's Republic of China, an act the HKSAR deemed fundamental disrespect toward the country. After many appeals, Leung and Yau's briefs were ultimately rejected by the Hong Kong High Court. The documentary shows the affective transformation of the chalk girl from hopefulness to despair over the course of this political drama. She reiterates multiple times that she (like other young people) wanted to have conversations with the government, but it has been difficult because the government has shown itself over and again to be prejudiced against young people.

As the documentary shows, the chalk girl's faith in politics persists in spite of the ordeals she endured: at the end of the film, she still believes in the possibility of political transformation through direct protest inspired by the movement. The documentary shows her finding a "politics of relationality" (Berlant and Edelman 2013: 71) outside the voting booth. She found this community when campaigning for Baggio Leung in 2016 as part of the political group Hong Kong Indigeneity. This effort permitted her to practice a type of politics that "stays grounded to a world whose terms of reciprocity—whether in intimate, personal or political idioms—are not entirely in anyone's control and yet can be changed by a radical collective refusal to normative causality" (20). The chalk girl's contradictory feelings—namely, loneliness and togetherness with fellow democracy dreamers who were also alienated by the government—became an anchor, allowing her to stay engaged in politics in unexpected places and ways.

At the conclusion of the documentary, the chalk girl looks forward to a time when two types of politics will collide: it ends with her returning to the staircase leading up to the headquarters of the SAR government, retracing the chalk dust left over by her flowers, and then stroking the flowers' petals and stems. As she does so, she says, "When I drew the flowers, I felt hopeful; with them, I wished to remind people of the hope for freedom." When the documentary's producer, San San F Young, asks her what she would draw now, she says, "I could not think of

anything." Because she realizes now that "drawing flowers is not enough"; what needs to be done is "to come out and fight against a government that never listens to young people." She closes her speech with an optimistic note, prophesying that "the point of explosion" is coming soon.

The chalk girl's prophecy was partially realized in 2019 when youths across universities in Hong Kong occupied their campuses to protest the Fugitive Offenders bill, a piece of legislation that would have permitted the HKSAR government to extradite criminal suspects to mainland China.[7] Like the Umbrella Movement, these protests were quelled by the Hong Kong police, but they have exposed the existence of the *longue durée* of the Movement, the way its ephemeral sideways phases can erupt into overt civil disobedience from quieter forms of discontent. At the end of the documentary, the flowers that chalk girl traced on the wall become animated: they slowly dissolve from flowers to lines and then reform themselves into the outline of the city's landscape with people marching in the foreground. This animation graphically recapitulates the chalk girl's art and activism as attempts to counter the inexorable passage of Chinese neoliberal time.

Conclusion

Time is of the essence in Hong Kong. On the neoliberal clock, every minute means money. Every moment counts, too, under the logic of temporal otherness that runs alongside the neoliberal clock, because each passing instant is a lost opportunity to bring about alterities for Hong Kong. The protest narratives analyzed in this article bear witness to the urgency of the task of preserving Hong Kong's local culture and subjectivity and gesture toward the potential of Hong Kong's sideways futures. The youthful protesters in these narratives are sometimes queered by their precociousness; in other cases by their willful insistence on swerving away from the linear paths their parents expected them to follow. The recursive cropping up of these youthful figures in prodemocratic narratives demonstrates the power of the figure of the child as a metaphor for postcolonial Hong Kong and the sideways political desires of its young people.

When telling these stories of the sideways movement and queer development of Hong Kong's youthful protesters, the authors in this archive suggest ways to preserve the city's distinctiveness while staying committed to the geographically and historically irreversible fact that Hong Kong is part of China. The queer imaginings of the children in these stories offer visions of futures that are still grounded in the existing infrastructure of the city and suggest how Hong Kong might leverage more autonomy under the current apparatus of "one country, two

systems." The unconventionality of their suggestions aims to test how far the CCP can stretch their attitude of exceptionalism toward Hong Kong: these suggestions include education reform that emphasizes the teaching of diverse histories, as in Lim's; a respect for protests and electoral politics as distinctive Hong Kong culture, as in *The Guardian*'s documentary; and an acknowledgment of LGBTQ rights that will socially destigmatize queer people, as in Michael Tsang's work (2017), which I analyze below.

It remains unclear whether these sideways paths are going anywhere, and that uncertainty is perhaps most fully encapsulated in Tsang's queer short story "Po Suen." Like the queer relationship between the two male lovers, Ah Po and Ah Suen, Hong Kong's future offers no certain promises. But the aspirational qualities that the story locates in uncertainty serve to remind readers that whatever political fate befalls Hong Kong, the city will have options for a future otherwise. Tsang's short story offers readers a strategy to cope with whatever is to come by seeking "encounter[s] with relationality itself" (Berlant and Edelman 2013: viii). The relational politics of "alone together" suggested by the chalk girl presents one version of that understanding; the thwarted coming-out plan of Ah Po and Ah Suen represented in Tsang's story another.

Michael Tsang is a Hong Kong student protester who holds a PhD from the University of Warwick. In "Po Suen," his two young characters meet at the Occupy Central protest site. To understand the story fully, it is important to note that the title is a pun on three things in Cantonese: 抱孫 (Po5 Suen1, meaning having grandchildren); 普選 (Po2 Suen2, universal suffrage); and a combination of the queer protagonists' names 寶旋 (Po2 Suen4). In Cantonese, these three terms sound similar; therefore, when spoken, their tones have to be enunciated carefully and deliberately so that listeners will not get them confused. This is especially true for the first two, which are commonly used in the local media and vernacular. As a story, "Po Suen" deploys the similarity of the two terms to comment on the tension between the heteropatriarchal futurity that dominates in Hong Kong and the longing for personal freedom, whether that is the freedom to declare an authentic sexual identity or to nominate and vote for chief executive candidates of one's choosing.

In the story, the couple's plan to come out to Ah Po's mother is derailed when she implores her son to get married soon so that she can have a grandchild before she dies. By exposing the ways sexual freedom is inhibited in Hong Kong, the story hints at a queer alternative future for the region, one not organized by an insular, patrilineal genealogy but framed around nonsovereign values that allow peoples to be vulnerable and open to unknowability when living under conditions of political uncertainty.

In so doing, the story builds on Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman's (2013: xvi) formulation of negativity as a form of political alterity, which, as they profess, "is not a practice of withdrawal from contesting the terms of structures of existence," but very much the opposite: it engages by remaining within and thinking against dominant structures. Tsang's wordplay demonstrates that logic, in that by using "Po Suen"—without a tonal diacritic—as the title of his story, he playfully positions universal suffrage as both a queer matter (thus the conjoining of the names of the two gay protagonists) and an issue of futurity (as evidenced in the punning on the verb for "to have grandson"). Modeling the sort of flexibility that will be essential to the survival of Hong Kong dissidence in the face of China's homogenizing influence, Tsang code-switches between English and Chinese in his literary imagination of a Hong Kong otherwise, and he deploys the multiplicity of tones available in Cantonese to offer a prophecy about Hong Kong that conjures a sideways futurity in queer terms.

The prophetic moment occurs at the end of the story, as Ah Po mournfully reflects on the uncertainty of the future for himself, his lover, and Hong Kong. In the violence of the protest, his partner Ah Suen is hit in the neck by a policeman's baton. When Ah Suen is released from the tent, Ah Po walks "side by side" with him away from the protest, sustained by the presence of his lover in spite of the "frenzy" of the protests (50). Ah Po closes the story by saying, "So if tomorrow's gonna be another resistance, at least I want to live this moment with him" (50). Ah Po's ability to face a future through the intimacy he shares with Ah Suen in the present reconceptualizes Hong Kong's future otherwise as a discourse of the now. Just as Ah Po takes a step back from the "frenzy"—and immanent failure—of active protest to savor his time with Ah Suen in an effort to summon strength for tomorrow, so too dissidents and all of those striving for a bearable life in Hong Kong must turn sideways toward non(re)productive partnerships and socialites as they face down futures that might seem impossible otherwise.

Notes

Thanks to Tina Chen and Andrew Harnish for reading and commenting on early drafts of this essay. Gratitude is also due to Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Oscar Ho Hing Kay for their interviews and to Stephen Hong Sohn and Weihsin Gui for their support.

1. 雨傘革命資料庫 (The Umbrella Movement Information Archive), 時代孤兒 (Orphan of Our Time), October 17, 2019, www.facebook.com/natalissupportpolice/photos/a.1280251072134712/1357399544419864/?type=3&theater.
2. Nicholas Y. H. Wong's presentation on Hong Kong's children's literature in the 2020 *Hong Kong Studies Symposium* is an example of a recent effort that focuses on the

child as a portal to meditate on a phylogenetic network of the city's present and future alternative to the traditional model of heteropatriarchy.

3. See Yeungg 2019 for a report on families fractured by the political differences.
4. Refer to Peter's 2019 Reuters article for the latest account of Hong Kong adults remaining under their parents' roofs due to skyrocketing housing prices.
5. The Lennon Wall in Hong Kong is located alongside a staircase leading up to the Central Government Complex. Inspired by the original Lennon Wall in Prague, which is covered with art and lyrics of songs by John Lennon, the Hong Kong Lennon Wall was once, too, covered with Post-it Notes with words of encouragement left by protesters to each other during the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-Extradition bill protests.
6. The original tweet was made by Fr_ncisco on December 22, 2014 at 8:31 p.m. twitter.com/funkcisco/status/547066968256167936 (account suspended).
7. See Chan, Zhang, and Sum 2019 for a full report on how the introduction of the Extradition Bill eventually turned universities into battlegrounds between prodemocratic youths and the Hong Kong Police Department.

References

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *Willful Subjects*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Amar, Paul. 2016. "The Street, the Sponge, and the Ultra: Queer Logics of Children's Rebellion and Political Infantilization." In Gill-Peterson, Sheldon, and Stockton 2016a: 569–604.

Beech, Hannah, and Emily Rauhala. 2014. "The Voice of a Generation." *Time*, October 8. time.com/magazine/asia/3484546/october-20th-2014-vol-184-no-15-u-s-3/.

Berlant, Lauren, and Lee Edelman. 2013. *Sex, or the Unbearable*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chan, Ho-him, Karen Zhang, and Sum Lok-kei. 2019. "Campus Clashes as Universities Become New Battleground in Hong Kong Anti-government Unrest." *South China Morning Post*, November 12. www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3037448/campus-clashes-universities-become-new-battleground-hong.

Chinese Global Television Network (@CGTNOfficial). 2019. "Rioters, get your hands off children #HongKong." Twitter, September 23, 2:30 a.m. PST. twitter.com/CGTNOfficial/status/1176066171809845249.

Chow, Rey. 1992. "Between Colonizers: Hong Kong's Postcolonial Self-Writing in the 1990s." *Diaspora* 2, no. 2: 151–70.

EJ Insight. 2015. "Court Nixed Bid to Put 'Chalk Girl' in Children's Home." January 20. www.ejinsight.com/eji/article/id/974624/20150120-court-nixes-bid-to-put-chalk-girl-in-childrens-home.

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Freeman, Elizabeth. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gill-Peterson, Julian, Rebekah Sheldon, and Kathryn Bond Stockton, eds. 2016a. "The Child Now." Special issue, *GLQ* 22, no. 4.

Gill-Peterson, Julian, Rebekah Sheldon, and Kathryn Bond Stockton. 2016b. "Introduction: What Is the Now, Even of Then." In Gill-Peterson, Sheldon, and Stockton 2016a: 495–503. doi:10.1215/10642684-3603078.

Goodstadt, Leo F. 2019. *A City Mismanaged: Hong Kong's Struggle for Survival*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press.

Gopinath, Gayatri. 2005. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Guardian. 2017. "Infamous Chalk Girl." YouTube video, 24:18, June 17. www.youtube.com/watch?v=265cpozcjzM.

Halperin, David. 1997. *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heritage Foundation. 2018. "2018 Index of Economic Freedom." Heritage Foundation, February 2. www.heritage.org/international-economies/commentary/2018-index-economic-freedom.

Ho, Petula Sik Ying. 2020. "Queering the Valiant—An Alternative Perspective on the Hong Kong Protest Movement." *Feminista Journal*, August 3. https://feministajournal.com/queering-the-valiant-an-alternative-perspective-on-the-hong-kong-protest-movement/.

Hui, Mary (@maryhui). 2019. "Stand up for ourselves. Be naughty. Be rebellious. Be fearless. And most of all, be water." Twitter, September 12, 9:54 p.m. twitter.com/maryhui/status/1172373040325218304.

Kirby, Jen. 2019. "Six Hongkongers on How the Protests Have Transformed Their Lives and Their City." *Vox*, August 28. www.vox.com/2019/8/28/20799049/hong-kong-protests-first-person.

Kuhn, Robert Lawrence. 2013. "Xi Jinping's Chinese Dream." *New York Times*, June 4. www.nytimes.com/2013/06/05/opinion/global/xi-jinpings-chinese-dream.html.

Lam, Jeffie. 2019. "The Hong Kong Teenagers Risking It All for Their Ideals." *Inkstone*, October 25. www.inkstonenews.com/politics/hong-kong-teenagers-risking-it-all-their-ideals/article/3034604.

Lee, Eliza Wing-Yee. 2003. *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalization, Postcolonialism, and Chinese Patriarchy*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Leung, Helen Hok-Sze. 2008. *Undercurrents: Queer Culture and Postcolonial Hong Kong*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Lim, Shirley Geok-lin. 2015. *Embracing the Angel: Hong Kong Poems*. University Park, TX: Southern Methodist University Press.

Ng, Sek Hong, and Olivia Ip. 2007. "Hong Kong Working Class and Union Organization: A Historical Glimpse." *China Perspectives* 2: 68–77.

Ong, Aihwa. 2004. "The Chinese Axis: Zoning Technologies and Variegated Sovereignty." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4, no. 1: 69–96.

Peter, Thomas. 2019. "Frustration of Surviving Pricey Hong Kong Stirs Protestor Anger." *Reuters*, July 3. www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-extradition-youngpeople/frustration-of-surviving-pricey-hong-kong-stirs-protest-anger-idUSKCN1TY30K.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 2008. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stockton, Kathryn Bond. 2009. *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stockton, Kathryn Bond. 2016. "The Queer Child Now and Its Paradoxical Global Effects." In Gill-Peterson, Sheldon, and Stockton 2016a: 505–39.

Tsang, Michael. 2017. "Po Suen." *Wasafiri* 32, no. 3: 46–51.

Wong, Alvin K. 2019. "Thinking Hong Kong's Freedom in Multiplicity." *Hong Kong Protesting*, September 21. hkprotesting.com/2020/07/16/multiplicity/.

Wong, Nicholas Y. H. 2020. "The Child in Recent Anthologies of Hong Kong Literature." Presentation, *Hong Kong Studies Symposium*, HKSAR, China, July 3.

Wong, Vicky. 2015. "Teen Arrested for Drawing with Chalk on Wall at Hong Kong Protest Site." January 3. www.cnn.com/2014/12/31/world/asia/hong-kong-chalk-girl-protests.

Yeungg, Jessie. 2019. "Hong Kong Families Are Feuding as China Extradition Bill Exposes Generational Fall in Living Standards." CNN World, July 10. www.cnn.com/2019/07/09/asia/hong-kong-divide-intl-hnk/index.html.