

論文の英文要旨

English Abstract of the Doctoral Thesis

論文題目 Title	危機と日常のあいだ：香港 2019 年デモにみるポピュラー文化の政治化 Between Crisis and Everyday Life: Hong Kong's 2019 Protest and the Politicalization of Popular Culture
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This paper analyses the anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill movement that broke out in June 2019 and lasted more than half a year, by focusing not on immediate political developments that directly lead to the mass protest rallies, but on more subtle cultural backgrounds that sparked and fuelled various scenes of the protest, such as when, for instance, protesters adopted symbols and signs from well-known Japanese anime and Hollywood films to express their views; when a famous artist's political comment incited a heated debate among his fans or when a graffiti on the street urged somebody to give back the singer; when protesters rallied to liberate a shopping mall in the suburban part of the city; and when an international online network that emerged among protesters in Hong Kong and other Asian regions came to be named "Milk Tea Alliance." By analysing such examples, this paper aims to explore the movement's indirect but equally influential connection to vibrant popular culture for which the city was once famous.

Part 1 (Chapters 1 to 2) offers a general analytical framework of the paper and some background information on the protest. In Chapter 1, I summarise previous studies on popular culture in Hong Kong. Popular culture has once been analysed as a key phenomenon characterising the city's lack of attention to politics: Hong Kong people allegedly concentrated their energies on popular culture as the door to political power was closed by the colonial government. Some scholars have argued more positively that mass consumption culture that flourished in post-war Hong Kong became one of the characteristic features with which its residents distinguish themselves from their neighbours in mainland China, and that the common experiences of popular culture thus helped them foster their unique identity as "Hong Konger." But, in so doing, they too highlighted the Hong Konger identity's roots in apolitical mass consumption and ordinary lifestyle, compared to allegedly more "political" sources of an identity such as anti-colonialism or nationalism. It is yet to be confirmed how Hong Kong's popular culture that was once seen as mundane and apolitical came to affect serious political movements in post-handover Hong Kong. To explore this question throughout the paper, I take up and consider a number of scenes from the protest in 2019 where various aspects of the city's popular culture and mass consumption in the city became issues of public concern.

Chapter 2 summarises the development of the protest through widely circulated symbols and slogans, from early 2019 to mid-2020 when it was brought to an end with the introduction of the draconian National Security Law (NSL). Although such symbols were often referred to as "man-syun" or propaganda of words in Cantonese, they contained a number of references to local lives in Hong Kong that were arguably undecipherable to outsiders. The following chapters examine some examples of such inward-looking, high-context references to Hong Kong's popular culture during the protest.

Part 2 (Chapters 3 to 5) focuses on Cantonese popular music known as Cantopop and its relation to political developments in the city. Although singing has been a well-known feature of social movements in Hong Kong, the Cantopop industry has not always been in accord with

political activism. Even in 2019, while some singer-activists, mostly indie artists, openly supported the protest and released protest songs, most of mainstream singers kept silent on political situations in Hong Kong to avoid provoking the Chinese authorities and losing the large mainland market, which has become, since handover, an important source of profit to supplement the shrinking Hong Kong market. The mass consumption in Hong Kong was once claimed to be common experiences to the majority of residents regardless of political views, but it now has collapsed under the growing influence of the mainland market and broken into two, representing the growing gap between pro-Beijing and pro-democracy camps in Hong Kong.

Part 3 (Chapter 6 to 8) looks at the protest from the perspective of New Territories, a vast rural and suburban area that lies between urban Hong Kong and the mainland city of Shenzhen. The area has been most severely affected by the influx of tourist-shoppers from the mainland since 2003. Suburban shopping centres were renovated to satisfy their huge and highly profitable needs, not to serve long-time customers from local communities, or at least so the local residents claim. Such a perception leads them to recall how beautiful the facility once was, to complain how it “no longer serves locals or Hong Kongers,” and, in some cases, to organise rallies to reclaim it from the mainlanders. These rallies to reclaim New Territories fostered a political imagination that would later inspire one of the most powerful slogans in 2019, “Reclaim Hong Kong.”

Part 4 (Chapter 9 to 10) explores developments after the introduction of NSL to show how popular culture continues to fuel the city even after outright political voices were silenced. The aforementioned “Milk Tea Alliance” among Asian activists was initially triggered by a Thai actor's trifling comments on social media in 2020, showing how common interests in global popular culture can sometimes cultivate a new political arena. The name was taken from the Asian communities' common taste for sweetened tea with milk, Hong Kong version of which has long been claimed by local citizens, scholars and even by the government as the representative taste of the city. Meanwhile, post-NSL Hong Kong also witnessed a resurgence of attention to mainstream Cantopop in 2021, led by the rising popularity of a boy band called Mirror. Although their songs typically feature romantic declaration of love and optimistic self-affirmation that apparently have little to do with the city's gloomy political situations, some fans see them as Hong Kong's last hope to preserve its unique cultural identity: whatever they sing, they are Hong Kong singers after all, and they represent that Hong Kong still has something to be proud of. A pro-democracy media, shortly before its closure due to an NSL-related police investigation, highlighted such a slight glimmer of hope in a feature article series that was aptly titled “There are songs, at least.”

In conclusion, this paper argues that the accumulated concerns over Hong Kong's unique life experiences have given considerable weight to Hong Kong's popular culture, otherwise “mundane” and “shallow,” in the city's struggle to preserve, defend, or “reclaim” its uniqueness in the shadow of China. Even if outright political activism is to be wiped out in post-NSL Hong Kong, such attachment to the city's past daily life experiences, or “collective memories” to borrow from a clichéd expression in Hong Kong, will be more difficult to eradicate. As Maurice Halbwachs, who originally developed the concept of collective memory, once wrote: “Even if stones can be moved, relationships established between stones and people are not so easily altered.... The stones and materials will not resist, but the groups will.”