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新漫畫運動：香港網絡政治漫畫初探
New Comics Movement: Exploring the
Internet Political Cartoons in Hong Kong

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一、前言

漫畫是視覺文化裏重要成員之一，然而，在學術界，漫畫研究從來都是一個不容易的課題，除了因為其在藝術教育一直缺席外，漫畫跨學科的特性亦令學者難以建立一套系統去討論其發展。一向以來，與漫畫相關的研究均以其社會歷史價值為切入點，漫畫往往只被視為一種手段去側寫不同的社會面貌。在歐美，至八十年代，學者才開始確立以漫畫為主體的理論和研究方向。

在香港，過去對漫畫的研究和討論，大多圍繞個別漫畫類型，例如俗稱「港漫」的功夫武打漫畫，或以個別大師如王澤、黃玉郎、馬榮成等成功故事為主軸。鮮有學者對整體香港漫畫的發展歷程，作出較有系統的整理。學者黃少儀在《Hong Kong Comics》(2002) 一書中嘗試梳理香港漫畫發展的脈絡。由二十年代中國漫畫傳入，七、八十年代香港武打漫畫對市場的壟斷至九十年代獨立漫畫（指由沒有與任何出版社簽訂合約漫畫家創作的）興起的論述，成為往後討論的基礎。然而，在回歸後，隨着社會、政治環境的轉變，香港漫畫亦經歷了重大的起伏，縱然如此，近年有關漫畫的討論卻似乎仍然停留在七、八十年代的「光輝歲月」。有關近十年間的漫畫作品的討論與分析乏善足陳。此幾近真空狀態或許與漫畫行業的不景氣、或欠具影響力的漫畫家有關。但同時亦反映了一個根本的問題，就是香港漫畫研究一直欠缺清晰的框架。究竟漫畫是商品？藝術品？文學？還是語言？學者如何在不同角度中發展出較整全的論述？

然而，在建立此框架之先，我們必須先補足對近年漫畫作品的整理和描述。九十年代獨立漫畫的出現打破了武打漫畫美學的壟斷，告別形式化以及工廠式的製作過程，漫畫的多樣性終於可以在過去十多年呈現。而由於大部份獨立漫畫家均非倚賴漫畫創作維生，故能擺脫市場的影響力。不同的題材亦隨着漫畫家不同的背景和興趣在作品中呈現。湯禎兆曾形容這浪潮為「新漫畫運動」，而獨立漫畫家其中一個共通點就是以作品去探討社會議題。¹ 此轉變可早在Stella So繪畫利東街、小克的《維港巨星》系列甚至江記充滿政治寓意的《Pandaman》等作品出現。而這批漫畫家的「獨立」精神，正正和網絡出版的興起互相配合。當漫畫作品開始在網絡上流通時，由於和不同資訊的混雜，漫畫作品更能緊緊地和社會現況貼近。

新一代漫畫家作品對社會議題的關切讓我們重新檢視漫畫傳統裏一個重要角色，甚至是漫畫的起源，就是以圖像對社會現況作出評論和回應。在香港，一向以來，我們都將此責任交給一班稱為時事或政治漫畫家，在傳統媒體如報章、雜誌上發表作品。然而，此現象亦隨互聯網的出現漸漸改變。2012年特首選舉的改圖熱潮打開了圖像用作回應社會現況的想像。至雨傘運動期間，大量網絡漫畫家出現，對一向隱藏在報章副刊或新聞頁面上的傳統政治漫畫帶來不少衝擊。令人憧憬新一輩作家能否帶起自八十年代以來政治漫畫圈內最大的改革，甚至被定性為「新政治漫畫運動」。可是，經歷了雨傘運動和「魚蛋革命」等大型社會運動，這場政治漫畫熱潮同時亦隨着大眾對社運感到厭倦乏力而冷卻起來。

由2012年開始，這一波的政治漫畫運動，至今雖然仍未能蓋棺定論，但過去數年的發展已悄悄改變了香港政治漫畫的面貌。筆者作為其中的參與者，嘗試以局內人的角度，在此總結一些觀察。

1 呂文珊在〈初探當代香港獨立漫畫與社會運動〉(2012) 一文引用湯禎兆「新漫畫運動」這名稱來確立獨立漫畫與社會運動之間的關係。文章於2012年1月7-8日台北文化研究學會2012年會發表。

I. Foreword

Comics,¹ as one important area in visual culture, is nevertheless not a straightforward topic in the academia. Scholars have experienced challenges and difficulties to discuss the development of comics in a systematic way, not only because of the absence of development in arts education, but also the interdisciplinary nature of comics. It is customary to approach comics-related research with its historical and social values. Comics has always been regarded as a means to profile the various faces of the society. Not until the 1980s, western scholars have started to recognize comics as a key subject matter for theory development and research study.

In Hong Kong, most of the discussion and research on comics mainly focus on the individual genre. For example, “Kungfu” comics (commonly known as “Hong Kong comics”), or the successful stories of *manhua* artists Alfonso Wong (Wong Chak), Wong Yuk-long (Jademan), Ma Wing-shing, et cetera. However, what is rarely discussed is the development of Hong Kong comics, not to mention it is integrated systematically. Scholar Wendy Siuyi Wong in her book *Hong Kong Comics* (2002) attempts to reorganize the development of Hong Kong comics. Her analysis on the incoming spread of Chinese comics since the 2000s, the monopoly of Hong Kong Kungfu comics in the 1970s and 1980s, and the emergence of independent comics (referring to the artwork created by artists without any contractual relationship with publishers) in 1990s laid a solid foundation for further discussion. However, in line with the changes of political environment across societies after the Handover, Hong Kong comics is facing a material fluctuation. Despite these changes, the recent discussion related to comics remains laying on “those were the glorious years” of 1970s and 1980s. The analysis and discussion in the recent decade are considered inadequate for a wider and in-depth discussion. The nearly vacuum stage could be attributed to the recession of comics industry or the lack of qualified influential artists. This situation simultaneously evokes focal responses to a rooted question: the lack of a clear framework in Hong Kong comics research. What is the position of comics? Commodity? Artwork? Literature? Or language? Also, how can scholars develop a more comprehensive discussion from different perspectives?

A clear framework cannot nevertheless be formed until the research gaps of recent comics have been filled with integration and description. The emergence of independent comics during the 1990s broke the aesthetics dominance of Kungfu comics. Leaving formality and mass production process behind, the diversity of comics can finally be manifested in the last ten odd years. Given the majority of independent artists do not only rely on comics creation for living, the development of comics can therefore not to be affected by the market. Various themes created with the diverse background and interest of artists opened up comics market with diversity. Tong Ching-siu described this phenomenon as “New Comics Movement.” One of the common characteristics of these independent cartoonists is the discussion of social issues through the artwork.² This change appeared as early as in the cartoonists Stella So’s Lee Tung Street, Siu Hak’s *Harbor Fest* series and even in Kong Kee’s political satirical cartoon *Pandaman*. Besides, exactly the same time, the “independent” spirit of these cartoonists was in line with the emergence of online publishing. When these cartoons began to circulate over the internet, they mingle with a variety of information and become more closely related to the current social situation.

1 Translator’s note: “Comics” refer to the drawing, whilst “Cartoons” refer to the genre and work of drawing. The Chinese phrase *Manhua* itself carries different meanings by referring to the context. In this article, to be exact, words are used in accordance with the context with the meanings mentioned.

2 Lui Man-shan in “Hong Kong Independent Comics and Social Movements” (2012) adopted “New Comics Movement” coined by Tong Ching-siu to affirm the relationship between independent comics and social movements. The article was presented in Annual Conference of the Cultural Studies Association of Taiwan, Taipei, January 7-8, 2012.

本文章共分兩大部份：

- 簡述香港政治漫畫的發展歷程
- 對比傳統政治漫畫，總結網絡政治漫畫的生態，其中包括四個部份：
 1. 與讀者互動的關係
 2. 政治漫畫家的身份轉變
 3. 突破了的形式與內容
 4. 去政治化的轉向

由於題材範疇甚廣，篇幅所限，未必能深入探討每一個部份，惟期望文章能帶出一些討論的方向，作為將來研究的基礎。

二、香港政治漫畫的發展簡述

I、香港漫畫和中國漫畫的共同命運

香港政治漫畫的起源和中國漫畫密不可分。1867年諷刺雜誌《中國笨拙》(China Punch)的出版，標誌着中國漫畫的起點。經歷了辛亥革命、抗日戰爭、國共戰爭等重大歷史事件，漫畫作為諷刺時弊、批評政權的重要媒介，在上海、廣州等地有着長足的發展，奠定了中國漫畫發展的基石。隨着中港兩地交流漸頻，加上作為戰亂時的避難所，不少大陸漫畫家如何劍士、鄭磊泉等，在不同時空之下來港發展，成為推動香港漫畫發展的重要力量。而五、六十年代開始，香港漫畫亦漸漸多元化，時政漫畫以外，其他類型如兒童漫畫及武打漫畫亦相繼流行，奠定了本土漫畫的格局。

II、回歸前後與過渡期（1980-2003）

至八十年代中期，隨着香港九七回歸漸近，中英談判，六四事件後的信心危機為社會帶來了很大的不穩定性。但同時，這過渡期也造就了當代本土政治漫畫家如尊子、馬龍、一木、阿平，以及於英文報章雜誌發表作品的外國漫畫家如包國龍、高嘉雲 (Gavin Coates)、方南理 (Larry Feign) 和夏里遜 (Harry Harrison) 等，組成了過去三十年香港政治漫畫的中流砥柱。這時期的漫畫反映了香港人對自身前途的焦躁不安，除了本土民生議題之外，香港和中國政府的關係，以及對九七回歸的質疑成為了那時期漫畫題材的焦點。可以說是現代香港政治漫畫的黃金時期。

回歸後初期，隨着香港前途塵埃落定，社會普遍對中國的管治抱着觀望態度，此時漫畫家的創作亦較專注本地民生事宜。同時間，改制改革、雙普選的議題亦漸漸成為往後二十年漫畫題材的主旋律。隨着政府的管治問題漸漸浮現，社會對政府的不信任在2003年的7月1日五十萬人遊行中爆發。市民對特首高官的不滿，也在漫畫肖像中展現出來。最經典的例子為尊子筆下「老槽董」和「掃把頭」的角色，至今已成為如黃偉國所說香港人的集體回憶，² 成為回歸後有關香港歷史一個重要的視覺符號。而這大概也是近年政治漫畫影響力最大的例子之一。

² 黃偉國著：〈從政治漫畫分析董建華政權的去政治化〉，載本土論述編輯委員會、新力量網絡編：《香港本土論述2010：香港新階級鬥爭》（台北：漫遊者文化事業股份有限公司，2011），頁163至186。

Works created by the new generation of cartoonists showing the attention paid on the social issues provide us an opportunity to re-examine the traditional important role of cartoons play, and even the origin of cartoons: using images to respond and comment on current social situation. In Hong Kong, we handed over such a responsibility to a group of current affairs or political cartoonists who publish their artwork in traditional media such as newspapers and magazines. However, this phenomenon has gradually changed with the emergence of the internet. The fad of altering photos for the 2012 Chief Executive election emanated the power of images as a way to respond to the current social situation. During the Umbrella Movement, a large number of online cartoonists emerged. This brought a huge impact on traditional political cartoons buried in the newspaper supplements or news pages, inviting the longing for the new generation authors to bring up the biggest reform in the political cartoon circle since 1980s. This reform has even been defined as the “New Political Cartoon Movement.” It is unfortunate that the fad cannot be sustained out of tired minds and burnout bodies of the public, after the Umbrella Movement and other large-scale social movements including “Fishball Revolution” (Mong Kok Civil Unrest).

Since 2012, this wave of political cartoon movement has not yet been conclusive. Nevertheless, the development in the past few years has subtly changed the face of Hong Kong political cartoons. As a participant, I attempt to summarize some observations I have made from an insider’s position.

This article includes two parts:

- The development of Hong Kong political cartoons
- Comparison with traditional political cartoons and summary of its ecosphere, including the following four sub-sections:
 1. Interaction between the cartoonists and the readers
 2. Cultural identity changes of the political cartoonists
 3. Breakthrough of formality and content
 4. Depoliticization

Given the wide range of scopes with limited space, this article aims to provide a starting point to initiate further research and discussion in various aspects.

II. Development of Hong Kong political cartoons

i. Common fate of Hong Kong comics and Chinese comics

The origin of Hong Kong political cartoons is inseparable from Chinese cartoons. The publication of the 1867 satirical magazine *China Punch* marks the beginning of Chinese comics. Comics has been regarded as an important medium for commenting on current affairs and criticizing the ruling party since the outbreak of the major historical events such as the 1911 Revolution, Second Sino-Japanese War, and the Chinese Civil War. Having made rapid development in Shanghai and Guangzhou, it has laid the cornerstone for the development of Chinese comics. With the increase in exchanges between China and Hong Kong and Hong Kong as a refuge during the wartime, many mainland cartoonists such as He Jianshi, Zheng Leiquan have come to Hong Kong under different time and space and have become an important force in promoting the development of comics in Hong Kong. Since the 1950s and 1960s, Hong Kong comics have gradually diversified. In addition to the political cartoons, other types such as children’s comics and martial arts comics have also become popular, laying the setup of local comics.

III、零三七一的政治啓蒙（2003-2012）

2003年的七一遊行對很多人來說都有政治啓蒙的意味。但恰恰相反的是，這時期政治漫畫的發展卻看似停滯不前。回歸多年來鮮有新人入行，作品的形式和風格亦沒有多大改變，報章連載的政治漫畫數量亦漸漸減少。然而，這相對平靜的時期，卻同時在愈來愈政治化的氣氛裏，成為新一輩作家的孕育期。政黨和社會運動經歷了十多年的遊行示威，漸漸意識到視覺傳意的重要性，尤其以年輕人為招攬對象的激進泛民，如早期的社民連以至後期的熱血公民，均着重視覺元素對建立自身形象的重要性。漫畫家Cuson Lo於2010年替社民連創作有關五區公投的文宣漫畫，令其從此被奠定為「激進民主派」的代表漫畫家。而其憑着高超的繪畫肖像能力，往後創作了不少代表政黨領袖如黃毓民、黃洋達等漫畫人物，為他們以及其政黨建立了鮮明形象。

IV、反國教，新一代，網絡一代（2012-2014）

2012年反對國民教育運動是香港社會運動的另一里程碑。運動打破了年輕人政治參與的隔閡，同時突顯網絡動員的力量。年輕人除了實際組織示威集會等行動，更在宣揚理念上利用視覺符號如「雙手交叉」的動作去強化反對國民教育的信念。運動鼓勵了年輕人，甚至有網民挪用此符號，自發「一人一畫支持反國民教育」活動，在短時間內收集了超過一千位專業和非專業漫畫、插畫師的作品。³ 網上動員正是漫畫家發揮的平台，它降低了創作和出版的門檻，同時亦讓未能親身參與現場示威的網民間接地參與了社會行動，此號召同路人的方法在往後的社會運動也經常出現。

除了反國教，同年的特首選舉期間的二次創作熱潮亦讓我們重新審視圖像可以發揮的功能。那時期流行的二次創作，大多挪用電影海報或截圖配以文字，以幽默方式醜化或「惡攪」（作弄）候選人。這類創作在形式上和傳意上雖不能稱之為政治漫畫，但其幽默感的運用，以及對政治人物或事件精闢的解讀，均與政治漫畫無異。改圖成為了在現實中缺乏政治能量的「素人」的發聲渠道，同時亦打開了創作者在網上用圖像說故事的熱潮。漫畫專頁如白水的「溫水劇場」，Kit Man創辦的「社漫」和Cuson Lo的個人專頁等，亦隨着大眾期望漫畫能替自己發聲而相繼出現，並吸引了大批支持者，是為網絡政治漫畫的里程碑。

當大家的注意力都集中在網上媒體的時候，傳統政治漫畫家亦明白不同平台的交流可集結更大力量。2013年，尊子邀請了一班傳統媒體和網絡漫畫家，成立了一個名為「漫畫刁民」的組織。初期成員包括尊子、馬龍、一木、阿平、張萬有、方蘇、Kit Man、白水、Cuson Lo、江記、鍾偉強和筆者等。漫畫刁民的成立目的在於推動普選，希望藉此激發其他界別也自行組織起來爭取民主。（圖一）其間於Pub Art Gallery及活化廳舉行了「漫人迷普選」展覽（圖二）及於外國記者會舉行「畫清界線——自由/自律漫畫展」展覽，以回應《明報》總編輯劉進圖被襲事件，⁴ 同時也以組織的名義參加七一遊行以及舉辦講座等。漫畫刁民被視為近年唯一政治漫畫家的組織，除幾位核心成員外，後期亦於社交平台廣邀其他漫畫家、藝術家和設計師參與其活動，成為一個開放的創作平台。其時正值「和平佔中」的醞釀期，不同的相關活動如商討日，民間公投等，漫畫刁民成員均參與其中。

³ 活動由網民發起，最終有1520人參與，最後畫稿被製成橫額送到集會現場。

⁴ 明報總編輯劉進圖於2014年2月26日於鯉景灣被襲，身中六刀受重傷。

ii. Before and after the handover and transition (1980-2003)

By the mid-1980s, with the 1997 Handover of Hong Kong approaching, the Sino-British negotiations and the June Fourth Incident, the society is facing great instability with the crisis of confidence. But at the same time, this transition also gave rise to contemporary local political cartoonists such as Zunzi, Malone, Emu and Apink, and foreign cartoonists such as Paul Best, Gavin Coates, Larry Feign and Harry Harrison who published works in English newspapers and magazines. These talents constitute the mainstay of Hong Kong's political cartoons in the past 30 years. The cartoons in this period reflect the anxiety of Hong Kong people about their future. In addition to the livelihood issues of the locals, the relationship between Hong Kong and the Chinese Government, and doubt-casting on the 1997 Handover became the focal themes of the cartoons during that period. It can be said that it is the golden age of modern Hong Kong political cartoons.

In the early days since the Handover, with the future of Hong Kong set in stone, the society generally adopted a wait-and-see attitude towards the governance of China. The cartoonists' creations at that time put their focus on local livelihood issues. At the same time, political reform and the implementation of universal suffrage for the Chief Executive (CE) and the LegCo ("dual universal suffrage") have gradually become the main theme of cartoons in the following two decades. As the governance problems in Hong Kong gradually emerged, the dissatisfaction against the Hong Kong Government resulted in the 1 July march in 2003, with 500,000 marchers. The public's dissatisfaction with the Government officials is also represented in caricature, most classic examples being the political satire of "Old Stupid Tung" and "Broom Head" by Zunzi. As Wong Wai-kwok Benson described, these caricatures have become the collective memory of Hong Kong people,³ and important visual symbols in Hong Kong history since the 1997 Handover. This is probably known as one of the most influential examples of political cartoons in recent years.

iii. Political enlightenment of the Hong Kong 1 July march in 2003 (2003-2012)

The Hong Kong 1 July march in 2003 has geared up the general public for political enlightenment. On the contrary, the development of political cartoons in this period seems to be stagnant. Since the 1997 Handover, there have been a few newcomers to the industry. Also, the form and style of the works remains similar without material changes. The number of political comics serialized for newspapers has gradually decreased. However, this relatively quiet period amidst the increasingly politicized circumstances became the gestation period for the new generation of cartoonists. Processions or demonstrations happening for more than a decade rang the bell of political parties and social movements to gradually realize the importance of visual communication, especially the radical pan-democracy camp which aims to take young people under its wings. From League of Social Democrats to Civil Passion, the parties paid attention to political communication with the attendance of visual elements in building political images. In 2010, the cartoonist Cuson Lo created publicity comics about 2010 Hong Kong by-elections for the League of Social Democrats. He has therefore been known as a representative cartoonist of the "radical democracy camp." With his exquisite illustrative skills in portrait, Lo has created a number of cartoon characters representing political party leaders, Wong Yuk-man and Wong Yeung-tat among them. The images of both and their political parties are vividly presented.

³ Wong Wai-kwok, "Depoliticization of Tung Chee-hwa's Regime: the view through political cartoons" in Journal of local discourse editorial board and Synergy Net ed. *Journal of local discourse 2010: New class struggle in Hong Kong* (Taipei: Azoth Books, 2011): 163-186.



圖一 Plate 1

「漫畫刁民」成立時一眾成員留影。圖片由作者提供。

Members of “Comic Daemons” at the inauguration ceremony. Image provided by the writer.

iv. Anti-MNE, New Generation, Internet Generation (2012-2014)

The Anti-Moral and National Education Curriculum Movement (the “Anti-MNE” Movement) in 2012 was another milestone for the social movement in Hong Kong. The movement narrowed the gap between young people engaging in political arenas and emphasized the power of internet mobilization. In addition to the actual organization of demonstrations and other actions, young people used visual symbols such as “hands-crossing” to reinforce their belief in opposing to MNE. Anti-MNE motivated the young people. Some netizens developed “one-person-one-drawing in support of Anti-MNE” event out of the hand-crossing symbol and collected more than one thousand cartoons and works by cartoonists and illustrators, both professional and non-professional, within a short period of time.⁴ Online mobilization is the platform for cartoonists to demonstrate the best talents. This online platform lowers the threshold for creation and publishing. It also allows the netizens who have not been able to join the demonstrations in person to participate in social action alternatively. Using the internet to call for like-minded others is commonly used in subsequent social movements.

In addition to the Anti-MNE, the second wave of creation during the election of the CE in the same year also allowed us to re-examine the potential impact of images. Secondary creations popular in that period were mostly movie posters or screenshots with text to vilify or caricature the CE candidates. Although this type of creations cannot be called political cartoons in terms of its form and communication, its use of humor and incisive interpretation of politicians or events are no different from political cartoons. The altering photo has become a channel for the “amateurs” who lack political energy in reality to express their voice, and it has also opened up a craze for creators to use images to share stories online. Comic pages, such as Brian Chan’s *White Water Comic*, Kit Man’s *HKSocComicNo3* and Cuson Lo’s personal page, appeared in the public’s expectation that comics will speak for them. These pages can be regarded as milestones for online political cartoons considering their high number of followers.

When online media draws the attention of the majority, traditional political cartoonists came to realize that exchange with different platforms build solidarity. In 2013, Zunzi invited a group of traditional media and online cartoonists to set up a group called “Comic Daemons.” The initial members include Zunzi, Malone, Emu, Apink, Cheung Man-yau, Fong So, Kit Man, Brian Chan, Cuson Lo, Kong Kee, Richard Chung and me. The purpose of Comic Daemons is to promote universal suffrage, hoping to inspire other sectors to organize themselves for the pursuit of democracy. (Plate 1) The exhibition “Universal Suffrage Now” was held at the Pubart Gallery and Woofer Ten. (Plate 2) The exhibition “Draw the Line Cartoon Exhibition” was held at the Foreign Correspondents’ Club in response to the attack of former *Ming Pao* chief editor Kevin Lau.⁵ The group also participated in the Hong Kong 1 July march and organized lectures. Till now, Comic Daemons is regarded as the only political cartoonist organization. In addition to the existing core members, other cartoonists, artists and designers have been invited in social media to participate in the activities of the group, which has become an open platform for creativity. At the time of the gestation period of Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP), members of Comic Daemons are involved in different related activities including Deliberation Days, Civil referendum, etc.

⁴ The event was initiated by the netizens, attracting 1520 participants. The illustrations were collated as a banner and delivered to the assembly.

⁵ *Ming Pao* chief editor Kevin Lau was attacked at Lei King Wan on February 26, 2014. Lau suffered six stabs and was grievously wounded.

2014年，隨着和平佔中演變為雨傘運動，社會運動可說是走進了一個前所未有的方向。佔領期間示威者在現場創作了大量藝術品，成為香港藝術史上一個特殊的案例。而當中除了較令人注目的大型裝置外，無數插圖與漫畫作品亦在不同地方以不同形式出現，有些塗鴉地上或牆上；有些以貼紙、街招、單張形式展示或傳閱；有些則在示威物件如頭盔上繪製。有趣的是，這批作品除了用作攻擊政權外，更多是示威者之間用以互相鼓勵的圖像，甚或以圖像描繪對未來的期望，以展示大家的決心，（圖三）構成了除肢體衝突的畫面以外，整個運動的另一個象徵符號。而同時間，大量網民亦紛紛在社交平台以插圖、設計等創作回應於佔領現場的事態，如「Mr. & Ms. HK People」為不同佔領者設計的卡通人物等。⁵ 這種線上線下的互相補足，將兩種不同空間（網絡及佔領現場）的參與者連結在一起的形式，大大擴闊了政治漫畫可能性。

V、言論空間收窄，網絡退潮（2015-現在）

2012至2014年間網絡漫畫的發展讓大家憧憬這會否帶來另一波的「新漫畫運動」。然而，隨着雨傘運動結束，社會瀰漫一種強烈的無力感，社運的節節敗退令年輕人感到厭倦。所謂「網絡廿三條」⁶的風波令網民對以二次創作為表達手法蒙上陰影。政治審查的事例亦屢次發生，如一木於《信報》連載了二十八年的專欄「眾人之事」因編輯的干預而暫停，以及2018年中國異見漫畫家巴丟草原於香港舉行的展覽亦因受政策壓力而取消等，⁷ 令大家明顯感受到言論空間的收窄。網絡漫畫家的漸漸退場，最明顯的例子，是2017年的第五屆特首選舉。相比2012年二次創作和政治漫畫如何於選舉中左右民意，網民對政治漫畫以及改圖反應冷淡，漫畫家亦少再發表和選舉相關的題材。近年，一些具代表性的作者亦各有發展，Cuson Lo因個人原因停止創作政治漫畫，Kit Man亦脫離漫畫家的身份而轉為發展具本土意識的「勁揪體」字款，而一些在2012年特首選舉或雨傘運動期間的專頁，亦鮮見有發佈新的政治題材作品。

三、網絡政治漫畫的生態

I、與讀者互動：追縱者的契約

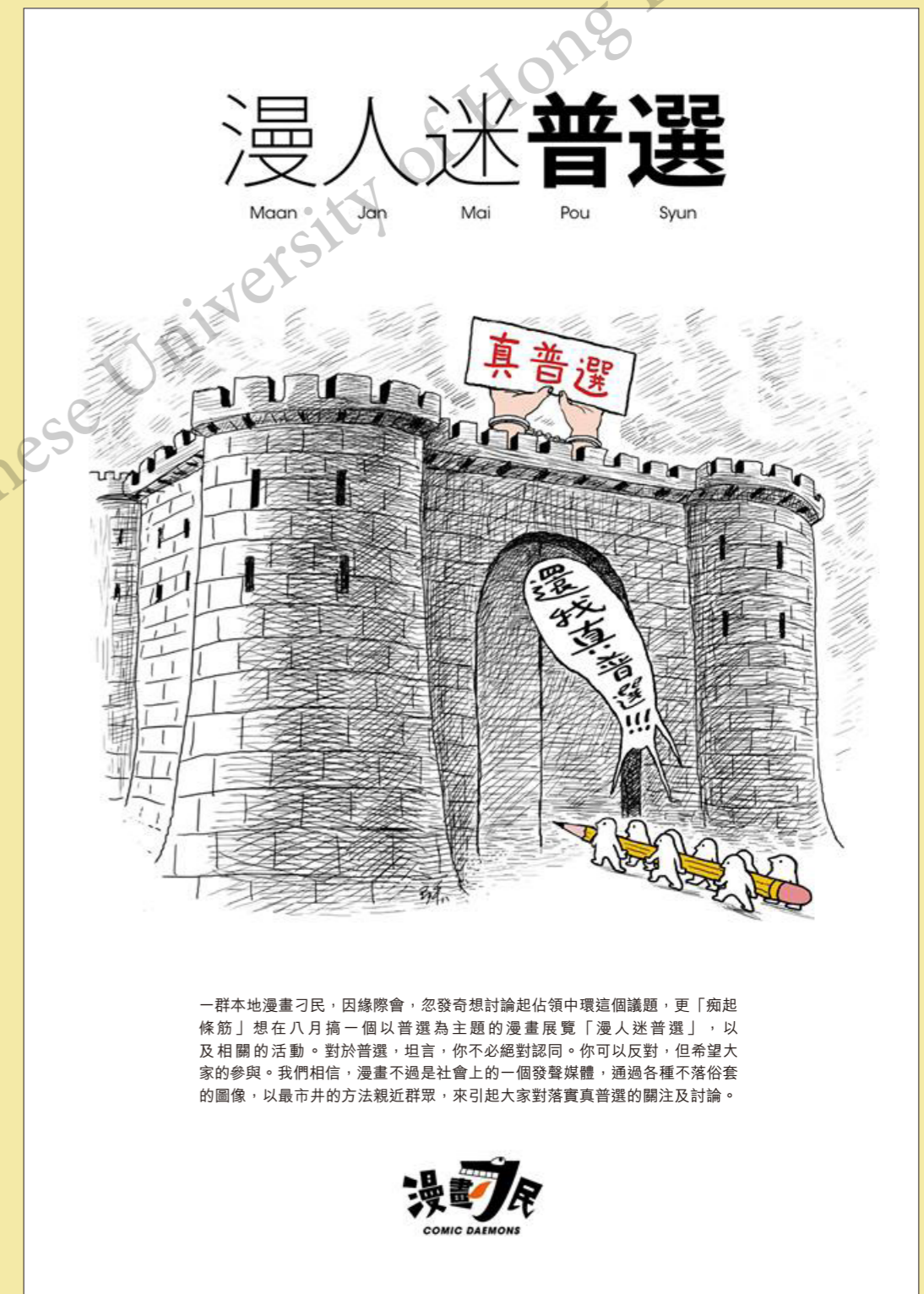
香港報章刊登的政治漫畫，主要分兩大類別。一種通常刊登於港聞版頁面，主題大多回應當天新聞，讀者在完成閱讀該段報導後，再看同頁刊登的政治漫畫，往往對新聞得到另一種解讀。另一類刊於副刊頁面，此類作品除了政治事件外，亦包含一些較軟性的時事題材，選題亦無港聞版的即時性。傳統上，報章和長期合作的漫畫家往往已建立默契，因此，大部份傳統政漫，無論在作品形式和內容題材上，均已有一套固有格式和風格，漫畫家政治立場和報章本身的路線配合。

網絡政治漫畫家則享有較大自由度：選材、刊出時間均由漫畫家自行決定，不需經過任何編輯或顧及網絡上其他的內容。相對紙媒，網絡的閱讀經驗大多是斷裂和跳躍的。以面書為例，漫畫作品的出現通常夾雜在新聞、個人動態、群體資訊和廣告之間。作品出現的機率，往往視乎社交平台程式的運算邏輯、個人與其他資訊的互動等因

⁵ Mr. & Ms. HK People 的人物設計以著名繪本系列《Mr. Men Little Miss》為參考，於佔領期間為示威者繪畫卡通肖像。

⁶ 2014年政府推動《版權（修訂）條例》，引起業界擔心言論自由被收窄，故此稱為「網絡廿三條」。

⁷ 巴丟草的展覽「共歌」，原定於2018年11月在黃竹坑一場地展出，後來主辦單位指因安全考慮而取消。



圖二 Plate 2

漫畫刁民舉辦「漫人迷普選」展覽海報。圖片由作者提供。

“Mann Jan Mai Pou Syun” exhibition poster. Image provided by the writer.



圖三 Plate 3

網絡作品其中一個功能在對運動參與者打氣，圖為阿塗於雨傘運動時發表的作品。圖片由作者提供。

Web cartoons serving the purpose of encouragement to movement participants. In the image is Ah To's artwork created during Umbrella Revolution. Image provided by the writer.

In 2014, with the running of OCLP becoming the Umbrella Movement, social movements can be said to have entered an unprecedented direction. During the occupation, participants created a large number of artworks on the scene. These artworks became a special case in the history of Hong Kong art. More than those relatively eye-catching large-scale installations, countless illustrations and comics were displayed or circulated in different forms at different places: on the ground or on the wall; in the form of stickers, handbills, leaflets; or drawing on protest objects such as helmets. Interestingly, in addition to being used as an attacking regime, these works were more of images for mutual encouragement among the participants, or even as the expectations of the future to show collective determination. (Plate 3) Images are another visual symbol of the Movement on top of photographic capture of physical conflict. At the same time, a large number of netizens responded to the scene of the occupation on the social platform with illustrations, designs and other creations, such as the cartoon characters designed by Mr. & Ms. HK People.⁶ Complementary online and offline effort connect participants on two different space (internet and occupation site), greatly expanding the potential of political cartoons.

v. Limit on freedom of speech, the internet spree ebbs (2015-present)

The development of online cartoons between 2012 and 2014 craved everyone's attention for a new wave of "New Comics Movement." However, the end of the Umbrella Movement left the society a strong feeling of powerlessness, and the fatalism of social movement made young people feel fatigue and helpless. The so-called "Internet Article 23"⁷ turmoil has casted a shadow over the use of derivative work. Cases of political censorship also occurred repeatedly. For example, Emu's column "Everyone's business" which has been serialized for 28 years was suspended due to editorial intervention, and the exhibition of the Chinese dissident cartoonist Badiucao in Hong Kong in 2018 was cancelled due to policy pressure.⁸ The narrowing of the freedom of speech is imminent. Online cartoonists gradual withdrew from the internet space. The most obvious example is the Fifth Chief Executive Election in 2017. Compared to the secondary creation and political cartoons in 2012, netizens were apathetic to political cartoons or picture alteration, and cartoonists published less political cartoons related to the topic of election. In recent years, some prominent authors have also moved away from political cartoons. Cuson Lo has stopped creating political cartoons for personal reasons. Kit Man has changed his position from being a cartoonist to typeface-designer. His typeface "Kick Ass Type" carries a sense of localism. Moreover, there have been less new political themes published on the social media page during the 2012 Hong Kong Chief Executive election or Umbrella Movement.

III. Ecosphere of online political cartoons

i. Interaction with readers: the covenant with followers

Political cartoons published in Hong Kong newspapers are mainly divided into two categories. The first one is cartoons usually published on the Hong Kong News section. The themes of these cartoons mostly respond to

6 "Mr. & Ms. HK People" is designed by the protesters during the Umbrella Movement with reference to the well-known illustration series *Mr. Men Little Miss*.

7 In 2014, the Government proposed the legislation of the *Copyright (Amendment) Ordinance* which caused the industry to worry that the freedom of speech would be affected. Therefore, it is dubbed "Internet Article 23."

8 The exhibition "Gongle" by Chinese artist Badiucao, originally scheduled to take place in a venue in Wong Chuk Hang in November 2018, was cancelled out of safety concerns.

素影響。在大部份市民都習慣被動地接收資訊的情況下，⁸ 網絡政治漫畫的流通，亦存在很多的不確定性。普遍來說，專頁的生存，大多依賴和網民的互動，此亦為傳統政治漫畫所缺乏的。以往，政治漫畫家面對的讀者都是一群面目模糊的「大眾」。縱使報章大多有本身特定的讀者群，作者和讀者從來欠缺溝通的渠道，創作時作者對讀者的背景甚少作出考慮。相反，網絡漫畫家每發表一幅作品，差不多即時會得到讀者的反應。讀者的「讚好」、「分享」和留言，除了左右了專頁的影響力，同時亦代表了讀者對漫畫家本人的認同（endorsement），社交平台喜愛用「Follower」（追縱者）一詞形容已讚好的讀者，正好反映了讀者和作者之間的關係。漫畫家清楚知道讀者的背景、喜好和期望。與此同時，讀者也會認定，該漫畫家是否代表了自己的理念。每當漫畫作品偏離了自己的期望和立場，他們也會毫不吝嗇在社交平台作出責備，甚至質疑漫畫家是否變了節（最常聽到的是「收咗共產黨錢」[拿了共產黨的錢]）。在此情況下，讀者和漫畫家之間形成了一種無形的「契約」。這種契約一方面有助漫畫家去創作追縱者喜愛的作品，加強追縱者之間的凝聚力，甚至形成一個小型社群，但同時，這契約亦成為了漫畫家不可逾越的界線。

II、政治漫畫家的身份：由評論到行動

這種漫畫家和追縱者之間的「契約」大概和近年政黨的排他性有密切關係。尤其傳統泛民在本地運動的衝擊下，政黨的分裂和整合成為常態。無論對支持者以至黨內持份者來說，這些離離合合都成為了他們對政黨忠誠度的考驗。原因是今天自己支持的政治人物，明天可能成為自己擁護的政黨的敵人。他們對政黨的支持，很大部份是建基於某些具個人魅力的意見領袖、俗稱「KOL」的論述。這些政治人物立場的轉向，無論是因為時局的改變或所謂「私怨」，同時也左右了各持份者在網絡上的行為。你「讚好」了什麼、「分享」了什麼，統統可以用來界定你為哪方陣營的證據。而政治漫畫在這一波的政黨發展中，亦扮演了一定的角色，很多新一輩漫畫家亦有明顯的政黨傾向。最明顯的例子，是由社民連時代的五區公投起以至後期的人民力量和熱血公民，如前所述，Cuson一向被視為激進民主派的代表人物，除了評論時局外，其中有不少的作品均用作政黨的文宣，將黨內一些重要論述以漫畫故事或插圖形式發表，為政黨建立了鮮明的形象。在這情況下，政治漫畫家亦多了一重身份，就是成為意見領袖。

這種轉變其實亦反映了不同年代對「漫畫家」這身份和角色有着不同解讀。傳統政治漫畫家一向和政黨保持距離，為保持創作的靈活性，以及容許自己能以較客觀角度評論時局，以往漫畫家甚少公開自己和政黨的聯繫，更遑論走到前線，宣揚某政黨的理念。而政治漫畫，就如時事評論一樣，其獨立性是建立自身信譽的重要因素。網絡政治漫畫熱潮的出現，很大程度由社會上重大的政治事件催化而生。2012年的反國民教育運動孕育了一班對社會關注的年輕人、2012年特首選舉各候選人的醜態激發起大眾對普選的渴求，中港關係的緊張和對中國政權的不信任亦推動了不少人走出來捍衛香港的核心價值，鼓勵了不少人以一己所長去「發聲」，而政治漫畫是最直接、亦相對容易表達意見的媒介。他們大多以「熱血」來形容自己入行的原因，期望作品能「喚醒對政治漠不關心的人」。⁹ 因此，作品往往亦帶有作者的個人情感。相對傳統政治漫畫以評論為目標，網絡漫畫家更像一個企圖改變世界的行動者和參與者，用作品鼓動其他追隨者作出相應行動如出席集會，遊行等。在這情況下，漫畫讓他們在

the news of the day. Readers often have another interpretation of the news after reading the political cartoons on the same page of the news they have just read. The other category is cartoons published on the newspaper supplement. In addition to political events, such works also contain soft news with no immediacy of the topic selection as they do in the news section. Traditionally, newspapers and regular column artists have often worked in sync forming a good team. Therefore, most of the traditional politicians have a set of designated formats and styles in both the form of the work and the content selection. The political position of the cartoonist and the newspaper are basically a convergence of interests and opinions.

On the other hand, internet political cartoonists enjoy a greater degree of freedom. The selection and publication time can be determined by the cartoonist, without any further editing from editorial team or parametric variation with other content online. Comparing to print media, the reading experience of electronic media is mostly spontaneous and fragmental. Using the social media Facebook as an example, cartoons often appear in between news, personal updates, group information, and advertising. The probability of an artwork visible to users of digital media often depends on the social media logic of the social platform, the interaction of individuals with other information, and other factors to algorithmically connecting internet users to content in social media. When most people are accustomed to passively receiving information,⁹ there are also many uncertainties in the circulation of online political cartoons. Generally speaking, the survival of the page mostly depends on the interaction with the netizens, which is not a practice existing in the traditional political cartoons. In the past, the readers of political cartoonists were the general public without knowing the identity. Even though it is usual for newspapers to have their own specific groups of readership, authors and readers do not have any channels to communicate. The artists, at the time of creation, are of less concerns on the readers' backgrounds. On the contrary, when the cartoonists on the internet publish their artworks online, they will receive the reader's feedback instantly. The readers' reactions such as "like" and "share" and comments not only affect the popularity of the Facebook page, but also represent the readers' endorsement of the cartoonists. The social platform loves to use the word "Flowers" to describe a reader who likes the page, and this also reflects the relationship between the reader and the author. The cartoonist clearly knows the reader's background, preference and expectation. At the same time, the reader will also recognize whether the cartoonist represents his or her own belief. Whenever the artwork deviates from their own expectations and positions, the followers will express their disapproval on the social media platform, and even question whether the cartoonists have changed their stances (the most common comment is "having been bribed/ paid by the Communist Party"). In this case, an invisible "covenant" is formed between the reader and the cartoonist. This kind of covenant on one hand has a beneficial effect to the cartoonist in creating the works that the followers love, strengthening the connection among the followers, and it even forms a small community. But at the same time, this covenant has formed an insurmountable limitation for cartoonists.

ii. Identities of political cartoonists: from criticism to action

The covenant between the cartoonists and followers is probably closely related to the exclusivity of political parties in recent years. In particular, under the impact of the local movement by pan-democracy camp, the split and integration of political parties have become the norm. To the supporters and the stakeholders of political parties, this phenomenon of party split and integration has become a test for their loyalty to the party. The reason is that the politicians who they support today may become the enemy of the party they support

⁸ 根據《香港媒體數碼發展報告2018》，超過六成市民沒有主動搜索新聞資訊。

⁹ 白水專訪：《水滾啦香港人知醒未？》<http://www.passiontimes.hk/article/05-25-2014/15454>。

⁹ According to the *Hong Kong Media Digital Development Report 2018*, more than 60% of the public did not actively search and look for news information.

政治現實被壓制的環境下獲充權，成為他們實踐政治參與的工具。這現象亦解釋了為何在雨傘運動期間，傳統政漫好像發揮不到以往應有的作用。原因是無論在佔領行動的現場，或網絡世界，大家都可以隨手拈來畫筆，在地面、連儂牆和社交媒體上，用最簡單的語言和文字，直接參與改寫歷史，而那一刻，佔領者最需要的，是那些站在鐵馬旁邊和自己理念相近的行動者。

III、漫畫框以外：突破了的形式與內容

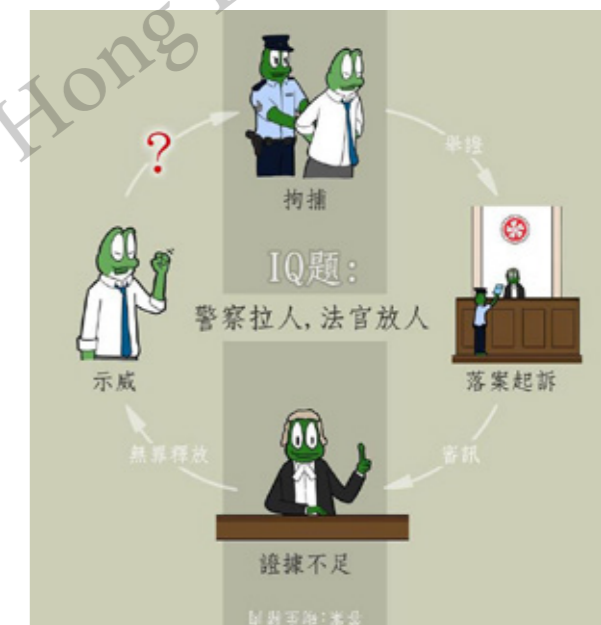
漫畫是一種形式主導的藝術。出版的形式如漫畫框（Panel）的數目每每限制了作者的創作方法。單格格式要求漫畫家將所有資訊連同個人意見簡潔地放在一個畫面之中；四格或以上的格式則容許有故事的發展，四個框裏表達起、承、轉、合為了固定的空間佈局。受歡迎的專欄往往連載超過十年，多年來這些形式沒有太大改變。與此同時，政治漫畫本身也有一些獨特的語言，其中最明顯為肖像和符號的運用。這兩種元素可讓讀者在短時間內理解故事的來龍去脈，當中可分為三個層次：第一，肖像用作說明政治人物的身份以及關注的議題。第二，透過符號，例如國旗、政黨標誌等物件，去說明人物和事件之間的基本關係。第三，漫畫家將自己的立場和情感投射進去。這部份大多以扭曲或誇張化的人物表情去表達。以當年尊子繪畫的「老懵董」的形象為例，其雙眼下垂，呆滯的表情除了模仿人物的面容特徵外，同時亦有將董塑造成「昏君」的意味。

這些政治漫畫的傳統，一直是政治漫畫最有效的傳意方法。然而，網絡政治漫畫，不再侷限於以上的手法。不少網絡漫畫家不約而同地有修讀設計的背景，或正職是從事設計相關的工作，故此在他們的作品裏，都可以看到不同的格式和設計語言。舉例說，白水在溫水劇場專頁裏，有一系列的作品是利用了接近圖表的形式作為表達手法。（圖四）在傳意上，作品以「IQ題」的包裝，解釋了一些作者怎樣看警察執法和法庭判決的過程，作品不帶個人情緒或判斷，然而，卻以看似「客觀」的方法去描述當中的關係去質疑事件的荒謬性。另一例子，Hello Wong在佔領期間創作了一系列作品，以九宮格的格式，以特定主題繪畫相關物件或人物，再配上文字。畫框之間的圖文並沒有故事上的關連，而作品的意念往往透過文字和圖片的配合，引導讀者自行聯想畫框之間的關係。

以上形式在傳統漫畫均不會出現，因為傳統媒體版面固定，漫畫家亦較着重風格的連貫性。相反網絡漫畫家在空間上運用的靈活性，容許他們創造不同面貌的作品。而網絡的特性，有時候更促成了漫畫家與漫畫家之間的合作。在過去大型政治事件中，不難看見漫畫家嘗試結連其他同行，透過網絡的力量，將對政權的不滿聲音盡量擴大。例如在2014年，DDED開始了一個「淋尿挑戰」，他們先定下規則，邀請同行繪畫特首或官員被淋尿（糞）水的情況。類似手法，也在雨傘運動時出現，一群漫畫家組成了「雨傘聯盟」，集合了五十多位漫畫家繪製了用不同政治人物如習近平、毛澤東等舉傘的畫像，在網絡發布，甚至將之印成海報在佔領現場派發。當然，這種「聯署式」的作品未必以評論為目的，大多是用作情緒宣洩，或同儕間互相鼓勵。

IV、去政治化：硬政治與生活政治

當內容和形式被突破了的同時，我們如何再去理解何謂政治漫畫呢？在這一輪網絡漫畫的熱潮之中，除了個別主要繪畫政治題材的漫畫家如Cuson、白水和阿塗外，大部份漫畫家平日均以繪畫非政治題材為主。他們不以政治漫畫家自居，創作時也沒有傳統政治漫畫的包袱。他們對時事敏銳，但只會於重大事件發生時，才會發表政治性



圖四 Plate 4
白水於專頁《溫水劇場》發表的作品。圖片由作者提供。
Cartoons on the “Boiling Frog” facebook page by Brian Chan. Image provided by the writer.

tomorrow. A large part of their support for political parties is based on the opinions of charismatic key opinion leaders, commonly known as “KOL.” The shift in the positions of these KOLs, whether it is because of changes in the current situation or the so-called “personal hatred,” also affects the behaviour of stakeholders on the internet. What you “like” and “share” can be used to trace and define which side of the camp you support. Political cartoons have also played a certain role in this wave of split and integration of political parties. Many new generation cartoonists have clear inclination of their support of political parties. The most obvious example is the development from the 2010 Hong Kong by-elections by League of Social Democrats to People Power and Civil Passion. As aforementioned, Cuson Lo has always been regarded as a representative cartoonist of the “radical democracy camp.” Besides commenting on issues, many of his artworks used as the propaganda of political parties, and some important statements of the party published in the form of cartoons or illustrations, Cuson established a vivid image for the political party. In this circumstance, political cartoonists have also built up their alter-identity as opinion leaders.

This change reflects the different interpretations of the identities and roles of “cartoonists” in different eras. Traditional political cartoonists usually kept a distance from political parties. In order to maintain the flexibility of creation and allow themselves to comment on the current situation from a more objective perspective, cartoonists have rarely disclosed their connections with political parties, let alone facing the public at the frontline to promote a political party. The independency of political cartoons, similar to the opinion on current affairs, is critical in the building of their credibility. The emergence of the online political cartoons boom was largely catalyzed by major political events in the society. In 2012, the Anti-MNE Movement gathered a group of young people who paid attention to the society, and in the same year, the scandals of the candidates during the CE Election aroused wide concerns of the general public for universal suffrage. The tension between China and Hong Kong and the distrust towards the Chinese regime also urged

的作品。這種遊走於政治與非政治領域的狀態，模糊了政治漫畫的界線。當你在看甘小文的爆笑漫畫的同時，看到這位「甘員外小文」評論時事，¹⁰大家就會理解到政治如何嵌入在日常生活之中；而當石家豪曾以漫畫或插畫家的身份於《熱血時報》連載了一系列名為《萬家文化宮》的漫畫作品時，¹¹你更會發現其工筆畫的諧趣和政治漫畫的戲謔之間微妙的關係。

這種政治與非政治的模糊性其實早已在文藝界有跡可尋。早幾年前開始，插畫界重新興起了於城市寫生的活動。有別於傳統以寫生作為繪畫練習，他們大多以「保育」的心態，企圖利用圖像去保留快將失去的城市景觀，如Angryangry早年以地圖形式將舊物和舊建築結合等。這種「捍衛」自身歷史和記憶的精神，和本土政治思潮不謀而合，企圖以強調自身文化作為工具，將政治爭拗的場境置於日常生活之中。

除了城市景觀，另一個較明顯的例子，就是阿塗有關「廣東話」的作品。成名於高登論壇的阿塗，除了早期的「高登神獸咭」，其為人熟悉的作品可說是2014年創作的《大粵港諺語》，以一幅插圖表達八十一個廣東話俗語。而有趣的是，雖然阿塗自2014年起於網媒發表政治漫畫，其有關「捍衛廣東話」的作品，卻更受大眾歡迎，這或許與大眾對自身文化，以至「香港人」身份快將失去的恐懼有關。

而和阿塗有很大共通點、而又最能夠代表整個本土精神的，可算是《勁揪體》電腦字款的出現。勁揪體為Kit Man 脫下「政治漫畫家」這身份後的創作計劃。勁揪體造型在其早期「社漫」年代的漫畫已經出現，以接近嚴以敬的水墨小品的手法，用誇張的筆觸與漫畫圖像結合。而「勁揪」一詞原為早年香港人的日常用語，1985年香港隊在世界杯外圍賽擊敗中國隊後，球迷拉起寫了「香港隊勁揪」橫額，¹²到2015年香港隊中國隊再次對壘時，¹³「香港勁揪」這口號便變得充滿政治性。Kit Man替球迷設計的橫額，成為了自「獅子山精神」以來，最能用來加強香港人身份認同的象徵符號。

以上例子都說明了新一輩漫畫家由以往「硬政治」題材過渡到對日常生活政治（everyday politics）的關注。然而，從另一個角度看，這轉向其實亦反映了一些當下的政治現實。在政治空間不斷收窄的同時，他們的受歡迎程度卻同時為他們帶來了不少商業合作機會，一些受歡迎的漫畫家更成為商業品牌的代言人。這種由政治KOL演變為商品KOL的過程，揭示了網絡漫畫家面對解決生計的掙扎。社會上不同層面的去政治化，令大眾不敢貿然公開談論自己的政治傾向。Kit Man也曾強調勁揪體確實可以讓他「洗底」，¹⁴讓他的作品能接觸到不同層面。然而，有趣的是，勁揪體作為一種中文字體，本身帶有中立性，但當它被用到不同的場合和內容時，其中立性便會失去。當字體的設計理念和使用時文字的內容產生互動時，其產生的意義可能比漫畫更有趣。

10 「甘員外小文」為漫畫家甘小文在面書的個人專頁，除了其一貫以笑話為主要的作品外，亦不時發表時事政治漫畫。

11 <http://www.passiontimes.hk/author/石家豪?page=1>。

12 <https://www.hk01.com/藝文/111502/香港勁揪-一個真正由草根足球文化發揚的創意>。

13 2015年11月17日世界杯外圍賽香港隊對中國隊。

14 2019年4月25日於Kit Man工作室的訪談。

the public to speak up for the core values of Hong Kong. It also encouraged many people to express their views with their own strengths. Among these, it is the most direct and relatively easy to express opinions with political cartoons. Many describe their reason for becoming political cartoonists as “passion.” They hope that their works will “awaken those who are indifferent to politics.”¹⁰ Therefore, the works often also carry the personal feelings of the cartoonists. Comparing with traditional political cartoons, the cartoonists online are more like an actor and participant who pursue to change the world. They use the works to encourage the followers to take corresponding actions such as attending public meeting or procession, etc. In this case, cartoons allow them to empower themselves in an environment where political reality is suppressed, and these cartoons become a tool for their political participation. This phenomenon also explains the reason why the traditional political cartoons seemed to play a less important role than it should have been during the Umbrella Movement. The reason is that no matter you are at the social movement, or internet world, everyone can easily pick up the pen and use the simplest language and words, brush up political activism on the ground, the wall and the social media to directly participate in the rewriting of history. At that moment, what the participant needs the most is the united support and same beliefs from the participants who stand opposite to metal crowd-control barriers.

iii. Beyond the panel: breakthrough of the cartoons' form and content

Cartoon is a form-led art. The published forms, such as the number of panels, limit the approach of the cartoonists in the creation process. The single format requires the cartoonist to succinctly put all the information together with the personal opinions expressed in one picture; the format of four or more panels allows the development of the story, the structure of plot development with the exposition, the rising action, the climate, and the falling action has to be organized spatially in the panels. Popular columns tend to be serialized for more than a decade, and the forms of these cartoons have not changed much over the years. At the same time, political cartoons have their own unique languages. The most obvious of which are the use of portraits and symbols. These two elements allow the readers to understand the ins and outs of the story almost instantly. The story can be read at three levels: First, the portrait is used to illustrate the identity of the politician and the topic concerned. Second, the basic relationship between people and event can be illustrated through the symbols, such as the national flag, political party signs and other objects. Third, the cartoonist projects his position and emotions in his works. This part is mostly expressed in distorted or exaggerated facial expressions. For example, the image of “Old Stupid Tung,” by Zunzi is expressed in a drooping or falling of the upper eyelid. The expression of sluggish expression not only imitates the facial features of the character, but also has the meaning of shaping Tung as “incapable ruler.”

The tradition of these political cartoons has always been the most effective way of communication. However, political cartoonists online are no longer limited to the above means. Many online cartoonists share the background in studying design, or they are engaged in design-related full-time work. Therefore, in their works, different formats and design languages can be seen. For example, the cartoonist Brian Chan in the *Boiling Frog* page, has a series of works that use the chart-like style form as an expression. (Plate 4) In terms of communication, the artwork explains the process of police enforcement and court judgments in the form of intelligent quotient quiz. The work does not carry personal emotions or judgments. However, this “objective” way of presentation implicitly brings out the intricate relationship of the incident per se with the question of

10 Interview of Brian Chan: “Water is boiling! Hongkongers, are you still in boiling frog syndrome?” in <http://www.passiontimes.hk/article/05-25-2014/15454>.

四、結語

網絡政治漫畫的興起和退潮，是否代表着此「新政治漫畫運動」只是曇花一現？現在或許仍未能下結論。傳統漫畫家與報業發展的關係和網絡漫畫家與科技發展的關係都左右着將來整個行業的去向，這都是政治因素以外，還有待研究的課題。而近年政治氣氛轉變之快，使其未來發展變得難以預計。執筆之時正值《逃犯（修訂）條例》鬧得熱烘烘之時，一些本已甚少發表作品的漫畫家亦再次執筆創作。同時，網上仍有不少雖然知名度不高但仍堅持創作的漫畫家。這些都告訴我們過去數年這批新進漫畫家已播下改變的種子。兩代漫畫家站在兩個不同的平台上，一個以較客觀、抽離的角度，另一個以親身參與行動的手法，兩者互相補足，為市民提供主流新聞以外，對城市現象的另一種解讀。

編按：作者領導的團隊在2018年獲大學資助委員會資助，進行「新香港政治漫畫運動的興起」（The Rise of New Political Cartoon Movement in Hong Kong since 2012）研究計劃。本文闡述研究前期所得。

absurdity. Another example is a series of works created by Hello Wong during the Umbrella Movement. Wong created the work on a specific theme with related objects or characters in a nine-square grid format, and then matching the work with suitable text. The graphics between the frames are not linked by a storyline. The idea of the work is to leave room for the readers to interpret the meanings beyond the frames by connecting the pictures and words to form the whole picture.

The above forms will not appear in traditional political cartoons. The reason is that traditional media layouts are fixed, and the cartoonists are more focused on the coherence of the style. On the contrary, the flexibility of cartoonists online allows them to create works with different presentation in the internet space. The characteristics of the internet can sometimes foster the collaboration of the cartoonists. In the past large-scale political events, it is not difficult to see that cartoonists try to connect with their peers, in order to expand the voice of dissatisfaction with the regime through the power of internet. For example, in 2014, DDED began a project called “Shit Bucket Challenge,” in which they first set rules to invite cartoonists to illustrate the officials involving the dumping of a bucket of faeces over a person’s head, either by another person or self-administered. Similar way of presentation also appeared in the Umbrella Movement. More than fifty cartoonists formed the “Umbrella Alliance” to caricature different political figures, such as Xi Jinping, Mao Zedong, etc., holding umbrellas, then to publish and circulate them online. They even printed the graphics as posters for distribution at the occupation site. Of course, such “joint” works are not for the purpose of commentary but are mostly used for emotional catharsis or mutual encouragement.

iv. Depoliticization: Hard Politics and Life Politics

When there is a breakthrough in content and form of political cartoons, it comes to another question that how can we understand what political cartoons are? In this fad of political cartoons online, except the major political cartoonists such as Cuson Lo, Brian Chan and Ah To, most cartoonists mainly illustrate non-political related themes. They do not call themselves political cartoonists and are free of all burdens of political cartoons traditions. They are keen on social issues, but they only publish politically related works when major events occur. This state of being in the political and non-political spheres blurs the boundaries of political cartoons. When you look at Kam Siu-man’s caricatures and cartoons, you can see that how this “Ministry Kam Siu-man” comment on current issues. His works let everyone understand how politics is embedded in our daily lives.¹¹ Another artist Wilson Shieh is best known as a cartoonist or illustrator to serialize a series of cartoons called *Wanjia Wenhugong (Cultural Palace of Ten Thousand Families)* in *Passion Times*.¹² In his works, you will find a subtle relationship between the sense of humor in his *gongbi* art and the lampoon of his political cartoons.

This kind of political and non-political ambiguity has long been traced in the literary and art circles. A few years ago, the illustrator community revived the activities of city-sketching. Different from the traditional practice of sketching as a painting practice, most of them use images to preserve disappearing urban landscape as an attempt of conservation. For example, Angryangry plotted old objects and old buildings on the same maps. This spirit of “defending” our history and memory coincides with the local political thoughts, attempting to emphasize our own culture as a tool to apply the scene of political disputes in our daily life.

¹¹ “Ministry Kam Siu-man” is the cartoonist Kam Siu-man’s personal Facebook page. In addition to his usual joke-based works, Kam also published political cartoons from time to time.

¹² <http://www.passiontimes.hk/author/石家豪?page=1>.

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Apart from the urban landscape, another more obvious example is the works of Ah To about “Cantonese.” Ah To gained his fame in the online forum “Hong Kong Golden.” In addition to his early works “Battles of Golden Monster,” his famous work can be said to be *The Great Canton and Hong Kong Proverbs created in 2014*. The cartoon contains illustrations of eighty-one Cantonese slangs. Interestingly, although Ah To has published political cartoons on the internet since 2014, his work on “defending Cantonese” is more popular in the general public. The popularity may be attributed to how the public relate the illustrations to its culture and fear of the loss of the “Hong Kong people” cultural identity.

Similar to Ah To, the most representative of the spirit of localism is the emergence of the new typeface “Kick Ass Type.” It is the creative project of Kit Man, who used to be a political cartoonist. The typeface has appeared in his earlier works in *HKSocComicNo3*. Venerated for A’Chong’s ink and calligraphy style, Kit Man combined exaggerated brushstrokes with cartoons. “Kick Ass” was an adjective commonly used by the Hong Kong people in the early years. After the Hong Kong team defeated the Chinese team in the World Cup qualifier in 1985, the fans pulled up a banner with “Kiss Ass Hong Kong Team” on it.¹³ And when two teams met again in 2015,¹⁴ the slogan “Kiss Ass Hong Kong” has gained political implication. The banner designed by Kit Man for the fans has become the symbol that can be used to strengthen the cultural identity of Hong Kong people since the “Lion Rock Spirit.”

The above examples illustrate the transition of the new generation of cartoonists from the previous “hard politics” theme to the concern of everyday politics. However, from another perspective, this turn actually reflects some of the current political realities. Despite the narrowing political space, the popularity of the political cartoonists has brought them business opportunities, some popular ones have even become spokespeople of commercial brands. This process of transforming from political KOL to commodity KOL reveals the struggle of these online cartoonists facing for their livelihoods. Depoliticization at different levels in the society has shielded the public from openly expressing their political views. Kit Man also emphasized that “Kick Ass Type” has really helped him “bleach his history,”¹⁵ and let his works reach different classes of people in the society. However, it is interesting to note that “Kiss Ass Type” as a Chinese typeface has its own neutrality, but when it is used in different occasions and content, its neutrality will then be lost. Comparing with cartoons, it may be interesting to see the reinvention of meanings by interactive juxtaposition of the design concept of a typeface and the content of the text.

IV. Conclusion

Does the rise and ebb of the online political cartoons represent this “New Political Cartoon Movement” is just a flash in the pan? It may not be possible to draw a conclusion now. The relationship between traditional cartoonists and the development of the newspaper industry and that between cartoonists online and the development of science and technology together influence the future development of the entire industry. This is a topic to be further studied let alone the influence of political factors. In recent years, the political atmosphere has changed rapidly, making its future development difficult to predict. At the time of writing, it is also the time of the heated debate on the proposal of the *Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019*. It made some cartoonists who seldom published their works

13 <https://www.hk01.com/藝文/111502/香港勁揪-一個真正由草根足球文化發揚的創意>.

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政治漫畫組織及漫畫家網站 Online political cartoon art group and cartoonists

溫水劇場 Boiling Frog, Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/boilingfrog/>

漫畫刁民 Comic Daemons, Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/ComicDaemons/>

Hello Wong, Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/HelloWong/>

once again brushed up on political activism. At the same time, there are still many cartoonists on the internet who were not ripe yet for popularity but still insist on creating. These tell us that these new cartoonists have sowed the seeds of change in the past few years. Two generations of cartoonists are standing on two different platforms, one with a more objective and detached perspective, and the other with a personal approach to participate. The two complement each other to provide the public an alternative interpretation to our city, apart from the mainstream news from the media.

Editor's note: The research team led by the writer of this article received a grant from University Grants Committee in 2018 for the research project "The Rise of New Political Cartoon Movement in Hong Kong since 2012." This article reports on the result of the research project at the earlier stage.

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