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Public Policy Research Funding Scheme

(Project Number: 2015.A1.029.16A)

**An Experimental Study of National Identity among
Hong Kong Youth**

香港青少年國民身份認同的實驗研究

Final Report

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	ii
Abstract.....	v
摘要	vi
Chapter 1. Background of Research.....	1
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Social changes and national identity.....	1
1.2. An account from psychological perspective	2
2. Psychological Literature on National Identity.....	3
2.1. National identity theories	3
2.2. International research.....	4
2.3. Local research	5
3. Research Gaps.....	6
3.1. Causality remains unclear	6
3.2. Overreliance on explicit measures.....	7
4. The Objectives of the Current Study.....	8
Chapter 2. Method.....	9
1. Sample.....	9
2. Procedure and Materials.....	9
Chapter 3. Results	12
1. Descriptive Statistics	12
2. Correlational Analyses	13
3. Effects of Priming on National and Regional Identities	15
3.1 The effect on implicit measures.....	16
3.2 The effect on explicit national identity	17
3.3 The effect on explicit regional identity	18
Chapter 4. Discussion.....	20
1. Individual differences in national and regional identities	20
2. Different measures of national and regional identities.....	20
3. Robustness of national and regional identities	21
Chapter 5. Policy Implications and Recommendations	22
1. The change of national identity	22

2. The role of regional identity.....	23
3. Integrating national and regional identities	23
Chapter 6. Layman summary on Policy Implications and Recommendations.....	25
Chapter 7. Conclusions	26
<i>References</i>	27
<i>Appendices</i>	31
<i>Appendix 1. Illustrative examples for the Implicit Association Test (IAT)</i>	31
2.1 Self vs. Other	31
2.1 Good vs. Bad	36
<i>Appendix 2. Explicit Measures of National and Regional Identities</i>	41
<i>Appendix 3. Change of National Identity among Different Age Groups</i>	42
<i>Appendix 4. Change of Real Estate and National Identity</i>	43
<i>Appendix 5. Public Dissemination</i>	44

List of Tables

<i>Table 1. The design of the implicit association test</i>	11
<i>Table 2. Pearson bivariate correlations between implicit and explicit measures of identities</i>	14
<i>Table 3. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of identity measures across priming conditions</i>	16
<i>Table 4. Means and standard deviations of implicit measures across priming conditions</i>	17
<i>Table 5. Means and standard deviations of explicit national identity across priming conditions</i>	18
<i>Table 6. Means and standard deviations of explicit regional identity across priming conditions</i>	18

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Bar charts of national and regional identities</i>	12
<i>Figure 2. Scatterplots of national and regional identities</i>	15
<i>Figure 3. Mean plots of implicit measures by priming conditions</i>	17
<i>Figure 4. Mean plots of explicit measures by priming conditions</i>	19

Abstract

Recent social surveys have revealed that national identity among Hong Kong people had been decreasing in the past ten years, particularly for the younger group. The low level of national identity has become a strong contributing factor to the attitudes and actions of Hong Kong youth when they face with various issues related to social policies and development. As we have already known, these attitudes and actions have produced profound effects on the society in different domains and across levels. To improve the effectiveness of governance and support youth development, it is necessary to understand how national and regional identities develop and change among the young people in Hong Kong.

Taking a social psychology perspective, a series of experiments were conducted in this study to find out how national and regional identities among Hong Kong youth would change in response to different primed materials. Four hundred and thirty-four participants were randomly assigned to six experimental and one control groups to receive different priming materials, following which their explicit and implicit national and regional identities were measured. The results showed: a) three measures of national identity had lower means but higher standard deviations than those of regional identity, suggesting more diversity in national identity among the youth group; b) the attitudinal measure of national and regional identity demonstrated unique and strong effects, showing that identities were not only related to cognitive processing, but affective responses; and c) both explicit and implicit national and regional identities were found very stable across priming conditions, suggesting the robustness of identity under different situations.

摘要

近年的社會調查發現香港人的國民身份認同在過去十年大致呈下降趨勢，在年輕人群體中尤其如此。國民身份認同對青少年在不同社會議題上的態度和行為均有重大的影響。正如我們所知，這些態度和行為會對社會的不同方面及層面產生深遠的影響。為促進管治效率及青少年發展，有必要深入瞭解國民及地方身份認同的發展及變化。

本研究以社會心理學的角度進行一系列的實驗，以瞭解青少年在不同條件下的國民和地區身份認同如何發生改變。實驗中有四百三十四名青少年被隨機分配到六個實驗組和一個控制組分別接受不同的實驗材料，隨後他們的國民和地區身份認同水平分別通過自我評估及內隱測試進行量度。研究發現國民身份認同的平均水平較地區身份認同為低，而標準差則較高，說明國民身份認同在青少年中有較大的個體差異。國民及地區身份認同中，與態度有關的成份在多項統計中顯示出較為獨特及明顯的影響，說明身份認同不單是一個認知過程，更包含情感的反應。此外，國民及地區身份認同在不同實驗條件下變化輕微，顯示身份認同在不同情境下有其穩定性。

Chapter 1. Background of Research

1. Introduction

1.1. Social changes and national identity

Since Hong Kong's reunification with China in 1997, there was a steady increase in the percentage of Hong Kong people who identified themselves as Chinese, while the percentage of those who identified themselves as Hong Konger had been decreasing. This trend lasted until 2008, after which a reversed pattern was observed¹. More importantly, it was found that the difference in national identity between the younger (18-29 years) and older groups (30 and above) was enlarged. These changes may be attributable to the political controversies and conflicts that occurred across the recent years. For example, the Occupy Central Movement that took place in September 2014 involved a large number of young people in Hong Kong, many of which were university students. On the surface, the objective of this pro-democracy campaign was to protest against the political reform and to achieve a "genuine universal suffrage". Nevertheless, media and scholars who attempted to examine the causes behind the movement suggested that it might reflect the accumulated dissatisfaction in relation to Mainland China and the ambivalent attitude towards national identity among youngsters in Hong Kong (Chan, 2014; Tran, 2015; Wong & Wong, 2014). During the movement, the identity label "Hongkonger" had become a frequently mentioned and ideologically strong statement, as could be seen in the billboards, propaganda leaflets and t-shirts (Wong & Wong, 2014).

Along the social movements alike, the idea of localism has arisen and gained its support in the local community, particularly among young people (Kaeding, 2017; Kwong, 2016). Various localist groups were formed and involved in actions that aimed at protecting local interests. For example, in 2012 some localist groups launched anti-parallel trading protests in districts such as Tuen Mun, Sha Tin, and Yuen Long, where parallel traders were active. Participants of the protests were not only against the parallel traders alone, but also the increasing number of tourists from mainland China that had made the small city even more crowded. A more radical event is the Mong Kok riot that took place during the Lunar New Year of 2016. A localist group protested against the government's crackdown on unlicensed hawkers in Mong Kok. Those street hawkers sold Hong Kong street food such as fish balls, which were regarded as part of the local culture of Hong Kong. The protest ended up in violent clashes between the police and protesters.

All these issues and events have led to serious friction and division among people with different political stances. Under such circumstances, it becomes more and more challenging for Hong Kong youth to develop and integrate national identity with their regional identity. To gain a better understanding, it would be necessary to examine how national and regional identities are developed and may change under different conditions.

¹ See the website of Public Opinion Program of the University of Hong Kong: https://www.hkupop.hku.hk/english/popexpress/ethnic/eidentity/chiCitizen/halfyr/eid_half_chart.html

1.2. An account from psychological perspective

In psychological literature, Brewer's (1999) optimal distinctiveness theory has been widely applied to explain the multitude of national identity. The theory postulated that identification with a group is a process of a balance of inclusion and differentiation. For the case of Hong Kong, Hong Kong people generally tend more to endorse the regional "Hongkonger" identity rather than the national "Chinese" identity in order to differentiate themselves from Mainland Chinese (Brewer, 1999; Ng & Lai, 2011). The differentiation of the two types of identities has profound impact on the broader level of the society such as political preferences and prejudice against particular social groups. For example, local research has shown that a strong endorsement of the "Hongkonger" identity as opposed to the "Chinese identity" is associated with a greater preference for democracy (Lee & Chan, 2005).

In contrast to the simple categorization of the two identities, a consistent conceptualization of "dual or hybridized identity of Hong Kong people" have emerged in the research on Hong Kong people's national identity (Brewer, 1999; Fung, 2001, 2004). Some scholars pointed out that this unique form of national identity of Hong Kong people could be understood in terms of the ethno-cultural and civic dimensions of nationalism (Ma, 2012; Veg, 2013). The civic form of national identity arose from the civic values conceived during the British colonial period, such as the emphasis on human rights, freedom and strong belief in rule of law (Mathews, Ma, & Lui, 2007), whereas the ethnic form derives from the history, shared common memories, ancient racial and geographical identity with mainland China. Several studies have shown that the Hong Kong people have a stronger preference for the ethnic Chinese identity over the political Chinese identity (i.e. the communist regime) (Chan, 2014; Fung, 2004; Wong, 1996). Over the past decade, empirical findings have repeatedly suggested a stronger affiliation towards the cultural figures (e.g. the Great Wall) than the political China (e.g. People's Liberation Army) (Chan, 2014; Fung, 2004; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). These studies have identified the attributes that signify national identity in the Hong Kong context and contributed to our understanding about how national identity is developed and maintained among Hong Kong people.

Nonetheless, it is always challenging to apply research findings to effective policies and practices. For example, national education remains a controversial policy, even though previous research has demonstrated that national identity can be enhanced through celebrating national achievements such as Beijing Olympic and space expedition campaign, and including Chinese history into the education curriculum (CDC, 1997; Morris & Vickers, 2015; Vickers, 2011). When the government proposed the Moral and National Education (MNE) as the new compulsory curriculum to fortify the national education elements, the subject received strong criticisms because of its emphasis on the political aspects of China (i.e., the civic Chinese identity). It has been overwhelmingly opposed by the public, and caused a number of large-scale protests and given rise to the formation of more than 20 anti-MNE civic groups (Morris & Vickers, 2015), many of which had subsequently become the leading pro-democracy protest groups.

From a psychological perspective, the opposition to MNE may be due to the conflict between the civic and ethnic identities among Hong Kong people (Chan, 2014; Kennedy, 2012). Without making differentiation between these two dimensions, the MNE could hardly accomplish the objective of promoting national identity, but may lead to tension in the society instead. Policy-wise, this phenomenon calls for a softer policy and a bottom-up approach in implementing educational programs. Practice-wise, the development of the programs, including the selection and presentation of the materials (e.g., ethnical-cultural, political and economic achievement) needs more clear research evidence. National identity is not only a political and cultural phenomenon, but also a complex psychological process by which individuals define themselves and their relationships with the others, the local society, and the country. In order to understand such a process and improve the effectiveness of relevant policies and practices, the current study adopts an experimental approach and attempts to examine the changes in national and regional identities among Hong Kong youth under experimental conditions.

2. Psychological Literature on National Identity

2.1. National identity theories

Smith (1991) provided a multidimensional definition of national identity, which posits that national identity encompasses five fundamental components: (1) a sense of historic territory or homeland, (2) shared myths and historical, (3) a mass public culture, (4) common legal rights and duties for all members, and (5) a common economy. From a social psychological perspective, national identity has been regarded as one of the many possible social identities by which an individual describe oneself (Huddy, 2001). Social psychologists have endeavored to understand how individuals construct their social identities based on their memberships in social groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) postulated the social identity theory, which suggests that a person's self-concept contains two different aspects: (1) personal identity and (2) social identity. While personal identity includes specific attributes of an individual such as attitudes, beliefs, qualities, and dispositions, social identity refers to that part of a person's self-concept that is derived from his or her knowledge of the membership of a social group, as well as the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Researchers have noted that people may identify with social groups of different sizes, distinctiveness and inclusiveness, such as family, university, city, and nation (Ng & Lai, 2011). A social identity provides guidelines about how people should think, feel, and behave, and has impacts on a wide range of intergroup behaviors, including ingroup favoritism, outgroup derogation, prejudices, stereotypes, discriminations, and crowd behavior (Kim & Ng, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

Stemmed from social identity theory, social categorization theory developed by Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reichers, and Wetherell (1987) points out that a person can endorse multiple social identities, and the salience or strength of a particular social identity is affected by the social situation. When a person categorize himself or herself as a member of a social group in a specific social context, he or she will perceive outgroup members as similar to one another and different from ingroup members. These perceptions maximize the contrast between ingroup

members and outgroup members, and may lead to prejudices and discriminations against outgroup members.

On the premise of social categorization theory, Brewer (1991) proposed the theory of optimal distinctiveness to explain how people construct social identities to satisfy two different needs, the need to belong to a social group and the need to be different from others. The need for belongingness induces a person to identify with a relatively inclusive social group. On the contrary, the need for distinctiveness drives people to identify with a relatively exclusive group, and to treat ingroup and outgroup members differently. In order to balance these two needs, an individual may adopt social identities that are not only sufficiently inclusive to obtain a sense of belonging to a larger collective, but also sufficiently exclusive to maintain a certain degree of distinctiveness from others.

Although Hong Kong is a special administrative region of China, the British colonial rule from 1842 to 1997 had affected all facets of citizens' life and made Hong Kong relatively unique and different from other cities in China (Ng, 2007; Ng, Tsang, & Lian, 2013). For ethnic Chinese residing in Hong Kong, the national Chinese identity is superordinate, whereas the regional Hongkonger identity is a differentiated subgroup identity (Brewer, 1999). Hong Kong Chinese may satisfy their need for inclusion in a larger collective by endorsing the superordinate identity. By contrast, they may satisfy their need for distinctiveness within the larger social by endorsing the subgroup identity (Brewer, 1991). While those Hong Kong Chinese people who adopt a national Chinese identity may emphasize their similarities with other Mainland Chinese and their differences from non-Chinese, their counterparts who adopt a regional Hongkonger identity may emphasize their similarities with other Hongkongers and their differences from Mainland Chinese (Hong, Chiu, Yeung, & Tong, 1999).

2.2. International research

Worldwide research on national identity has covered an extensive spectrum of topics and has investigated the relationships between national identity and various other factors. In order to understand the definition, construction, and maintenance of national identity, empirical research has sought to examine the antecedents and attributes that are related with national identity. While most studies were conducted in Western cultures, some findings are relevant to the situation in Hong Kong.

Among many factors, economy has been found to interact with preference for social values to influence the sense of national identity. According to Inglehart (2008, 2015) and Inglehart and Welzel (2014), national identity refers to a traditional and materialistic value, as poised to a secular-national value. Individuals or countries that emphasize traditional values (e.g. Islamic, African and Latin American countries) show a higher level of national identity. Inglehart's socialization hypothesis and scarcity hypothesis suggests that generations that experience economic scarcity are more likely to put higher priorities on physical security and materialistic needs instead of personal freedom. During economic scarcity, people tend to develop a stronger national identity and prefer an authoritarian government that can provide the society with effective policy implementation and higher law and order (Inglehart, 1977). It has been indicated that such materialistic values together with strong national identity tend to persist when these

personal values are stabilized in the adulthood (Maslow & Frager, 1987; Sangster & Reynolds, 1996).

Hong Kong has enjoyed decades of affluence since its transformation from an insignificant fishing village to an international financial center nowadays. From 1961 to 1997, the gross domestic product (GDP) of Hong Kong had increased by 180 times (Yeung, 2008). The GDP per capita at purchasing power parity (PPP) of Hong Kong in 2014 ranked the 9th, even higher than that of the United States (IMF, 2015). These figures reflect that the standard of living in Hong Kong is high in global standard. Consistent with the scarcity hypothesis, a local study by Wong and Wan (2009) showed that postmaterialist values in Hong Kong developed quickly between 1992 and 2007, especially among the younger generation. Post-materialism develops as the sustained affluence of a society allows the demand of metaphysical needs, such as autonomy and freedom, aesthetic and intellectual fulfillment (Inglehart, 2008). The rapid growth in postmaterial values may help explain the relatively low level of national identity.

On the micro level, research effort has been made to examine the relationship between education level and national identity. Findings have suggested that higher education level and higher socioeconomic status are associated with lower level of national identity. The cognitive skills model suggested that people with higher cognitive skills tend more to have the capacity to imagine and identify with greater communities (Bollen & Medrano, 1998; Deutsch, 1954). People of higher education are more likely to adopt a “cosmopolitan view” towards their identity than confining with a “parochial view”. Following this logic, highly educated people living in an European nation are assumed to be more likely to self-identify as a European, and have weaker attachment to their home nation (Bollen & Medrano, 1998). Applying the cognitive skill model to the context of Hong Kong, with a high proportion of well-educated people, it can be predicted that people tend to have a weak national identity because of the promotion of cosmopolitan view in national identity with higher cognitive ability.

Nevertheless, other studies have suggested that national identity may affect other macro variables (e.g. government policy). For instance, Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009) investigated the association between national identity and anti-immigrant policy across 31 countries, which showed that the correlations tended to be positive. In the case of Hong Kong, the phenomenon of prejudice against new mainland immigrants supports the group threat theory. The group threat theory states that negative attitudes and discriminative behaviors against minority group are derived from the perception of the minority group as a threat to their limited social resources (Blalock, 1967; Blumer, 1958). A discourse analysis of 58 partial reports about the portrayal of mainland immigrants revealed that 85% involved negative bias. Such negative portrayal of mainland immigrants often reflects the perceived threats to the locals in different aspects, such as economic problems, marital problems, and domestic violence (Kung, 2013).

2.3. Local research

Previous investigations on Hong Kong Chinese’s social identities has identified four different identity labels: (1) Chinese, (2) Hongkonger, (3) Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger, and (d) Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese (Hong et al., 1999; Hong et al., 2006; Kim & Ng, 2008; Lam, Chiu, Lau, Chan, & Yim, 2006; Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong, & Peng, 1999). Prior to

Hong Kong's reunification with China in 1997, the Hongkonger identity has been more salient than the Chinese identity among most of the ethnic Chinese residents in Hong Kong (Brewer, 1999; Lam et al., 1999). Even though the transfer of sovereignty to China carries the expectation that Hong Kong citizens should endorse a stronger Chinese identity at the national level, Hong Kong people's preference for the Hongkonger identity has persisted (Ng & Lai, 2011). Furthermore, most Hong Kong Chinese possess dual identities ("Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger" and "Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese") that involve identification at both the national and local levels (Kim & Ng, 2008). Although dual identities may make people feel confused and ambivalent, they may be useful because of the flexibility in adapting to different sociocultural situations (Brewer, 1999; Kim & Ng, 2008; Ng, Ng, & Ye, 2016).

Researchers have identified a range of variables that are associated with the national identity of Chinese resident in Hong Kong. Past studies have revealed that the Chinese identity of Hong Kong Chinese is associated with the adaptation of a Chinese lifestyle and the endorsements of traditional Chinese cultural values. For example, the study by Ng, Yam, and Lai (2007) indicated that the Chinese self of Hong Kong Chinese people was positively correlated with Chinese language proficiency, the use of Chinese language, watching Chinese newspaper, magazines, television programs and movies, celebrations of Chinese traditions and festivals, and consuming Chinese food. Moreover, Lam et al. (1999) found that Hong Kong Chinese adolescents who identified themselves as Chinese put higher importance on traditional Chinese Confucian values and lower importance on values related to Hong Kong (e.g., modernity) than do their counterparts who identified themselves as Hongkongers.

It has also been documented that the national identity of Hong Kong Chinese is related to more positive attitudes toward China or Mainland Chinese. For instance, Fu, Lee, Chiu, and Hong (1999) found that Hong Kong Chinese with a stronger Chinese identity showed a greater willingness to assimilate into China, compared with those with a stronger Hongkonger identity. The study by Cheung and Li (2011) using a sample of Chinese secondary school students in Hong Kong showed that behaviors such as enjoying Chinese athlete's getting gold medals, volunteering for the building of China, making friends with people from other places of China were associated with a stronger national identification sentiment. Hong et al. (2006) conducted two longitudinal studies between 1996 and 2001, before and after the handover of Hong Kong. Their results demonstrated that Hong Kong Chinese undergraduate students' attitudes toward Mainlanders at an earlier time point positively predicted Chinese identity at a later time point.

3. Research Gaps

3.1. Causality remains unclear

Although previous psychological research on national identity has identified a range of factors contributing to national identity, many studies have employed a cross-sectional correlational research design. The use of such a design precludes the inference of causal relationships between national identity and other variables. Further investigations using an experimental or longitudinal design is necessary to draw stronger conclusions concerning what factors causally affects national identity. In order to fill in this research gap, this study applied the experimental priming technique (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Ng, Han,

Mao, & Lai, 2010; Ng & Lai, 2009; Oyserman & Lee, 2008) to examine the national identity of Hong Kong youth.

Earlier research on social cognition has documented that a conceptual category or scheme can be activated or “primed” by exposing participants to representative instances (Ng & Han, 2009). More recently, researchers have primed the self-concepts or identities directly, and the findings have provided evidence that the multiple selves or identities can be experimentally manipulated by means of priming (Ng & Han, 2009; Oyserman & Lee, 2008). For instance, the experiment conducted by Gardner, Gabriel, and Lee (1999) manipulated participants’ independent self and interdependent self by instructing them to circle independent (e.g., I, me, my, mine) or interdependent pronouns (e.g., we, us, our, ourselves). The results indicated that participants reported a greater independent self and higher endorsements of individualistic values under independent self priming, and a greater interdependent self and higher endorsements of collectivistic values under interdependent self priming.

The dynamic constructivist approach developed by Hong and colleagues (Hong et al., 2000) proposed that individuals’ who have internalized two or more cultures are able to engage in cultural frame switching, in which they shift between different cultural identities in response to contextual cues. To test this hypothesis, Hong et al. (2000) performed a series of laboratory experiments in which Westernized Hong Kong Chinese participants were either presented with Chinese cultural icons (e.g., a Chinese dragon, the Great Wall) or American cultural icons (e.g., the American flag, the Statue of Liberty). The results showed that exposure to Chinese culture primes led the participants to behave more in a typically Chinese way (e.g., made more external attributions), whereas exposure to American culture primes drove them behave more like Americans (e.g., made more internal attributions).

Priming studies in Hong Kong have mainly focused on the bicultural identities (i.e., Chinese and Western cultural identities) of Westernized Hong Kong Chinese (e.g., Hong, Chiu, & Kung, 1997; Ng et al., 2010; Ng & Lai, 2009). The national and regional identities of Hong Kong Chinese residents have rarely been studied using the experimental priming technique. One exception was Lam et al.’s (2006) study that manipulated Hong Kong adolescents participants’ national and regional identities. In the regional identity priming condition, participants were asked to read a newspaper article pitting Hong Kong’s economic interests against those of Mainland China. Conversely, in the national identity priming condition, participants were asked to read a newspaper article pitting China’s economic interests against those of foreign countries. It was found that participants showed less negative judgment biases toward Mainland Chinese people under national identity priming than under regional identity priming. Given the social environment in Hong Kong in the recent years, it would be interesting to extend the existing research by examining how different kinds of priming may affect national identity among Hong Kong youth.

3.2. Overreliance on explicit measures

Another limitation of research on national identity is that prior studies have mostly used explicit measures of national identity. Studies on Hong Kong Chinese’ national identity have asked participants to choose among several identity labels such as Chinese, Hongkonger,

Chinese and secondarily Hongkonger, and Hongkonger and secondarily Chinese, or to indicate their levels of endorsements of these labels on a Likert scale (Hong et al., 1999; Hong et al., 2006; Kim & Ng, 2008; Lam et al., 2006; Lam et al., 1999; Ng & Lai, 2011). The major weakness of explicit measures is that they are susceptible to social desirability biases, especially for socially sensitive issues (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). To address this issue, the current study will adopt the implicit association test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), in addition to the explicit measures, to examine national identity among Hong Kong youth.

The primary claim of IAT is that it is an instrument designed to capture the strength of association between concepts (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). As serial and rapid pairing of concepts are required in IAT, it is believed that IAT may reflect attitude that people feel refrained to disclose due to the tendency to adhere to social norms and impression management (Greenwald et al., 1998; Olson, Fazio, & Hermann, 2007). Moreover, it is argued that IAT is capable of measuring true attitudes and automatic processes that are unconscious to the perceiver (Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011; Olson et al., 2007; Rothermund & Wentura, 2004).

Only a few studies have employed the IAT to measure implicit national identity (Kim & Oh, 2001; Kim, Sarason, & Sarason, 2006). For example, Kim et al. (2006) measured the national identity of Korean-American young adults by assessing the implicit association of Korea and America with self and other. Although a handful of local research has used IAT to examine the attitude towards mainland China (e.g., Lam, Chiu, & Lau, 2007), none has applied this technique to investigate national identity.

4. The Objectives of the Current Study

The primary goal of this research is to fill in the above research gaps and enhance the current understanding about the effect of different priming materials on explicit and implicit national and regional identities among Hong Kong youth. Theoretically, this study could provide evidence regarding the malleability of national and regional identities, as an essential part of self-concept. Research-wise, most research using IAT was mainly conducted in the field of intergroup bias and prejudicial attitude against disadvantaged minority such as the Black people in the United States and homosexual individuals. Up to date, IAT has not yet been applied to study national identity in the context of Hong Kong, where multiple identities co-exist for decades and ambivalent attitudes towards the nation permeate across social groups in the society. By using the priming and IAT techniques, the current research could provide useful evidence about the causal direction and minimize the effects of social desirability. Practically, such findings can inform the design and implementation of relevant educational programs to facilitate the development of national identity and its integration with regional identity among Hong Kong youth. In sum, the objectives of this study are listed as below:

- 1. To examine how social priming contribute to the formation and change of national identity among Hong Kong youth;**

- 2. To compare and contrast the similarity and differences between explicit and implicit national identity among Hong Kong youth.**

Chapter 2. Method

1. Sample

Before the study was conducted, a power analysis was carried out to estimate the required sample size. According to the meta-analysis by Oyserman and Lee (2008), the effect of culture priming was small ($d = .34$). Besides, the meta-analysis by Hofmann and colleagues (2005) revealed that the effect size of the correlation between the IAT and explicit self-report measures was small ($r = .24$). According to these past findings, the power analysis indicated that a minimal sample size of 180 is required to achieve a satisfactory power of .80.

When carrying out the study, the research team managed to obtain a much larger sample size than originally planned, to achieve a higher statistical power and more reliable results. In total, 434 ethnic Chinese undergraduate students in Hong Kong participated in the study. Among those who indicated their gender, 131 were males (35.6%) and 237 females (64.4%). The age of the participants ranged from 17 to 23, with an average of 20.43.

2. Procedure and Materials

The experiment was conducted in classrooms with computer workstations. Experimenters were there to coordinate the operation of the experiment. Participants were instructed to do the experiment using the website link provided on their computers.

Priming. After signing the consent of participation, the participants were told that they would have a test on impression on pictures and were instructed to carefully view and describe the pictures that they saw. The participants were randomly assigned by the computer to one of the seven experimental conditions. Similar to Hong and colleagues (Hong, Benet-Martinez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003; Hong et al., 2000), different pictures were used in different priming conditions to represent: (1) Chinese brands, (2) Chinese popular culture, (3) Chinese traditional culture, (4) Chinese Olympic sportsmen, (5) negative news on mainland-Hong Kong relation, (6) Chinese politics, or (7) control condition.

For the six experimental conditions, the pictures were selected through a pilot study. A pool of 10-12 pictures for each priming condition were first selected by 4 researchers from Internet using search engines. The pictures were then put on a web-based questionnaire to be rated by total 37 participants, based on the extent to which the photo shown could represent the target category that the priming picture belonged to. The 8 pictures of each condition that received the highest ratings were selected as the priming stimuli of the test. For the control condition, the pictures were borrowed from established research (Ng et al., 2016) to serve as culturally neutral primes to establish a baseline for comparison.

In the experiment, each picture stimulus was shown in a standardized resolution of 800x600 pixels for 6 seconds. The participants would not be able to progress before the 6 seconds passed. On the next page the participants would be asked to recall and briefly describe the picture they saw to consolidate the effect of the priming task. After finishing viewing and commenting on a total 8 picture stimuli, a summary priming procedure followed. Thumbnails of

the 8 pictures were shown to them in one picture. They were asked to write down their thinking and feeling about the summary of pictures.

Manipulation check. A manipulation check was administered after the presentation of pictures. Depending on the priming condition, participants were asked to indicate whether the pictures illustrated Chinese or Western culture, positive or negative news, etc. All participants correctly indicated the nature of the pictures. In the control condition, participants were asked to indicate whether the pictures illustrated weather phenomena or animals in the jungle. All participants correctly indicated that the pictures illustrated weather phenomena.

Implicit measures. Following the presentation of primes, participants were instructed to complete the implicit measures of national and regional identities. Following the standard IAT procedure proposed by Greenwald et al. (1998), participants were instructed to categorize four types of stimuli from two pairs of contrasts using two response keys (the key E and the key I for our study) on a computer keyboard. The IAT assumes that when highly associated concepts share the same response key participants tend to categorize them more quickly. When weakly associated concepts share the same response key, participants tend to categorize them with greater difficulty and more slowly (Greenwald et al., 1998; Greenwald et al., 2009).

Previous identity research has provided strong support for construct validity, incremental validity and predictive validity of IAT. For instance, implicit group and identity preferences measured by IAT were found to correlate with the self-identification of group membership in the reality (e.g. race, ethnicity). IAT also has a satisfactory level of internal reliability and great effect size (Greenwald et al., 1998). The test-retest reliability of IAT achieved the r value of .7 to .9 in previous research (Greenwald et al., 2009).

IAT was adopted in this study due to various advantages it offers over explicit measures. First, it is more difficult for participants to disguise their responses even if they pay deliberate effort to fake it towards a more socially acceptable way (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). Second, meta-analysis also revealed a clear advantage of IAT in terms of predictive validity over self-report in socially sensitive topic: the mean predictive validity effect size of IAT over 32 samples of studies were significantly stronger than self-report measures (Greenwald et al., 2009).

In this research, pictures (e.g. Renminbi and Hong Kong dollar, Chinese Great Wall and Victoria Harbour) were used to contrast the two target categories (i.e., China and Hong Kong) (see examples in Appendix 1). For the attribute categories, two sets of words were designed to measure either identity or attitude in two IATs, respectively. For measuring identity, self vs. other words were used as in previous IAT studies on implicit national identity (Kim & Oh, 2001; Kim et al., 2006). For measuring attitude, pleasant (e.g. glorious, happy) vs. unpleasant words (dirty, unhappy) were used (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000). In each IAT, there were seven blocks of trials. Blocks 4 and 7 were the test blocks, and the other blocks were practice blocks. Table 1 shows the design of the two IATs in the present study:

To counterbalance the order of the associations in IAT, the participants were randomly assigned to either the condition where the association of China+Self appeared first or the condition where the association of Hong Kong+Self appeared first. After completion of the

identity IAT, the participants would continue to finish the attitude IAT. Again, they were randomly assigned to either the condition where the association of China+Pleasant appeared first or the condition where the association of Hong Kong+Pleasant appeared first.

Table 1. The design of the implicit association test

Block	Function	Identity IAT		Attitude IAT	
		Key E / I*	Key I / E*	Key E / I*	Key I / E*
1	Target concept discrimination	Symbols of China	Symbols of Hong Kong	Symbols of China	Symbols of Hong Kong
2	Attribute discrimination	Self-words	Other words	Pleasant words	Unpleasant words
3	Trial on Target + Attribute combined task	Symbols of China + Self	Symbols of Hong Kong + Self	Symbols of China + Pleasant	Symbols of China + Unpleasant
4	Test on Target + Attribute combined task	Symbols of China + Self	Symbols of Hong Kong + Self	Symbols of China + Pleasant	Symbols of China + Unpleasant
5	Reversed target discrimination	Symbols of Hong Kong	Symbols of China	Symbols of Hong Kong	Symbols of China
6	Reversed trial on Target + Attribute combined task	Symbols of China + Other	Symbols of Hong Kong + Other	Symbols of China + Unpleasant	Symbols of China + Pleasant
7	Reversed test on Target + Attribute combined task	Symbols of China + Other	Symbols of Hong Kong + Other	Symbols of China + Unpleasant	Symbols of China + Pleasant

Explicit measures. To assess explicit national identity, participants were asked to rate on: a) the identification with “Chinese” and a “Hong Konger” identities, respectively; (2) the importance of the identities as “Chinese” and “Hong Konger”, and c) the attitude towards being a “Chinese” and “Hong Konger”. All the ratings were based on a 10-point Likert scale. More details can be found in Appendix 2.

Chapter 3. Results

1. Descriptive Statistics

To get an overall picture of the national and regional identities, the distribution of each identity measures are presented in the bar charts below, showing the participants had high identification with regional identity but low identification with national identity.

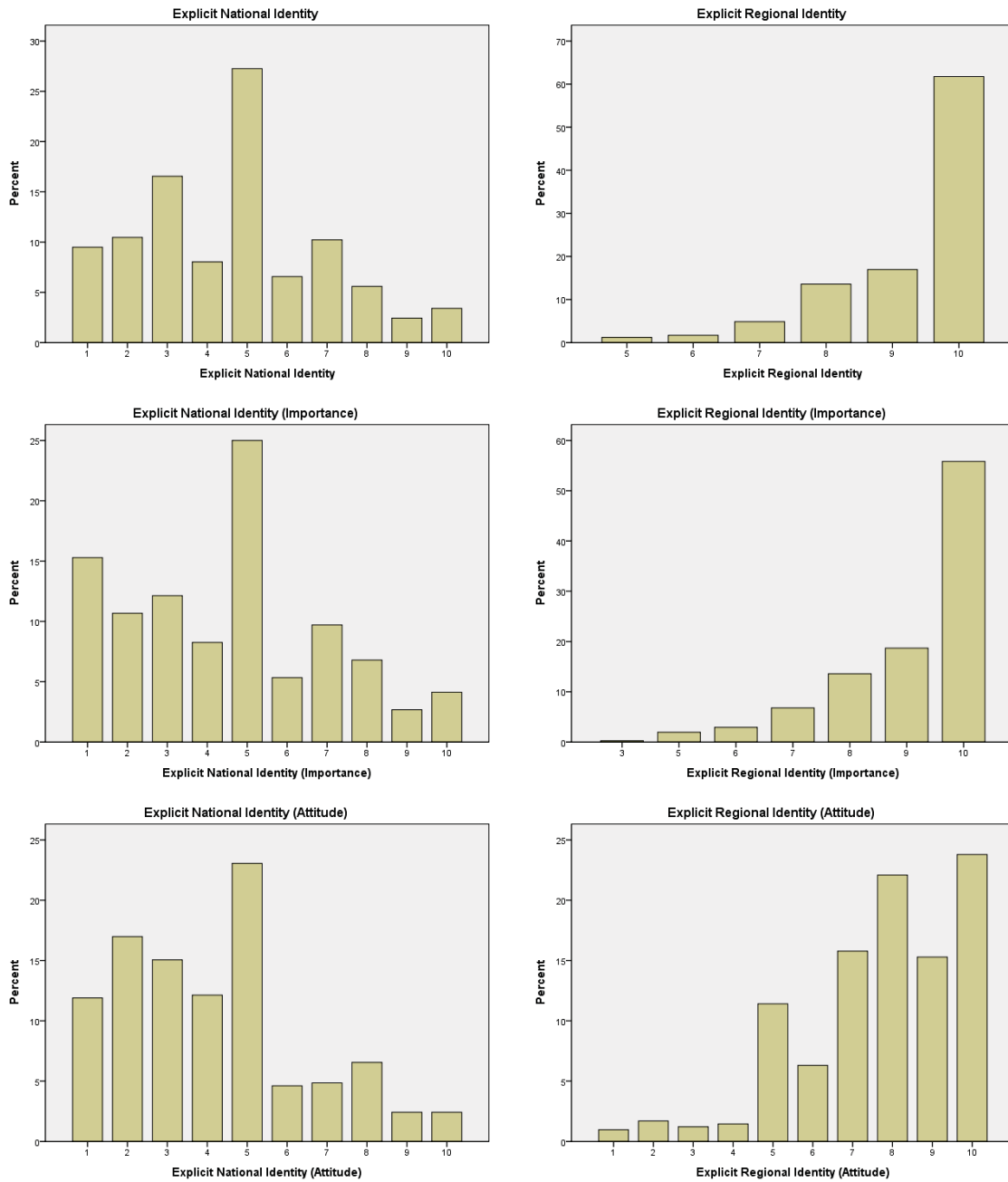


Figure 1. Bar charts of national and regional identities

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the variables are displayed in Table 2. In terms of mean scores, the negative values of the two implicit national identity measures both indicated that regional identity was stronger than national identity among Hong Kong youth. This result was consistent with what was found for the explicit measures, all of which showed the level of regional identity were higher than that of national identity. To test the difference between explicit national and regional identities, a repeated measures MANOVA was performed, which showed a significant difference, $F(3, 407) = 456.56, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .771$.

In order to examine the differences among explicit regional identity, explicit regional identity (importance), and explicit regional identity (attitude), a repeated measures ANOVA was performed. It was found that the differences were significant, $F(2, 820) = 195.83, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .32$. The results of post hoc Sidak tests indicated that explicit regional identity was significantly greater than explicit regional identity (importance) ($p = .004$) and explicit regional identity (attitude) ($p < .001$), and explicit regional identity (importance) was significantly greater than explicit regional identity (attitude) ($p < .001$).

Furthermore, a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to examine the differences among explicit national identity, explicit national identity (importance), and explicit national identity (attitude). It was found that the differences were significant, $F(2, 818) = 13.25, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .05$. The results of post hoc Sidak tests showed that explicit national identity (attitude) was significantly lower than explicit national identity ($p < .001$) and explicit national identity (importance) ($p = .002$). The difference between explicit national identity and explicit national identity (importance) was not significant.

2. Correlational Analyses

The bivariate correlations showed that the three explicit measures of national identity were substantially correlated with each other ($r_s = .610$ to $.798, p_s < .01$), whereas the three explicit measures of regional identity were less strongly correlated with each other ($r_s = .273$ to $.568, p_s < .01$). In particular, the attitudinal measure of regional identity showed relatively low correlations with the other two measures.

Moreover, it was found that explicit national and regional identities had very low correlations on the measures of identification ($r = -.042, p > .05$) and importance ($r = -.077, p > .05$), suggesting little conflict between national and regional identities on these two measures. However, explicit national and regional identities were found to have negative correlation on the attitudinal measure ($r = -.273, p < .01$), suggesting that negative attitude toward China was associated with more positive attitude toward Hong Kong. These results reflected that the cognitive aspects of national and regional identities were not contradicting, whereas the emotional aspects of national and regional identities (i.e. attitude) were conflicting to a certain extent.

Table 2. Pearson bivariate correlations between implicit and explicit measures of identities

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Implicit National Identity	-	.157**	.113*	.078	.029	-.063	-.067	.041
2. Implicit National Identity (Attitude)		-	.184**	.171**	.122*	-.121*	-.053	-.046
3. Explicit National Identity			-	.798**	.616**	-.042	-.157**	-.068
4. Explicit National Identity (Importance)				-	.610**	-.090	-.077	-.077
5. Explicit National Identity (Attitude)					-	-.064	-.028	-.273**
6. Explicit Regional Identity						-	.568**	.273**
7. Explicit Regional Identity (Importance)							-	.340**
8. Explicit Regional Identity (Attitude)								-
<i>M</i>	-.470	-.368	4.601	4.507	4.150	9.286	9.107	7.714
<i>SD</i>	.372	.347	2.297	2.502	2.296	1.102	1.272	2.023
Skewness	.267	.244	.355	.332	.606	-1.656	-1.562	-.925
Kurtosis	-.216	.415	-.426	-.671	-.251	2.437	2.223	.638

To further demonstrate the association between national and regional identities, three scatterplots were generated for each of the three identity measures, in which darker dots represent more cases. As shown in the scatterplots, there were no clear associations between national and regional identities on the first two identity measures. On the measure of attitudes towards one's identities, there were relatively more cases falling into upper left and lower right corners, in comparison to the previous two measures. This pattern contributes to the negative correlation between national and regional identities on the added to measure ($r = -.273, p < .01$).

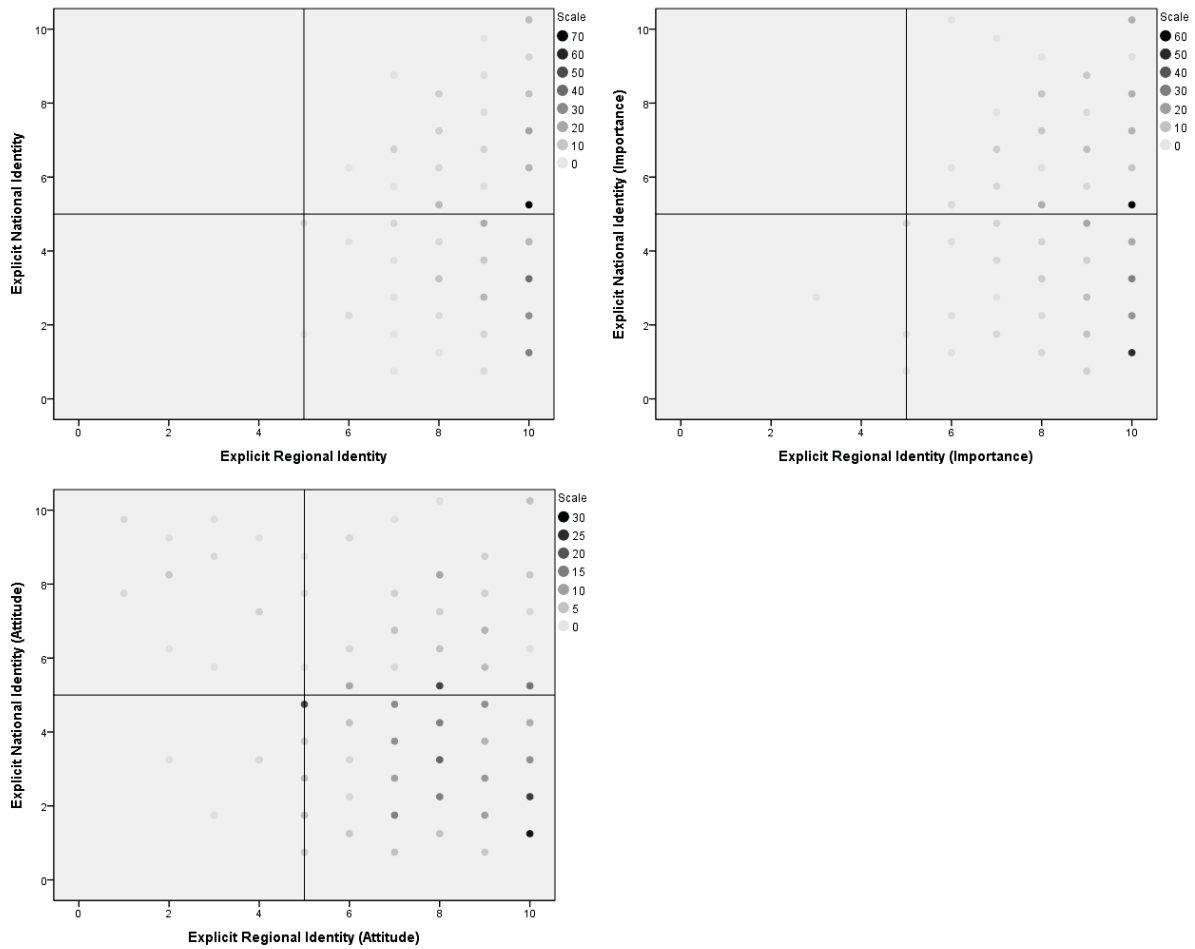


Figure 2. Scatterplots of national and regional identities

3. Effects of Priming on National and Regional Identities

To test the effects of priming, one-way ANOVA was conducted on each implicit and explicit measures of national and regional identities. Significant differences were found across different priming conditions in explicit national identity, $F(6, 404) = 2.686, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .038$, and explicit national identity (attitude), $F(6, 405) = 2.602, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .037$. No significant differences were found for the implicit measure of national identity and explicit measure of regional identity. Table 3 presents an overview of these results. To get a better understanding about the implicit national identity, explicit national and regional identities, more specific analyses were carried out and are reported in the following sections.

Table 3. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of identity measures across priming conditions

		<i>Df</i>	<i>Ms</i>	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>p</i>
Implicit National Identity	Between Groups	6	.022	.156	.002	.99
	Within Groups	401	.140			
	Total	407				
Implicit National Identity (Attitude)	Between Groups	6	.161	1.340	.021	.24
	Within Groups	379	.120			
	Total	385				
Explicit National Identity	Between Groups	6	13.828	2.686	.038	.01
	Within Groups	404	5.147			
	Total	410				
Explicit National Identity (Importance)	Between Groups	6	7.581	1.215	.018	.30
	Within Groups	405	6.241			
	Total	411				
Explicit National Identity (Attitude)	Between Groups	6	13.403	2.602	.037	.02
	Within Groups	405	5.151			
	Total	411				
Explicit Regional Identity	Between Groups	6	.915	.750	.011	.61
	Within Groups	406	1.219			
	Total	412				
Explicit Regional Identity (Importance)	Between Groups	6	1.032	.634	.009	.70
	Within Groups	405	1.627			
	Total	411				
Explicit Regional Identity (Attitude)	Between Groups	6	.998	.241	.004	.96
	Within Groups	405	4.139			
	Total	411				

3.1 The effect on implicit measures

As presented in Table 3, no significant difference was found in the two implicit measures across different priming conditions. When each of the six experimental conditions was compared against the control group, none of the differences was found to be significant. The results showed that implicit identity was very robust and not easily affected by the priming conditions. The

means and standard deviations of the two implicit measures across the seven priming conditions are presented in Table 4 and plotted together in Figure 3.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of implicit measures across priming conditions

	Implicit National Identity	Implicit National Identity (Attitude)
Chinese brands	-.46 (.40)	-.38 (.34)
Traditional culture	-.47 (.35)	-.39 (.31)
Popular culture	-.45 (.37)	-.43 (.31)
Olympics sportsmen	-.50 (.42)	-.27 (.38)
Chinese politics	-.49 (.30)	-.35 (.41)
Negative news	-.47 (.42)	-.42 (.32)
Control	-.45 (.33)	-.32 (.36)

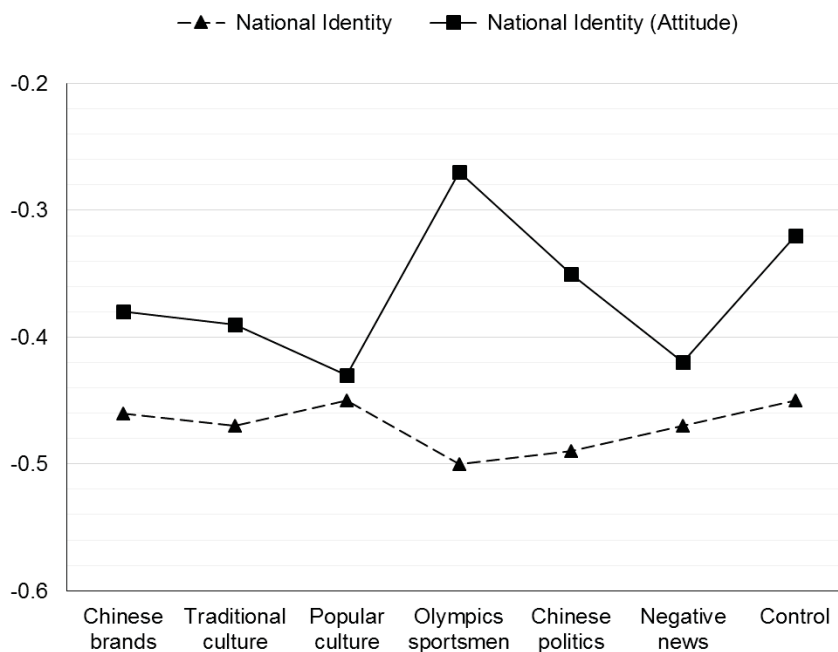


Figure 3. Mean plots of implicit measures by priming conditions

3.2 The effect on explicit national identity

As presented in Table 3, significant differences were found in explicit national identity and explicit national identity (attitude) across the priming conditions. When each of the six experimental conditions was compared against the control group, only explicit national identity under the Chinese brands priming condition ($M = 3.64$, $SD = 2.06$) was found to be significantly lower, $p = .02$. The result suggested that the explicit national identity of the participants tended to

be negatively affected by the priming of Chinese brands. The means and standard deviations across priming conditions can be found in Table 5.

Table 5. Means and standard deviations of explicit national identity across priming conditions

	Explicit National Identity	Explicit National Identity (Importance)	Explicit National Identity (Attitude)
Chinese brands	3.64 (2.06)	3.89 (2.35)	3.23 (2.09)
Traditional culture	4.51 (2.05)	4.23 (2.56)	4.28 (2.24)
Popular culture	4.97 (2.17)	4.85 (2.59)	4.28 (2.13)
Olympics sportsmen	4.84 (2.40)	4.60 (2.50)	4.04 (2.11)
Chinese politics	4.82 (2.45)	4.86 (2.60)	4.75 (2.69)
Negative news	4.53 (2.35)	4.48 (2.43)	4.17 (2.26)
Control	5.00 (2.41)	4.69 (2.47)	4.41 (2.34)

3.3 The effect on explicit regional identity

As presented in Table 3, no significant difference was found in explicit regional identity across different priming conditions. The results showed that regional identity was very robust and not easily affected by the priming conditions. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 6. For easy reference, the means the six explicit measures of national and regional identities across different priming conditions are plotted together in Figure 4.

Table 6. Means and standard deviations of explicit regional identity across priming conditions

	Explicit Regional Identity	Explicit Regional Identity (Importance)	Explicit Regional Identity (Attitude)
Chinese brands	9.19 (1.28)	8.94 (1.55)	7.69 (2.10)
Traditional culture	9.09 (1.29)	9.11 (1.23)	7.93 (1.94)
Popular culture	9.25 (1.01)	9.03 (1.17)	7.70 (1.91)
Olympics sportsmen	9.33 (1.20)	9.27 (1.16)	7.82 (1.96)
Chinese politics	9.46 (.89)	9.21 (1.20)	7.73 (1.96)
Negative news	9.33 (1.02)	9.23 (1.35)	7.62 (2.42)
Control	9.37 (.95)	8.98 (1.18)	7.53 (1.88)

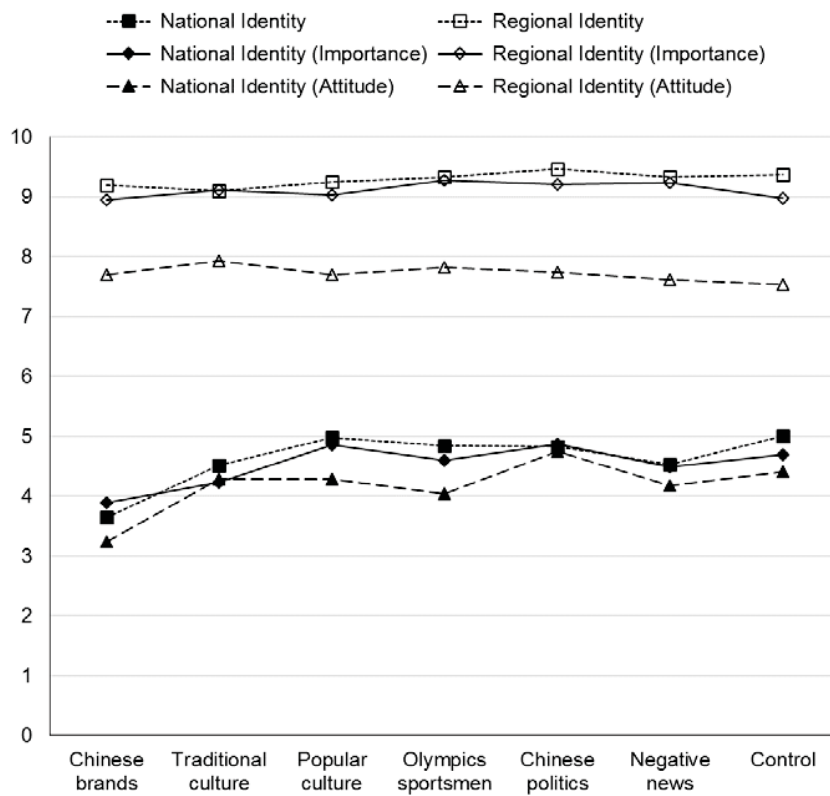


Figure 4. Mean plots of explicit measures by priming conditions

Chapter 4. Discussion

Over the past decade, the level of national identity among Hong Kong people has been decreasing. The decline is even more prominent among youngsters in Hong Kong. This study endeavored to advance the current understanding of the national (Chinese) identity and regional (Hongkonger) identity of Hong Kong young people by examining the effects of different priming conditions on the implicit and explicit measures of national and regional identities among Hong Kong youth. Overall, the following major findings are obtained and deserve further discussion.

1. Individual differences in national and regional identities

Consistent with previous research (Brewer, 1999; Lam et al., 1999; Ng & Lai, 2011), our study showed that Hong Kong youth tended more to identify themselves with the regional identity than the national one, regardless of the measures being used. Taking the explicit measures as an example, the ratings on regional identity were near the top of the response scale, whereas the ratings on national identity were slightly below the midpoint. Over the years, similar findings have been repeatedly reported by large-scale public opinion surveys. Although findings on the mean level can reveal the overall picture, it would be important to understand the individual differences in national and regional identities as well.

As indicated by the standard deviations, the distributions of the ratings on national identity were much wider than those for regional identity. These results suggested that Hong Kong youth were more homogeneous in their identification with the regional identity, but more diverse in their identification with the national identity. One may wonder why there are wider distribution in national identity among Hong Kong youth and why some individuals are more reluctant than the others to identify themselves as Chinese. To answer such questions, we need to relate national identity to various possible factors such as social economic background (e.g., educational level, employment, income, religious belief, etc.), psychological traits (e.g., personality, values, etc.), political participation (e.g., joining concern group, protest, etc.), personal experiences in relation to mainland China (e.g., social connections, knowledge, visits, etc.), and so on. Qualitative studies would also be necessary to understand how the individuals feel, think, and behave among those with high/low national identities. Knowledge from such investigations would be useful for effective policymaking.

2. Different measures of national and regional identities

Furthermore, our results also revealed the importance of differentiating different measures of national and regional identities. Previous research on national identity often examined two measures, that is, the level of identification and the level of importance. In this study, we included an attitudinal measure of identity (i.e., the extent to which one like or dislike the identity), as the third measure. This measure showed unique patterns and strong effects in terms of both mean levels and correlations with other variables, in comparison to the two other measures.

In terms of the mean level, the attitudinal measure was consistently lower than the measures of identification and importance. This finding held true for both national and regional

identities, showing that Hong Kong youth tended to hold a less positive attitude towards their national and regional identities, particularly the latter (see Table 2). Although most Hong Kong youth identified themselves as Hongkongers and thought this identity was important to them, the overall atmosphere in the society in the recent years may make some of them feel much distressed and dissatisfied. It was partly reflected by the much higher standard deviation for the attitudinal measure of regional identity, in comparison to those for the other two measures.

As also shown in Table 2, the correlation between national and regional identities on the measures of identification and importance were both very small and close to zero, showing that the two types of identities were not conflicting in terms of identification and importance. However, a negative correlation was found between the attitude towards national and regional identities. This result echoes the above discussion regarding the unique function and meaning of the attitudinal measure in comparison with the other two and highlight the importance of understanding the attitudinal measure of national and regional identities.

3. Robustness of national and regional identities

The current study intended to investigate how national and regional identities might change in response to different priming conditions. Unexpectedly, the mean levels of national and regional identities, regardless of implicit or explicit measures, remained rather stable under different conditions. This result is out of expectation because the priming procedure has been found effective in empirical studies in changing people's identity, personality, and behaviors. Therefore, the plausible explanation is that both national and regional identities are very robust and cannot be changed easily.

Originally, we expect that the exposure to different information may lead to change in national and regional identities. If this is the case, we will be able to understand which type of information (e.g., economic development, traditional culture, political issues, etc.) may increase or decrease national and regional identities. Such findings could be very useful in practice (e.g., the design of the educational program) and policymaking (e.g., possible ways of promoting national and regional identities). Although the nonsignificant results prevent us from generating such insights, it highlights the stability of national and regional identities and shows that they would not be easily changed by transient exposure to certain information, but require much deeper cognitive and affective processing over a longer period of time.

Chapter 5. Policy Implications and Recommendations

In this section, the policy implications and recommendations according to the findings are discussed.

1. The change of national identity

In the recent years, the Hong Kong society has seen much stress, controversies, and conflicts. During this period, the level of national identity among Hong Kong people has been decreasing, particularly among the youth group. As the situation and the trend are concerning, lots of efforts and resources have been invested so as to understand the causes behind and find out possible solutions. In doing so, it would always be necessary to take a close look at the change of national identity over the years since the handover of Hong Kong.

According to the social survey conducted by the Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong (HKUPOP), the level of national identity in the first decade after the handover had been increasing, though slowly, and the levels among the young and elder groups were at times quite close. However, after reaching its peak in 2008, the level of national identity decreased rapidly within three years, after which the young and elder groups were clearly divided in their levels of national identity (see Appendix 3). This coincided with the period during which the key issues such as national education and universal suffrage were hotly debated. Looking back, one may wish that these controversies could have been handled in a different way.

Since Hong Kong was returned to the country, the “One Country, Two Systems” has been implemented. As most would agree, the “One Country, Two Systems” framework is an innovative policy that recognizes and accommodates the uniqueness of the “two systems” within “one country”. Implementing such an innovative policy will not be easy and smooth, but tend to encounter unforeseeable difficulties, some of which would come naturally from the differences between the “two systems”. With the rapid development of Hong Kong and the country, the past decade has witnessed dramatic increase in the contact between the “two systems” across various domains, which brought the differences between them under the spotlight. To work out the difficulties rendered by the differences, it requires much patience, respect, and understanding in communication and collaboration. Failing to do so is likely to elicit negative emotional responses and irrational actions. As found in our study, the cognitive measures of national and regional identities did not conflict with each other. However, the attitudinal measure of national and regional identities did show a negative, though mild, correlation. To a certain extent, it indicates that national identity may not only be a matter of cognitive processing of “who we are”, but the affective processing of “how we feel”.

As shown by recent social surveys (e.g., people’s satisfaction with the government by HKUPOP), the overall political atmosphere appears to be improving since the start of the new government in 2017. In her first Policy Address, the new Chief Executive had proposed a series of policies to support youth development, including inviting young people to join various government boards and committees and contribute to policymaking process. More education opportunities (e.g., scholarship and internship programs) had also been created. Consistent with the Policy Address, the new budget proposal had also invested extra resources in various funding schemes (e.g., Gifted Education Fund, Student Activities Support Fund, and Continuing Education Fund) to support youth development. Although these policies are not directly related

to national identity, they are helpful in reducing the stress (e.g., education opportunity, career prospect, and housing market) that Hong Kong youth are facing. As it is often pointed out, such stress may be turned into general dissatisfaction with the government and further indirectly contribute to the decrease of national identity.

In fact, there is empirical evidence that offers support to the argument. For instance, when national identity is examined together with the housing market (using the price indices from Rating and Valuation Department), a negative correlation can be found (see Appendix 4), indicating that the decrease in national identity was associated with the increase in housing market. Although it is difficult to draw causal conclusions based on correlational data, it suggests that a broader view is needed when considering the issues of national identity. Therefore, when providing support to the young people, a systematic approach would be necessary. From this perspective, the new policies were highly appropriate. Nevertheless, considering the stability of national and regional identities as found in the current study, one should bear in mind that it may need some time for the policies to take effect.

2. The role of regional identity

When considering the issues of national identity, one should not overlook the role of regional identity. As any other places in the world, Hong Kong has its own history, culture, and tradition, which are deeply rooted and integrated in the construction of identity among local people. From a psychological perspective, the construction of identity is an essential developmental task and would significantly affect health and well-being (Niklas, Haslam, Sebastian, Jolanda, & Rolf van, 2016). In the recent decades, a growing body of psychology literature (Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt, & Routledge, 2008; Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006; Ye, Lam, & Ng, 2017) has shown that people tended to attach high importance to their life experience in the past, particularly when the life is changing so rapidly in the modern societies. Such a tendency is found to be adaptive and healthy because it can increase self-esteem, maintain self-continuity, and promote social connectedness. All these are crucial psychological resources that can help people deal with stress in daily life, as well as develop multiple identities (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt, & Zhou, 2009).

As found in the previous social surveys and the current study, the level of regional identity among Hong Kong people has been consistently high over the years. This result is not surprising, since people will naturally identify with the place where they live. Unfortunately, the high level of regional identity is sometimes misinterpreted and is mistakenly associated with low level of national identity. The misconception of the relationship between national and regional identities may be derived from the categorization approach adopted in the early social surveys, in which people were often forced to choose whether they considered themselves as either *Hong Konger* or *Chinese*. This approach, however, has been found inappropriate from both theoretical and empirical point of view. Our study also showed that regional identity did not necessarily conflict with national identity. Indeed, there are a number of Hong Kong youth who highly identify themselves as both *Hong Konger* and *Chinese*. Therefore, in policymaking and practice, it should be made very clear to the general public so that the misconception can be eliminated.

3. Integrating national and regional identities

Over the years, an essential task for Hong Kong society to tackle is how to find an effective way to integrate national and regional identities. Theoretically, identities within one person is multi-facet and can be organized with a hierarchical structure. For example, as a

university student, one may identify him- or herself with the university, the college, or the department. Different levels of identities would be salient and applied under different social situations such as talking with students from another university, college, or department. Similarly, the national and regional identities can be organized in a hierarchical way. Depending on the specific social situations, people may refer to their Chinese or Hong Konger identities to facilitate the communication.

To achieve this goal, we need to first understand the psychological process that underlies the shift of group identities. According to psychology research, people may demonstrate two types of behaviors in a social setting: cooperation and competition. Cooperation would occur when people have trust and are willing to communicate and share, with the expectation that this would lead to increased benefits for different parties involved. Competition would take place when people perceive threat and tend more to fight against the others, with the belief that this would offer them higher chance to seize the limited benefits. When people choose to cooperate, a broader identity would be adopted to unite the parties involved. When people choose to compete, however, a narrower identity would be adopted so that the in-group members and outgroup members could be clearly differentiated.

During recent years, the development of Hong Kong society has been facing obstacles such as high land price, income inequality, and imbalanced economic development, which tend to create extra burden and limit the opportunities for the common people. In addition, the issues such as individual visit scheme, doubly non-permanent resident children, and political controversies further increased the sense of uncertainty and stress. Under such a situation, competition behavior and a narrower identity were likely to be evoked.

After years of conflict, it is time for Hong Kong society to move forward and adjust the focus of future development. Although there remain major political controversies ahead, people could be wiser in handling them after learning from the past experience. Furthermore, with the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge and high-speed rail ready to use, the connection between Hong Kong and Mainland is going to be strengthened. The development of Greater Bay Area will also offer Hong Kong new opportunities. With all these new changes, people may find it more practical and productive to communicate and collaborate. In the long run, such future development could benefit the integration of national and regional identities among the society.

Chapter 6. Layman summary on Policy Implications and Recommendations

1. Though the level of national identity is lower than regional identity, the distribution is much wider, showing great individual differences among the group. In policymaking and practice, this should be borne in mind to avoid overgeneralization;
 2. The construction of national and regional identities involves not only cognitive processing, but affective responses. In policymaking and practice, it is important to consider people's feelings and emotions;
 3. The level of national and regional identities tends to be stable and not easy to change. Although policies have been proposed to support youth development, it may take some time to see the effects;
 4. National and regional identities do not conflict with each other, but are derived from different levels of identity construction. This should be made clear to the community in policymaking and practice;
 5. The integration of national and regional identities is an important issue for the Hong Kong society. With the new transport infrastructure (e.g., Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge and high-speed rail) and developmental initiatives (e.g., Greater Bay Area) being developed, the connection between Hong Kong and mainland is to be greatly strengthened. Building common goals and coherent identities should be highlighted in policymaking and practice.
-
1. 雖然國民身份認同較地區身份認同低，其分佈範圍更為廣泛，顯示有更大的個體差異。這一點在政策制定和實施中值得留意，以免泛化認識整個年輕人群體。
 2. 國民和地區身份認同的建構不僅涉及認知過程，更是涉及情感反應。在政策制定和實施中，需充分考慮人們的感受和情緒；
 3. 國民和地區身份認同較為穩定，不易變化。雖然已有政策支援年輕人發展，需要一定時間方能見到效果和改變；
 4. 國民和地區身份認同不一定存在衝突，而是源自於身份建構的不同層面。這一點在政策制定和實施中需要向社會清晰傳達。
 5. 國民和地區身份認同的融合是香港社會的一項重要議題。隨著新交通基建（如港珠澳大橋和高鐵）以及新發展規劃（如大灣區）的推行，香港與內地的聯結將會大大增強。在政策制定和實施中，應凸顯建立共同的目標和協調的身份認同。

Chapter 7. Conclusions

Based on the findings, the conclusions are summarized as below:

1. Though the level of national identity is lower than regional identity, the distribution is much wider, showing great individual differences among the group. Overgeneralization of the mean level to the whole group should be avoided.
2. The construction of national and regional identities involves not only cognitive processing, but affective responses. The attitudinal component of identity (i.e., how people feel about the identity) deserves more attention.
3. The levels of national and regional identities tend to be stable and not easy to change. A systematic approach that covers different domains (e.g., education, housing, and career) would be beneficial.
4. National and regional identities do not necessarily conflict with each other, but are derived from different levels of identity construction. With a hierarchical structure, national and regional identities can be integrated.
5. The future development of Hong Kong and the country offers both opportunities and challenges. The integration of national and regional identities would become crucial for Hong Kong society in the coming years.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Illustrative examples for the Implicit Association Test (IAT)

2.1 Self vs. Other

Instruction (1)

你將需要完成一個分類測試：你需要把不同的文字和圖片項目以最快的時間分門別類。

Instruction (2)

下一個練習，你將會看到一些文字或圖片項目從中心出現，你只需要按鍵把它們歸類至適當的位置。

這項練習，你須要以最快而最少錯誤為目標盡快完成。太慢或太多錯誤會使分析難於解讀。以下列出了你將看到的項目和分類，以及這些項目所屬於的類別。

分類	項目
自己(文字類)	自己,我的,本人,我
別人(文字類)	他,別人,他人,別人的
中國(圖片類)	關於中國的圖片
香港(圖片類)	關於香港的圖片

Instruction (3)

中國

香港

把你的中指分別放在**E** 和 **I**鍵。

上方的文字代表著一些分類。一些圖案將會在中間位置出現，你需要把這些圖案項目歸類於適當的分類。

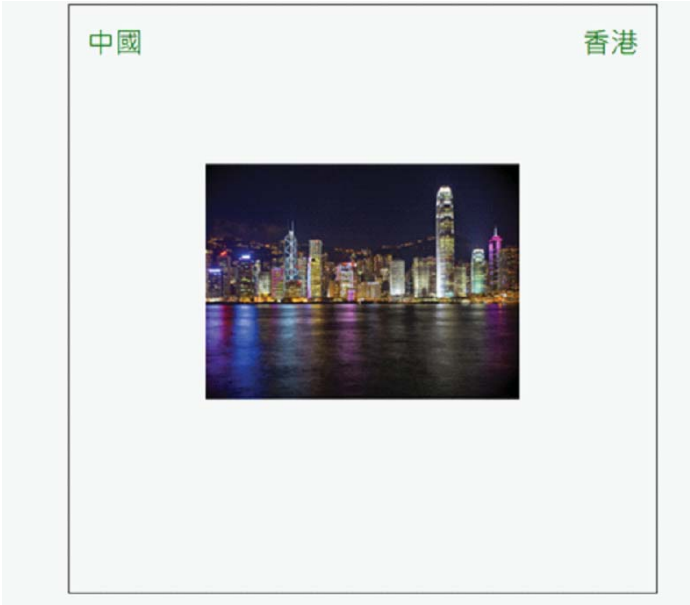
當中間的圖案屬於左邊的分類時，請按下 **E** 鍵；若它們屬於右邊的分類則按**I** 鍵。這些項目只屬於其中一種分類。

如果你你的分類錯了，一個紅色的交叉 - **X** 將會出現。出現錯誤時，請按任何一鍵繼續。

這是一個限時的歸類測試。這練習的目標是以最快速度和最少錯誤完成分類。這測試需用5分鐘完成

按下 **空白鍵** 開始。


Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 1, 5)



Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 2)



Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 3-4. 6-7)

香港 or 我		中國 or 別人
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2.1 Good vs. Bad

Instruction (1)

你將需要完成一個分類測試：你需要把不同的文字和圖片項目以最快的時間分門別類。

Instruction (2)

下一個練習，你將會看到一些文字或圖片項目從中心出現，你只需要按鍵把它們歸類至適當的位置。

這項練習，你須要以最快而最少錯誤為目標盡快完成。太慢或太多錯誤會使分析難於解讀。以下列出了你將看到的項目和分類，以及這些項目所屬於的類別。

分類	項目
好(文字類)	喜悅,愛,和平,美妙,愉快,光榮,歡笑
壞(文字類)	苦惱,糟糕,恐怖,骯髒,邪惡,可怕,失敗
中國(圖片類)	關於中國的圖片
香港(圖片類)	關於香港的圖片

Instruction (3)

中國

香港

把你的中指分別放在**E**和**I**鍵。

上方的文字代表著一些分類。一些圖案將會在中間位置出現，你需要把這些圖案項目歸類於適當的分類。

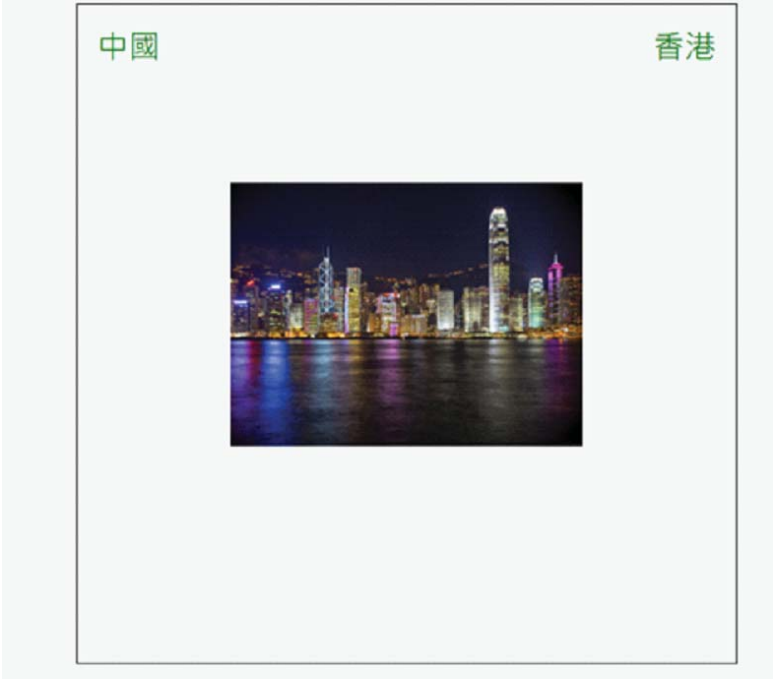
當中間的圖案屬於左邊的分類時，請按下**E**鍵；若它們屬於右邊的分類則按**I**鍵。這些項目只屬於其中一種分類。

如果你你的分類錯了，一個紅色的交叉 - **X** 將會出現。出現錯誤時，請按任何一鍵繼續。

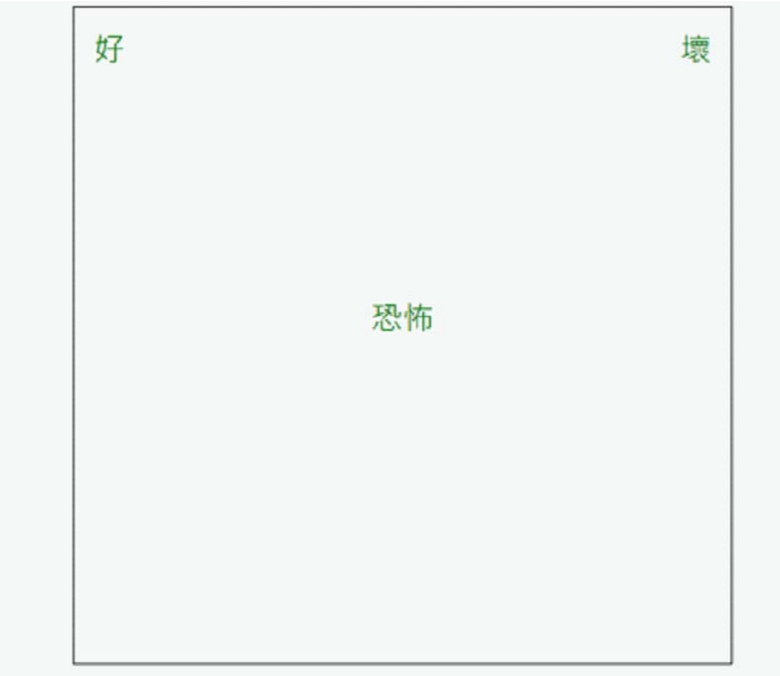
這是一個限時的歸類測試。這練習的目標是以最快速度和最少錯誤完成分類。這測試需用5分鐘完成

按下 空白鍵 開始。


Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 1, 5)



Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 2)



Implicit Association Test - Interface (Trial 3-4. 6-7)

中國 or 好		香港 or 壞
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Appendix 2. Explicit Measures of National and Regional Identities

Explicit measures - National and Regional Identities

請你用 0-10 分表示你對中國人和香港人的身份的認同感。

	絕不認				一半半					絕對認
中國人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
香港人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Explicit measures - Importance of National and Regional Identities

請你用 0-10 分評價你對香港人和中國人身份的重要性

	絕不重 要				一半半					絕對重 要
中國人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
香港人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

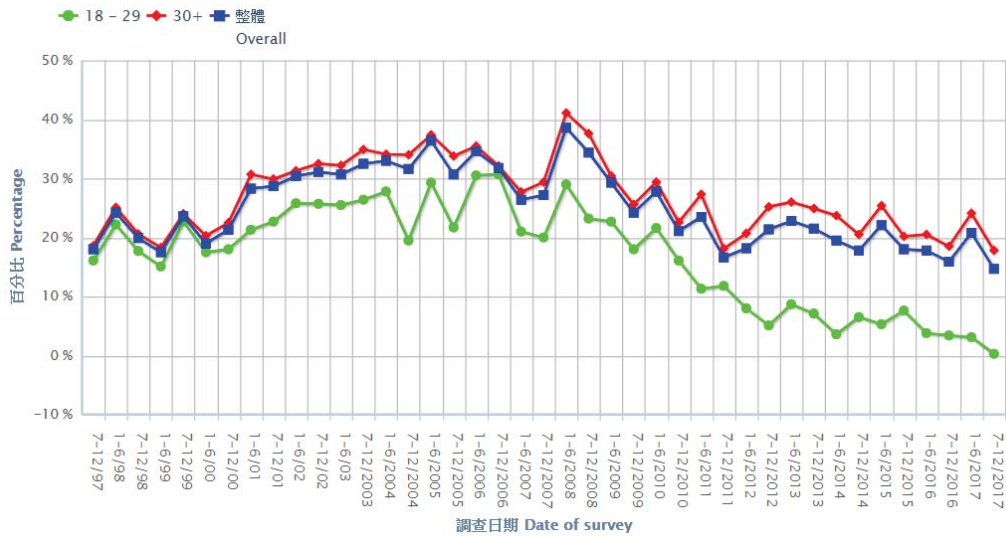
Explicit measures - Attitude towards National and Regional Identities

請你用 0-10 分評價你對香港人和中國人身份的喜惡度

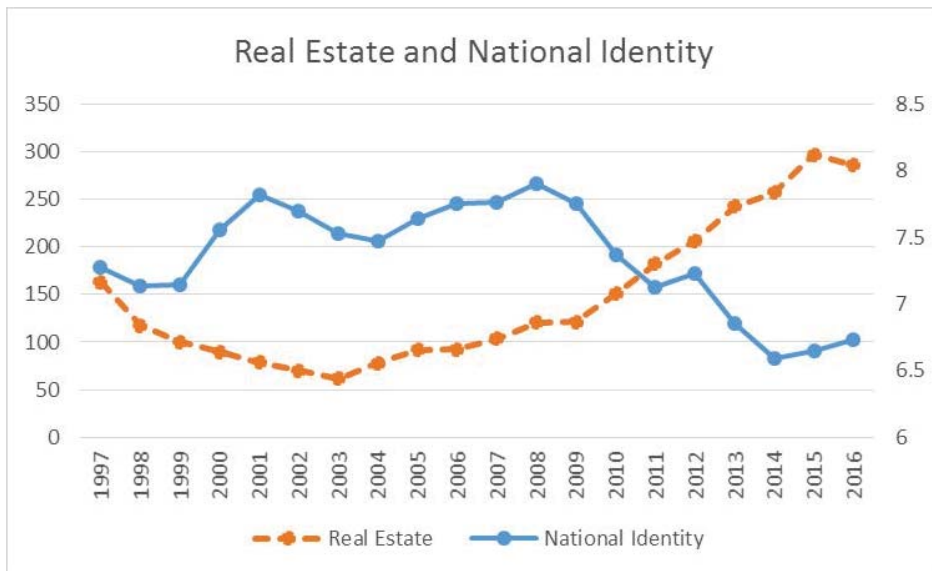
	絕對厭 惡				一半半					絕對喜 愛
中國人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
香港人	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix 3. Change of National Identity among Different Age Groups

身分類別認同——「中國人」（半年結及按年齡組別）
Ethnic Identity - Chinese (half-yearly average, by age group)
(7-12/1997 - 7-12/2017)



Appendix 4. Change of Real Estate and National Identity



Appendix 5. Public Dissemination

Date and time: 4:00PM, 24/02/2017

Venue: Room 813, The Jockey Club Tower, The University of Hong Kong

Name of Activity: Social Change and National Identity among Hong Kong Youth

Type of Activity: Research Seminar, Department of Psychology, The University of Hong Kong

Information Disseminated: Report of the research project and findings.

Format and Methods of Dissemination: The seminar was given by Dr. Sam Shengquan Ye, the Principal Investigator of the research project, followed by a Q&A session.

Users/Audience: The public lecture was open to the public. Everyone can freely attend without registration. The information about the lecture was distributed through the network of the

Department of Psychology, The University of Hong Kong.

Expected Outcomes: The purpose of the seminar was to receive feedback and facilitate discussion.