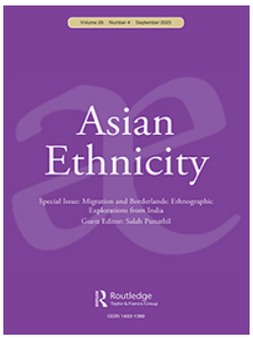

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Embodied resistance: Hong Kong diaspora art in the UK

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how protest art and community art intersect as complementary strategies for articulating diasporic identity within the Hong Kong diaspora in the UK. While protest art, often defined by its bold visual icons related to the 2019 protests, serves as a direct expression of political resistance, community art fosters belonging through collaboration and relational aesthetics. This paper argues that both approaches employ affective, multisensory, and embodied experiences to cultivate 'visceral citizenship' – a framework that highlights the emotional and sensory dimensions of identity and belonging. Through case studies of *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* (2022), *Four Quadrants of the Sky* (2023), and *Trees We're Planting* (2024), this study demonstrates how cross-media exhibitions construct a visceral cultural commons, deepening diasporic connections to heritage while resisting cultural erasure. These findings emphasize art's enduring role as activism and a medium for negotiating identity, solidarity, and connection within diasporic contexts.

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Introduction: dual approaches to diasporic expression

The concept of the 'Hong Kong diaspora' has gained prominence in recent years, particularly following the 2019 protests and the enactment of the 2020 National Security Law (NSL), which curtailed Hong Kong's autonomy and suppressed dissent. This legal and political shift has prompted significant migration to countries like the UK.[1] Drawing on Brian Fong's conceptualization of diasporas as historically contingent processes, this study situates the Hong Kong diaspora within the broader context of transnational social movements, where critical events catalyze identity formation through mobilization and collective action.[2] As these communities form, acts of resistance and the need to forge belonging shape their identities. John Lowe's discussion of symbolic boundary-making in post-Umbrella Movement Hong Kong, particularly through cultural texts like *Ten Years* (2015), highlights how emotions play a crucial role in shaping Hong Kong Chinese identity and cultures of belonging.[3] This study extends such insights to explore how affect operates in diasporic artistic practices. Anastasia Christou explores embodied belonging by emphasizing the

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emotional and sensory dimensions of migration, underscoring how visceral experiences – sight, sound, touch, and taste – are central to shaping diasporic subjectivities.[4] This paper argues that these visceral dimensions are integral to the artistic practices of Hong Kongers in the UK, where 'protest art' and 'community art' intersect as complementary strategies for articulating identity and fostering connection in their new environment. Furthermore, in considering how diasporic art forms operate as grassroots political expressions, this study draws on Ma and Yam's analysis of protest zines in the 2019 Anti-Extradition Law Movement.[5] Their argument that zines cultivated an affective community through self-care and voluntary kinship aligns with the ways in which Hong Kong diasporic artists in the UK engage in artistic activism that fosters solidarity while resisting cultural erasure. This study thus frames diasporic protest art and community art as evolving forms of cultural commons, akin to protest zines, which serve not only as records of political dissent but also as affective artifacts of care and belonging.

Hong Kongers have used protest art – known as *man syun* (文宣) art – as a powerful medium for dissent, both during the protests and in their aftermath. The term *man* (文) translates to text, literature, or culture, while *syun* (宣) denotes promotion. Defined by direct communication, man syun art typically takes the form of graphic designs and illustrations featuring bold slogans to convey its messages. Art curator and scholar Oscar Ho has observed that the general public, many of whom were not practicing artists, created much of the protest art of the 2014 Umbrella Movement.[6] This co-authored process generated iconic symbols such as the Lion Rock, umbrellas, and the color yellow during the Umbrella Movement, and gas masks, yellow helmets, and the color black in the 2019 Anti-Extradition Law Movement. The Lion Rock, umbrellas, and the color yellow during the Umbrella Movement symbolized resilience, hope, and collective resistance, drawing from Hong Kong's long-standing ethos of perseverance (獅子山精神). These symbols transcended their immediate protest contexts, carrying diasporic significance as emblems of political identity and memory in Hong Kong communities abroad. In the 2019 Anti-Extradition Law Movement, gas masks, yellow helmets, and the color black represented defiance against state violence, anonymity as protection from political persecution, and the solidarity of a leaderless movement – elements that continue to shape the visual language of Hong Kong diasporic activism and artistic expression. This study contends that these visual symbols, while rooted in resistance, have evolved in the diasporic context,[7] serving as vessels of protest memory and as contributions to a cultural commons that sustains identity and engagement.[8]

Simultaneously, community art foregrounds collaboration and participatory practices to foster inclusion and belonging. Building on Christou's insights into the significance of collaborative spaces in diasporic identity formation, community art creates relational aesthetics that connect individuals to their shared histories.[9] While protest art from the social movements of 2014 and 2019 emphasizes collective action, community art extends this creativity into processes that forge belonging.[10] Valjakka's concept of 'co-authoring the space' describes socially engaged practices like the Lennon Wall in Hong Kong, which invited public contributions and transformed protest sites into communal acts of creativity.[11] Similarly, Ng identifies text, image, and public participation as key tools in building pro-democracy communities during Hong Kong's protests.[12] In diasporic contexts, artistic initiatives take up this legacy of co-authorship and collective identity

formation, much like the role that protest zines played in Hong Kong's protest culture, fostering networks of mutual care and political resistance.

This article adopts a case study approach grounded in participant observation, curatorial practice, and collaborative engagement. The three projects—*Hong Kong Future Diaspora* (2022), *Four Quadrants of the Sky* (2023), and *Trees We're Planting* (2024) – were chosen not for representativeness but for their significance in constituting diasporic cultural practices of 'visceral citizenship.' They mark the first major UK-based Hong Kong diaspora projects that establish community linkages across borders: (1) *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* represents the first collective contemporary art project combining recently arrived Hong Kong artists with British-born ESEA practitioners; (2) *Four Quadrants of the Sky* expands these connections through myth-making and performance, bridging generations of migrants; and (3) *Trees We're Planting*, organized by Bonham Tree Aid – the first diaspora group supporting Hong Kong's political prisoners – foregrounds grassroots solidarity through art and activism. The UK context is especially significant, given the presence of over 200,000 BNO visa holders, forming a critical mass that allows the Hong Kong diaspora to cohere as an 'imagined community' in Anderson's sense. These cases thus exemplify different modalities – protest art, community art, and their intersections – that together illustrate how diasporic Hong Kongers enact visceral citizenship in the UK.

As researchers and practitioners embedded in the Hong Kong diaspora in the UK, our positionalities shape the insights of this study. Both authors are active participants in the artistic and community initiatives under discussion: Clara Cheung as an artist-curator and former Hong Kong district councillor, and Wayne Wong as an academic and collaborator on diaspora art projects. This insider involvement allows us to draw on participant observation, curatorial practice, and community engagement to generate situated knowledge. At the same time, our distinct backgrounds – academic, artistic, political – enable us to triangulate interpretations, highlighting the boundaries of each other's perspectives. We acknowledge that our embeddedness brings both strengths (access, trust, affective attunement) and risks (potential blind spots, subjective investments), and we therefore frame our analysis as both interpretive and co-constructed.

By synthesizing affect theory, diaspora studies, and socially engaged art practice, this article contributes to broader debates on the politics of belonging and resistance in transnational contexts. While existing literature has examined protest art in Hong Kong and diasporic identity formation separately, this study brings them into dialogue through the conceptual lens of 'visceral citizenship.'[13] It expands Lowe's framework beyond its original Hong Kong context, offering an innovative theorization of how multisensory artistic practices in exile forge political subjectivities and solidarities. Through detailed case analysis, the article aims to show how diasporic art does not merely reflect identity but actively constructs a 'visceral cultural commons' – a shared affective space through which Hong Kongers in the UK negotiate citizenship, community, and memory. In conjoining these approaches, the article demonstrates that diasporic Hong Kong art not only preserves memory but also redefines community, citizenship, and belonging through embodied artistic practice. This analytic move positions

visceral citizenship as a novel framework for understanding how art sustains transnational solidarity under conditions of exile.

The HK-UK crossover: continuity and change in artistic practice in the diaspora

In response to the imposition of the NSL by the Chinese government, many Hong Kongers, particularly artists and cultural workers, sought refuge abroad, with the UK emerging as a primary destination. The British government facilitated this migration through the British National Overseas (BNO) visa scheme, introduced in early 2021, which offered a pathway to citizenship for Hong Kongers born under British rule and their dependents. By September 2023, the UK Home Office had issued 184,700 BNO visas, with 135,400 recipients having settled in the UK. Among them are numerous artists, curators, and art educators who fled Hong Kong to escape the escalating political repression.[14] The migration of artists to the UK has led to the formation of a vibrant diasporic Hong Kong art community, with metropolitan cities like London and Manchester emerging as key hubs. These artists, driven by the political repression in Hong Kong, have found themselves in a new environment where they now explore creative freedoms previously restricted in Hong Kong.

Within this context, *man syun* art has been remediated, reappropriated, and reimagined as symbolic elements that contribute to the construction of Hong Kong diasporic identity, evoking a sense of belonging and nostalgia. The NSL prohibits protest art from appearing on Hong Kong's streets to mobilize the public for resistance. However, diasporic Hong Kong artists, like painters Lumli Lumlong (淋漓淋浪) and Ricker Choi, political cartoonists Justin Wong (黃照達), Ah To (阿塗), and VA Wong Sir, have incorporated these protest art icons in their well-received artworks to directly articulate dissent and sustain the 'revolutionary spirit' among the diasporic Hong Kongers.[15] Charles Wong, an art curator, has curated and co-curated exhibitions that invite diasporic Hong Kong artists to address their political struggles with visual languages beyond protest art symbols, including *Confronting the Disappearances at Five Seven One* in Reading, UK (2023), *The Echoes of Resistance- Artists' Responses* in London, UK (2023) and *Trees that We're Planting* in Manchester, UK (2024). UK-based cultural institutions also engage actively with these efforts. For example, Polam Chan, a young artist who decided to remain in the UK after graduating from the Royal College of Art, has found a supportive community that allows him to explore his artistic practice freely. He curated *Hong Kong Nationhood Exhibition* in London in 2022, and also participated in group shows in different art institutions across the UK and Europe.[16] Martin Lever, who returned to the UK after decades in Hong Kong, has also benefited from this more open environment, showing paintings about Hong Kong's political censorship in his solo exhibition in London.

While the visual symbols of *man syun* art have become recurring motifs in Hong Kong diasporic art, artists are actively exploring new ways to articulate their experiences in the UK, creating art that speaks to both their origins and their present circumstances. Reflecting the emotional and psychological struggles of diasporic life, *Little Pink Man*, a comic series created by political cartoonist Justin Wong since 2021, has evolved significantly following Wong's relocation to the United Kingdom in 2022. The series

combines familiar symbols associated with the Hong Kong diaspora with elements of the British environment. For instance, the 2023 publication *There Is Always Apple* juxtaposes the apple – an emblem of the now-defunct pro-democracy newspaper *Apple Daily*—with apple trees commonly found in English gardens, thereby evoking a layered commentary on memory, loss, and political exile.[17] Ah To has developed a series of cartoons that draw connections between streets with the same names in both the UK and Hong Kong, such as Temple Streets, Argyle Street, Portland Street, and Sycamore Street.[18]

Beyond individual practices, artists who emphasize social practice, such as Clara Cheung and Gum Cheng (C&G Artpartment) and Eelyn Lee, a UK-based artist with both British and Hong Kong heritage, have engaged the diasporic community to collectively explore their cultural identities in a new political and geographic context. For example, C&G Artpartment has launched the *Harcourt Road* project in Sheffield, which explores the parallel histories of community organizing in Hong Kong and their new home. In Manchester, Kan Cheng has also established Saan1, a hybrid project space that promotes Hong Kong art and serves as a venue for cultural exchange.

The reappropriation of *man syun* art symbols by individual artists is a further development of the collective articulation of Hong Kong diaspora's cultural identity. Exhibitions and cultural events showcasing these works – alongside other cultural objects featuring elements of *man syun* art – provide a platform for shared narratives and collective identity formation. Simultaneously, community art projects that emphasize relational aesthetics and the creation of shared experiences,[19] exemplified by the series of *Performing Identities* led by Eelyn Lee, enable cultural practitioners to expand their audience base beyond the immediate circle of Hong Kong migrants. By engaging with broader communities, these artistic practices foster a dialogue that bridges cultural and political divides, making them a vital component of diasporic identity negotiation and expression.[20]

The artistic practices of these diasporic artists in the UK can be seen as a continuation of the work many began in Hong Kong, responding to pivotal events in the city's recent history. The 1997 handover of Hong Kong from Britain to the People's Republic of China (PRC), the demolition of Queen's Pier in 2007, the Umbrella Movement of 2014, and the 2019 protests against the extradition bill have all served as critical moments that have shaped Hong Kong's contemporary art scene. In the decade leading up to Hong Kong's handover from British to Chinese rule in 1997, Hong Kong artists frequently addressed themes of cultural identity in their exhibitions. However, Clarke observes that the decade following the handover saw a decline in art exhibitions explicitly exploring this topic.[21] He suggests that during this period, both artists and the broader Hong Kong population shifted their focus to engaging with identity politics through more direct actions. The annual July 1st demonstrations advocating for universal suffrage and democracy are a prime example, with contemporary artists like Leung Po Shan, Pak Sheung Chun, wen yau, Clara Cheung, and Gum Cheng frequently incorporating performative interventions into these marches. In 2006 and 2007, local artists and cultural practitioners, including Tsang Tak-Ping, Ger Choi, Lee Chun Fung, Yeung Yang, Leung Po Shan, and Karden Chan, created public art installations and performances as part of the campaign to preserve the Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier.[22] This campaign sparked widespread public discussion about local culture and identity, which in turn fueled a broader preservation movement aimed at protecting local farmland and villages from the impacts

of rapid urban development and high-speed railway construction in the New Territories.[23] In 2009, a group of young artists born after 1980 organized the 'June Fourth Festival of the Post-80s Generation' (80後六四文化祭). This event featured exhibitions, performances, and forums that explored participants' connections to the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre and its memory in Hong Kong.[24]

Further direct actions by Hong Kong contemporary artists occurred during larger social and democratic movements in 2014 and 2019. For example, the artist collective Woofer Ten, based at 404 Shanghai Street in Yau Ma Tei from 2009 to 2015, launched a creative contest during the Umbrella Movement that involved constructing 'houses' or livable spaces at the Mongkok occupation site using recycled materials. This initiative aimed to encourage broader public participation in the movement through artistic engagement.[25] In 2019, another collective, Green Wave Art – then operating the same art space at 404 Shanghai Street – invited various textile artists to collaborate on a large banner bearing the slogan 'Take Back Hong Kong' (奪回香港). The artists carried the banner in numerous marches throughout the 2019 protests, where it garnered widespread media attention and became a significant visual symbol of the movement.[26] Artworks in 2014 often emphasized collective creativity, with less focus on individual artist recognition. This trend continued and intensified during the 2019 protests, where the emphasis on collective action was partly a response to escalating police brutality and political repression, aimed at protecting individual activists. These events sparked different phases of contemporary art development in Hong Kong where a large number of artists used their work to comment on and resist the socio-political changes affecting their city.

In the UK, these themes of resistance, identity, and memory continue to resonate strongly for Hong Kong diasporic artists. Whether through protest art or community art, these artistic practices evoke powerful affective responses from the diasporic population, simultaneously preserving the cultural memory of Hong Kong and shaping the evolving identity of the diaspora. These practices ensure that their voices contribute meaningfully to the broader global discourse on migration, identity, and political resistance. To fully understand the impact of these artistic practices, it is essential to explore how protest art and community art uniquely engage their audiences in eliciting visceral and affective responses, which are critical for negotiating the complex problematics of Hong Kong diasporic identity in the UK.

Affective engagement and embodied resistance

The art activities that proactively engage the Hong Kong diaspora in the UK are deeply rooted in the intertwined concepts of protest art and community art, both of which play a crucial role in expressing the complex affective feelings of these communities. While traditional notions of community assume geographic proximity, this study conceptualises community as a dynamic affective assemblage. Community emerges through embodied encounters, ritual gestures, sounds, images, and collaborative practices that create temporary but meaningful publics. Thus, diaspora art constitutes community not by physical co-location but by forging affective intensities across distance. These two forms of art intersect and complement each other, providing a rich medium through which the emotional and visceral experiences of the

diaspora can be articulated. As Rebecca Bedell highlights, the resurgence of connective emotions in contemporary art reflects a broader cultural shift toward embracing tenderness, empathy, and care, which are increasingly seen as central to movements advocating for social justice and political resistance.[27] This shift resonates with the art of the Hong Kong diaspora, where collective creativity fosters both solidarity and activism. The affective responses elicited by these art forms are not solely tied to the negotiation of Hong Kong diasporic identities in the UK. For many, these emotions are also burdened with the sense of being in political exile, carrying the responsibilities of speaking out for their fellow Hong Kongers who remain in the city under increasing repression.

In the study of social and political movements, affect is understood through the Spinoza-Deleuzian perspective as a form of bodily energy and intensity that arises from stimuli impinging on the body.[28] This affect is registered as sensory and bodily effects, but it remains outside of an individual's conscious awareness, existing in a pre-social and pre-subjective state.[29] Unlike emotion, which is captured by social and cultural contexts and can be articulated, affect is a raw, nonlinguistic sensory experience that prepares the body to respond to stimuli without a predetermined direction. In Massumi's words, emotion is 'the most intense expression of that capture – and of the fact that something has always and again escaped.'[30] Despite its inarticulate nature, affect plays a crucial role in connecting individuals, linking bodies and spaces through shared intensities and sensations, thereby forming the basis of collective identity in social movements.[31] Affect influences political actions and inactions by generating shared feelings that drive collective action. As such, affect is key to social change, as it disrupts normative patterns of thinking and feeling, opening up new possibilities for political imagination and activism.[32] Social movements harness affect to generate and circulate meanings, translating these inchoate feelings into emotions that guide political actions and sustain activism, making affect a powerful force in political engagement and protest culture.

In the context of the Hong Kong pro-democracy movement, art serves as a vital 'emotional refuge,' a space where suppressed feelings can find expression.[33] Specifically, protest art has emerged as a powerful medium for eliciting visceral, bodily responses that engage the affective dimensions of political identity. In other words, the body is positioned as a site of embodied resistance, where the physical sensations and emotions stirred by protest art become potent tools against authoritarian governance. Coining the term visceral citizenship, Lowe argues that these sensorial-visceral experiences play a crucial role in resisting the internalization of the 'blood-based national identity' imposed by the PRC.[34] 'Citizenship' traditionally refers to membership in a political community, usually a nation-state, encompassing legal rights and obligations.[35] Citizenship here is understood beyond legal membership in a state.[36] Following Turner's 'general theory of citizenship' and Fortier's affective turn, visceral citizenship refers to how embodied and sensory practices – chanting, ritual, taste, bodily gestures – forge belonging and civic responsibility.[37] This affective perspective informs Lowe's concept of visceral citizenship in Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement, describing identity formation through visceral and sensory experiences.[38] Although Lowe's research focuses primarily on Hong Kong, this study applies his concept to the diaspora, examining how the

sensory dimensions of art foster belonging and resistance among the recent Hong Kong migrants in the UK. In this sense, art is not only expressive but constitutive of citizenship, enabling Hong Kongers in exile to enact civic solidarities that resist state-imposed erasure.

Protest art, collectively devised by the community, emphasizes the viscerality of blood, tears, and physical suffering, serving as a counter-narrative to this state-assigned identity, hence promoting a 'constructivist' rather than a blood-based approach to identity formation. Not only does protest art evoke the muscle memory of past protests, but it also re-energizes the community's resolve to resist authoritarian rule. Aestheticized pro-democracy artefacts, such as graffiti, music, figurines, and even food products, contribute to a visceral cultural commons, a shared space of embodied memory and identity.[39] This shared space is where the sensorial experiences of Hong Kongers – 'sight, sound, touch, taste' – create a strong sense of belonging and identity that defies the narratives imposed by the government.[40] These artefacts are not merely symbolic; they are 'affective technologies' that reinforce the collective identity and political orientation of the pro-democracy movement.[41]

For example, the graffiti slogan 'If we burn, you burn with us (攬炒),' emblematic of the 2019 Polytechnic University siege, which was a standoff between Hong Kong protestors and police for 11 days, encapsulates the principle of mutual destruction or 'naam-chaau' in Cantonese.[42] This visceral slogan, painted on public signboards, communicated a shared sense of bodily risk and sacrifice, evoking strong emotive responses from both participants and observers. Similarly, the unofficial national anthem 'Glory to Hong Kong' played a crucial role in mobilizing collective emotions of hope, anger, and defiance, directly engaging the bodily senses and fostering a shared sense of resistance during the protests.[43] In terms of artefacts, miniature protestor figurines, representing the 'anonymous black-clad, masked protestor with a helmet,' also carry a powerful affective charge, embodying the pain, wounds, and resilience of real protestors.[44] These figurines create a circuit of affect that connects viewers to the ongoing struggle, even in the absence of physical protests. Furthermore, food and drinks, such as mooncakes adorned with pro-democracy slogans, became visceral conduits for political engagement, allowing even passive supporters to participate in the movement on a deeply personal level.[45] These sensorial experiences catalyzed new forms of political subjectivity and activism, demonstrating how protest art in the Hong Kong pro-democracy movement operates within visceral cultural commons. Through affective engagements with these cultural commons, Hong Kongers participate in the formation of visceral citizenship, sustaining political identity and collective action.

Community art, on the other hand, is a participatory and collaborative practice that extends beyond traditional art spaces, characterized by its emphasis on relational experiences. This form of art engages audiences through concepts such as 'dialogical art,' 'collaborative art,' 'participatory art,' 'connective aesthetics,' 'relational aesthetics,' and '"do-it-yourself" artworks.'[46] These approaches emphasize the creation of shared experiences and community engagement, where the artistic process fosters connections and dialogues among participants through a co-authoring process. Sunshine Wong expands on this relational focus with the concept of 'socially negotiated art,' which emphasizes the affective and corporeal relations made and transformed during the artistic process, delving deeper into the sensorial embodiments and emotional dynamics of these

interactions and offering a more nuanced understanding of how relational material and embodied criticality are integral to the art-making process.[47]

An illustrative example is the Lennon Wall in Hong Kong in 2014 and 2019. As a feature of the Hong Kong pro-democracy movement, it transforms public spaces into sites of embodied intersubjectivity, fostering sensorial embodiments by involving participants in shared, tactile, and sensory experiences that create deep emotional connections and reinforce a collective sense of identity, belonging, and citizenship. Diverse individuals contributed to the organic development of the Wall, transforming it into a physical and discursive platform where solidarity, imagination, and self-representation flourished. Participants did not remain passive observers; instead, they engaged actively with the Wall through unrestricted forms, including but not limited to writing messages, posting notes, and sharing their personal and political subjectivities. These actions, often driven by non-artistic intentions and non-artists, made the Wall more accessible and allowed for voluntary, open-ended participation and creativity that transcended traditional notions of community art.[48]

The sensorial experience of physically interacting with the Wall – whether by posting a note or reading others' messages – galvanized participants and onlookers to 'sense, feel, experience, and act' in ways that resonate with the viscerality of the protest art and foster political feelings and collective belonging.[49] Participants imbued the sticky notes with affective intensity, transforming them into emotionally charged representations of the movement's goals and struggles. They communicated desires for freedom, autonomy, and democracy, while also mobilizing emotions like 'love, hope, and belonging as antidotes to fear, anger, hatred, and despair.'[50] Through embodied interactions and collaborative acts, participants used the Lennon Wall to explore and express their political identities, deepening their connection to the community and consolidating the visceral citizenship formulated in the protests. This sensorial and emotional engagement not only reinforced collective identity but also created a shared, affective space where the personal and political intertwined, allowing individuals to imagine alternative political subjectivities within a tangible public space.

The convergence of affect and visceral citizenship reveals the profound impact that protest and community art have on social movements. Artists and participants together generate powerful corporeal responses through these art forms, which reinforce collective identity and fuel political resistance. The significance of these insights becomes clear when applied to understanding the role of art in shaping and negotiating Hong Kong diasporic identities in the UK. Through these artistic practices, diasporic communities can maintain a strong connection to their homeland, resist the imposition of authoritarian narratives, and assert their political identities in a foreign context. This ongoing engagement with art enables these communities to express their struggles, sustain their cultural memory, and participate in the global discourse on democracy and human rights.

While traditional notions of community often assume geographical proximity or shared ethnicity, this paper approaches the idea of 'community' in diasporic art as an affective and relational assemblage. Within the UK-based Hong Kong diaspora, community is not a fixed demographic but a dynamic network of recent BNO migrants, earlier Hong Kong settlers, political asylum seekers, second-generation ESEA individuals, and local allies. It is forged not through territorial belonging, but through shared

memories, embodied encounters, and co-authored artistic practices. Drawing on Sunshine Wong's concept of socially negotiated art, community here emerges through affective intensities – rituals, gestures, images, tastes, and sounds – that allow individuals to feel, imagine, and perform a collective identity. These artworks create temporary but meaningful publics in which belonging is enacted through collaboration, care, and resistance, even in the absence of a proximate 'home' or unified constituency.

Construction of visceral cultural commons

The affective power of Hong Kong diaspora art projects in the UK synthesizes protest art and community art to evoke deep emotional and sensory responses from the audience. These art practices hold particular significance for Hong Kong diaspora communities as they navigate the dual challenges of maintaining cultural identity and resisting the authoritarian pressures that forced their departure from Hong Kong. The following case studies demonstrate how these communities are affectively engaged in the exhibitions, enabling them to negotiate their identity politics in the UK while simultaneously expressing solidarity with those still in Hong Kong, keeping the spirit of resistance alive in a new environment. The discussion will focus on several key case studies: *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* (21 October – 19 November 2022) and *Four Quadrants of the Sky* (15 September – 14 October 2023) by Eelyn Lee at Bloc Projects, Sheffield, and *Trees that We're Planting* (7 March – 19 March 2024) in Saan1 art space in Manchester. Artists in each of these projects actively employ protest and community art to reinforce collective identity and sustain political resistance among the diaspora. It is worth noting that the role of independent art venues such as Bloc Projects and Saan1 is crucial in facilitating these artistic endeavors. Both venues emphasize artistic experimentation, accessibility, participation, and cross-disciplinarity, creating spaces where the Hong Kong diaspora can engage with art in ways that are both meaningful and transformative. Through their support, these art projects are able to foster a deep emotional engagement with the diaspora, enabling participants to connect with their cultural roots and sustain their political identity. The following analysis will apply the concept of visceral citizenship to explore how these art projects utilize corporeal engagement, embodied resistance, and sensorial experiences to reinforce the diasporic community's sense of belonging and resistance in the UK.

Hong Kong Future Diaspora

Eelyn Lee's *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* seamlessly blends community art with elements of protest art, creating an immersive experience that deeply engages the audience on both emotional and visceral levels. The exhibition is part of Lee's larger *Performing Identities* project, which explores the evolving identities of the Hong Kong diaspora in the UK. Through collaborative art practices, the exhibition invites participants and viewers alike to engage with the complexities of diasporic identity, using art as a medium to reflect on and resist the political and cultural challenges faced by Hong Kongers abroad. The exhibition emerges against the backdrop of heightened racism towards East and Southeast Asians (ESEA) during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has galvanized ESEA communities in the UK to collectivize and scrutinize issues of race and identity more

closely.[51] *Performing Identities*, including *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* and *Four Quadrants of the Sky*, actively contributes to this discourse by challenging racist stereotypes and dismantling Orientalist framings of ESEA people and cultures.[52] Simultaneously, the exhibition reflects the political turmoil in Hong Kong, where the government's crackdown on free speech through sedition and national security laws has forced thousands of Hong Kongers into exile. Within this context of racial and political oppression, the exhibition becomes a powerful platform for Hong Kongers in the diaspora to question, redefine, and assert their identities.

The exhibition's foundation lies in socially engaged art practices, mainly through workshops and collaborative processes to develop four contemporary mythical characters that embody the experiences and challenges of the diaspora. Emphasizing collectivity, Lee worked closely with six to ten collaborators at different times during the creative process, most with art backgrounds, including recent political migrants and the second-generation migrants with Hong Kong or ESEA heritage. Prior to the first online workshop, each collaborator was invited to bring an object, and to reflect on a sound and a gesture that resonated with their identity, heritage, or lived experience. Drawing on these personal elements and the narratives surrounding them, subsequent in-person workshops guided each participant in the development of a mythical character. The choreographer, Jan Ming, a second-generation Hong Kong migrant, guided the collaborators in exploring diverse body movements to evoke embodied memories through collective improvisation. For example, the imagined environment of a mythical character was abstractly represented through a series of body gestures and movements performed by the collaborators. By entering these imagined habitats – shaped by the objects and stories introduced in the initial session – participants devised movements grounded in personal memories and past experiences. Together, Jan Ming and Wayne Wong focused on integrating martial arts movements into the dance performance as a means of expressing diasporic identity. She also worked with Clara Cheung and other collaborators to make costume prototypes, further visualising the mythical characters. Afterwards, these characters were further developed through 'hot-seating' exercises, in which collaborators embodied their characters by integrating personal identities and diasporic narratives. The characters were performed using both bodily movements and improvised dialogues exchanged among collaborators assuming different roles. This method deepened the understanding of their shared experiences, fostering a speculative 'Hong Kongness' that connects the collaborators' pasts, presents, and imagined futures. The creation of these myths served as a way for the recent migrants to navigate and re-imagine their identities within the context of their new lives in the UK, intertwining personal histories with collective memory amongst themselves, as well as developing dialogues with the Hong Kong diaspora who have settled in the UK much longer.

The visceral dimensions of *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* are most vividly expressed during the live performance/ritual at the opening, which took place in the courtyard outside the gallery. Beginning with the awakening of the mythical characters (to be further discussed in the following section), the performance progressed through eight stages of diasporic becoming, developed during the workshop: 'awakening, gathering, resisting, traveling, protesting, blessing, navigating, and resting.' Each stage embodied a distinct facet of the diasporic journey, resonating deeply with the emotional, sensory, and embodied experiences of the Hong Kong diaspora. The performance engaged the

audience through multiple senses. For sound, the collaborators chanted in Cantonese 'one two one two' (一二一二) during the 'traveling' stage to recall the experience of Hong Kong protestors marching together on streets in 2019. Traditional instruments like gongs, cymbals, Chinese Temple Blocks, and the standing bell were also used to create an auditory landscape reminiscent of Chinese religious rituals. The master of ceremony, taking on a role similar to a Taoist priest, chanted phrases in both Cantonese and English, with each phrase resonating with the stages of diasporic becoming and evoking memories of the protests, such as 'bounce back' (反彈) and 'is it easy to breathe?' (容易呼吸嗎?). For visual, the 10-meter-long yellow banner held by the performers invoked powerful imagery of the 2019 protests, particularly the iconic banner displayed on Lion Rock Mountain demanding genuine universal suffrage (Figure 1). The yellow color, symbolizing the pro-democracy camp, served as a visual reminder of the ongoing struggle. For touch, the act of sprinkling rice over the performers, a gesture often used in Chinese rituals to repel evil forces and bless the subject, added a tactile dimension to the performance. This ritualistic element emphasized themes of protection, resilience, and the continuation of cultural traditions amidst the diasporic experience.

The live performance incorporated specific martial arts movements, particularly emphasizing circularity and wide stances, which are deeply symbolic in the context of both protest and diaspora. Circular movements, reflective of Taoist ideas of fluidity, echoed the 'be-water' (如水) philosophy that was central to the 2019 Hong Kong protests.[53] This fluidity symbolized the adaptability required to navigate both the challenges of resistance and the complexities of diasporic life. The wide stances, rooted in the Hung Gar style of kung fu, represented stability and resilience, emphasizing the need for a strong foundation in the face of adversity. These embodied practices highlighted the importance of physicality and martiality in sustaining political resistance and cultural

Figure 1. A ritual performance at the opening of *Hong Kong Future diaspora* at Bloc projects on 20 October 2022 (Image credit: yellow pocket studios).

identity, underscoring the exhibition's exploration of how the body can serve as a site of resistance and memory.

The sensory elements combined in *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* do not only recapture representational aspects of *man syun* art from recent Hong Kong protests but also integrate the significant visuals from the protests with traditional music and rituals that resonate more among earlier Hong Kong migrants in the UK. The project addresses generational gaps within the Hong Kong diaspora regarding the concept of 'Hong Kong' through its choreographic approach, bridging these differences by assembling diverse experiences and creating an abstract space of body movements that are accessible to participants and audiences from varied cultural backgrounds. While *man syun* artworks require specific knowledge of Hong Kong's recent political context to fully engage, a more abstract artistic language fosters an affective atmosphere that enables cross-generational and cross-cultural dialogues. Some Hong Kong migrants may find *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* challenging to interpret, given that recent art exhibitions within the community have focused on visual representations directly related to the 2019 protests. The project's ambivalent and open-ended imagery may therefore feel unfamiliar. However, this approach aligns with curator Sunshine Wong's emphasis on socially negotiated art, which values the coexistence of ambivalence and embraces unexpected juxtapositions. For recent Hong Kong migrants, navigating beyond their immediate community to negotiate a 'third space' for distinct cultural identity is as essential as preserving the collective memories from recent social movements that fortify the 'Hong Konger identity.'

Four Quadrants of the Sky

Building on *Hong Kong Future Diaspora*, *Four Quadrants of the Sky* (四大神獸) marks the completion of the second cycle of Eelyn Lee's *Performing Identities* project, which seeks to collectively reimagine ESEA identities through contemporary myth-making. Costume designers with ESEA heritage were invited to listen to the stories of the collaborators and further developed the previous prototypes with theatrical costume design techniques. The bold colours, structural extensions of the body and the juxtaposition of ancient mythical imageries with contemporary visual elements infused the four characters with a surrealistic quality, echoing the fashion design of the Surrealist art movement that explored the human self in relation to the subconscious and unconscious.[54] This cycle also involved makeup artists and a cinematographer who, while not of ESEA heritage, are open-minded creatives interested in exploring diaspora cultural identities through collective performances.

The exhibition of *Four Quadrants of the Sky* draws on the 'four images' (四象) from Chinese celestial thinking, linking them to the four newly devised mythical characters that embody the complex, evolving identities of the Hong Kong diaspora in connection with the larger ESEA community in the UK (Figure 2). The collaborators, along with choreographer Jan Ming, further developed the movements from the previous project iteration for the video piece in this exhibition, with abstraction playing an even more important role this time. Incorporating the costumes, theatrical backdrops and lighting, Eelyn Lee and collaborators embodied these mythical characters in a space detached from political reality. However, it does not make the project less critical. Instead, it offers an

Figure 2. *Four Quadrants of the Sky* explores diaspora cultural identities through collective performances and mythmaking (Image credit: Juan de Leon-Padmore).

imaginative space for both the performers and the audience to delve into movement, sensory realms, and myth-making as tools for exploring diasporic identity that is constantly evolving.

Against the backdrop of increased racial tensions and political repression, *Four Quadrants of the Sky* uses multi-sensory experiences to explore themes of identity, belonging, and resistance. It features an immersive installation of four-screen projection that expands the gallery space, creating a boundless, otherworldly environment.[55] Suspended above eye level, the four costumes created for the project are illuminated by spotlights, alternating with the moving images of the mythical characters in the outfits. This interplay between the static costume display and the animated projection allows the audience to focus on each in turn, and provides time for visitors to walk around the space to observe the costumes' intricate detail. As Emma Bolland highlighted in her review of *Four Quadrants of the Sky*, the visual spectacle of the film, coupled with a layered soundscape composed of 'breaths, rustles, and traffic noises,' blurs the boundaries between the physical and the imagined, making the space feel both intimate and expansive.[56] These sensory elements are carefully curated to foster a trans-local experience, connecting the diasporic audience to their heritage while situating them within a new cultural context in the UK. The installation's ability to stretch the gallery's perceived boundaries mirrors the expansive nature of diasporic identity, emphasizing the interconnectedness of personal and cultural experiences.

The four mythical characters – Wok Hei, The Navigator, Lo Ting, and Hybridity – serve as symbolic representations of different facets of Hong Kongness and ESEA cultures, each embodying unique aspects of the diaspora's collective experiences. The prototypes of these characters, shown in *Hong Kong Future Diaspora*, are not merely figments of imagination but are deeply rooted in the lived realities of the participants, who draw upon their personal histories and

cultural memories to inform the stories and characters of the work. The character of Lo Ting, for example, holds significant historical weight within Hong Kong's art scene, having been featured in multiple exhibitions since 1997. According to Chinese folklore in the Tang Dynasty (618–907), Lo Ting is 'a being half human and half fish, who lives in tribes of Lo Tings on the island of Lantau – in particular around Tai O – and spends time both ashore and swimming in the sea … he is nothing less than the ancestor of Hong Kong people.'[57] Artists such as Oscar Ho, Jimmy Keung Chi Ming, and Clara Cheung have capitalized on the allegorical power of the mythic character and addressed the disappearance of Hong Kong's local histories in the official grand narrative.[58] Clara Cheung, in particular, offered the first female representation of Lo Ting in her 2017 work *Lo Ting Toy Story – Salute to My Grandmother Who Was a Fishmonger*. In this piece, Barbie-style arms and legs were attached to the head and body of a salted fish to create 'Lo Ting Toys,' which were distributed in public at an outdoor street market in Mongkok. In exchange for receiving a toy, audience members pledged to retell the story of Lo Ting to at least one other person. While the tactile qualities of the doll components evoke ideas of role-play and the performativity of citizenship, the distinctive smell and taste of the salted fish recall the coastal cultures that form a vital part of Hong Kong identity.

In collaboration with Lee, Cheung brings Lo Ting to life by representing the mythical character herself and connects it to the broader narrative of Hong Kong's search for cultural identity, both past and present, in Hong Kong and in the UK. This act of collective mythmaking, reinforced through embodied practices like movement and sound, aligns with the concept of visceral citizenship. It highlights how embodied practices can create affective connections that reinforce collective identity and belonging within the diaspora, transforming the body into a site of both personal and political resistance.

Both exhibitions of *Four Quadrants of the Sky* and *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* use the body as a site of resistance, exploring how diasporic identities are transmitted and transformed across generations. The emphasis on embodied knowledge in both projects underscores a commitment to exploring what is stored within the body – memories, emotions, and experiences – and how these inform the understanding of homeland and selfhood. However, *Four Quadrants of the Sky* takes these explorations a step further by integrating elements of cosmology and myth, which add layers of cultural specificity and depth to the affective engagement. Bolland notes that this exhibition evokes a 'mythological trans-local' which conveys a 'culturally and collectively produced fluidity.'[59] In the end of the review essay, she writes about how her students respond to the exhibition with art-making, 'as if some of the burdens of uncertainty (about where they are, who they are, what art is supposed to be …) have been lifted from their shoulders.'[60] While *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* focused more on the immediate social and political realities of the Hong Kong diaspora, *Four Quadrants of the Sky* expands this focus to include a broader, more timeless exploration of identity, grounded in ancient Chinese cosmology but reinterpreted for contemporary diasporic contexts with uncertainties and ambivalences.

Trees that We're Planting

While *Hong Kong Future Diaspora* and *Four Quadrants of the Sky* emphasize performance, mythmaking, and embodied rituals to explore the emotional and visceral aspects of identity, *Trees that We're Planting* engages participants through their lived experiences – particularly their affective memories of the protests. It carries a festive atmosphere as diasporic Hong Kongers come together to reflect, gather, and strengthen their sense of belonging in a new environment. Unlike the previous case studies, *Trees that We're Planting* involves the participation of not only practicing artists but also diasporic Hong Kongers and asylum seekers. Most of the artworks in this exhibition adopt a more intuitive approach to expressing sentiments related to specific protest events and memories, such as incorporating protest slogans and 'visual cultural commons' of yellow umbrellas and 'the anonymous black-clad, masked protestor with a helmet.'[61] The exhibition is socially engaging, featuring not only workshops and performances but also artworks created through socially engaged methods, such as Re-Water Lennon Art Group's *Lennon Flag*, initiated by Clara Cheung and collectively knitted by diasporic Hong Kongers in different regions (Figure 3). In other words, the exhibition's curator, Charles Wong, effectively highlights the complementary relationship between protest art and community art.

Similar to Eeyln Lee's projects, the exhibition features diverse media forms – art objects, short films, performances, workshops, and food tasting – to create a wide array of visceral cultural commons. This shared affective space is where participants collectively sense, feel, act, and taste, engaging in an embodied experience that reaffirms their identity and sense of belonging and highlighting 'emotional-sensorial subjectivities towards nation, citizenship and territory.'[62] For example, the visual artworks, including paintings, installations, and sculptures, resonate deeply with the collective memory of the

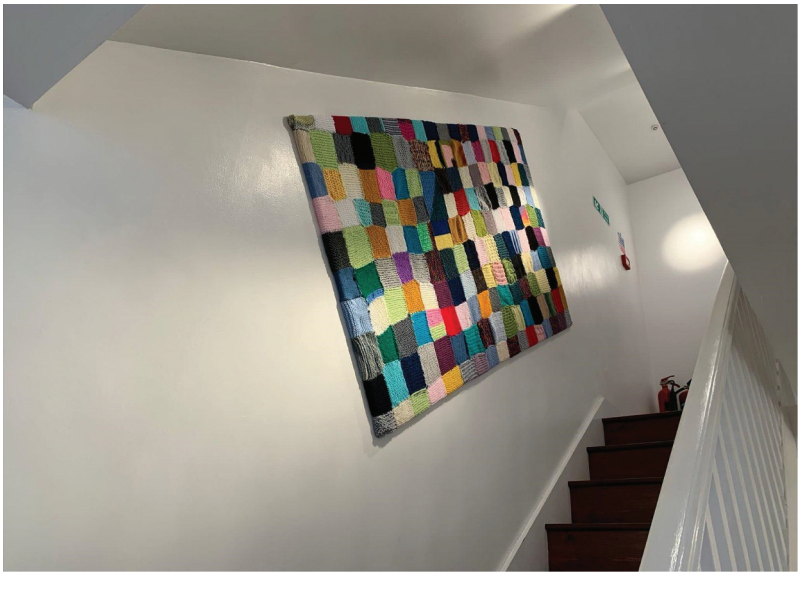

Figure 3. Re-water Lennon Art Group's *Lennon Flag* (knitted work with yarn, mounted on frame – 150cm X 100cm) (Image credit: Gum Cheng).

Figure 4. Martin Lever's above the protests II (Acrylic, ink & spray paint on Canvas – 90cm X 60cm) (image source: https://www.artbymartinlever.com/aaf-prints/above-the-protests-ii).

diaspora. Artworks like Martin Lever's painting titled *Above the Protests II*, which depicts a bird's-eye view of yellow umbrellas immersed in an ocean of blue water, not only recall the visual impact of the 2019 protests but also trigger visceral memories of pain and resistance (Figure 4). The accompanying poem, titled *Deafening Silence*, next to the artwork, further deepens this emotional engagement:

> First there was noise
> Then there was silence
> But silence is deafening
> When voices travel
> To be heard once more
> On a distant shore

The poem not only captures the auditory contrast between the protests' loud chants and the imposed silence of repression but also evokes the bodily memory of protest – felt in the rhythmic vibrations of voices chanting in unison, the collective footsteps pounding against the pavement, and the deep reverberations of slogans echoing through the chest

Figure 5. Signed football jersey of "Kongers" a newly established Hong Konger football team in the UK (Image credit: Boham Tree Aid).

and throat. Even after the protests, participants continue to experience these embodied sensations during moments of solitude or collective gathering, thereby reinforcing a 'visceral soundscape' that links past resistance to present identity. For migrants in the UK, this somatic memory – etched into muscle, breath, and movement – extends beyond sound, shaping how they carry protest forward in both art and activism.[63]

The exhibition features tangible cultural artifacts that address both past and present experiences of the diaspora, such as a Lennon Wall at the entrance, the knitted *Lennon Flag* in the staircase, the fully-signed football jerseys of 'Kongers,' (Figure 5) a newly established Hong Konger football team in the UK, and the painting series titled *So fuxing missing you all & Poetic and picturesque* by artist AK852 (Figure 6). The exhibition draws on the collective efforts of ordinary Hong Kongers and newly established organizations such as Hong Kong March, Bonham Tree Aid, and the Hong Kong Cultural Community (Figure 7). By fostering cohesion, these organizations offer Hong Kongers in the UK a platform to connect with their cultural roots and resist identity erasure.

The inclusion of eight short films evokes emotions related to the loss of homeland, nostalgia, and the ongoing struggle for identity, bridging the gap between the past and present experiences of the diaspora. The films set in Hong Kong, such as *Night is Young* (2020), *Moonshine* (2021), *Lost Pearl* (2021) capture the sentiments towards the 2019 protests, while those made in the UK, such as *You Alright, Mr. Fox* (2023) and *Short Story Long* (2022) reflect the homesickness and loneliness of immigrants adjusting to life in a new country. The curators use these films to create space for participants to navigate complex emotions and foster solidarity and shared purpose.

Participatory elements such as workshops, music performances, and letter writing further enhance the collective experience. For instance, the craft workshop, where participants transform 2D photos of Hong Kong street views into photo relief artworks, encourages a hands-on engagement with their cultural memory and nostalgia (Figure 8).

Figure 6. Painting series titled *so fuxing missing you all & poetic and picturesque* by artist AK852, using the popular protest art visual motif of Lion Rok, in yellow and black colors.

Similarly, the music performances singing Cantonese pop songs featuring themes of resilience and letter-writing activities to those imprisoned in Hong Kong provide avenues for the diaspora to express their ongoing connection to their homeland, reinforcing their collective identity while offering support to those still facing repression. The act of singing has played a key role in the protests due to its affective power in identity construction.[64] As Lowe succinctly put it, 'the patriotic tune and rhythm of Hong Kong's de facto national anthem is part of a visceral experience triggering collective responses and emotional engagements as catalysts of solidarity against a feared, totalitarian sovereign "other".'[65] Considering the banning of 'Glory to Hong Kong' after the implementation of the national security law, singing Cantonese pop songs about hope, resilience, and resistance has become an important means to recreate the visceral soundscape for many young Hong Kongers. These activities turn the exhibition into a living, breathing space of cultural resistance, where participants actively engage in the process of identity formation and political expression.

Furthermore, the inclusion of food tasting, with traditional Hong Kong treats like egg tarts, milk tea, and pineapple buns, serves as a sensory bridge to the past. The tastes and smells of these foods evoke powerful memories, connecting participants to their cultural heritage in a way that is both comforting and empowering. This sensory experience not only reinforces their identity but also strengthens the bonds within the diaspora community, creating a shared space of belonging that transcends physical and geographical boundaries. More importantly, food is

Figure 7. E-poster of *Trees that We are Planting* exhibition (Image credit: Bonham Tree Aid).

catalyst for shaping new 'political subjectivities' and are 'embodiments of activism and change.'[66] As Probyn puts it, 'In the end, it is the ways in which eating reveals us at our most vulnerable, solitary and needy as it simultaneously brings us together in permutations of commensality. As Bourdieu famously argues, we are our tastes, yet, contra Bourdieu, eating demonstrates our taste for change.'[67] Through these diverse media, the *Trees that We're Planting* exhibition successfully creates a visceral cultural commons – a shared affective space where the Hong Kong diaspora can collectively resist the forces of erasure and repression. By engaging participants on both emotional and sensory levels, the exhibition fosters a deep sense of solidarity and belonging, allowing the diaspora to maintain their connection to Hong Kong while forging a new identity in the UK.

Figure 8. Photo-relief artworks created by participants, depicting Hong Kong street corners and showcasing old neighborhoods and traditional foods, featured in the *Trees We're Planting* exhibition (Image credit: Tse Hei Long).

Conclusion: the creative viscerality of protest art and community art

As demonstrated through the case studies, protest art and community art, complementing each other in the collective creative process, play a crucial role in articulating diasporic identity in relation to the concept of visceral citizenship. Hong Kongers developed the prominent visuals of *man syun* art through a collective process deeply rooted in their social engagement during protests – this collective authorship defines the uniqueness of their protest art. While protest art tends to be direct and representational, aiming for clear political communication with a specific audience, community art often embraces more open-ended methods that encourage multiple interpretations and the exchange of ideas. Both approaches in artistic creation have significant roles in negotiating identity and belonging within the Hong Kong diaspora in the UK.

Viewed through the lens of visceral citizenship, these artistic practices shape the collective identity and political consciousness of the diaspora. The sensory and affective engagement fostered by these art forms allows the Hong Kong diaspora to maintain a connection to their cultural roots – deeply intertwined with collective memories and the distinct Hong Konger identity forged in recent political turmoil, while remaining open to dialogues with different communities in the UK, such as earlier Hong Kong migrants and the British ESEA, about diverse understandings and imaginations of 'Hong Kong.'

In this light, cross-media exhibitions have proven to be particularly effective in creating a visceral cultural commons. By engaging multiple senses – sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste – these exhibitions deepen the audience's affective engagement, fostering a profound connection to their cultural heritage and reinforcing their collective identity. By engaging multiple senses, this approach transforms art into a fully embodied experience that resonates deeply with participants on emotional and physical levels.

Though physically distant from Hong Kong, these practices sustain an imagined community through visceral media.[68] Just as print once bound dispersed readers into a national consciousness, today's cross-media exhibitions, ritual performances, and

online-offline linkages bind Hong Kongers in the UK to those in Hong Kong. By activating visceral sensations in shared spaces, they collapse distance into affective immediacy.

Although this paper focuses on the visceral aspects of identity formation through creative activities, it is important to note that civic obligation, often associated with the concept of citizenship, is also subtly embedded in the case of the *Trees We're Planting* exhibition. Bonham Tree Aid, a UK-registered community interest company supporting the families of political prisoners in Hong Kong, organized the exhibition to foster a diasporic identity tied to Hong Kong and offer the diaspora opportunities to contribute to the cause through artwork auctions and on-site donations. This serves as an example of the diaspora's ongoing support for the Hong Konger community in its long-standing fight for democracy and autonomy.

Also, the significance of collective artistic effort has been a central theme throughout this analysis. These case studies highlight how collaborations among artists, academics, and community members facilitate critical dialogues on diasporic identity. This collaborative approach enriches the artistic process, providing a platform for diverse voices and perspectives to contribute to the ongoing conversation about what it means to be a Hong Konger in the UK today. The role of cross-disciplinary partnerships in enhancing the depth and impact of these artistic interventions cannot be overstated.

Finally, it is important to note that the case studies discussed represent only a small fraction of the many artistic interventions undertaken by Hong Kong and UK artists for the diasporic communities. We selected these projects based on our direct involvement, which allowed us to offer a subjective perspective that enriches the analysis. While these insights are valuable, they also highlight the broader implications of the findings for understanding the role of art in diasporic communities and resistance movements worldwide. As the Hong Kong diaspora continues to navigate the challenges of identity and belonging in a new environment, art will undoubtedly remain a powerful tool for expression, resistance, and connection.

Notes

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2. Fong, "Diaspora Formation and Mobilisation," 1062.
3. Lowe, "Ten Years as Boundary Object," 1–5.
4. Christou, "Narrating Lives in (e)Motion," 249–50.
5. Yam and Ma, "Being water," 668–75.
6. Ho, "Protest Art, Hong Kong Style," 193–5.
7. Pang, "Arendt in Hong Kong," 155–60.
8. Chidgey and Garde-Hansen, "Towards a Protest Memory Framework," 53–55.
9. Anastasia and Mavroudi, *Dismantling Diasporas*, 1–8.
10. Academy of Visual Arts, *Socially Engaged Art Timeline*.
11. Valjakka, "Co-Authoring the Space," 979–83.
12. Ng, "Protesting with Text and Image," 53–57.
13. Lowe, "The Affective Cultural Commons," 614–7.
14. Chow, "How Hong Kong's Art Community."
15. London Art Biennale, "Lumlong, Lumli"; Ludwigvan Toronto, "PREVIEW | Pianist Ricker Choi Talks About His Artivism & Upcoming Concert"; Amnesty International, "Justin Wong"; Ho, "Political Cartoonist Ah To"; and Ho, "Ex-visual Arts Teacher."

16. Chan, "CV."
17. Wong, *There is Always Apple*.
18. Ah To, *The Distance between Hong Kong and the UK*.
19. Simoniti, "Assessing Socially Engaged Art," 71–75.
20. Lippard, "Looking Around," 114–20.
21. Clarke, "Oscar Ho and the Art of Curating," 122.
22. Krischer, "Thinking of Art as Informal Life Politics," 197–200; and Yang, "In the Name of the Star," 485–7.
23. Doran, "Viewed from a Train."
24. *June Fourth Festival for Post-80s Generation*.
25. "拾得好！超級佔領小屋設計大 (Found It! Super Occupy Cabin Design Contest)."
26. HKFP Lens, "Hong Kong Island Comes to a Standstill as Hundreds of Thousands Protest Extradition Bill."
27. Bedell, "Love Rising," 1–2.
28. Liao, "Feeling the 2019," 358.
29. Clough, "The Affective Turn," 1–5; Gould, *Moving Politics*, 18–22; and Quinan and Thiele, "Biopolitics, Necropolitics, Cosmopolitics," 1–4.
30. Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 35.
31. Ahmed, "Affective Economies," 117–200; and Gorman-Murray, "Urban Homebodies," 137–40.
32. Gould, "On Affect and Profest," 18–25.
33. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129.
34. Lowe, "The Affective Cultural Commons," 616.
35. Pell, "Making Citizenship Public," 143–5.
36. Turner, "Citizenship Studies," 5–10.
37. Fortier, "Afterword: Acts of Affective Citizenship?" 1038–40.
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40. Longhurst, Johnston, and Ho, "A Visceral Approach," 334.
41. Lowe, "The Affective Cultural Commons," 623.
42. Ibid., 618.
43. Ibid., 625.
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46. Valjakka, "Co-Authoring the Space," 985.
47. Wong, "Beside Engagement," 1–8.
48. Valjakka, "Co-Authoring the Space," 982–3.
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50. Ibid., 356.
51. Yeh, "Covid-19, Anti-Asian Racial Violence."
52. Lee, *Casting Fu Manchu;* and Lee, *Saam Sing*.
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54. Lee, "Surrealism," 289–90.
55. Bolland, "Eelyn Lee & Collaborators".
56. Ibid.
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58. Ho, "Borderscaping Hong Kong, Lo Ting and its Creative Agency," 516.
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61. Lowe, "The Affective Cultural Commons," 621.
62. Ibid., 616.
63. Ibid., 620.
64. Shekhovtsov, "Music and the Other," 329–30; Kirby, "Sound and Fury"; and Luo and Tebbutt, "From Cultural Revolution to Cultural Consumption," 351–5.

65. Lowe, "The Affective Cultural Commons," 620.
66. Ibid., 620–1.
67. Probyn, "Carnal Appetites," 9.
68. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5–12.

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