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YOUTH RADICALISM IN HONG KONG: EXPLORING CHANGES IN ADOLESCENTS' CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND ATTITUDES TO THE NATION [1]

香港青年的激進主義：探索青少年時期學生的公民意識及對國家態度之變化

Project 2015.A5.019.16B

FINAL REPORT[2]

Centre for Governance and Citizenship 管治與公民研究中心

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ABSTRACT

Many Hong Kong youth showed their radical inclinations during the Occupy Central protests and the divisions already evident between different political groups in the city were exacerbated. University students, almost by default, took the lead in these protests. While they were not successful in achieving their aims there is evidence from the recent District Council elections that "umbrella soldiers" (傘兵), as they have been called, won some favor with a disillusioned electorate.

Yet little is known about these politically oriented students and what is known only adds to the uncertainty about their civic orientations. This project has addressed this issue. Large-scale surveys conducted with Grade 8 and Grade 9 students in 1999 and 2009 respectively showed that as younger adolescents around 14-15 years old, Hong Kong secondary students were relatively conservative preferring social engagement over political engagement, rejecting political parties and most certainly rejecting illegal protest as a form of civic engagement. While Kennedy & Chow (submitted) have shown that a 2009 cohort of secondary students were more supportive of democracy than the 1999 cohort, there was little evidence to indicate that these young adolescents would become the protesters of the Occupy movement. Yet this study has shown that some of them did and they continue to hold radical views concerning civic engagement.

Despite what appeared to be growing support for democracy amongst these young students, there was also evidence to suggest that they were strongly committed to China and to Chinese people and were proud of Chinese achievements (Kennedy & Kuang, 2014). Yet more recent surveys with older samples seem to suggest that the proportion of young people (aged 15-39) who were proud of being a Chinese decreased dramatically to 40.7% in 2012 (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2013). Social and political events such as anti-Mainland tourist sentiments and anti-parallel trading activities may account for this change. Yet in reality there

is little empirical evidence about these changes. As with the political orientations described above, what is known is that as young adolescents they appear to have positive attitudes but these seem to diminish over time. This study has demonstrated the strength of anti-China feelings often in a quite dramatic fashion.

The current study, therefore, has identified early signs of anti-China feelings among young adolescents, although not an inclination for radical civic engagement. The study has identified the trajectories of change from early to late adolescence and early adulthood so that students' civic attitudes, dispositions and values can be better understood and strategies can be developed to support more positive processes of political socialization for young people.

在 2014 年的佔領中環運動(雨傘運動)中，很多香港青年在遊行示威中表現出激進的政治傾向。同時，政治團體之間的差異更為激化。 在一系列的政治事件中，大學生成為走上抗爭運動最前線的群體。盡管運動並未取得預期成果，但在 2015 年的區議會選舉中，這些年輕「傘兵」異軍突起，獲得不少對社會不滿的選民支持。

我們對這群政治傾向明顯的學生的政治取向所知甚少。就此，本研究運用了國際教育成績評估協會於 1999 和 2009 年在本港舉行的大規模問卷調查(調查對象為中二及中三學生)，以增進對他們的了解。根據學者甘國臻與周鉅寬最近的研究，2009 年的初中生比 1999 年的初中生更傾向於支持民主，但沒有證據顯示這個年齡層的學生將會參加佔領運動。同時，2009 年的數據顯示 14 至 15 歲的青少年相對保守，他們傾向於社會參與而非政治參與、抗拒政黨，更加抗拒以違法示威方式作公民參與。但本研究顯示，他們當中應該有部份參加了佔領行動，而且對公民參與保持激進的態度。

盡管這些青年學生對民主的支持日益高漲，但仍有證據顯示他們對中國和中國人身份表示強烈認同，並且為中國的成就感到驕傲(Kennedy & Kuang, 2014)。然而，香港青年協會(2013)近期的調查研究卻顯示青年人當中以中國人的身份而自豪的比例於 2012 年急劇降至 40.7%。當中反自由行和反水貨客運動等政治及社會事件可能是引發這些變化的因素，但迄今鮮有實證數據顯示這些變化。正如上述提及的年輕人政治取向，我們所知的是，這些年輕人在初中時期(14 至 15 歲)仍然對中國和中國人身份表示積極認同，但隨著時間的推移，其認同度下降。本研究顯示，香港青年對中國的抗拒情緒變化巨大，並與社會事件息息相關。

綜上所述，本研究發現學生群體中有部份學生在中學時期已顯示出對中國的抗拒情緒，盡管當時這些情緒並無跡象顯示出他們將會參與激進公民活動。本研究同時勾勒出香港學生從青少年早期到晚期，直至成年時期的公民態度、素養以及價值觀的變化，以幫助發展出協助青少年更正面發展的策略。

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In making these recommendations, we are aware that the HKSARG will seek to develop policies than can address directly the rise of youth radicalism and its negative impact on the community. As a result of the research reported here, our view is that such policies need to be forward looking and aimed at preventing any further drift to radicalism. The intensity of the interviews reported later in this Report suggests current youth disaffection and alienation is well entrenched in anti-government feelings – perhaps to the point where little can be done to reverse it. This may seem overly deterministic, but the interviews speak for themselves. On the other hand, while we cannot quantify current alienation and disaffection we suspect that it represents a minority of youth in Hong Kong. Therefore the public policy issue is to develop proactive strategies directed at those young people capable of making a positive and productive contribution to Hong Kong society.

1. The HKSARG needs urgently to review the way civic education is offered in Hong Kong schools. A common approach to civic education is needed that is inclusive of the full range of views within the Hong Kong community. Any civic education curriculum should be designed so that students will have the foundation that will enable them to be informed, engaged and willing to contribute to the future of Hong Kong. Such a civic education is neither solely 'national' education nor 'localist' education. Students must be taught to think for themselves, to weigh evidence and to make judgements. Above all they must be taught to listen to and respect the views of those who may have different views.
2. A Youth Bureau should be established reporting directly to the Chief Executive and responsible for monitoring the needs of Hong Kong's young people. Those needs should

be interpreted very broadly and include social needs (employment opportunities, income levels, housing availability, etc.), political needs (engagement in politics, political aspirations, political reform etc.) and economic needs (youth minimum wage, entry level salaries, housing affordability etc.). A Youth Bureau needs to be more than a bureaucratic structure – it needs to become an advocate for youth, it needs to be staffed by young people who understand youth and it needs to be proactive in the community. There are many examples of such entities internationally and every effort should be made to study these and adopt the best practices in youth policy developlment that can be identified.

3. A Youth Council should be established representing the full range of youth in Hong Kong with a brief for providing advice directly to the Chief Executive on issues of general concern to Hong Kong young people. Such a Council can be used to engage young people to show them that their views are valued, that they are listened to and they can make a difference. Again, this should not been seen as a bureaucratic structure but a genuine mechanism for consultation and discussion.
4. Every HKSARG policy should be required to address *Implications for Youth Policy* as part of its development and subsequent implementation and there should be an annual report on the success or otherwise of all government initiatives in this regard. This is the way to create youth-friendly policies and a youth-friendly Hong Kong.
5. The HKSARG should support a regular programme of research on youth civic attitudes to supplement the international large scale assessments in order to provide more timely feedback, to establish longitudinal trends and to be better informed about attitudinal changes requiring policy responses. The IEA studies (that are reported as part of the current study) are useful but are conducted too far apart (1999, 2009, 2016) to provide regular feedback. What is more, their focus is often European and the distinctive aspects of civic attitudes and behavior from Asia are not always addressed. For example, in ICCS 2016 the Asian Regional Module was dropped for lack of funding thus reducing opportunities for local content by participating Asian societies). It should be noted that

both the USA and Australia run regular testing programmes related to civic knowledge and attitudes.

CHAPTER 1

PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND RATIONALE

Project Objectives

1. To establish baseline measures of civic responsibility and national attitudes for Hong Kong secondary students based on the results of the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 survey (Schulz, W. et al., 2009) that the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) conducted worldwide.

2. To identify university students' current national attitudes and civic consciousness.

3. To identify any changes in students' national attitudes and civic consciousness and the reasons for these changes.

4. To identify the key influences leading to radical changes.

5. To provide advice that can improve current youth policy including national attitudes and civic consciousness.

Policy Relevance

Hong Kong is positioned in a special way within China governed by the "one country, two systems" principle. Li (2015) has shown that the tensions inherent in this political structure have been evident since Hong Kong's return to China was negotiated with the British in the 1980s'. Thus the Occupy protests should not be viewed as a new phenomenon in Hong Kong-Mainland relations but the climax of ongoing tensions brought to a head by a new generation of democracyActivists. The Hong Kong SAR Government (HKSARG), therefore, must balance democratic aspirations in a centrally controlled political system in which local autonomy, but not unfettered freedom, has been the guiding principle. This will continue to be a challenge for the HKSARG after 2017. There is a public need both to understand this

challenge and to develop strategies to manage it. The purpose of the current project was to address this issue.

In part, this challenge involves understanding young people's civic consciousness and the factors that affect it. Yet as Kennedy (2016) has shown there are multiple dimensions to this issue. There is not unanimous agreement amongst Hong Kong youth on Hong Kong's political direction. Views range from support for the current status quo, to aspirations for more significant democratic development to the extremist views of those who support an independent Hong Kong. It is important to understand these diverse views and disaggregate them rather than assume youth speaks with a single voice. In particular, however, it is important to understand the view of alienated youth and this has been the focus of the present project.

Many commentators have pointed to youth alienation in realms other than the political. Employment prospects, social mobility and housing affordability are all issues that are seen to affect young people. This social dimension cannot be ignored on the assumption that youth are overwhelmingly concerned with the political arena. This project will adopt this broader view of current youth alienation.

The issue of youth attitudes to the nation is also important to investigate since popular discourse would seem to suggest that these are becoming increasingly negative. Yet as early adolescents Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation were very positive (Kennedy & Kuang, 2014). If popular discourse is correct, how and why do attitudes to the nation deteriorate and how important are social and political issues in affecting attitudes to the nation? This will be a fundamentally important area for this project to address.

Key Questions

Considering above the proposed study will seek to answer the following four research questions:

1. What were 14-year-old Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation and civic values as revealed in the 2009 ICCS study and how have they changed in the ten years under Chinese sovereignty?
2. Given that a number of Hong Kong youth have opted for more radical forms of civic engagement in recent times, what is the explanation for this and are there any links to the civic values of the students surveyed in 1999 and 2009?
3. What factors have influenced young people's decisions concerning different forms of civic engagement?
4. What are the implications for the development of administrative and educational policy solutions needed to provide a more supportive youth culture?

Research question 1 will provide baseline data based on secondary analysis of ICCS data.

Research Question 2 will investigate the current status of Hong Kong students' national attitudes and civic values based on interviews with a sample of students.

Research Question 3 will investigate the key political socialization factors influencing students based on interviews and literature review.

Research Question 4 will draw on the results to assess the implications for the development of strategies that can be used to support the development of a positive youth culture.

These multiple data sources will enable civic profiles to be developed for young Hong Kong adolescents based on the ICCS 2009 study. From these profiles, trajectories across time can be developed suggesting the changes that have taken place over time. The third research question will attempt to identify factors that led to the changes over the years. Policy implications and solutions will be addressed for the fourth research question.

Project Rationale/Background

Hong Kong students' national attitudes and civic consciousness

Hong Kong students appear to hold much more negative attitudes to the nation and to civic responsibilities than their peers in Mainland China. First identified early in the new century, Fairbrother (2003) initially identified neutral attitudes of Hong Kong students to the nation in contrast to their mainland counterparts. These attitudinal findings were questioned in his following study (Fairbrother, 2006). Here Hong Kong students were found to hold more negative feelings towards the Chinese people. In 2009, however, a different sample of Hong Kong students indicated quite positive attitudes to the nation, including national identity, emotional attachment and pride. (Kennedy & Kuang, 2014). An important point to note here is that Fairbrother's (2003, 2006) samples consisted of university students while that used by Kennedy and Kuang (2014) drew on 14 year olds who were part of the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) conducted in 2009. The age difference in the two sets of studies seems to be an important consideration in understanding the results.

The findings of the Public Opinion Programme (POP) conducted by the University of Hong Kong have repeatedly verified negative attitudes to Chinese identity among older Hong Kong youth (aged 18-29). Respondents who identified themselves as Chinese dropped to a low of 3.6% in June 2014 from 16.1% in December 1997 and a record high of 30.7% in December 2006 (HKU POP Site, 2015a). At the same time, those who identified themselves as "Hongkongers" dropped from the baseline 46.2% in August 1997 to a record low of 22.9% in June 2008 and then rocketed to as high as 62.9% in June 2015 (HKU POP Site, 2015b). People's recognition of their civic identity may depend on how they interpret and respond to their social and political contexts (Kennedy, Li, & Cheung, 2015). The way people interpret and respond may also be influenced, to a certain extent, by civic and citizenship education, which plays an implicit role in transmitting civic ideologies and molding students' civic identity (Fairbrother, 2006; Kerr, 1999). It is questionable, however, whether there is an effect of school education on long lasting attitudes into late adolescence and early adulthood. Such an effect may well be reflected in the positive results reported by Kennedy and Kuang (2014)

on younger adolescents and referred to above, but other socialization agents seem to intervene to influence more negative attitudes to the nation as adolescents mature.

Studies have shown that younger Hong Kong students' attitudes to citizenship and its accompanying responsibilities are complex and not easily categorized. Using data collected in 1999 as part of the IEA Civic Education Study, Kennedy (2010) showed that Hong Kong students were aware of three kinds of citizenship obligations: political, social and patriotic. Of these, they endorsed social obligations (e.g. volunteering, helping the elderly) more strongly than the other two domains with patriotic obligations being endorsed least strongly of all. This suggests that Hong Kong students, unlike their Mainland peers, view citizenship responsibilities as multidimensional and to some extent integrated so being a patriot does not figure strongly in what Kennedy (2010) called their "civic consciousness". Yet patriotism is a feature of this civic consciousness and it appears to be the feature most susceptible to change given the weakness of its endorsement by students. It seems important to investigate how this more integrated conception of Hong Kong students' citizenship responsibilities is affected over time as the pressures and strains of late adolescence and early adulthood exert an effect on the city's young people.

It is also important to note from Kennedy's (2010) study that the sample of Hong Kong students were less interested in conventional political engagement (e.g. joining a political party, writing a letter to the newspaper etc.) than in social and community involvement. Politics in this conventional sense seems of little interest to young adolescents. These attitudes may also shed some light on the low level of endorsement for patriotism since it too has political overtones, although subtler than engagement in specific political activities. It is social engagement that seemed to attract the early adolescents in this sample with the political very much in the background. These results, however, have recently been challenged using a different research method that calls into question the extent to which these results maybe generalizable.

Using ICCS 2009 data, Chow's (2013) study reinforced the view that many 14 year olds preferred social to political engagement, but provided a somewhat more nuanced interpretation. He included scales in his study relating to students' attitudes to illegal protest. He found at one level that the sample of 14 year olds did not see this form of civic engagement, characterized by such activities as occupying buildings, spray painting and using graffiti, as one in which they would participate in the future. Yet because of his methodology he was able to stratify the sample to identify three subgroups one of which he named the 'Radicals'. This group of 14 year olds did indeed indicate that they would use illegal protest as a future form of civic engagement. Chow (2013, p.93) estimated that between 20-25% of the age cohort met the requirements for being included in the 'Radical' category that was also characterized by low levels of civic knowledge, lack of experience in school and community participation and negative attitudes to social issues such as tolerance and social justice.

Thus Hong Kong students' civic consciousness appears to be more complex and to some extent subtler than previously thought. Fairbrother's (2002, p. 9) comparative study, conceptualized resistance as "students' disposition to think critically", which includes skepticism, intellectual curiosity, and an openness to multiple perspectives and he found examples of resistance in both his Mainland and Hong Kong samples. Yet in the light of Chow's (2013) results, this study will be alert to the stratified nature of the Hong Kong youth population and the potential for identifying sub-groups that may exhibit different characteristics. This also means that there will not be one simple solution or a "one-size fits all'' solution to the complex social issues under investigation. Recognizing both complexity and uncertainty was an important part of the approach of this project.

Understanding student political activism and the policy needs of civic education

Students' national attitudes and civic consciousness are shaped by their personal experience as well as the community's political culture keeping in mind that "each community's political

culture exists uniquely in its own time and place" (Almond & Powell, 1996, p. 47). For Hong Kong, the political discourse since the return to China 20 years ago has been strongly characterized by appeals for democratic development. Yet "democracy has been an aspiration rather than a reality both during colonial times and under Chinese sovereignty" in Hong Kong (Kennedy & Kuang, 2014). In recent years, attempts to secure democratic ends this have become more radical and less accommodating. Confrontations between the Central Government and the local political Activists are now common and usually reflect tensions between pro-democracy/liberal parties and pro-establishment parties. The HKSARG is often caught between these although relies heavily on its pro-establishment supporters. In 2014 university students took up the democracy mantle using civil disobedience as a form of resistance against what they saw as 'fake democracy' in the Central Government's proposal for universal suffrage for electing the Chief Executive. How did they reach this position that led to a 79-day occupation of parts of the city? How did they become radical?

Like students' resistance in other nations (e.g., Altbach, 1989), such student political activism "focuses attention not only on broader socio-political-ideological concerns but on issues that impinge on students themselves" (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 2). Students' perception of the "social, political, and economic manifestations of authoritarianism and oppression" often lead to "reactions of feelings of powerlessness in the face of authority" (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 2). As a result, they tend to release their feelings through protest movements, "overt opposition to authority", as well as "struggles for idealistic causes" (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 2). "Among the varying results of these reactions are, for students themselves, a 'cognitive liberation' (Leung, 2006), and for society, a focusing of public consciousness on social, economic, and political problems; broader social unrest; concessions by governments; further government repression", etc. (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 2). Resistance can "thus be seen as a process of perception, reaction, and result" (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 2). Whether or not Hong Kong participants in the Umbrella Movement saw their participation in this way remains to be investigated. A key purpose of this study was to explore with students the rationale for their resistance in the local context.

From the pro-liberal side, student political activism was first noticed in the Choi Yuen Village Land Resumption and Anti-Express Rail Link Movement between 2008 and 2010. Two rapidly mushrooming students' organizations, Scholarism led by secondary students and Students' Federation led by university students, took the lead in the 2012 anti-moral and national education campaign. During the protests that have been labelled internationally as "the Umbrella Movement" this vibrant student engagement came under severe public scrutiny. Chow (2013) pointed out in relation to younger adolescents that, "the quality and effectiveness of participation largely depend on the level of civic knowledge proficiency of citizens". He further stressed that expected participation also depends on opportunities provided by the community and society. But what of older adolescents and young adults such as university students and others involved in the protests both during and after the Umbrella activities? Is Hong Kong confronted with highly civically literate young people or, like Chow's (2013) young 'Radicals', are the protestors civically illiterate, armed with passion but not knowledge? This study has investigated this significant issue.

The issue of civic literacy or civic knowledge is an important one. Chow (2013) suggested that young students with insufficient civic knowledge might have "an imagined outlook of society yet have no realistic picture". Hart and Gullan (2010) have also argued that those who lack proper civic knowledge, such as that of political institutions, are easily led by political power to join illegal protest activities. Yet once students leave school to enter either employment or further education, there are very few sources of formal citizenship education. What influences young people as they leave the safety of school and engage with the broader society - is it the media, peers, family, university teachers, religious groups. The key sources of influence on young people as they enter adulthood need to be identified if their behavior and attitudes are to be understood.

In seeking answers to the above questions the key issue to keep in mind is that students, whether as young adolescents or young adults do not come from a single group with a single voice. While Chow (2013) identified Radicals inclined to illegal protest, he also identified

groups who were more likely to engage in conventional political activities and others who did not seem inclined to participate at all. Thus school based citizenship education has differential effects producing graduates with a range of attitudes towards citizenship responsibilities and future civic engagement. While this study has focused on those students who have chosen more radical paths in attempt to trace their civic trajectories, some attention must also be paid to other groups of students with less radical inclinations. Such groups might provide important information about what works in school based citizenship and what can support other students in their civic journeys.

Political learning and socialization: Contextual factors

While the focus of this study will be post-school adolescents and young people, schools cannot be neglected. Schools are often likened to 'laboratories' for students to develop citizenship consciousness and attitudes and practice engagement. A number of studies has reported the contribution of schools to young people's civic engagement (Torney-Purta & Barber, 2005; Zaff, Kawashima-Ginsberg, Lin, Lamb, Balsano, & Lerner, 2011). Likewise, schools are found to play a key role in the socialization of students' civic values (Au, 2014). Recent Asian studies have also reported significant school effects on students' civic attitudes and consciousness (Fairbrother & Kennedy, 2011; Kennedy, Mok, & Wong, 2011; Leung, Yuen, & Ngai, 2014). Yet it is clear that schools do not support all students in the same way. Put differently, there are differential outcomes from schools when it comes to civic learning.

Further, higher levels of civic knowledge are found to be related to more support for democratic values and active civic participation (Galston, 2001; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Taking regular citizenship education courses enhances civic knowledge acquisition (Lay, 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998). The current status of citizenship education as a non-independent school course does not seem to lower people's belief that the purpose of citizenship education and

the civic mission of schools are to nurture "politically literate, participatory, and critically thinking citizens" (Leung et al., 2014, p. 21). Yet how do schools perform this role, especially from the perspectives of students and how might they do it more effectively?

No matter what the status of citizenship education is, schools are where students' formal political learning takes place, as a socialization process through which students develop political attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors (Campbell, 2006; Powell & Cowart, 2003). Students also develop a political self and gradually understand their civic role, find their social position, a construct their civic identity (Hahn, 1998). For adolescents, this process is integrated with academic learning at school under the influence of multiple agents. Within schools it is people such as principals and teachers who organize the social learning process. As direct agents, teachers are the ones to interact with students on a daily basis. Under the leadership of principals, teachers implement citizenship education curriculum, design teaching contents and activities, and create learning and practicing opportunities for students (Zaff, Hart, Flanagan, Youniss, & Levine, 2010). Hahn (1998, 2010), for example, confirms that teachers with good pedagogical techniques and capacity to build an open and democratic classroom climate positively influence student attitudes to later civic involvement (Also see in Au, 2014). Leung's (2006) Hong Kong based study identified a common experience of a sample of socially and politically active students: a teacher who took a particular interest in their civic education both in and outside school. Some investigation of school citizenship education programmes as part of this project is therefore essential to understand the contexts that produce graduate who may or may not be attracted to more radical forms of civic engagement.

Wilkenfeld (2009) maintained that schools provide the most influential context for students' socialization. Lave and Wenger (2002) have referred to this as "situated learning": schools provide the avenue for students to engage with civics and citizenship education, rehearse their civic rights and fulfill obligations. The education process often takes place in classrooms. Also students can elect subject and class officers and run class-level or school wide

campaigns to start their journey of civic participation. As reported, students active at class and school activities are more likely to become active participants in social and political events in their adult life (Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007). Yet do all students have access to these activities that seek to groom them as active citizens and are there differential civic trajectories for those students who do experience such programmes and those who do not?

Through this socialization function of schools, young people are "inducted into the political culture" and form their orientations towards political objects (Varkey, 2003). Civic knowledge is necessary to prepare students for sufficient understanding of politics, and in a long term to prepare them for their future roles (Kennedy, 2012). In schools well-crafted curriculum for citizenship education lifts students' eyes from subject knowledge to focus on the development of the community, the society and the world (Kennedy, 2012). All in all, "citizenship education very often starts in schools although it by no means ends there" (Kennedy, 2009). This project was particularly concerned with what fills the void after school-based citizenship and in particular with identifying agents of political socialization in this post-school context.

Social context for citizenship education and policy interventions in the post-colonial period

The formation of citizenship values in Hong Kong remains fragmented (Kennedy, in press). Wong, Lee, Kennedy and Chan (2016) have shown that it is still parents and school communities, but not political groups or governments that exert the main influence on the form of citizenship education, which is still school based and therefore varied across schools. This fragmentation can be shown by the simple multiplication of curriculum guidelines. Since the handover, three sets of curriculum guidelines, reflecting differed conceptions of Hong Kong's civic education, have been introduced to local primary and secondary schools. The two sets issued by the SAR government are the 2001 "Learning to Learn": The Way Forward

in Curriculum Development Guidelines (as “2001 Guidelines”) and the 2012 Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide (Primary 1 - Secondary 6) (as “2012 MNE Guidelines”). Both focus on moral and national education in the hope of promoting patriotism and national identity in schools.

This variety of curriculum provision across 20 years of Chinese sovereignty represents both a political reality and Hong Kong’s social diversity. Different groups in society have expressed support for at least one version of citizenship education outlined above and it is likely opposition to some forms has also been expressed. The HKSARG’s attempt to introduce Moral and National Education as an independent mandatory subject in local schools is a good example of the resistance within the community to certain forms of citizenship education. Such resistance prevented the implementation of the proposal. Thus issues to do with citizenship values as embedded in citizenship education programmes are not just concerned with issues of education but rather are deeply ideological as highlighted by Chueng, Yuen and Leung (2015, p. 252).

It is against this ideological background that the current study was conducted. It has sought seek to understand how the graduates of school based citizenship education programmes become radical, recognizing that:

1. Not all students pursue a radical path;

2. Radicalism itself takes different forms some of which cannot be described as ‘democratic’ in nature;

3. There is not a single view within the community of the form citizenship education should take in schools and there is not a common programme of citizenship education experienced by all Hong Kong students;

4. There is little understanding of how political socialization takes place in post-school contexts;

5. The Hong Kong community remains divided on the issue of democratic development, the role of protest and civic disobedience and the way forward for developing a cohesive and harmonious society.

Summary

A number of key issues has been identified as part of the background and rationale for the current project:

- Students develop citizenship values at a relatively early age and these have been captured in successive international studies;
- For the most part Hong Kong's young adolescents express a preference for social rather than political engagement and have positive attitudes towards the nation;
- As shown in a number of studies some older adolescents do not always retain these positive values and there has been evidence of resistance both amongst Hong Kong and Mainland students to state mandated citizenship values;
- Alternative research methods have also shown that there are distinct groups of young adolescents with different citizenship values. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that common values are endorsed by all students.
- Given the turbulence in Hong Kong's political landscape over the past few years the key questions are: Do the radical values of early adolescents transfer to the radical action of many older adolescents and what are the reasons motivating the radicalism of this latter group.

This background has led to the following research questions that have been pursued in this study:

Research Question 1: What were 14-year-old Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation and civic values as revealed in the 2009 ICCS study and how have they changed in the ten years under Chinese sovereignty?

Research Question 2: Given that a number of Hong Kong youth have opted for more radical forms of civic engagement in recent times, what is the explanation for this and are there any links to the civic values of the students surveyed in 1999 and 2009?

Research Question 3. What factors have influenced young people's decisions concerning different forms of civic engagement?

Research Question 4: What are the implications for the development of administrative and educational policy solutions needed to provide a more supportive youth culture?

The following chapter outlines the research methodology and methods sued to pursue these questions.

CHAPTER 2

PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

This research used a mixed methods design (Creswell, 2014) involving secondary analysis of data from the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) (Schulz et al., 2010) and the construction of qualitative cases that reflected the civic values and attitudes of a sample of young people with known commitments to radical forms of civic engagement. This design was chosen because it allows the researcher to draw on multiple data sources in order to address the research questions and, in the case of the present study, to explore theoretical connections between these data sources.

Secondary data analysis is a well-known method in the social sciences that allows existing data to be reanalyzed (and re-theorized) for purposes different from those associated with the original data collection (Smith, 2010; Kiecolt & Nathan ,1985). Secondary data analysis is increasingly being used with data from large scale ssessments such as the Program in International Student Assessment (PISA). The secondary data to be analyzed in the current

study is from a similar source – a large scale assessment of students' civic knowledge and attitudes carried out in 2009 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) involving students from over 38 societies including Hong Kong (Schultz et al., 2010).

Qualitative data was collected in order to construct cases or profiles of individual participants. Sallee and Flood (2012, p. 142) highlighted the contribution that qualitative research can contribute to policy making on account of its "focus on context, flexible research design, and emphasis on stories". In one sense these cases provide a second data point some eight years after the collection of the ICCS 2009 data. This second data point enabled the study to take a retrospective look and compare against the baseline measures. While the samples in each set of data are different, this retrospective look added a longitudinal flavor to the study suggesting trajectories of change and dynamic relationships. The retrospective look will also alleviate largely the limitation of the cross-sectional quantitative design, which is often used to reflect 'snapshots' of phenomena and relatively static relationships.

The purpose of the research was to identify how students' national attitudes and civic consciousness have changed since 2009 and what influenced the changes in the transition from early to late adolescence and young adulthood. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3) have pointed out, "…qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". This is a particularly appropriate framework to use in Hong Kong's dramatically changing civic landscape.

Methods

The project employed a range of research methods including systematic literature review, statistical analysis of the ICCS 2009 date and in-depth individual interviews. This variety of data sources provided multiple perspectives. This is essential to understand the dynamics and interactions of different contexts and change agents in the lives of young people.

Systematic literature review: A systematic literature review (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006) was conducted to collect theoretical and empirical evidence. Literature review is a well-established method in the social sciences for bringing together evidence from a variety of research efforts. The outcome of the literature review helped to provide a theoretical framework for the study and guide the development of a semi-structured interview schedule for use with university students.

Statistical analysis: Key scales relating to Hong Kong students' attitudes to civic responsibility and to the nation were identified and analyzed using SPSS 24 and MPlus 7.4. These scales included: Attitudes to Conventional Citizenship, Attitude to Social Movement Citizenship. Attitudes to Illegal Protest, Attitudes to the Nation, and National Identity Scales all of which are in the ICCS data base (For latent factors measured with scales, refer to Appendix 1). A series of statistical analyses were conducted including scale validation, descriptive analysis, latent profile analysis, discriminant analysis, and ANOVA.

Interviews: Multiple case studies were developed based on in-depth individual interviews with university students, to explore how young people's current civic attitudes, whether they had changed in recent years. why the changes happened and what were factors affecting change. Thomas defined case studies as "analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more method" (Fairbrother, 2002, p. 43). "The case study techniques of systematic interviewing are an advantageous method for investigating a problem in which "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 1994, p. 9).

In-depth interviews with students provided a greater breadth to understand with insights the differences between individuals. The format of this round of interview will also be semi-structured. With a relatively large number of student interviewees, it will be possible to compare changes of three groups of university students, namely, the "real locals", the "new comers", and the "early arrivals".

Information-oriented sampling will be adopted; meanwhile, the 'balance and variety' of cases will be considered before making the sampling decisions (Stake, 2000, p. 447). Through the closer look and detailed exploitation into individual participants' life story, it becomes possible to portray the contextual and individual-specific conditions that are key to the changes, which can hardly be captured in research strategies such as questionnaire survey. The evidence collected from multiple sources was used for classification of themes, patterns, and cases and eventually contributed to theory building.

Participants

In ICCS 2009, students were generally 14 years old studying at Grade 8 in 2009 when the ICCS student survey was conducted. In terms of gender, boys and girls were almost evenly distributed in both cohorts but boys slightly outnumbered girls in the 1999 sample. Also, a noticeable proportion of students were not born in Hong Kong (20.35% in 1999 and 22.68% in 2009).

A snowballing technique was used to identify participants for interview. Twenty two students mainly, although not exclusively, from the eight universities in Hong Kong were interviewed.

Interviewees were encouraged to speak at length on each question, and were prompted to explain their answers. Additional questions were added to "gain clarification or expansion on particular issues" (Fairbrother, 2002, p. 55). Interviews were conducted in the language preferred by participants.

Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis was undertaken using SPSS 24 and M-Plus 7.4. Reliability coefficients were estimated for each scale and so were construct validity. Descriptive statistics were produced via SPSS 24 including weighted scores for each scale. This provided a profile of Hong Kong young adolescents' attitudes to civic responsibility similar to the civic profile

produced by Li &Kennedy (2016). This became the baseline data against which older students' attitudes were compared.

Next, latent profile analyses via MPlus 7.4 were used to classify cohorts of Hong Kong secondary students according to the levels of their self-reported trust in civic institutions and attitudes towards the nation. The purpose was to identify whether there was evidence of growth or decline in civic trust and national attitudes over the ten-year period. Latent profile analysis is "based on the assumption that frequencies with which different item endorsement profiles occur can be explained by the existence of a few mutually exclusive respondent classes" (Wade, Crosby, & Martin, 2006, p. 1397). This process identifies similar item responses and groups the students based on these responses. Consequently, a number of groups (i.e., clusters) emerge based on the item-level information. The number of groups that most efficiently reflects the data is a decision made based on statistical and theoretical considerations.

Further comparisons were made on the basis of discriminant analysis and ANOVA across groups and across the ten-year time span on a range of civic-related values, attitudes, behaviors, and behavioral intentions, to trace changes of young adolescents on these regards following the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997.

Qualitative data collected through interviews was subjected to content analysis and thematic analysis (See Appendix 3 and Appendix 4 for the Project Introduction and Interview Guide). Technically, the data was analyzed "qualitatively and inductively, with interview transcripts condensed to determine relevant codes", which in turn will be used to "understand salient themes" (Fairbrother, 2002, p. 54). "In order to compare students' answers to the questions, each student's answer to each question will be summarized in point form and coded according to more general themes, with codes arrived at inductively" (Fairbrother, 2002, p. 56). "The data will be summarized and condensed in stages, ending up with a manageable number of codes, again arrived at inductively, which fell into a smaller number of broader categories"

(Fairbrother, 2002, p. 56). Coding in a back and forth manner will eventually make comparisons of different students possible.

Data analysis will be conducted continuously during data collection in order to keep the study focused, shaped and modified as it advances (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The steps will include identifying unit of analysis, coding data, sorting code, checking code, and creating themes (Foss & Waters, 2007). The units of analysis will be guided by research questions. Coding will be informed by document analysis, existing literature, and theoretical framework. After coding all data, they will be checked and sorted thoroughly to identify the categories or themes. Finally, salient themes will be created from the coding categories to answer the research questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES: UNDERSTANDING YOUTH RADICALISM IN HONG KONG

Introduction

The recent mobilization of many Hong Kong youth to engage in what are regarded as radical political activities is not a new area of investigation for researchers. Yet, as this report will argue, there are some different ways to view such engagement that can provide new insights for policymakers and community members.

- This chapter, therefore, sets the stage for the research to be reported by introducing the theoretical, conceptual, and historical issues of youth radicalism in Hong Kong;
- First, it examines the concept of "radicalism" and its relevance to the context of Hong Kong;
- Second, it traces the development and changes of youth radicalism in Hong Kong, particularly highlighting the "localist" turn in recent years;
- Third, it examines the literature related to the contextual and personal factors to which the recent resurgence of youth radicalism in Hong has been attributed; and
- Finally, it discusses how the current study can build on and develop current understandings of youth radicalism in the city.

What is radicalism?

In recent years, young people in many places of the world have engaged in various kinds of actions to challenge certain government policies or change some elements of the social or political system. These activities can generally be described as activism (Saunders, 2013).

Activism can take many forms such as party politics, contacting politicians, petition, rallies, and even sabotage (Saunders, 2013). Activism can also have different goals, ranging from stopping tuition increase, electoral reform, secession, anti-nuclear power, to even the abolition of the capitalist system. Yet not all these actions and goals are considered radical.

What kinds of activism can be defined as "radical"? There is no uniform definition of radicalism in the scholarly community (Borum, 2011). Nevertheless, social scientists generally agree that radicalism involves political practices which deviate from the norms of a society (Borum, 2011). In Remy Cross (2013)'s words, "radicalism is situated at the edge of what is considered appropriate political practice within a society" (p.1050). Scholars usually divide radicalism into two separate dimensions, namely actions and beliefs (Borum, 2011). In terms of actions, radicalism can be defined as "a set of tactics and strategies that lie outside the bounds of accepted political or religious protests, often verging on illegality" (Cross, 2013, p.1050) or as "active pursuit or acceptance of the use of violence to attain the stated goal" (Veldhuis & Shaun, 2009, p.4). In terms of beliefs, radicalism advocates social change which "lies outside the realm of legitimate modes of challenge and expression within the targeted institutional arena" (Cross, 2013, p.1050). Radical beliefs can also refer to "the active pursuit or acceptance of far-reaching changes in society, which may or may not constitute a danger to democracy" (Veldhuis and Shaun, 2009, p.4). Based on the above discussion, radicalism can therefore be defined in this Report as a form of activism that promotes unconventional and far-reaching socio-political changes (idea dimension) and/or which uses illegal, violent, or other confrontational tactics (action dimension).

It should be noted that radical beliefs and actions are not necessarily linked (Borum, 2011). People can use peaceful means to attain radical ideals and vice versa. Moreover, what is considered radical is highly situational (Cross, 2013) and "often defined by their context" (Cross & Snow, 2011, p.116). Radical practices of one place and one time may not necessarily be considered radical in another place and time. As Pippa Norris (2007) argued, "during the height of the 1960s counterculture, [peaceful] demonstrations were often regarded

as radical acts confined to a mélange of a small minority of students. Yet today demonstrations have become mainstream and widespread" (p.639). The same can be said for feminist issues that originated in many countries with radical protests designed to secure voting rights for women. Today very few would question such rights yet those rights, and the means used to secure them, were once considered a threat to existing political institutions.

Based on the above understanding, radicalism in the Hong Kong context can be understood as those political actions and ideas deviating from the "mainstream" and situated on the edges of political engagement acceptable to many members of the Hong Kong public. In terms of actions, currently a majority of Hong Kong residents consider legal and non-violent means such as elections and peaceful protests and demonstrations as appropriate forms of political participation. This view seemed to be confirmed in a recent survey (Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2016) when 69.5% of the respondents agreed that anti-government protest should always stick to "peaceful, rational and non-violent means." This suggested that in the current Hong Kong context violent or transgressive actions such as physical clashes with the police or traffic blockage can be viewed as "radical."

Yet this may be an overly simplistic way to view radical beliefs in Hong Kong. This can be shown by addressing the issue from three perspectives – civic, national, and economic. In terms of civic ideas, many Hong Kong residents subscribe to the so called "core values" of Hong Kong such as rule of law and freedom of speech (Yew & Kwong, 2015). According to a survey of HKIAPS (2014) conducted in October 2014, most respondents chose rule of law (22.9%), freedom (20.8%), corruption-free (15.3%), democracy (11.1%), or social stability (8.3%) as their most important civic value among the 11 choices available. In terms of national identity, despite the growing number of people identifying themselves as purely "Hong Kongers" in recent years, opinion polls repeatedly showed that people holding a mixed identity of "Hong Konger" and Chinese still constitute the largest group (HKU POP, 2016). On the political status of Hong Kong, according to a survey conducted by the Centre for Communication and Public Opinion (2016) in July 2016, most respondents (69.6%) supported

the maintenance of "One-country two system" after 2047 and only 17.4% and 13.8% support Hong Kong independence and direct rule by China respectively. In terms of economic values, the market economy and private property rights have long been recognized by Hong Kong society as the formula of success for the city (Hui, 1998) and capitalism is one of the core principles of the "One Country, Two Systems" formula as expressed in the Basic Law. Thus, any individuals or groups promoting beliefs substantially deviating from the abovementioned mainstream values, such as totalitarianism, Hong Kong independence, or communism, can be regarded as ideologically radical in Hong Kong. It should be noted, however, that the three perspectives discussed above are non-exhaustive and the meaning of radicalism in Hong Kong could evolve in the future as the socio-political context changes.

Youth radicalism in Hong Kong: A historical account

Youth radicalism has attracted considerable public attention recently, including from the media and scholars given the large number of young people engaged in social movements involving the use of illegal and confrontational tactics. Yet youth radicalism is not new in Hong Kong. The history of post-Second World War Hong Kong, shows that young people engaged in 'radicalism' on many occasions, both in actions and ideas (Lam, 2004; K.P. Leung, 2000; Chan, 2016). For example, young people played a central role in the 1966 Star Ferry Riot. In April 1966, a 25 year old, So Sau Chung, launched a hunger strike against a fare rise for the Star Ferry and this quickly escalated into a full-scale riot led mainly by young people. The protesters first rallied outside Government House and later clashed with the police and burnt cars in Kowloon. The riot was eventually suppressed by the police with tear gas and bullets (Cheung, 2009). Young people were also one of the major actors in the 1967 Leftist Riots, a full-scale Chinese nationalistic and anti-colonial campaign led by the pro-Chinese Communist Party forces in Hong Kong (Cheung, 2009; Yep & Bickers, 2009). During the riots, students from pro-communist schools were mobilized to protest outside government premises and clashed violently with the police. In response to large-scale police arrest, the

leftists later launched bomb attacks against the colonial government. It was reported that some leftist students also engaged in making bombs, leading the government to raid many pro-communist schools and arrest more than a hundred students and teachers (Cheung, 2009; Yep & Bickers, 2009).

Youth radicalism continued throughout the 1970s in the form of student movements (Lam 2004; K.P. Leung, 2000). Mainly motivated by Chinese nationalistic, anti-capitalist, and anti-colonial sentiments, university students were involved in a series of social movements. Among them the most dramatic was the Defend Diaoyutai Islands Movement in 1971, where students organized rallies against the transfer of Diaoyutai Islands, over which China claimed sovereignty, from the United States to Japan. Some of the protests involved violent clashes with the police (K.P. Leung, 2000). Apart from taking protest actions, the studentActivists also promoted relatively "radical" ideas such as communism, socialism, and anti-colonialism and some even supported the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China (K.P. Leung, 2000). Young people and students still played a part in various kinds of social movements and activism in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, Hong Kong students actively supported the 1989 pro-democracy student movement in Beijing as well as the local democratic movement that started in Hong Kong in the 1980s. But activism involving radical actions such as violent and illegal protests were rarely seen, except the very short-lived youth riot on the Christmas of 1981. Most youth activism in the 1980s and 1990s adopted peaceful means such as legal demonstrations and protests.

More radical youth activism, however, re-entered the political arena several years after Hong Kong's return to China in 1997. The early stage (2005-2010) of this revival witnessed the resurgence of left-leaning, anti-neoliberal radicalism. The first of these was the anti-globalization protests during the Sixth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Hong Kong in 2005, where a group of young Activists joined hand with some South Korean farmers to protest WTO. They clashed with the police who used tear gas, batons, and pepper spray to disperse the crowds. The second indicator is the founding of

the radical left-wing political party, the League of Social Democrats (LSD), which once attracted many young members. The LSD advocated direct democracy and a welfare state and adopted confrontational street protest strategies (Ng, 2014). The most famous cases of this wave of left-leaning youth radicalism, however, were the Heritage Preservation Movement (2006-2007) and the Anti-Express Rail Movement in 2009-2010. In the former, youngActivists engaged in illegal direct actions such as occupying public spaces to protest the demolition of heritage buildings (e.g. Star ferry Pier, Queen's Pier) for urban redevelopment. Ideologically they opposed neo-liberalism and the "growth at all costs" development model and promoted democratization of urban planning and heritage conservation (Chen & Szeto, 2015). Motivated by similar ideologies, the youngActivists in the latter opposed the construction of the Hong Kong-Shenzhen-Guangzhou Express Rail Link. It involved protests outside the LegCo building and ended with violent clashes with the police in order to prevent villages and rural life from being demolished and the undemocratic collusion between the government and business tycoons (Xia, 2016).

The second stage of the resurgence of youth radicalism (2011-2014) was characterized by anti-China sentiments (Ma, 2015). The first example was the Anti-Moral and National Education Movement in 2012 led by Scholarism, a secondary student movement group. In the campaign, Scholarism, together with other social groups, occupied the square outside the Government Headquarters to protest the Moral and National Education school curriculum, attracting around 90,000 participants (Wang, 2017). TheActivists accused the curriculum of containing biased content about China leading to the accusation of "brainwashing" the next generation (Wang, 2017). The even more significant event was the Umbrella Movement in late 2014, a large-scale pro-democracy civil disobedience campaign that occupied major roads in the city centre for 79 days. Young people were the major participants of the movement demanding that the Chinese central government revise its earlier decision on the constitutional reform of Hong Kong. They argued for “genuine democracy” rather than what was on offer from the Chinese authorities (Lee & Ting, 2015). During the movement, youngActivists

clashed violently with the police who at times used tear gas, batons, and pepper spray to disperse the protesters (Ortmann, 2015).

After the Umbrella Movement, the anti-China sentiments were quickly transformed into a full-blown "localist" movement that currently characterizes youth radicalism in Hong Kong. This wave of youth activism has two characteristics. Ideologically, it advocated "localist" ideas ranging from putting Hong Kong interest first, protecting local culture, to more radical ideas like Hong Kong's national self-determination, secession and independence. Strategically, it advocated the use of radical and militant means of resistance (Chan, 2016). In 2015, youth-led localist groups, such as Civic Passion and Hong Kong Indigenous, launched several "restoration campaigns" in the New Territories to drive out and humiliate Mainland tourists and parallel goods traders, accusing them of disturbing residents' daily life. These campaigns usually ended with violent clashes between the "localists" and the police and pro-governmentActivists (Chen & Szeto, 2015; Ip, 2015). More violent actions broke out on the Chinese New Year day of 2016 when Hong Kong Indigenous protested the government's crackdown on unlicensed street hawkers, who were regarded as part of local culture. The protest quickly escalated into a riot in which young protesters clashed violently with the police. In March 2016, the official publication of the University of Hong Kong Student Union, Undergrad, published the "Hong Kong Youth's Declaration," calling for Hong Kong's full independence in 2047 (Chan, 2016). Young localists also participated in the LegCo election in September 2016. Several were elected, although two were later barred from taking office by the court because their oaths of office were deemed invalid.

This "localist" turn in youth radicalism is unprecedented in Hong Kong as it is the first time young people have been mobilized for Hong Kong nationalist, separatist, and "nativist" causes. Many of these localistActivists not only opposed the Communist Party of China and intervention of the Chinese central government as their predecessors, but they also denied their Chinese national identity. This not only contrasted greatly with the Chinese nationalistic

overtone of youth radicalism in the 1960s and 1970s, but also the left-learning, anti-neoliberal ideologies which dominated youth radicalism in the 2000s (Chen & Szeto, 2015).

Factors Contributing to the Recent Rise of Youth Radicalism

Existing literature provides various explanations for the recent rise of youth radicalism and localism, and these can be divided into macro, meso, and micro perspectives.

The macro explanations focus on the larger political, social, and economic context influencing the rise of youth radicalism. Politically, the literature pointed to the protracted democratization of Hong Kong which caused frustrations and disappointments among the youth (J. T. M. Lam, 2015; Ma, 2015; Ortmann, 2015). For example, Ortmann (2015) attributed the outbreak of the Umbrella Movement to Hong Kong's protracted democratization process. Chan (2016) further argued that the failure of the mainly peaceful Umbrella Movement to advance the democracy movement led some young people to become more susceptible to radical and militant strategies. The perceived increase of Beijing's intervention in Hong Kong affairs and the fear of "Mainlandization" and loss of autonomy was another political factor mentioned in the literature, particularly in explaining the anti-China and localist sentiments (Ma, 2015; Wu, 2016; Yew & Kwong, 2014). For example, Wu Rwei-Ren (2016) argued that the rise of Hong Kong nationalism was a reaction to the perceived threat brought by the "assimilationalist official nationalism whose ultimate goal is to dissolve Hong Kong's uniqueness" (p.6). Examples of Beijing's interventions mentioned in the literature include the promotion of patriotic (national) education, alleged vote rigging in and manipulation of District Councils, LegCo and Chief Executive elections, and the falling of media ownership into the hands of pro-Beijing businessmen, leading to the decline of press freedom (Ma, 2015; Wu, 2016; Yew & Kwong, 2014). Apart from these more structural processes, scholars also pointed to influences of contingent events. For example, the firing of tear gas during the Umbrella Movement triggered sudden grievances and further mobilization (E. W. Cheng, 2016; E. W. Cheng & W. Chan, 2016). Chief Executive C.Y. Leung's

perceived hardline approach and open condemnation of HKU students' advocacy of Hong Kong self-determination has also been seen to move the discourse of Hong Kong nationalism "from the fringe to the mainstream" (So, 2016, p.140).

Socially and economically, the literature mentions the influences of rising social inequality and the negative effects of Hong Kong-Mainland socio-economic integration. For example, Alvin So (2016) argued that the neo-liberal polices of the Hong Kong government, such as cutting the welfare budget and privatization of public assets, have aggravated social inequalities and poverty. This is seen to have led people to become more anxious, insecure, and self-protective in dealing with new immigrants. Joseph Cheng (2014) argued that "young people have acutely felt a decline in their opportunities for upward social mobility," leading to "community's dissatisfaction and the emergence of radical politics" (p.200). The problem of inequality was compounded by the negative effects of rapid Hong Kong-Mainland socio-economic integration particularly after 2003 (Lui, 2015; Nagy, 2015). For example, the sharp increase of Mainland tourists after the introduction of the "Individual Visit Scheme" is seen to have caused disturbance to the daily life of the local residents such as temporary shortage of daily necessities and pushing up shop rents. The rise of Mainland immigrants and highly skilled workers has reportedly sharpened the competition of resources such as jobs and hospital places. The influx of "hot money" from the Mainland has allegedly pushed up the property prices. All these arguably contributed to the rise of "localism" and "anti-China sentiments" of youth (Ma, 2015; So, 2016; Yew & Kwong, 2014; Ip, 2015; Nagy, 2015; Lui, 2015; C.K. Chan, 2014).

In terms of the meso-level, the literature points to the importance of social media, social movement organizations, opinion leaders, and school education. Social media such as Facebook were widely used in youth activism in recent years and the literature shows that the use of social media facilitated youth participation in the Umbrella Movement (P. S. N. Lee, So, & Leung, 2015; F. L. F. Lee, Chen, M. Chan, 2017; E. W. Cheng & W. Chan, 2016). For example, a telephone survey found that reading political news from social media was

positively related to the support for the Umbrella Movement but negatively related to the trust of both Hong Kong and Chinese governments (P. S. N. Lee, So, & Leung, 2015). Through an on-site survey of the Umbrella Movement protesters, E. W. Cheng and W. Chan (2016) found that over 80% of the respondents received and transmitted information through social media and online new media sites. Another survey of university students found that sharing political information and connecting directly with political actors such as politicians, academics, and Activists via social media had a positive impact on both support for and participation in the Umbrella Movement (F. L. F. Lee, H. Chen, M. Chan, 2017).

The efforts of social movement organizations have also contributed to youth radicalism according to some studies (A. Y. L. Lee & Ting, 2015; Wang, 2017; Xia, 2016). For example, Xia (2016) argued that the strategic modification of the collective action frame of the Anti-Express Rail Movement from environmental and community issues to the huge construction cost of the project successfully mobilized more people to join and support the movement. Wang (2017) found that the success of the Anti-National Education Movement to attract participants was partly because Scholarism, the movement organizer, successfully mobilized material and technological resources and formed organization coalitions with various actors such as parents, journalists, and experts. Also on Scholarism, Lee and Ting (2015) found that this youth movement group successfully used social media in the Umbrella Movement to connectActivists, disseminate movement discourses, and mobilize participants.

In terms of opinion leaders, the literature points to their importance in generating and spreading radical ideas to youth. For example, Chueng (2015) described former university professor Wan Chin as the “Father of Hong Kong Nationalism” as his book Hong Kong City-State Theory was very popular and has inspired a lot of young localists. He is also an influential opinion leader on social media that helped spread localism to a wider audience. Another example is those young student theorists of the HKU student publication Undergrad, who published books and magazines to discuss and promote Hong Kong nationalism and the

idea of self-determination, which received much public attention, particularly among the young people (Wu, 2016).

School education also influenced youth radicalism. But the findings are rather mixed. Some scholars have found a positive influence. For example, Leung (2006) and Au (2014) found that teachers with good pedagogical techniques and capacity to build an open and democratic classroom climate positively influence student attitudes to later civic involvement. However, Fung and Su (2016)'s study of the influence of Liberal Studies, a compulsory senior secondary school subject with significant political contents, on youth participation in the Umbrella Movement offered different findings. Through surveys and interviews with former secondary students, they found that Liberal Studies only offered young people background knowledge necessary for comprehending the movement. But it did not lead directly to participation.

At the individual level, the literature mentioned the influences of personal experiences and attitudes. For example, Michael Chan (2016)'s survey study found that willingness to participate in the Umbrella Movement was affected by a range of personal psychological factors such as political identity, political efficacy, ideology, and emotion. Similarly, Lee, Chen, and Chan (2017) found that social psychological factors such as grievance, efficacy, and anger contributed to the support of and participation in the Umbrella Movement. Also, Cheng and Chan (2016)'s onsite survey found that most of the Umbrella Movement participants surveyed had experience in participating in previous protests and movements such as the annual July 1 rally and the Anti-National Education Movement in 2012.

The focus of the Report

The literature reviewed above suggested a range of contextual and personal factors contributing to the rise of youth radicalism in recent years. The current report extends these efforts by addressing several areas which have not been examined thoroughly by the literature. First, the quantitative study (Chapter 4) seeks to explore whether youth support for radical

civic engagement can be detected among younger adolescents than those engaged in current activism and whether there has been any increase in such support over time. It does so by using data from two large-scale international surveys of Hong Kong young adolescents (14-15 year-olds). The surveys were conducted in 1999 and 2009 respectively and focused on civic values civic values.

The analysis of young adolescents' perception of their future civic engagement is followed up with in-depth interviews of a sample of youthActivists who describe themselves as "localists" to explore how their civic engagement and attitudes towards China evolved over time and what contextual factors have contributed to the changes. This approach not only supplements the quantitative study and the exiting literature, but also responds to the scholarly calls for more research on the processes or pathways of radicalization, which is relatively more difficult to address through quantitative surveys (Borum, 2011; Porta & LaFree, 2012; Horgan, 2008). As Della Porta and Gary LaFree (2012) said, "radicalization…is a phenomenon composed of various processes which should be distinguished analytically" (p.7) and Borum (2011) argued that there are "many pathways into and through radicalism exist, and each pathway is itself affected by a variety of factors" (p.15). In Hong Kong, scholars also called for more in-depth research on youngActivists. As Francis Lee (2015) said in his article on the Umbrella Movement, "another task of future research would be to track the evolution of theActivists' perspectives on civil disobedience" (p. 408). The results of the qualitative interviews reported here help to trace the steps and processes that led the young Hong KongActivists to support radical tactics and localism.

CHAPTER 4

THE CIVIC PROFILE OF YOUNG ADOLESCENTS IN HONG KONG: PRELUDE TO RADICALISM?

Introduction

This chapter explores the affective-behavioral dimension of the assessment framework used by the IEA in 2009 to assess young people's civic values and attitudes. The framework includes a wide range of student perceptions and behaviors relevant to civics and citizenship. The assessed student perceptions and behaviors fall into four domains, namely, value beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behaviors (Schulz et al, 2010, p. 27). [3]

1. Value beliefs: these relate to fundamental beliefs about democracy and citizenship; they are more constant over time, more deeply rooted, and broader than attitudes.

2. Attitudes: these include self-cognitions related to civics and citizenship, attitudes toward the rights and responsibilities of groups in society, and attitudes toward institutions.

3. Behavioral intentions: these refer to expectations of future civic action, and they include constructs such as preparedness to participate in forms of civic protest, anticipated future political participation as adults, and anticipated future participation in citizenship activities.

4. Behaviors: these refer to present or past participation in civic-related activities at school or in the wider community.

[3] Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., & Losito, B. (2010). *ICCS 2009 international report: Civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement among lower-secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Retrieved from http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/ICCS_2009_International_Report.pdf

To make the comparison over the 1999 and 2009 cohorts of students possible, the current project selects only common variables and common items that were included in both the 1999 and 2009 surveys. The selected common variables match the four domains as below.

1. Value beliefs: support of democratic values;

2. Attitudes: trust in civic institutions (civic trust in brief hereafter), attitudes towards the nation (national attitudes in brief hereafter), attitudes towards gender equality (gender equality in brief hereafter), attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (ethnic equality in brief hereafter), and attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants (immigrant equality in brief hereafter);

3. Behavioral intentions: electoral participation, participation in legal protest, and participation in illegal protest;

4. Behaviors: open classroom discussion, and civic participation at school.

The focus of this chapter is the changes in Hong Kong students' civic values, attitudes, behaviors, and behavioural intentions from 1999 to 2009, and the associations between these civic elements and students' civic learning outcomes. The comparisons start from demographic background information of the two cohorts of student respondents. Next, "profiles" of the two cohorts are created respectively and compared in terms of civic trust and national attitudes. [4] Having established the external validity of the respective "profiles",

[4] The selection of civic trust and national attitudes as the indicators of students' civic attitudes and the use of them for creating civic "profiles" of the sample students are empirically based, esp., considering Hong Kong context. For example, findings from opinion surveys such as the Public Opinion Programme (POP) of the University of Hong Kong (HKU) show that in Hong Kong people's civic attitudes, such as civic trust and national attitudes, are indicators of political positioning. The HKU surveys displays that Hong Kong citizens' civic attitudes have fluctuated dramatically since the Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 (HKU POP, 2016).
Civic trust is viewed by some researchers as more related to cultural and economic factors than to political stability (Inglehart, 1997). In societies experiencing recent political transitions, however low levels of civic and political institutional trust have been found to be typical (Klingmann, 1999). National attitudes is often conceptualized as "sentiments toward the nation held by individuals"

changes in profiles with respects to a range of civic values, attitudes, behaviours, and behavioural intentions over a ten-year time span from 1999 to 2009 are examined and implications provided.

It should be noted that, these findings, of course, are context bound so that any prescriptions for actions by policy makers and schools need to take account of local issues. This is particularly important in Hong Kong where protest mobilization among young adults has become widespread in recent years (Ortman, 2014).

Socio-demographic Profiles of the 1999 Cohort and 2009 Cohort Secondary Students

The samples are 14- to 15-year old secondary students in Hong Kong. The sample for the 1999 cohort included 4997 students and that for the 2009 cohort included 2902 students. The socio-demographic information of both cohorts of students is shown below in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively.

(Fairbrother, 2004, p. 3). Positive national attitudes are considered fundamental for sustaining a healthy democracy (Dalton, 1999; Norris, 1999).

Table 1. Socio-demographic Information of the 1999 Cohort of Students

Characteristics	**Total**	
	No.	Proportion
Gender		
Girl	1580	46.66%
Boy	1806	53.34%
Birth Place		
Hong Kong	2689	79.65%
Not Hong Kong	687	20.35%
Students' expected further education		
0 years	23	0.68%
1 or 2 years	215	6.37%
3 or 4 years	547	16.20%
5 or 6 years	641	18.98%
7 or 8 years	1056	31.27%
9 or 10	404	11.96%
More than 10 years	491	14.54%
Mother Education Level		
Did not finish elementary	578	18.69%
Finished elementary school	769	24.87%
Finished some high school	741	23.97%
Finished high school	782	25.29%
Some vocational/technical education after high school	121	3.91%
Some community college, college or university courses	50	1.62%
Completed a bachelor’s degree at a college or university	51	1.65%
Father Education Level		
Did not finish elementary	406	13.39%
Finished elementary school	648	21.38%
Finished some high school	815	26.89%
Finished high school	756	24.94%
Some vocational/technical education after high school	196	6.47%
Some community college, college or university courses	85	2.80%
Completed a bachelor’s degree at a college or university	125	4.12%
Number of books at		
None	111	3.28%
1 - 10	856	25.33%
11 - 50	1258	37.22%
51 - 100	548	16.21%
101 - 200	296	8.76%
More than	311	9.20%

Table 2. Socio-demographic Information of the 2009 Cohort of Students

Characteristics	**Total**	
	No.	Proportion
Gender		
Girl	1363	49.40%
Boy	1396	50.60%
Birth Place		
Hong Kong	2134	77.32%
Not Hong Kong	626	22.68%
Students' expected further education		
No completion of lower secondary	9	0.32%
Completion of lower secondary	178	6.41%
Completion of upper secondary	182	6.55%
Completion of non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational	366	13.17%
Completion of theoretically oriented tertiary or post-graduate	2043	73.54%
Mother Education		
None	97	3.60%
Primary education	301	11.16%
Lower secondary	1010	37.46%
Upper secondary	936	34.72%
Non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational tertiary	142	5.27%
Theoretically oriented tertiary or post-graduate	210	7.79%
Father Education		
None	81	3.07%
Primary education	291	11.04%
Lower secondary	940	35.65%
Upper secondary	829	31.44%
Non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational tertiary	147	5.57%
Theoretically oriented tertiary or post-graduate	349	13.23%
Number of books at		
0-10 Books	511	18.39%
11-25 Books	609	21.91%
26-100 Books	923	33.21%
101-200 Books	354	12.74%
201-500 Books	247	8.89%
More than 500 Books	135	4.86%

Gender: Boys and girls are almost evenly distributed in both cohorts. Boys slightly outnumber girls in the 1999 sample.

Birthplace: A noticeably large proportion of students were not born in Hong Kong (20.35% in the 1999 cohort and 22.68% in the 2009 cohort). This suggests that, students born in

mainland China accounted for a relatively stable proportion in student population of this age group in both 1999 and 2009.

Students' expected further education: In the 1999 cohort, 31.27% students expected to receive education for another 7 or 8 years, that is, to finish tertiary level education. Another 26.50% expected to further their education to postgraduate level. While 73.54% in the 2009 cohort expected to go for tertiary level education and beyond.

Mother Education Level: Mothers of 7.18% of the 1999 cohort of students received post-secondary education. The proportion raised to 13.06% in the 2009 cohort.

Father Education Level: Fathers of 13.39% of the 1999 cohort of students received post-secondary education. The proportion raised to 18.80% in the 2009 cohort. Within the same cohort, fathers generally received longer time of education than mothers did.

Number of books at home: The 1999 cohort of students had fewer books at home, 28.61% of who had less than 10 books at home, 3.28% none. While only 18.39% of the 2009 cohort of students had less than 10 books at home. Instead, 8.89% had around 200 to 500 books and 4.86% had over 500 books at home.

Creating Civic Profiles through Identifying Distinct Groups of Individuals

Prior to conducting latent profile analysis, we tested whether and how civic trust and national attitudes are correlated. The results showed that the two constructs were positively associated in both cohorts of students, with the overall correlation estimate in 1999 as 0.334 and that in 2009 as 0.544, both significant at 0.01 level. This indicated that those had more trust in civic institutions tended to have more positive attitudes towards China, and the tendency was stronger in 2009 than in 1999.

Instead of using variable-centred analysis to compare average factor scores across the two samples of students, the person-centered latent profile analysis was used in this study. In other words, individual students were taken as the unit of analysis. To identify the students'

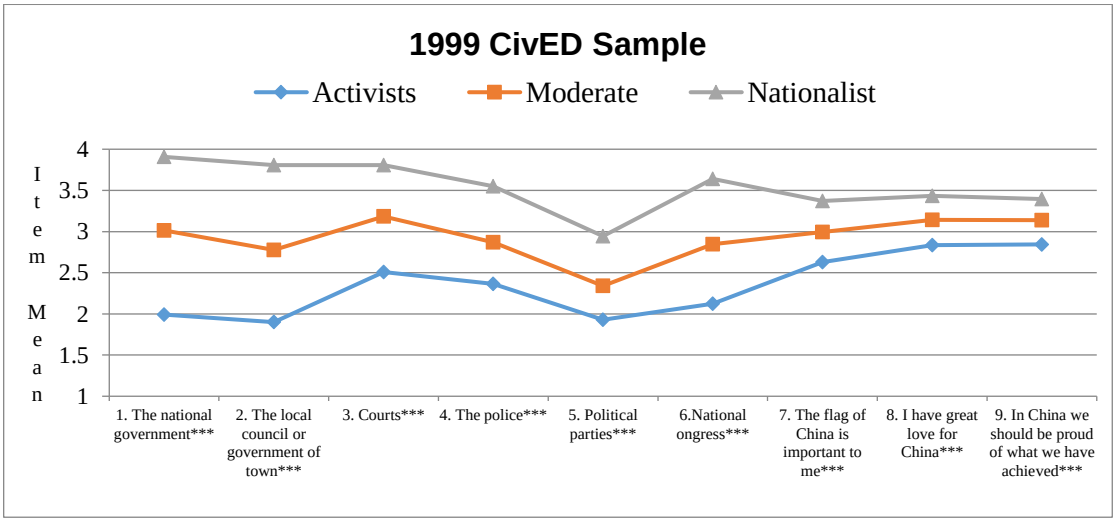
attitudinal profiles, students' response patterns to a range of questionnaire items measuring civic attitudes were examined using exploratory latent profile analysis.

Once the theoretically and statistically clustering patterns were affirmed, as revealed from the respective samples, discriminant analysis was then employed to test whether the clustering results are valid, i.e., whether the groups differentiated are really different on account of some other factors related to civic values, attitudes, behaviors, and behavioural intentions.

Socio-demographic Information of the Student Clusters in Each Cohort

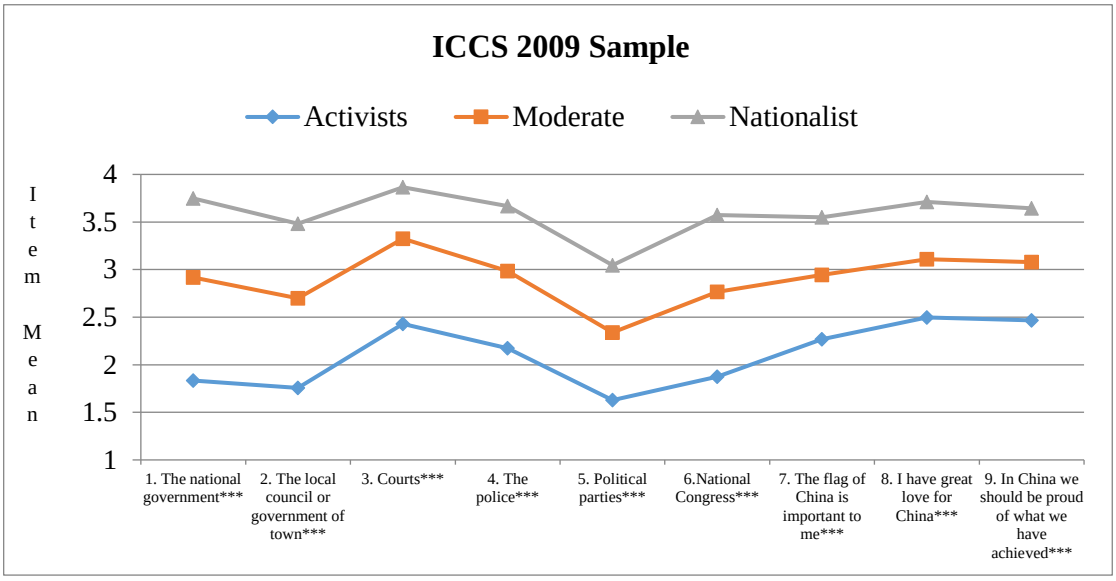
The analytical results showed that measures of students' "civic trust" and "attitudes to the nation" were sufficiently distinctive that three separate groups were identified effectively in both the 1999 and 2009 cohorts of students. These results are shown graphically in Figures 1 and 2. The three-cluster pattern, as opposed to two-, four- and five-cluster solutions (See Appendix 2), fitted the respective samples the best, both statistically and theoretically, resulting in three quite distinct groups. For easy comprehension and based on the civic values of each group they were named "Activists," [5] "Moderates," and "Nationalists."

Figure 1. Item Means for the Three Clusters with the Six Items Measuring Civic Trust and Three Items Measuring National Attitudes (the 1999 CivED sample)



[5] We adopt the more neutral term "activists" rather than "radicals" to describe the group of youth who have taken centre stage in in Hong Kong's political landscape and whose behaviors are considered radical despite that there is not yet an academic consensus on "radicalism" (Borum, 2011).

Figure 2. Item Means for the Three Clusters with the Six Items Measuring Civic Trust and Three Items Measuring National Attitudes (the 2009 ICCS sample)



In the 1999 cohort, the gaps between the three groups in terms of attitudes to the nation appear to be narrower than the gaps in the 2009 cohort. This suggests that, the three groups of the 2009 cohort differ more distinctively on such attitudes. Attitudes to the Nationa, as one of the two indicators used to classify the students, measured to what extent the respondents favored China, to be exact, how they thought about the flag of China, their love for China, and achievement China has made. The other indicator, civic trust, measured the degree they trusted the national government, the local council or government of town, the courts, the police, political parties, and the National Congress (See Appendix 1 for the range of items and factor used to create the profile and further differentiate the groups).

Table 3. Comparison of Item Means across the Two Cohorts

		1999 cohort			2009 Cohort			F statistics	p value
	Cluster	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD		
1. Trust in – The national government	Activist	1645	**1.98**	0.45	561	**1.82**	0.52	44.9557(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**3.03**	0.49	1869	**2.91**	0.47	12.1383(1,335	↓ 0
	Nationali	252	**3.93**	0.27	360	**3.79**	0.41	23.3029(1,610	↓ 0
		F(2, 3384)=3234.741,			F(2, 2787)=2009.424,				
2. Trust in –The local council or government of town	Activist	1645	**1.89**	0.41	561	**1.74**	0.52	51.6938(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**2.78**	0.48	1869	**2.70**	0.52	24.1281'(1,335	↓ 0
	Nationali	252	**3.85**	0.36	360	**3.51**	0.54	74.7493'(1,610	↓ 0
		F(2, 3384)=3063.545,			F(2, 2787)=1321.673,				
3. Trust in – Courts	Activist	1645	**2.51**	0.76	561	**2.41**	0.84	6.3499'(1,2204	↓ 0.0118
	Moderat	1490	**3.19**	0.65	1869	**3.32**	0.56	40.2603'(1,335	↑ 0
	Nationali	252	**3.83**	0.45	360	**3.90**	0.31	6.3971'(1,610)	↑ 0
		F(2, 3384)=615.908,			F(2, 2787)=756.647,				
4. Trust in – The police	Activist	1645	**2.36**	0.78	561	**2.15**	0.81	30.5447'(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**2.88**	0.71	1869	**2.99**	0.66	22.1827'(1,335	↑ 0
	Nationali	252	**3.56**	0.69	360	**3.69**	0.57	7.1242'(1,610)	↑ 0
		F(2, 3384)=379.177,			F(2, 2787)=591.701,				
5. Trust in – Political parties	Activist	1645	**1.93**	0.60	561	**1.62**	0.58	114.8984'(1,22	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**2.35**	0.63	1869	**2.34**	0.64	0.0735'(1,3357	0.7863
	Nationali	252	**2.93**	0.83	360	**3.06**	0.70	3.9012'(1,610)	↑ 0.0487
		F(2, 3384)=354.065,			F(2, 2787)=580.004,				
6. Trust in – National Congress	Activist	1645	**2.12**	0.61	561	**1.87**	0.66	71.0281'(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**2.85**	0.59	1869	**2.76**	0.58	19.7779'(1,335	↓ 0
	Nationali	252	**3.65**	0.55	360	**3.59**	0.56	1.5765'(1,610)	0.2097
		F(2, 3384)=1044.217,			F(2, 2787)=981.632,				
7. The flag of China is important to me.	Activist	1645	**2.63**	0.81	561	**2.24**	0.78	96.9455'(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**2.99**	0.71	1869	**2.95**	0.57	4.2977'(1,3357	↓ 0.0382
	Nationali	252	**3.38**	0.65	360	**3.57**	0.52	14.8696'(1,610	↑ 0.0001
		F(2, 3384)=158.715,			F(2, 2787)=539.754,				
8. I have great love for China.	Activist	1645	**2.84**	0.76	561	**2.49**	0.76	85.1032'(1,220	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**3.14**	0.63	1869	**3.11**	0.50	3.3852'(1,3357	0.0659
	Nationali	252	**3.44**	0.64	360	**3.72**	0.47	40.7715'(1,610	↑ 0
		F(2, 3384)=125.747,			F(2, 2787)=543.495,				
9. In China we should be proud of what we have achieved	Activist	1645	**2.85**	0.73	561	**2.45**	0.77	119.4853'(1,22 04)	↓ 0
	Moderat	1490	**3.14**	0.61	1869	**3.08**	0.55	7.4421'(1,3357	↓ 0.0064
	Nationali	252	**3.41**	0.73	360	**3.65**	0.51	22.3696'(1,610	↑ 0
		F(2, 3384)=116.566,			F(2, 2787)=460.893,				

As displayed in Table 3, the Nationalists in the 2009 cohort generally showed significantly higher levels of civic trust and significantly higher positive attitudes to the nation. WhileActivists in the 2009 cohort turned out to be more negative to all aspects in these regards (as measured by the items). Endorsement of the Moderates fluctuated to a much lesser extent despite that almost all changes were statistically significant. By contrast with the noticeably large increase of the Nationalists' always positive attitudes to the national (in terms of value of flag, love and pride), the decrease of the Activists' oftentimes negative attitudes to the nation is considerably larger, hence the wider gap between the three groups in the 2009 cohort compared to the 1999 cohort as reflected graphically above. In other words, the groups in 2009 seemed to have become more polarized. This suggests that, over time those favored China were more positive than their counterparts ten years ago. In the meantime, negative attitudes of those who denounced China reached a higher level. In both cohorts, the three groups differed significantly in terms of civic trust and national attitudes. On average, their endorsements in these regards are all at significantly different levels.

As shown in Table 4, provided the four-point Likert scale used in both surveys (for the 1999 cohort: 1=never, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, and 4=always; and for the 2009 cohort: 1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=quite a lot, and 4=completely), Activists tended to trust the government institutions only some of the time (2.13 for 1999 cohort) or little (1.93 for 2009), and Moderates, almost most of the time (2.85 for 1999 cohort) or quite a lot (2.84 for 2009). While Nationalists showed trust most of the time but not always (3.62 for 1999 cohort) or quite a lot but not completely (3.59 for 2009).

Likewise, given the 4-point Likert scale used to measure students' attitudes to China (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, and 3=agree, and 4=strongly agree), the Activists disagreed with any positive inclination to China (2.77 for 1999 cohort and 2.39 for 2009), while the Moderates agreed generally (3.09 for 1999 cohort and 3.05 for 2009). The Nationalists more than agreed but did not strongly agree (3.41 for 1999 cohort and 3.65 for 2009).

In brief, as affirmed through independent sample T-test, Activists in both cohorts were more negative on both Civic Trust and Attitudes to the Nation. Those in the 2009 cohort were especially so and showed significant decreases in these regards. Nationalists in 2009 had a slightly lower level of trust but more positive attitudes to the nation. Moderates in 2009 had a similar level of trust and lower level national attitudes (see Table 4).

Table 4. Comparison of Factor Means across the 1999 and 2009 Cohorts

	Trust in Civic Institutions				Attitudes to the Nation			
	1999	2009	F statistics	p value	1999	2009	F statistics	p value
Activists	2.13	1.93	293.6510(1, 2204)	↓ 0	2.77	2.39	781.9733(1, 2204)	↓ 0
Moderates	2.85	2.84	248.1075(1, 3357)	0.3043	3.09	3.05	608.6188 (1, 3357)	↓ 0.0020
Nationalists	3.62	3.59	47.0443(1, 610)	0.1429	3.41	3.65	126.6383 (1, 610)	↑ 0

The pattern is also identified when we take a closer look at the numbers and proportions of the three groups in both cohorts considering individual responses. For example, in the 1999 cohort (see Table 5), an overwhelmingly large proportion of Activists (80.18%) only trusted the national government some of the time. The Moderates who trusted the national government accounted for 76.04%, while the Nationalists who always trusted the national government amounted to 93.25%. More than half (58.24%) of the Activists, however, reported they agreed that they had great love for this country, and 59.64% were proud of what it had achieved. The proportion of these students was not much smaller than that of the

Moderates, 63.62%, who 65.03% of whom agreed that they loved the country and were proud of China's achievement. For Nationalists, 94.44% agreed that they loved the nation (94.44%) and 90.87% were proud of its achievement (90.87%.).

Table 5. Response Patterns to the Items Measuring Civic Trust and National Attitudes (the 1999 cohort)

No.			Cluster			
			Activist	Moderate	Nationalist	Total
		Total	1645 (48.57%)	1490 (43.99%)	252 (7.44%)	3387 (100%)
1	The national [federal] government	Never	184	2	0	186
		Only some of	1319	150	1	1470
		Most of the	139	1133	16	1288
		Always	3	205	235	443
2	The local council or government of town	Never	232	5	0	237
		Only some of	1355	352	0	1707
		Most of the	58	1095	38	1191
		Always	0	38	214	252
3	Courts	Never	116	6	1	123
		Only some of	727	186	4	917
		Most of the	653	821	33	1507
		Always	149	477	214	840
4	The police	Never	185	37	2	224
		Only some of	799	370	22	1191
		Most of the	542	825	62	1429
		Always	119	258	166	543
5	Political parties	Never	335	90	9	434
		Only some of	1115	834	69	2018
		Most of the	170	525	104	799
		Always	25	41	70	136
6	National Parliament [Congress]	Never	187	19	0	206
		Only some of	1101	329	9	1439
		Most of the	327	995	70	1392
		Always	30	147	173	350
7	The flag of this country [name of country] is important to me.	Strongly	147	41	1	189
		Disagree	522	259	21	802
		Agree	770	858	110	1738
		Strongly	206	332	120	658
8	I have great love for this country [name of country]	Strongly	101	26	3	130
		Disagree	327	126	11	464
		Agree	958	948	111	2017
		Strongly	259	390	127	776
9	This country [name of country] should be proud of what	Strongly	86	21	7	114
		Disagree	330	127	16	473
		Agree	981	969	96	2046
		Strongly	248	373	133	754

As shown in Table 6, the pattern is similar in the 2009 cohort. Likewise, a dominating proportion of Activists thought they trusted the national government only a little (394 out of 561 Nationalists, 70.23%). Moderates who trusted the national government quite a lot accounted for 77.80% (1454 out of 1869), while Nationalists who completely trusted the national government amounted to 78.61% (283 out of 360).

Similar to the 1999 cohort, more than half (305 out of 561, 54.37%) of the Activists reported they agreed that they had great respect for this country and were proud of what it had achieved (289 out of 561, 51.52%). The proportion of these Activists were not much smaller than their moderate peers, 74.53% (1993 out of 1869) of whom agreed with the love and 70.79% (1323 out of 1869) were proud with China's achievement. For Nationalists, those who agreed and strongly agreed that they loved the nation and proud of China' achievement dominated overwhelmingly by nearly 100%, proportionally more than their 1999 counterparts.

In short, Civic Trust and Attitudes to the Nation did differentiate student respondents in the 1999 and 2009 surveys, and it did so in a similar manner for both cohorts revealing a diversity of views within each cohort. Yet it should be noted that differences between the groups within each cohort were not always substantial.

Table 6. Response Patterns to the Items Measuring Civic Trust and National Attitudes (the 2009 cohort)

No.			Cluster			
			Activist	Moderate	Nationalist	Total
		Total	561 (20.11%)	1869 (66.99%)	360 (12.90%)	2790 (100.00%)
1	Trust in – National government	Not at all	134	6	0	140
		A little	394	280	0	674
		Quite a lot	32	1454	77	1563
		Completely	1	129	283	413
2	Trust in – Local government	Not at all	168	24	0	192
		A little	371	554	8	933
		Quite a lot	22	1256	160	1438
		Completely	0	35	192	227
3	Trust in – Courts of justice	Not at all	76	3	0	79
		A little	232	81	2	315
		Quite a lot	199	1099	31	1329
		Completely	54	686	327	1067
4	Police	Not at all	125	34	4	163
		A little	251	321	8	580
		Quite a lot	161	1149	83	1393
		Completely	24	365	265	654
5	-Political Parties	Not at all	240	148	5	393
		A little	299	960	64	1323
		Quite a lot	19	737	197	953
		Completely	3	24	94	121
6	National Parliament	Not at all	154	30	2	186
		A little	337	495	6	838
		Quite a lot	61	1233	128	1422
		Completely	9	111	224	344
7	Flag of country is important	Strongly	102	25	0	127
		Disagree	240	284	5	529
		Agree	201	1324	145	1670
		Strongly	18	236	210	464
8	Great respect for country	Strongly	70	7	0	77
		Disagree	165	128	3	296
		Agree	305	1393	94	1792
		Strongly	21	341	263	625
9	Proud of what achieved	Strongly	77	14	0	91
		Disagree	175	175	6	356
		Agree	289	1323	115	1727
		Strongly	20	357	239	616

On the whole, while accounting for 48.75% in the 1999 cohort, the proportion of Activists dropped dramatically to 20.11% in 2009 (See Table 7). By contrast, that of Nationalists increased from 7.44% to 12.90%. An increase of 23% over the ten years made Moderates the largest group in the 2009 cohort. This may suggest that by 2009 a larger percentage of students was developing greater civic trust and more positive attitudes to the nation.

Table 7. Changes of the Proportions of the Three Groups Over Time

	1999 cohort		2009 Cohort	
Cluster	N	%	N	%
Activists	1645	48.75	551	20.11
Moderate	1490	43.99	1869	66.99
Nationalist	252	7.44	350	12.90

Respective "Profiles" of the Two Cohorts of Students

Socio-demographic information in Table 8 and Table 9 show that:

Gender: Boys and girls were almost evenly distributed in both cohorts but boys slightly outnumbered girls in the 1999 sample.

Birthplace: In the 1999 cohort, 305 out of 687 students (44.40%) who were not born in Hong Kong tended to be Activists, 325 (47.31%) were Moderates, and 57 (8.30%) were Nationalists. In the 2009 cohort, 414 out of 626 students (66.13%) not born in Hong Kong were shown to be Moderates. Similarly, 1438 out of 2134 (67.39%) of the Hong Kong born students are Moderates.

Students' expected further education: In both cohorts, the largest proportion of students preferred to receive education for another 7 or 8 years (i.e., to finish higher education) compared to those who would like to stop before higher education or go beyond. Whilst in the 2009 cohort over 85% of student, no matter in which group, were inclined to receive post-secondary education the majority of whom looked forward to theoretically oriented tertiary level education. This might be attributed to the large increase of learning opportunities in Hong Kong in the new millennium.

Mother Education Level: In all three groups, tiny proportion of the mothers received post-secondary education. It was especially the case in the 1999 cohort. However, in the 2009 cohort, Moderates' mothers who received post-secondary education accounted for 12.40%. For Activists, mothers who received post-secondary education amounted to 15.30% and of Nationalists, 12.99%.

Father Education Level: Fathers who received post-secondary education substantially outnumbered mothers in the 1999 cohort. While the tendency remained in the 2009 cohort, mothers had caught up. In other words, the gap between the proportions of highly educated fathers and highly educated mothers narrowed down. This may be attributed to the generally raised education level over the ten years and women received more opportunities for high education.

Number of books at home: In the 1999 cohort, the three groups do not show distinctive difference as far as home literacy is concerned. Those with 11 to 50 books at home account for the largest proportion. In the 2009 cohort, home with 26 to 100 books are more often reported. As against Activists and Nationalists, Moderates had more than 200 books at home.

Table 8. Socio-demographic information of the 1999 cohort (By clusters)

Characteristics	Cluster 1 (Activist)		Cluster 2 (Moderate)		Cluster 3 (Nationalist)	
	No.	Proportio	No.	Proportio	No.	Proportio
Gender						
Girl	813	24.01%	679	20.05%	88	2.60%
Boy	831	24.54%	811	23.95%	164	4.84%
F (2, 3383) =9.957, p = .000						
Birth Place						
Hong Kong	1335	39.54%	1159	34.33%	195	5.78%
Not Hong Kong	305	9.03%	325	9.63%	57	1.69%
F (2, 3373) =3.057, p = .047						
Students' expected further education						
0 years	14	0.41%	8	0.24%	1	0.03%
1 or 2 years	105	3.11%	95	2.81%	15	0.44%
3 or 4 years	275	8.14%	227	6.72%	45	1.33%
5 or 6 years	333	9.86%	263	7.79%	45	1.33%
7 or 8 years	480	14.21%	511	15.13%	65	1.92%
9 or 10 years	193	5.72%	175	5.18%	36	1.07%
More than 10 years	243	7.20%	203	6.01%	45	1.33%
F (2, 3374) = 0.898, p = .407						
Mother Education Level						
Did not finish elementary	263	8.51%	283	9.15%	32	1.03%
Finished elementary school	357	11.55%	353	11.42%	59	1.91%
Finished some high school	361	11.68%	322	10.41%	58	1.88%
Finished high school	387	12.52%	336	10.87%	59	1.91%
Some vocational/technical education after high school	61	1.97%	50	1.62%	10	0.32%
Some community college, college or university courses	20	0.65%	29	0.94%	1	0.03%
Completed a bachelor’ s degree at a college or university	29	0.94%	18	0.58%	4	0.13%
F (2, 3089) = 2.251, p = .105						
Father Education Level						
Did not finish elementary	194	6.40%	192	6.33%	20	0.66%
Finished elementary school	310	10.23%	283	9.34%	55	1.81%
Finished some high school	400	13.20%	358	11.81%	57	1.88%
Finished high school	355	11.71%	342	11.28%	59	1.95%
Some vocational/technical education after high school	85	2.80%	92	3.04%	19	0.61%
Some community college, college or university courses	47	1.55%	34	1.12%	4	0.13%
Completed a bachelor’s degree at a college or university	59	1.95%	61	2.01%	5	0.16%
F (2, 3028) = 0.020, p = .980						
Number of books at home						
None	68	2.01%	35	1.04%	8	0.24%
1 - 10	388	11.48%	407	12.04%	61	1.80%
11 - 50	580	17.16%	583	17.25%	95	2.81%
51 - 100	293	8.67%	212	6.27%	43	1.27%
101 - 200	154	4.56%	122	3.61%	20	0.59%
More than 200	160	4.73%	127	3.76%	24	0.71%
F (2, 3377) = 2.252, p = .105						

Table 9. Socio-demographic Information of the 2009 Cohort (By Clusters)

Characteristics	**Cluster 1**		**Cluster 2**		**Cluster 3**	
	No.	Proportion	No.	Proportion	No.	Proportion
Gender						
Girl	243	8.81%	967	35.05%	153	5.55%
Boy	310	11.24%	886	32.11%	200	7.25%
F (2, 2756) =8.808, p = .000						
Birth Place						
Hong Kong	419	15.18%	1438	52.10%	277	10.04%
Not Hong Kong	132	4.78%	414	15.00%	80	2.90%
F (2, 2757) =0.319, p = .727						
Students' expected further education						
No completion of lower secondary	4	0.14%	5	0.18%	0	0.00%
Completion of lower secondary	54	1.94%	95	3.42%	29	1.04%
Completion of upper secondary	48	1.73%	116	4.18%	18	0.65%
Completion of non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational tertiary	72	2.59%	245	8.82%	49	1.76%
Completion of theoretically oriented tertiary or post- graduate	382	13.75%	1399	50.36%	262	9.43%
F (2, 2775) =10.550, p = .000						
Mother Education Level						
None	20	0.74%	65	2.41%	12	0.45%
Primary education	55	2.04%	216	8.01%	30	1.11%
Lower secondary	206	7.64%	680	25.22%	124	4.60%
Upper secondary	173	6.42%	621	23.03%	142	5.27%
Non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational tertiary	30	1.11%	94	3.49%	18	0.67%
Theoretically oriented tertiary or post-graduate	52	1.93%	130	4.82%	28	1.04%
F (2, 2693) =2.118, p = .121						
Father Education Level						
None	17	0.64%	55	2.09%	9	0.34%
Primary education	63	2.39%	204	7.74%	24	0.91%
Lower secondary	182	6.90%	634	24.04%	124	4.70%
Upper secondary	150	5.69%	557	21.12%	122	4.63%
Non-tertiary post-secondary or vocational tertiary	35	1.33%	91	3.45%	21	0.80%
Theoretically oriented tertiary or post-graduate	74	2.81%	229	8.68%	46	1.74%
F (2, 2634) =1.454, p = .234						
Number of books at						
0-10 Books	130	4.68%	334	12.02%	47	1.69%
11-25 Books	99	3.56%	430	15.47%	80	2.88%
26-100 Books	167	6.01%	627	22.56%	129	4.64%
101-200 Books	61	2.20%	247	8.89%	46	1.66%
201-500 Books	60	2.16%	159	5.72%	28	1.01%
More than 500 Books	42	1.51%	65	2.34%	28	1.01%
F (2, 2776) =4.096, p = .017						

In addition to demographic differences identified across the groups in both student samples, the group-wise differences are also identified from ANOVA tests comparing civic learning outcomes (see Table 10). While the 1999 Activists outscored their nationalist counterparts, the 2009 Activists scored at the same level as Nationalists within the same cohort. Moderates scored the highest over time. It is generally regarded that students' attitudes to the nation and civic trust are shaped by their personal experience as well as civic knowledge acquisition at school. The differences between the groups may provide implications to educators.

Table 10. Comparison of Civic Knowledge Mean Scores across the groups within the respective 1999 and 2009 cohorts

	1999 cohort			2009 Cohort		
Cluster	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Activists	1645	110.13	22.67	544	149.22	10.77
Moderate	1490	113.35	21.61	1832	150.93	9.26
Nationalist	252	104.71	21.03	352	148.68	10.41
	F(2, 3384)= 19.856, p=.000			F(2, 2725)= 12.006, p=.000		

However, comparison of the findings across the two cohorts has to be made with caution due to the differed scaling of civic Knowledge and demographic factors. Nevertheless, the general patterns are comparable considering that all the categories are incremental. This is also the case with the subsequent comparisons across the two cohorts. Technically, the wording of question stems, items, and option categories, and even the theoretical constructs as originally designed, differed across the two surveys. For example, the 1999 CivED survey was meant to measure how much of the time students could trust government-related institutions and the media with a total of 11 items. While the 2009 ICCS survey simply measured students' Civic Trust with six items by asking the extent to which they trusted the listed institutions, hence the differences of the option categories. Similarly, the 1999 CivED survey measured protective feelings toward the nation and positive attitudes toward the nation jointly with 12 items. The 2009 ICCS survey just measured students' attitudes towards their country despite

that the option categories were identical. In addition, the 1999 but not 2009 survey provided the "0" option to all questions, indicating "not applicable" or "I don't know". Both surveys used 4-point Likert scales throughout but in opposite order in most cases, and reverse coding was conducted to ensure the options are incremental, i.e., from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 4 for "strongly agree". Although the reverse coding compensates somewhat, it may result in cognitive distortion.

How do Groups within Each Cohort Differ from One Another Considering Some Other Civic Elements?

To further tell whether the 3-cluster solution has external validity, i.e., is effective at further distinguishing both cohorts in terms of civic beliefs, actions, and behavioral aspirations, discriminant analysis was adopted. If the groups can be differentiated on external variables that were not part of the original classification, then their validity is enhanced. The results showed that, the three groups were clearly distinguished by students' civic values (democratic values), attitudes (attitudes towards gender, ethnic, and immigrant equality), behaviors (open classroom discussion, and civic participation at school), and behavioral intentions (electoral participation, legal protest, and illegal protest participation).[6]

In the 1999 sample (see Figure 3), electoral participation and open classroom discussion were best at telling the students apart, and democratic values the least. That is to say, it is easiest to identify students' civic inclination according to their inclination to be involved in future electoral participation and open classroom discussion. Conversely, democratic values held by each group were similar and therefore had little discriminatory power.

Figure 3. Group Means with Factors Used in the Discriminant Analysis (the 1999 Sample)

[6] For the 1999 cohort, Box's M=77.092, p=.036; For the 2009 cohort, Box's M=118.797, p=.000.

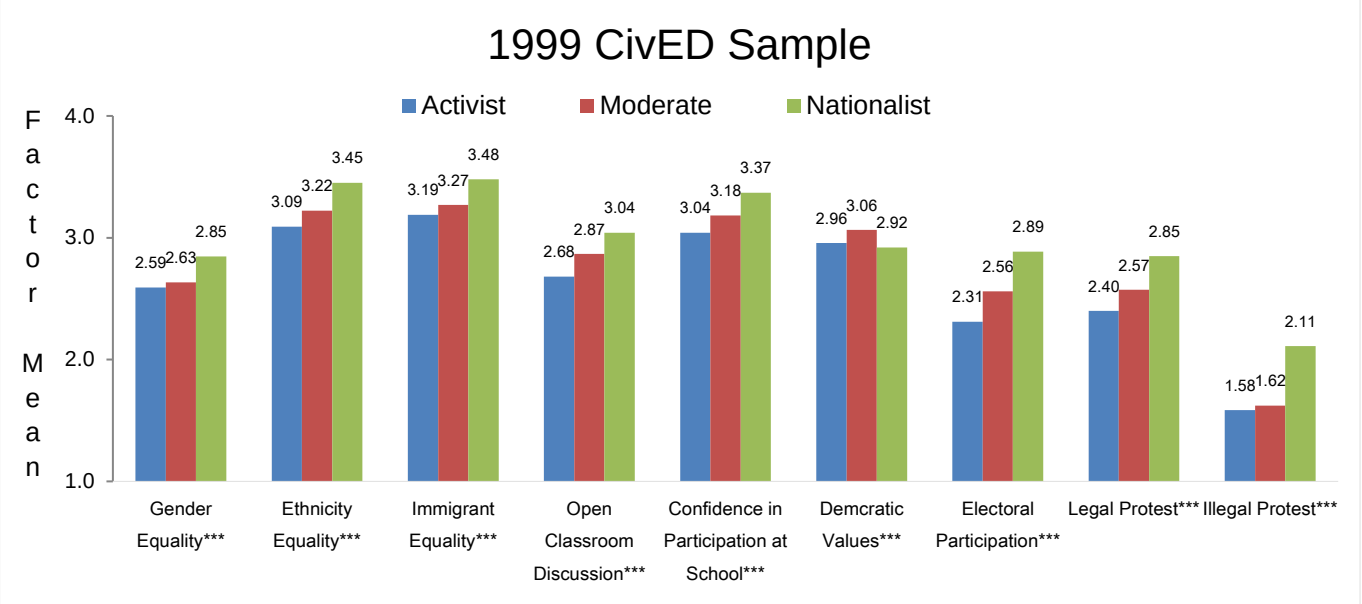
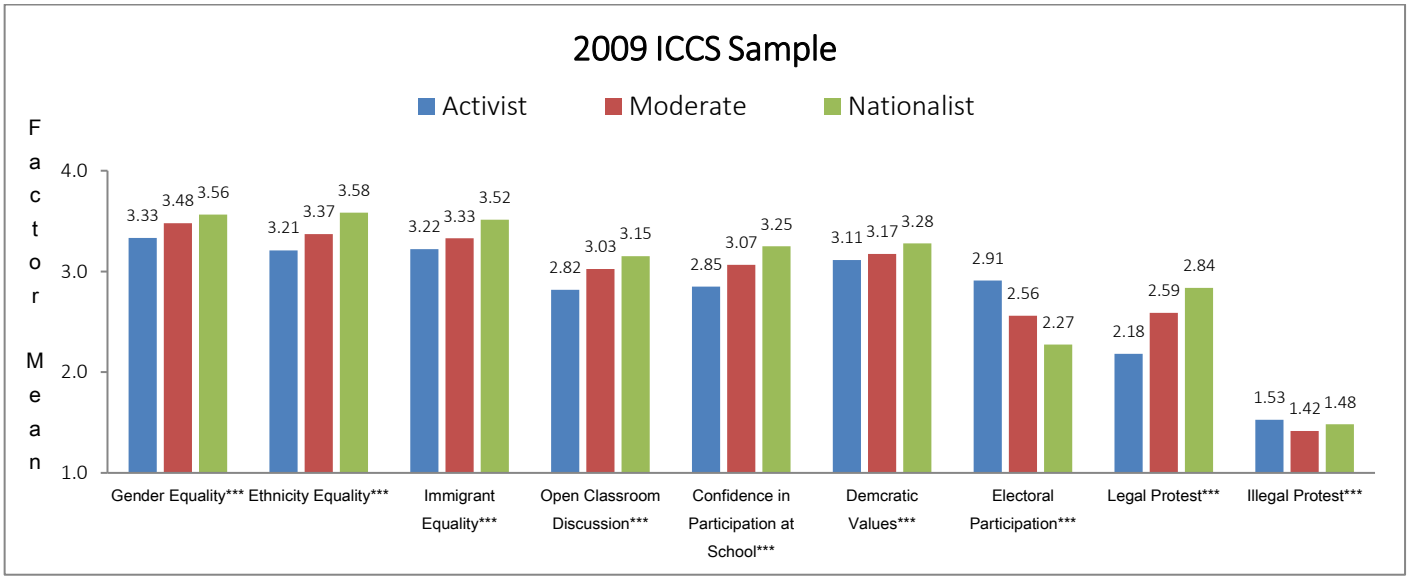

1999 CivED Sample
Activist
Moderate
Nationalist
Factor Mean
4.0
3.0
2.0
1.0
2.59
2.63
2.85
3.09
3.22
3.45
3.19
3.27
3.48
2.68
2.87
3.04
3.04
3.18
3.37
2.96
3.06
2.92
2.31
2.56
2.89
2.40
2.57
2.85
1.58
1.62
2.11
Gender Equality***
Ethnicity Equality***
Immigrant Equality***
Open Classroom Discussion***
Confidence in Participation at School***
Demcratic Values***
Electoral Participation***
Legal Protest***
Illegal Protest***

Figure 4. Group Means with Factors Used in the Discriminant Analysis (the 2009 Sample)



For the 2009 cohort (see Figure 4), future electoral participation and involvement in future legal protest differentiated the three groups the best; Illegal protest the least. In other words, it is least likely to tell which group students belonged to according to their intentions of participating in illegal protest. It should be noticed that Nationalists in 2009 cohort seemed to be more active in illegal protest than Moderates.

Table 11. Comparison of Civic Values, Attitudes, Behaviors, and Behavioural Intentions across the Two Cohorts

			1999 cohort			**2009 Cohort**			F statistics	p value
No.	Variable	Cluster	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD		
1	Civic Knowledge Score	Activist	1645	110.13	22.67	544	149.22	10.77	N.A.	N.A.
		Moderate	1490	113.35	21.61	1832	150.93	9.26	N.A.	N.A.
		Nationalist	252	104.71	21.03	352	148.68	10.41	N.A.	N.A.
2	Gender Equality	Activist	1631	2.59	0.35	561	3.33	0.59	1268.5706(1,2190)	↑ 0
		Moderate	1483	2.64	0.28	1865	3.48	0.47	3694.2749(1,3346)	↑ 0
		Nationalist	249	2.84	0.52	359	3.55	0.50	286.8804(1,606)	↑ 0
3	Ethnicity Equality	Activist	1629	3.08	0.55	560	3.21	0.70	20.0981(1,2187)	↑ 0
		Moderate	1481	3.22	0.46	1868	3.36	0.52	66.248(1,3347)	↑ 0
		Nationalist	249	3.43	0.53	359	3.59	0.53	13.3992(1,606)	↑
4	Immigrant Equality	Activist	1616	3.18	0.56	559	3.21	0.62	1.1266(1,2173)	0.2886
		Moderate	1475	3.26	0.47	1868	3.32	0.46	13.7556(1,3341)	↑
		Nationalist	248	3.45	0.54	360	3.51	0.49	2.0247(1,606)	0.1553
5	Open Classroom Discussion	Activist	1582	2.69	0.59	559	2.81	0.65	16.1844(1,2139)	↑
		Moderate	1453	2.87	0.50	1868	3.02	0.53	68.774(1,3319)	↑ 0
		Nationalist	244	3.05	0.62	358	3.14	0.56	3.4339(1,600)	0.0644
6	Confidence in Participation at School	Activist	1589	3.04	0.54	559	2.84	0.66	50.27(1,2146)	↓ 0
		Moderate	1460	3.18	0.45	1866	3.06	0.44	59.7205(1,3324)	↓ 0
		Nationalist	241	3.35	0.59	360	3.25	0.50	4.9899(1,599)	↓
7	Democratic Values	Activist	1644	2.93	0.61	561	3.12	0.50	44.272(1,2203)	↑ 0
		Moderate	1490	3.04	0.52	1869	3.17	0.36	72.9547(1,3357)	↑ 0
		Nationalist	252	2.91	0.69	360	3.27	0.40	66.2305(1,610)	↑ 0
8	Electoral Participation	Activist	1582	2.31	0.66	560	2.91	0.67	339.1093(1,2140)	↑ 0
		Moderate	1447	2.57	0.55	1856	2.56	0.53	0.28(1,3301)	0.5967
		Nationalist	242	2.90	0.71	357	2.28	0.60	132.5825(1,597)	↓ 0
9	Legal Protest	Activist	1556	2.40	0.76	561	2.19	0.89	28.6636(1,2115)	↓0
		Moderate	1424	2.57	0.65	1862	2.58	0.74	0.1635(1,3284)	0.6859
		Nationalist	243	2.87	0.79	357	2.84	0.83	0.1964(1,598)	0.6578
10	Illegal Protest	Activist	1572	1.59	0.86	561	1.53	0.73	2.172(1,2131)	0.1407
		Moderate	1442	1.64	0.89	1862	1.42	0.59	72.5874(1,3302)	↓ 0
		Nationalist	242	2.11	1.32	357	1.50	0.80	49.4627(1,597)	↓ 0

Table 11 compares factor means of civic values, attitudes, behaviors, and behavioural intentions across the two cohorts. With each cohort, Nationalists reported the highest level of self-perceptions in all the four civic domains. The exceptions are with the 2009 cohort in terms of intentions for electoral participation and illegal protest.

Compared to the 1999 cohort, Activists in the 2009 cohort were less interested in legal protest, while their Moderates and Nationalists were less interested in illegal protest. Instead, the 2009Activists turned out to be most active in participation of elections and illegal protest while holding a lower level of democratic values and aspiration for legal protest. While Activists in 2009 were more eager to join elections in the future than their 1999 counterparts, Nationalists were less interested than the 1999 Nationalists. Meanwhile, the three groups all showed higher levels of democratic understanding but lower levels of confidence in participation at school.

Summary

Does legal protest differentiate the two samples and if so how?

Yes, it does but not as distinctively as other factors. In both cohorts, Nationalists are most eager to be engaged in legal protest, and Activists the least.

Do democratic values differentiate the two samples?

Democratic values differentiate both cohorts the least, i.e., one can hardly tell which group they belong to according to their democratic values. In the 1999 cohort, while Activists and Nationalists are at the same level, Moderates had significantly higher scores for democratic values. In the 2009 cohort, Activists have the lowest level of democratic values, Nationalists the highest.

What is the role of illegal protest as a differentiator?

Illegal protest is claimed to be a powerful differentiator compared to legal protest and some other conventional civic engagement, e.g., voting. Surprisingly Nationalists in the 1999 cohorts were most active in illegal protest, while in the 2009 cohorts Activists were most active and Nationalists and Moderates were at a similar level.

What differentiates the groups in each cohort?

For both cohorts, civic values, attitudes, behaviors, and behavioural intentions differentiate the clusters better than demographics.

Youth's civic knowledge levels also differentiate the two cohorts of students significantly and better than demographics.

The 1999 cohort: Open classroom discussion and legal participation differentiate the clusters the most and democratic values the least.

The 2009 cohort: Electoral participation and legal protest differentiate the clusters and illegal protest the least.

What are the main changes from 1999 to 2009?

Compared to the 1999 cohort, the 2009 cohort generally had significantly lower levels of endorsement of confidence in civic participation at school and illegal protest participation.

Democratic values, and attitudes towards gender and ethnic but not immigrant equality received higher endorsement over the 10 years.

Conclusion

The groups were stable from 1999 to 2009 even though the numbers in the groups changed considerably. The differences between the groups seem to be greater in 2009 than 1999.

- Democratic values characterized all groups and do not differentiate the groups in a major way.

- Activists showed lower levels of trust and attitudes to the nation while higher levels of support of democracy (as do all groups) and electoral participation. While their numbers decreased proportionally, they appeared more committed to participation in 2009. Most of them might be the first time voter in 2016 LegCo elections.

- Nationalists showed more positive attitudes to the nation. Their civic trust remained at the same level but they showed less commitment to electoral participation. As their numbers increased, they seemed to become less committed to participation.

- Illegal protest is NOT a key differentiator between the groups and support for it declines over the two cohorts. By 2009 these are not radical students but they are democratic and they do value electoral participation.

- Different levels of civic knowledge also characterised the three groups:

- Moderates have the highest scores in both cohorts;

- Activists score significantly higher than Nationalists in 1999; the differences in 2009 favour the Activists but they are not significant. This results require further investigation.

Extension

How do students' civic values, attitudes, behaviors, behavioral intentions, and civic learning outcomes are related?

Correlations (Overall)

For the 1999 cohort, students' civic learning outcomes were associated with their democratic values with a moderate correlation of .505**. While for the 2009 cohort, this association was significant but much weaker (.246**). Instead, in 2009 it seems that the more confident

students were in civic participation at school, the higher their level of democratic values (.369**).

For the 2009 cohort, the more interested students were in future electoral participation, the less likely they would trust civic institutions (-.328**), favor the nation (-.328**), and join legal protests (-.467**). While for the 1999 cohort, students' intention for electoral participation is positively associated with intentions to legal protest participation (.516**) and confidence in civic participation at school (.307).

Correlations (Groupwise)

The 1999 cohort

For the Activists, confidence in participation at school is related to democratic values (.350**). Their intentions for electoral participation were negatively related to legal protest aspirations (-.405**), which suggests that those who were less interested in legal protest would be more interested in electoral participation.

For the Nationalists, attitudes to the nation are significantly related to beliefs of ethnic equality (.425**) and immigrant equality (.450**), and civic participation at school (.488**). Civic learning outcomes are positively related to democratic values (p=.470**) and negatively related to intentions to illegal protest (-.362**). This implies that civic education is effective to enhance students' understanding of democratic values (.470**) and discourage them from illegal protests (-.362**). Meanwhile, electoral participation is related to legal protest (.528**), and open classroom discussion facilitates both electoral participation (.553**) and legal protest (.481**).

The 2009 cohort

For the Activists, the more likely they are to join legal protests, the less likely they are to vote (-.508**). In other words, those who intended to vote were less interested in legal protest. In the meantime, those more confident in civic participation at school were more inclined to adopt democratic values (.366**).

Similarly, for the Nationalists, the more likely they were to join legal protests, the less likely they were to vote (-.364**). But the tendency is weaker than that shown by the Activists. The better the Nationalists' civic learning results are, the more unlikely for them to be involved in illegal protests (-.370**).

In closing, aspirations for civic participation appeared to increase over the ten-year period although not in simple ways. In 1999, students' intentions to participate in elections was moderately related to their level of confidence in civic participation in school (r=.307) that also influenced the potential they may become involved in legal protest (r=.516***. Yet the 2009 cohort had less confidence in civic participation but showed considerable interest in democratic values (r=.369**) and when they saw themselves being involved in elections they showed less trust of civic institutions (r=-.328), less likely to favour the nation (r=-.328**) and less likely to join legal protests (-.467**).

Based on these results, it would seem appropriate for school leaders to start from building students' confidence in joining civic activities at school. That is schools should model civic participation for young adolescents. This would help to build democratic values and in particular the importance of participating in elections. Yet some thought needs to be given as to how trust can be developed in civic institutions while also building democratic values. These will be important for the future and their development at a formative age will be a helpful way to build towards a stable future.

CHAPTER 5

FROM ADOLESCENCE TO ADULTHOOD: THE RADICALIZATION OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Abstract

This chapter reports the results of in-depth interviews with a sample of young localists. The purpose of the interiews was to explore how they perceived radicalism and to examine the processes and major contextual factors contributing to their radicalization. In terms of radicalism, many interviewees held a very negative impression of contemporary China, supported Hong Kong independence and self-determination and accepted the use of violence in political actions, although it may be limited to defensive purposes or they may not do it themselves. Regarding radicalization processes, two routes were identified. Those taking the first route we have referred to as "Converted Localists," who had been politically active before becoming a localist and most of them were former supporters of the pro-democracy camp and had relatively strong Chinese national identity. Those taking the second route we have called Abrupt Localist whose radicalization process was more abrupt in that they had little political experience before participating in localist activism. For most of them, the Umbrella Movement was their first-time participation and the event which radicalized them into localism. Lastly, we have identified a range of contextual factors facilitating radicalization. Critical political events such as the Anti-Moral and National Education Movement and the Umbrella Movement were regarded as the most influential factor by the interviewees.

Introduction

The previous chapter reportED the changes of civic attitudes of young adolescents in post-colonial Hong Kong (1999-2009) based on quantitative data. This chapter reports the qualitative results from our in-depth semi-structured interviews with young political activists

in Hong Kong. As discussed in Chapter 3, youth activism since the late 2000s has become more radical. Ideologically, it is characterized by strong anti-China sentiments. After the Umbrella Movement in 2014, these sentiments have evolved into a full-blown localist movement which champions a range of ideas such as anti-mainland immigrants, Hong Kong nationalism, self-determination of "Hong Kongers", and Hong Kong independence. Behaviourally, confrontational and violent tactics such as blocking roads and clashing with police, as shown in the Umbrella Movement and the Chinese New Year riot in 2016, have become more acceptable to youth activists. The aim of this chapter is to explore the socio-political ideas of a group of young localist activists and how and why they became more radical in recent years.

Sampling Procedures, Interviewees, and Data Analysis

Before presenting the findings, we briefly introduce the sampling procedures, the backgrounds of the interviewees, and the data analysis strategy. As mentioned in Chapter 2, purposive sampling was used to select the interviewees. The sampling criteria were that interviewees must be young people at or below the age of 30 and affiliated to organizations which embrace some sort of broadly defined localist ideas such as Hong Kong self-determination, Hong Kong nationalism, Hong Kong independence, anti-mainland immigrants, or segregation between Hong Kong and mainland China. Currently, there is no agreed definition of localist groups in both the mass media and academic literature. However, it is roughly agreed that there are two major streams within the localist camp. This first stream, which is usually referred as just the "localists," adopts a stronger anti-China position and gears more towards Hong Kong nationalism and independence. It includes groups such as the Hong Kong National Party, Hong Kong Indigenous, Youngspiration, Civic Passion, and many other district level and student localist groups. The second stream, which is frequently referred as the "self-determination faction," adopts a more open position on the issues of immigrants and Hong Kong independence. What it emphasizes is the right of self-

determination of " Hong Kongers". This faction generally comprises the Demosistō Party and the followers of social activists and lawmakers Eddie Chu Hoi-dick and Lau Siu-lai. It should be noted that this faction sometimes refuses the localist label. Nevertheless, this study selects interviewees from both streams and includes representatives from universities' student unions in which localists were recently elected to the executive committees.

Strategies such as personal networks, cold-calling, and snowballing were employed to recruit participants and eventually 22 interviewees from 13 groups were recruited. The groups selected include the Demosistō Party (4), Youngspiration (3), Civic Passion (2), HKU SPACE Localist Society (2), Caritas Institute of Higher Education (CIHE) Localist Society (2), Kowloon East Community (2), Hang Seng Management College (HSMC) Localist Society (1), Studentlocalism (1), TWGHs Kap Yan Directors' College (TWGHKYDS) Hong Kong Future Concern Group (1), Tin Shui Wai New Force (1), Tung Chung Future (1), HKU Student Union (1), and the student union of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) (1). We also tried recruiting participants from other localist groups such as Hong Kong Indigenous and Hong Kong National Party but failed to do so. The average age of the participants is 21.2 and five of them are female. Table 12 lists the demographic background of the interviewees, whose names are pseudonyms. The interviews were conducted in Cantonese from September 2016 to January 2017. Most interviews were conducted in university campuses, cafes, restaurants and lasted for about an hour. All except two were conducted on a one-on-one basis. The remaining two were conducted in a focus group manner with one researcher and two interviewees talking together. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim into English by a bilingual (Chinese/English speaker). The translations were reviewed by the original interview to confirm their validity.

In terms of data analysis, there is not a standard way to analyze qualitative interviews (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009). However a typical procedure involves steps such as transcribing, reading, summarizing, coding, and comparing the interviews (Plummer, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009). For this chapter, data analysis started with careful reading of the

interview transcripts by the researchers, who then made notes of the main ideas and information of each interview. After that, the authors produced for each interview a summary consisting of a detailed list of main points. Based on the framework set in the interview guide, the main points were then grouped into different themes related to the political beliefs of the interviewees, their political socialization experiences, and the factors they perceived have contributed to their radicalization. Lastly, cross-case analysis was conducted to compare the stories of the interviewees to find out the similarities and differences between their experiences.

Table 12. Demographic profiles of the Interviewees

Interviewee (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Place of Birth	Occupation
Charles	22	M	Hong Kong	Political party staff
Ivan	16	M	Hong Kong	Secondary student
Clark	20	M	Hong Kong	University student
Jeremy	22	M	Hong Kong	University student
Carl	20	M	Hong Kong	University student
Ken	30	M	Hong Kong	Clerical staff
Martin	22	M	Mainland China	Freelance designer
Alvin	29	M	Hong Kong	Unemployed
Angela	26	F	Hong Kong	Researcher
Cliff	21	M	Hong Kong	University student
Morris	23	M	Hong Kong	Unemployed
Tracy	18	F	Mainland China	University student
Leon	18	M	Hong Kong	University student
Jack	20	M	Hong Kong	University student
Paul	20	M	Hong Kong	University student
Frank	20	M	Hong Kong	University student
Susan	21	F	Hong Kong	University student
Helen	25	F	Hong Kong	Clerical staff
Jim	18	M	Hong Kong	University student
Anthony	15	M	Hong Kong	Secondary student
Mike	23	M	Hong Kong	University student
Christine	18	F	Mainland China	Secondary student

What Does Radicalism Mean to the Interviewees?

Before discussing the radicalization process of the interviewees, it is useful to examine what radicalism means to them. As mentioned in Chapter 3, radicalism contains two dimensions – ideas and actions. In the recent Hong Kong context, radicalism can also be interpreted ideologically and behaviorally.

Ideologically, it refers to a rise of anti-China sentiments and localism. Behaviorally, it refers to a stronger willingness to use violence in political actions. This section presents how the interviewees interpret their attitudes towards China, localism, and violence.

Anti-China sentiments. Almost all interviewees hold a negative attitude towards contemporary China. Politically, most of them perceived contemporary China as a totalitarian or authoritarian one party-state under the tight control of the Chinese Communist Party, which is detrimental to both Hong Kong and the Mainland. For example, when asked how she thought about contemporary China, Angela responded, "Authoritarian! It gives me an impression of "everything is mine" …. Everything is from the same voice because it is a one-party dictatorship." This led her to develop a negative impression of China. Clark shared similar views and accused China of lacking human rights. He said, "Many people who protected human rights were put into jail without reasons." A few pointed to the alleged rampant corruption of government officials. For example, Tracy described current China as "greedy and corrupted" and "government officials abuse their power and obtain bribes." A few argued that China has a poor track record in treating ethnic minorities, implying that China is untrustworthy and unwilling to keep its promise of maintaining Hong Kong's autonomy. As Anthony said:

> After the Communist Party took power, it promised Tibet to maintain its autonomy and lifestyle, similar to Hong Kong. They signed the "17-point agreement."[7] But after seven to eight years, it suppressed Tibet…. Therefore, I don't believe the Communist Party would keep its promise.

[7] Seventeen Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (1951).

A few also argued that they like traditional Chinese culture but it was destroyed by the current Communist regime. As Jim said, "This country (China)'s 5,000 years' civilization was destroyed by the Communist Party in a few decades. All morality, culture, and things worthy of respect are all gone."

The interviewees' negative image of China is not limited to its regime and government, but also extended to its society and people. For example, some interviewees mentioned the fake products and poor quality foods in mainland China. Jack said, "I feel unsafe (in mainland China) because of the pollution problems, fake products, and thefts in China." Paul said the problem of fake products also affected Hong Kong as it led many mainlanders to shop in Hong Kong, disturbing the daily lives of "Hong Kongers". A few interviewees also mentioned the alleged "uncivilized behaviors" of mainlanders in Hong Kong. For example, Tracy said she saw mainland tourists urinating on the street and argued that streets in Mongkok are now "invaded" by allegedly mainland middle age housewives who sing songs loudly. Similarly, Carl said that mainland tourists "act like king" and "savior" in Hong Kong. Overall, the interviewees hold a negative image of the Chinese regime and people, who are seen to be very different from Hong Kong politically and culturally posing a threat to Hong Kong people and culture.

Localism. The localist ideas of the interviewees can be roughly categorized into socio-economic and political aspects. Socio-economically, most interviewees prefer a kind of resource distribution that can put Hong Kong residents as the priority instead of using resources for mainlanders. For example, Helen said, "Hong Kong people are the priority of everything. The core is the benefits of Hong Kong people." Similarly, Angela said, "Actions are motivated by the benefits of Hong Kong people. Let Hong Kongers to be the priority." Alvin also said, "The benefits of Hong Kong people are the priority…. The belief of giving the best to the local area."

Apart from resources allocation, many interviewees also defined localism as the protection of the unique culture, values, and lifestyle of Hong Kong. As Frank said, "[I] hope that Hong Kong could keep our culture, economic status, and life style without intervention from the Central People's Government."

Similarly, Paul said, "Local means something from Hong Kong. It includes many things such as culture, history, language, and writing." Carl also said:

> Localism is to protect the values of Hong Kong. Since the return (of sovereignty) in 1997, a discourse has entered our society. It could be called "integration" (with the mainland), but it can be also called "robbery"…. Localism is to be proud of Hong Kong.

But what are Hong Kong culture and values? Many interviewees claimed that they cannot provide a definite answer as they can be wide-ranging. But many mentioned some things like Cantonese language, traditional Chinese characters, Hong Kong historical heritage, and cultural products like films. As Mike said:

> Hong Kong culture is a kind of "Yue" (Cantonese) culture, including its language such as traditional characters and Cantonese, and its own values. In the 1980s and 1990s, Hong Kong even has its own film industry. This culture is very different from mainland China.

Some also mentioned things like freedom, an uncorrupted system, and a "higher" moral standard. For example, Carl said, "Hong Kong claims to be free from corruption…. Hong Kong citizens don't urinate and excrete on the streets."

Politically, localism also touches on a range of political visions related to the political status of Hong Kong and its relationship with mainland China. They include ideas such as Hong Kong independence, Hong Kong nationalism, Hong Kong eternal autonomy, segregation between Hong Kong and mainland China. Actually, over half (13) of the interviewees treat Hong Kong independence as their political goal, whether it is long term or short term. For example, Susan said:

> I support Hong Kong independence all the time. To me, Hong Kong is a nation. Of course, we have the Basic Law constitutional framework under the "One Country, Two System" principle. But I am not bounded by that in thinking about the future…. My analysis is that currently the party (Chinese Communist Party) is the country, and the country is the party. So, I don't

> recognize this regime as well as this country. The only way out is a complete departure from this sovereign.

Similarly, Christine said, "our government is not democratic. Therefore, it doesn't listen to the voice of the people. It does whatever it wants because it has functional constituencies[8]. To change this situation, I believe that we need independence." Some interviewees ground Hong Kong independence on the theory of "civic nationalism," which argues that individuals can form a nation based on their common values, culture, and consensus instead of blood and kindship, as "ethnic Nationalists" would argue. As Carl argues:

Civic nationalism is not about blood relationship but the same values such as language and culture. An individual can be a "Hong Konger" as long as that individual is willing to support and protect the same values…. According to United Nations' definition of self-determination, every nation has its own right to determine its development.

A few interviewees, particularly those from the Demosistō Party (Self-determination faction), advocated a relatively moderate political vision. They do not see Hong Kong as a nation and do not treat Hong Kong independence as their goal. What they promote is the right of self-determination of Hong Kong, which gives Hong Kong residents the right to choose their own political future, be it independence or continuation of "One Country, Two System." As Clark argued:

> Self-determination should be the right of all peoples wherever they live. Hong Kong had the right of self-determination but the United Nations' Special Committee on Decolonization handled the issue poorly. As a result, Hong Kong lost its self-determination. It's very reasonable to fight it back because it's our basic right.

Ivan explained more about the rationale behind his support of self-determination. He said, "I support self-determination because Hong Kong residents can actually have choices. Hong Kong's reunification in

[8] Currently most LegCo members from functional constituencies are pro-government.

1997 was not approved by "Hong Kongers". I mean no "Hong Konger" was involved in the decision making of the unification."

Violence. Another aspect of radicalism is the rising acceptance of the use of violent and militant tactics in political actions. Many interviewees accept the use of violence as a mean of resistance. However, they apply different criteria on the use of violence. Some said they accept all strategies as long as they are effective and argue that violence is sometimes unavoidable and necessary for a successful resistance. For example, Leon argues that violent resistance is unavoidable: He explained:

> Resistance is easier than co-operation under a totalitarian government…. Many people talk about the experience of Korea, but many of them neglect their miserable history like the Gwangju Uprising. They neglect the effectiveness of violent resistance. I think Hong Kong now needs this process, which I am promoting. Of course, you might think I am cold-blooded, but if we want to go forward, there must be some deaths. I don't want this to happen but I think it's necessary to arouse people's anger to resist the government.

A similar opinion was also expressed by Mike:

> Violent protests are necessary. When you read history, there was almost no place where protests didn't involve violence. Even Gandhi, who praised peaceful protests so highly, did not totally give up violent resistance. He said you have to consider using violence when peaceful protests are ineffective.

A few said they accept all effective tactics, no matter violent or peaceful, and the two strategies can co-exist. As Frank said, "I accept all effective resistance tactics. Tools are tools, tactics are tactics. Tactics do not have right or wrong. It depends on the goal you want to achieve. I am not a supporter of moral absolutism." Charles expressed similar views. He said, "I don't suggest only relaying on peaceful tactics without radical resistance. Both methods have its own merits and they compensate the weaknesses of one

another." However, some also said violence has a moral limit and should mainly be used for self-defense. For example, Carl said:

> I think the use of the violence depends on situation…. Probably because of my religious belief, I disagree with the use of force to attack others. But when other beats you, naturally you have to resist. How strong we should resist depends on how violent they are.

Paul also expressed similar opinion. He said, "I support a passive form of "using force to resist violence" (以武制暴). The use of violence is to protect yourself."

Despite their supportive attitude towards violence, some interviewees said they would not engage in violent actions themselves. For example, although Martin agreed that "violence is unavoidable eventually," he dares not to do it himself but only "admires those who can do it." Similarly, Ken said he "supports and admires those who engage in radical resistance" but he might not do it himself.

Lastly, a few interviewees are against the use of violence and stick to peaceful means because they think that violence is either morally wrong or ineffective. Most of them are from the Demosistō Party. As Jeremy explained:

> The most basic resistance tactic is to avoid harming others' bodies. I agree to that. To me, violent resistance is not right. Practically, Hong Kong has no capacity to resist violently. The most violent event since 1997 was the Mongkok Riot in 2016. But it hasn't achieved anything, but just an expression of anger.

Another Demosistō volunteer Ivan also said, "Demosistō focuses on non-violent resistance…. Many people want to escalate their actions and fight back with violence. But it's unworkable and meaningless. It would only harm us."

Radicalization Process and the Leading Factors

After examining the political beliefs of the interviewees, this section examines how and why they became more radical in recent years by embracing localist ideas and becoming more acceptable to violent forms

of activism. Rather than treating radicalism as an event or a status, the recent literature focuses more on the process of radicalization (Blee, 2011; Borum, 2011). That is, it treats radicalism as "a journey from a nonradical state towards a more radical state" (Cross, 2013, p.1050). The literature also highlights that no single process can explain the radicalization of all activists and that different activists may go through different paths of radicalization under the influence of different contextual factors (Blee, 2011; Borum, 2011; Bosi & Della Porta, 2012). The two examples below illustrate the usefulness of this approach.

First, through life history interviews with extreme right-wing activists in the Netherlands, Linden and Klandermans (2007) identified three radicalization pathways, namely continuity, conversion, compliance. For activists who had gone through the continuity path, joining the radical right is a natural continuation of early political socialization in a radical right familial milieu. For those who had undergone the Conversion path, participation in the radical right was a break with the past which was often stimulated by critical events. For those who had undergone the Compliance path, participation was not out of their own desire but mainly due to uncontrollable circumstances. Second, Goodwin (2010) distinguished three types of members of the extreme right British National Party (BNP) based on their different routes into activism. The "Old Guards" joined the BNP as a continuation of a long participation in the radical right movement. The "New Recruits" earned little or no political experiences before joining and were usually motivated by instrumental motives. Lastly, the "Political Wanderers" had political experiences outside of the radical right before joining. They joined the BNP mainly because of their dissatisfaction with their previous participation in the more moderate political groups.

Informed by this analytical approach, we have roughly distinguished our interviewees into two major groups based on their different routes of radicalization. We call the first group "Converted Localists" and the second group "Abrupt Localists." The most notable feature of the Converted Localists is that they had been politically active before becoming a localist and that most of them are former supporters of the pro-democracy camp and had relatively strong Chinese national/ethnic identity. Their radicalization process was relatively gradual and mainly influenced by critical events such as the Anti-Moral and National

Education Movement and the Umbrella Movement, which made them disillusioned with the pro-democracy camp and the Chinese government. For the Converted Localists, becoming a localist represented a break with their past political beliefs and engagement. For the Abrupt Localists, their process of radicalization was more abrupt and rapid. They had no or little political experience before participating in localist activism, although some of them had already developed some political interests and awareness. For most of them, Umbrella Movement was their first-time political participation as well as the event which radicalized them to become localists, although other factors also played a role. Based on our rough classification, Converted Localists are the dominant group in our sample, which account for 16 out of 22 participants, and the remaining 6 are Abrupt Localists. We will further explain these two routes of radicalization with examples below.

Converted Localists

As highlighted above, most Converted Localists formally supported the pro-democracy camp, held relatively strong Chinese identity, and had participated in more moderate forms of activism before transforming into localists. Their radicalization was strongly influenced by critical events such as the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-MNE Movement. But other contextual and personal factors such as perceptions of increasing mainland intervention and slow democratization, everyday life being affected by mainland related issues, social networks, work experiences, political figures, and media and books also played a part. Family influence and education experiences were found to be more influential on their initial political interest and ordinary activism rather than their radicalization. Two cases are presented below to illustrate this radicalization route.

Frank. Frank is currently a 20-year-old university student majoring in political science. He also serves as a member of the executive council of the student union of his university. Frank describes his family as "nothing special" and his parents have a "typical middle class mentality," which supports democracy but dislikes radicalism. They also accept their Chinese identity. Frank said his parents exerted very little influence on him politically as he has gone his own way. Frank has been interested in politics since he

was very young and he initially supported the pro-democracy camp. For example, he attended the pro-democracy rallies on 1st July every year and the annual candlelight vigils commemorating the Tiananmen Democracy Movement in 1989. He also used to hold a strong Chinese identity and love Chinese culture very much. As he explained:

> I had started admiring Chinese culture from a young age. Traditional Chinese poems and verses were my favorite, so were Chinese novels. I read a lot and admired them greatly. I also once believed in the ideal of building a democratic China as well as the vision of the Chinese nation. I even shed tears during the 4th June commemoration.

School education might have played a part in his early political socialization as it was his class teacher at junior secondary school who first brought him to the 4th June commemoration. He also served as vice-chairman of his school's student union and organized politics-related school events. But he claimed that subjects such as Liberal Studies and History have not influenced him much politically as teachers had weak subject knowledge and focused too much on examination skills. Most of his classmates were also "politically apathetic."

Frank's radicalization began during the Anti-MNE Movement in 2012, in which was invited to join the protests at the Central Government Offices by a schoolmate who was a core member of Scholarism. The movement, he claimed, exposed the weakness and lethargy of the pro-democracy camp. But the event having the strongest impact on him was the Umbrella Movement, which broke out when he was a first-year university student. He participated actively in the movement from the beginning to the end and the experience radically changed his political views. First, the movement made him disillusioned with the pan-democrats which, he perceived, were too moderate, ineffective, and unsympathetic to the radical protesters. As he explained:

> I always said we couldn't think of achieving anything after missing the chance from 28th to 30th September (2014). It's because the government didn't know how to react in these three days, the defense of the government headquarters was very weak. The police were paralyzed by the scandal

> of firing tear gas. The public opinion also supported us. However, because of the principle of peace, they (mainly the pro-democracy camp) neither took an action nor occupied the government headquarters. It was very stupid and a waste of time.

Frank also explained, in his opinion, how unsympathetic the pan-democrats to the radical protesters:

> When we continuously shed our sweat and blood…. these guys (pan-democrats) just sang songs and made speeches at the protest sites but never said a single word on behalf of the protesters or those being arrested. They just accused you as "ghosts" (hidden saboteurs) who used violence to sabotage the movement.

Second, witnessing the use of violence against protesters by the police during the Umbrella Movement also made him more acceptable to violent actions.

> When you saw the "blue ribbons" (government supporters) and the police continuously used unjustifiable violence to beat the protesters, you started to question why you should just raise your hands and let them beat you? Why couldn't we fight back and defend ourselves? These kinds of thoughts gradually led many young people on the frontier, including me, to question the principle of peaceful resistance (和理非) and start supporting the idea of "militancy" (解武).

Third, the Umbrella Movement also substantially altered Frank's Chinese identity and his views on mainland China because it made him conclude that Chinese people do not share the same democratic ideals and interests with Hong Kongers. As he explained:

> In the past, there was always a saying claiming that social activists in mainland China and Hong Kong were standing on the same front as they shared many ideas. However, when ideas such as Hong Kong independence and city-state building emerged during the Umbrella Movement, you saw a group of mainland activists, who we previously saw them as being suppressed by the Communist Party, came out to speak for the Party and argue Hong Kong independence as

> unacceptable. At that point, I realized that China and Hong Kong do not share the same vision of democracy and interests…. That's a great turning point not only for me, but for many.

Although the Umbrella Movement had a very big impact on Frank's political radicalization, the interview also revealed other possible influences. With regard to Chinese identity, Franks claimed that his anti-China sentiment can partly be attributed to his gradual "discovery'" of the loss of the essence of traditional Chinese culture in contemporary China such as traditional Chinese characters and literature. He claims that "the more you love Chinese culture, the more you should hate contemporary China, including its people." Social media and political figures also contributed to his learning of the localist ideas. For example, he learnt more about "Hong Kong City-State Theory" and other localist discourses from the Facebook postings of academic and politician Wan Chin. He also met a group of likeminded friends through social media which helped inspire him to run for the student union election of his university in 2016.

Mike. Mike is a 23-year old student of a community college majoring in communication and one of the core members of the localist society of his institution. Mike was born in a middle-class family and his parents contributed much to his early political interest and beliefs. For example, his parents are supporters of the pro-democracy camp and brought him to the 1st July rally in 2003. They also frequently discussed current affairs with him. As he said:

> My parents like watching news very much. For example, they will report to me the news they watched today and ask for my opinions. This has gradually made me think more. They also have their stance, which is pro-democracy, leading me to get used to this kind of information since a very young age.

As Mike claimed, his political interest and pro-democracy attitudes were also influenced by his secondary school, which was quite liberal-minded and had many politics-related activities. For example, his school performed prayers for Nobel Peace Prize laureates Liu Xiaobo and Aung San Suu Kyi and organized annual commemoration for the Tiananmen Democracy Movement. He also read many politics books from the school library. Besides, Mike said he had a relatively strong Chinese identity when he was very young.

For example, he would be touched by the raising of the national flag and thought that he should help China to progress.

Similar to Frank, Mike started becoming more radical after the 2012 Anti-MNE Movement, when he just graduated from secondary school. He claimed the movement had greatly enhanced his "anti-communist" ideology. Moreover, around that period, he was inspired by the Hong Kong Autonomous Movement (an early localist organization)[9] to start thinking about the possibility of Hong Kong Independence. His anti-China sentiments and localist ideas were significantly strengthened by the Umbrella Movement, in which he actively participated from the start to the end. The movement made him disillusioned with the Chinese government and "One country, two system," leading him to engage fully into the localist movement. As he explained:

> My full engagement [in the localist movement] began with the Umbrella Revolution in 2014, during which I took part in some actions at the frontiers. Later I realized that what "Hong Kongers" demand is not just democracy, but a full-scale autonomy. It's because it's basically impossible to realize your political goal through agreements or negotiations with mainland China. That is, it betrayed "One country, two systems" and its promise of universal suffrage, which showed its low credibility. So, we must explore a new way for Hong Kong, which should not rely on others. You may promote Hong Kong independence or autonomy and engage in the localist movement.

Mike also claimed that the failure of the Umbrella Movement made him more accepting of radical and militant actions, though he thinks that militancy should not be the only way of resistance.

Apart from social movements, other factors also contributed to Mike's radicalization. The first was his personal experiences of the "threat" of mainland immigrants. After graduating from secondary school, Mike studied his associate degree at a local university, where he saw many mainland students. This made him question the distribution of educational resources, which he thought should first serve the locals. Another experience related to work opportunity. Mike once worked in a finance company, which

[9] For details of the movement, see Wong (2014).

preferred hiring new immigrants from mainland China as salesmen because of their stronger ability in finding mainland customers. This made him think that something should be done to protect the interests of the locals. The second factor was his study of DSE History as a private candidate at the second year of his associate degree study. The study of history stimulated him to question the People's Republic of China's claim of Hong Kong sovereignty and revealed for him the "brutalities" of the Chinese Communist Party. This enhanced his anti-China and localist thinking.

Abrupt Localists

As mentioned above, the radicalization of Abrupt Localists was relatively sudden in the sense that most of them had no or only little political experience before transforming into a localist. Their radicalization was usually triggered by critical political events such as the Umbrella Movement.

Helen. Helen is a typical example of an Abrupt Localist. She is a 25-year-old clerk and a member of the Tin Shui Wai New Force, a district level localist organization. She claims her family condition is between low income and middle class. Helen's parents were not very interested in politics. Therefore, they did not have much political discussion with Helen during her childhood. But her parents did tell her that politics is dirty and should not become a career. Therefore, Helen described herself as a "Hong Kong pig" (Kong Chu)[10] before the Umbrella Movement. As she described:

> I hadn't begun participating in that (politics) until the outbreak of the Umbrella Movement in 2014. Before that I was a so called "Hong Kong pig." At that time, when I saw Long Hair (Leung Kwok Hung) throwing things in the LegCo chamber, I would question why he was messing things up. I had that kind of thought then because I didn't explore the reasons behind.

Apart from political apathy, Helen also claimed that she had a rather confused understanding of national identity when she was a student. She remembered she called herself a Hong Kong Chinese at that time as it is a middle ground choice and she thought China was developing well.

[10] It is a popular Cantonese catchphrase in Hong Kong to describe citizens who are ignorant about politics and focus on their private lives.

Helen's radicalization came quite suddenly when she was asked to join the Umbrella Movement by some of her friends on 28th September 2014. During the movement, she was quickly politicized through interacting with other movement participants and learnt a lot about politics. As she explained:

> Several friends of mine asked me to go [to Admiralty]. Then I stayed for longer and longer. During our prolonged stay, we felt bored, so we kept on talking to each other. Our discussion only focused on politics because other topics were seen as distractions…. The more we discussed, the more I learnt.

Participation in the Umbrella Movement has not only made Helen become more politically informed and interested, but also led her to become more radical because of the police violence and the failure of the movement to bring democracy to Hong Kong. As she explained:

> My political views changed very fast. I was a "leftard" (a useless liberal) during the Umbrella Movement, in which I insisted on peace, rationality, and non-violence…. But frankly I have now become quite radical. Why was there such a big change? That is because you saw, quite regrettably, the beating of Ken Tsang (a Civic Party protester) by the police and Chu King Wai (a police superintendent) who beat the protesters, which showed that our rule of law could deteriorate to such a level….and you see that the Umbrella Movement was in fact a failure. It didn't achieve anything, though many people were awakened. When even such a large-scale peaceful movement couldn't move the government, you should go a step further to tell the government how strong the public opinion is.

Moreover, she also got to know a group of likeminded young people in the Umbrella Movement, who later inspired her to stand for the 2015 District Council election. In addition, the movement stimulated her to think about the future of Hong Kong and she learnt the idea of Hong Kong independence in around 2015 from the localist circle where she was in.

Apart from the Umbrella Movement, Helen's personal experiences with mainland China also contributed to her changes of political attitudes, particularly her attitudes towards China. For example, as a novel lover, she read many novels from both Taiwan and China. Later, she realized that novels in China were barred from discussing many topics such as those related to government and involved ghost stories, which contributed to her anti-China sentiments. As she explained:

> When you read novels from China, you will discover that they can't touch on many topics…. you can't even mention words like the "government." Ghost stories are also prohibited as it spreads "unhealthy ideas." My opinion is that China is a very narrow-minded country because it can't even tolerate such a little imagination, even it's so big.

Christine. Another example of an Abrupt Localist is Christine, who is an 18 years old secondary student and currently a member of the Hong Kong Future Concern Group of her school. Christine is from a low-income family and was born in mainland China and migrated to Hong Kong in 2003. She received some primary education in the mainland and had a relatively good feeling about China at that time. As she said. "When I was studying in the Mainland, I thought it was quite good, nothing special, I was living well." Her parents are not politically active but politically conservative. "They always support the government." In general, she claimed that she was not a person whose interest in politics started at a very young age. Instead, she has only started paying attention to political issues in the past few years, mainly due to the Umbrella Movement and some changes in the society. As she explained:

> It didn't begin at a very young age, I've only started caring (politics) since the past two to three years when I felt some changes. In fact, I wasn't particularly interested before the Umbrella Revolution. The outbreak of the Umbrella Revolution awakened me. Since then I've started paying much attention to politics.

As mentioned above, the Umbrella Movement paid an important role in her radicalization. The movement broke out when she was in Secondary Three. She joined the movement with some of her classmates and

stayed at the occupied areas for many days, albeit not overnight. Participation in the movement has radicalized her and made her to question the usefulness of peaceful actions. As she explained:

> What we wanted then was just genuine universal suffrage, no matter in what forms…. We didn't want small circle election and functional constituencies. We worked hard for two months but nothing was achieved. Some left-leaning (pan-democrat) councilors claimed that we have succeeded because we have awakened the new generation. This comment is distasteful because we clearly haven't gained anything and we have many protesters getting hurt and being charged. Therefore, we should examine how the actions could be more effective. Is peace really effective?

Christine's political views have become more radical around the 2016 New Territories East LegCo by-election when she started supporting Hong Kong independence. She attributed this to the charisma of Edward Leung Tin-kei, the Hong Kong Indigenous candidate for the by-election. As she explained:

> [I've started supporting Hong Kong independence] since Edward Leung ran for the by-election, which made me realize that there were really some "Hong Kongers" coming out to support Hong Kong independence. Independence was clearly part of his manifesto. What he did during the Chinese New Year Day Revolution (2016 Mongkok riot) made me feel that he had great ideals. His performance in the TV debates made me feel that he was the one who can lead young people a step forward.

Critical political events were not the only factor contributing to Christine's radicalization, other factors also played a part. Personal experience of the negative impact of China-Hong Kong socio-economic integration is one of them. As a resident of Sheung Shui, a town near the mainland boarder, she has suffered from the negative impact of integration such as parallel traders and closing of small shops. As she explained:

> I have been living here (Sheung Shui) since very young. In the past, there were many different small shops. But now, there are more and more shops selling milk powders and medicines. Many

> restaurants are gone. More and more Mandarin speaking students were in my primary school. Now the lower forms of my secondary school are full of Mandarin speakers. I was wondering if I am in Hong Kong or in mainland.

These changes have enhanced her localist and anti-China sentiments. Another factor was the history education at her school. For example, her Chinese history teacher brought her to interview some Second World War Chinese soldiers from the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party), who were later persecuted by the Communist Party after 1949. She also had the opportunities to learn historical events like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. These experiences made her reflect on her ideas on contemporary China.

Lastly, the government's "strong criticism" on the discussion of Hong Kong independence also ironically strengthened Christine's support of the idea as it is, in her opinion, a serious violation of the freedom of speech. This shocked and angered her and triggered her to form a Hong Kong future concern group in her school. As she explained, "another main reason [of forming the concern group] is the CY Leung's and Eddie Ng Hak-kim (Secretary for Education)'s criticism of Hong Kong students' discussion on Hong Kong independence, which made me want to go a step forward to speak out."

Major Factors Contributing to Radicalization

Apart from distinguishing two major routes of radicalization, this study has also identified a range of contextual factors and/or political socialization agents contributing to the radicalization of the research participants, as already partly shown in the previous section. They include critical political events, daily and personal experiences, school education, social networks, family socialization, political figures, and media and Internet. The following paragraphs will discuss their impact in detail.

Critical Political Events

Regardless of their paths of radicalization, most of our interviewees regarded critical political events as an important factor contributing to their radicalization. The most frequently mentioned events are the Anti-

MNE Movement in 2012 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014. In terms of the Anti-MNE Movement, over half of the participants claimed that they were participants themselves and/or were being influenced by participants. For example, Morris claimed that the Anti-NME Movement was the first social movement he joined and it ignited his anti-communist consciousness and enhanced his Hong Kong identity as he saw national education as a project of the Communist Party to force "Hong Kongers" to accept a Chinese identity. As he said:

> In my opinion, a very strong anti-communist consciousness emerged after the Anti-NME Movement. I would clearly claim myself as a "Hong Konger". Am I a Chinese? Just put it aside, I am first a "Hong Konger". Am I a Chinese? I didn't think it's important, I had some denials.

Anti-NME was also the first social movement that Carl joined. The movement, which awakened him politically, broke out when he was as a secondary student. His participation was triggered by reading the "China Model"[11] booklet distributed to his school and the online mobilization of Scholarism. The MNE controversies contributed to is anti-government and anti-communist ideas as it made politics personal to him. The movement was also the first time for him to feel the "ineffectiveness" of the pro-democracy parties.

The Umbrella Movement was an even more important political event to the interviewees in terms of their radicalization. Most interviewees said they participated in the movement and all claimed that they were influenced by it politically. Some evidence has already been presented in the previous section. Generally, the movement has three major impacts. First, it drew the interviewees much closer to localist ideas and farther away from Chinese identity. As Angela said,

> When I have become more localist ideologically, I stopped attending the 4th June candlelight vigil…. The Occupy Movement influenced me strongly. That is, I have nearly not attended [the 4th June commemoration] since the Anti-MNE Movement and the Occupy Movement.

[11] A 34-page education booklet for secondary students which praises the Chinese Communist Party as a progressive, selfless, and united ruling group.

Second, related to the first, it made many interviewees become disillusioned with the pro-democracy camp. For example, Martin was a supporter of the Democratic Party. But he became dissatisfied with the pan-democrats after the movement as they were, in his opinion, too passive and ineffective during the movement.

Third, it made some interviewees disillusioned with peaceful actions and become more accepting of violent resistance. For example, Tracy explained how the movement let her to realize her preference of more militant actions:

> We participated in this movement (Umbrella Movement), at least we should be able to force the government to respond to its citizens. When their (those more moderate protesters) methods didn't work anymore and we just sat there for so long and achieved nothing, shouldn't we try changing resistance tactics…. From then on, I realized that I belong to that minority who supports more radical and militant actions.

Other critical events mentioned by the interviewees included the 2003 1st July Rally, 2012 LegCo election, HKTV license controversies in 2013, Restoration Campaigns in 2015, and 2016 Mongkok Riots.

Daily and Personal Experiences

Different from critical political events, daily and personal experiences mainly refer to those contexts that affected the daily lives of the interviewees and which facilitated their radicalization. Many of these experiences were related to the negative impact of the rapid socio-economic integration of Hong Kong and mainland China in the past decade. A few examples have already been shown in the cases of Mike and Christine in the previous section. Here we present one more case. For example, Leon is living in Sheung Shui, where he felt he suffered daily from the negative impact of integration, leading him to agree with localist ideas:

> As I am living in Sheung Shui, I have personal experiences of many issues we are concerned about such as parallel traders and "cultural invasion." I have a strong feeling because in schools you can see that many students are speaking Mandarin, some even can't speak or understand Cantonese…. I also encountered parallel traders every day, which seriously affected my daily life…. being affected by mainlanders for so long, I agree with many ideas proposed by the localists.

Some of the experiences are more personal in nature but contingently able to connect the interviewees with political issues. For example, Alvin's failure to buy her former girlfriend an apartment, which later led to their break up, stimulated him to question the legitimacy of high property prices and his interest in political issues. Morris is an amateur composer. His interest in the Anti-MNE Movement partly related to his search for topics of music writing.

School Education

For most interviewees, the role school education played in their radicalization was less direct and mixed, and generally not very significant. For those who claimed school education (formal and informal curriculum or teachers) has some impact, it mainly stimulated their political interests and democratic aspirations but rarely drove them directly into radical ideas and actions. For example, some claimed that Liberal Studies has stimulated their interest in social and political issues. Paul said Liberal Studies was the main reason driving him to pay attention to current affairs. But he also claimed that the subject did not have a big impact on his political views as it mainly focused on content knowledge. Some (e.g. Frank) claimed that Liberal Studies is too exam-oriented and thus no influence on them politically. However, Clark claimed that his Liberal Studies teacher, who was pro-democracy, helped change his originally pro-Beijing views to pro-democracy. As he said:

> Probably my Liberal Studies teacher is more pro-non-establishment (非建制派), so he taught many non-establishment ideas. So, it was not about the curriculum but the teacher's pedagogy.

But there was also an interviewee (e.g. Anthony) claiming that his Liberal Studies teacher tends to avoid sensitive topics such as Hong Kong independence.

Chinese History Teachers

These were also mentioned by a few interviewees. As mentioned above, Christine's Chinese history teacher introduced her to some Kuomintang soldiers persecuted by the Communist party, which stimulated her to rethink her attitude towards contemporary China. Martin also claimed that his anti-China sentiments were partly influenced by his Chinese history teacher. He said:

> You asked me if secondary school has influenced my political views. I would say the teacher who taught me Chinese history was quite anti-communist, so there was some influence on me.

However, Susan claimed that Chinese history in her secondary school presented a historical view of a unified China which is different from her current understanding.

Apart from the **formal curriculum**, some interviewees also mentioned **informal curriculum**. As discussed above, Mike's political interest and pro-democracy attitudes were partly influenced by school activities such as prayers for Nobel Peace Prize laureates and commemoration for the Tiananmen Democracy Movement. Similarly, Tracy and Lean from the HKU SPACE Localist society mentioned how discussion of political issues with teachers contributed to their political interest.

Family Socialization

For our interviewees, family is not an important factor of radicalization and less than half of them claimed that family has affected their political beliefs and actions. Many interviewees claimed that their parents were neither politically active nor interested and seldom discussed current and political issues with them. For those who claimed that family as influential, its influence mainly concentrated on political interest and early political beliefs and rarely directly contributed to their recent radicalization. For example, some

interviewees claimed that their parents have contributed to their political interest and democratic beliefs through political discussion and participation. Mike, who we have discussed in the previous section, is an example. Another example is Jeremy, whose parents support democracy and brought him to demonstrations, which ignited his political interest. As he said, "my Daddy and Mammy are "yellow ribbon" (pro-democracy supporter), so family is a very important factor for my political enlightenment." Jim has a similar experience that his parents and brother supported democracy and frequently discussed current issues with him. The parents of two interviewees are pro-Beijing cctivists, who brought the interviewees to the activities of pro-Beijing groups when they were very young. This enhanced their political interest but ultimately failed to socialize them into the pro-Beijing camp due to the influences of other factors such as critical events and school education.

The case of Morris was the only exception whose family member had a direct impact on his radicalization. Morris's older brother participated in social movements with him and influenced him to join Civic Passion. He explained, "I influenced my brother to participate in social movements. Then, he influenced me to join Civic Passion because he knew friends there first."

Peers and Social Networks

Peers and social networks also played a role in the radicalization process of some interviewees. These friendship networks mainly drew them into social movements or connected them to the localist organizations which they later joined. As discussed in the previous section, Helen was asked by her friends to participate in the Umbrella Movement, which radicalized her in a short period of time. Ken was introduced to Youngspiration by his secondary school classmate, who is one of the founders of the party. As he explained:

> The person who introduced me to this new organization (Youngspiration) is my former secondary schoolmate. We once met at an occupied area [of the Umbrella Movement] and we knew we shared strong democratic ideals and opinions on Hong Kong politics, so we kept on discussing.

Charles, a former member of Scholarism, was directly persuaded by Joshua Wong to join Demosistō.

Politicians and Opinion Leaders

The radicalization of some interviewees was partly inspired by the actions, charisma, and ideas of political figures and opinion leaders. As discussed in the previous section, Frank learnt part of his localist ideas from the Facebook page of Wan Chin, a localist academic and politician who wrote the book "Hong Kong City-State Theory." Also, discussed above, Christine attributed her radicalization partly to the charisma of Edward Leung Tin-kei of the Hong Kong. There are several more similar cases. For example, Morris mentioned how he was impressed by Wong Yeung-tat, former leader of the Civic Passion, during the Umbrella Movement. As he explained:

> The first time I saw the actions of Civic Passion and Wong Yeung-tat was during the first day of the Occupy Movement. I saw Wong Yeung-tat speaking outside Admiralty Centre…. He asked two Civic Passion members to guard the passages…. He also asked [other members] to distribute wet T-shirts to those without a mask to guard against tear gas. At that time, I felt that he was the only political leader making commands on the scene and the motive behind was only to let the movement go on.

Wong Yeung-tat also inspired another Civic Passion interviewee Cliff, who started paying attention to Civic Passion when Wong stood in his constituency at the 2012 LegCo election. Other politicians and opinion leaders mentioned include former legislator Raymond Wong Yuk-man and Chan Chak To, leader of Kowloon East Community and candidate of 2016 LegCo election.

Media and the Internet

Lastly, media and the Internet also played a role for many interviewees in their radicalization process and online and social media such as online forums and Facebook were far more influential than traditional

media like newspapers and television. Media played two major roles on the interviewees. The first role is political socialization. It enhanced the political interest and knowledge of the interviewees and spread radical ideas to them. For example, many interviewees said they read newspapers such as Apple Daily and Ming Pao during their childhood, which enhanced their political awareness and interest. However, many said they have gradually abandoned these traditional media in favor of online media, of which some are pro-localism. As Leon explained:

> In the past, I mainly read Apply Daily and Ming Pao because I wanted to know what happened recently. But in recent years, I have been paying more attention to the Facebook pages of political parties or online media like VJMedia (a pro-localist media). Their commentaries can enhance my knowledge of different perspectives and help me learn how to speak more convincingly. It also enlightened my mind a lot.

Online media also partly contributed to the localist thinking of some interviewees. For example, Cliff first knew about Civic Passion through its online media Passion Times. Paul also had similar experience. As he explained:

> I had become a localist even before the Umbrella Revolution. It's because I have started reading Passion Times and listening to its online radio since secondary school. Through this I have learnt more current affairs and been a bit influenced by their thinking and ideas.

Apart from online media sites, online discussion forums are also important for the political socialization of some interviewees because the allow different views to be exchanged and discussed. As Tracy said:

> I visit online forums more. Now the usual practice is that a person posts a news article [on the forum], which is followed by general discussion. Not all postings support a single perspective. I will read their opinions…. So, I know the thinking of others.

The second role of media, particularly those online ones, is social networking and recruitment. For example, Anthony explained how he met likeminded friends on Facebook who later organized Studentlocalism together with him:

> I was one of the founders [of Studentloclaism] with four others, totally five…. Why did we form this group? It was because we all helped with Edward Leung Tin-lei in the New Territories East by-election in February. We all met and knew each other on Facebook. Later we knew that our beliefs are the same, so we met more frequently, had meals, and joined some political activities together. After the election, we came up with the idea [of forming the group].

Social media also acted as a platform of recruitment for some localist organizations. Some interviewees joined their localist organizations through respective social media pages. For example, Clark became a volunteer of Demosistō through its Facebook page. Angela joined East Kowloon Community by responding to the call for volunteer message of the group posed on Facebook.

Summary

This chapter used the data from in-depth interviews to explore how a group of young localistActivists perceive radicalism, their radicalization processes, and the major contextual factors contributing to their radicalization. In terms of radicalism, most of the interviewees hold a very negative impression on the government and people of contemporary China. Over half of them support Hong Kong independence and self-determination. Many of them also accept the use of violence in political actions although it may limit to defensive purpose and they may not do it themselves. Regarding radicalization process, we have roughly distinguished two routes of radicalization based on the previous political experiences of the interviewees. Lastly, we found that critical political events such as the Anti-MNE Movement and Umbrella Movement were the most influential factor of radicalization for our interviewees.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In conducting this research we posed four research questions:

Research Question 1: What were 14-year-old Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation and civic values as revealed in the 2009 ICCS study and how have they changed in the ten years under Chinese sovereignty?

Research Question 2: Given that a number of Hong Kong youth have opted for more radical forms of civic engagement in recent times, what is the explanation for this and are there any links to the civic values of the students surveyed in 1999 and 2009?

Research Question 3. What factors have influenced young people's decisions concerning different forms of civic engagement?

Research Question 4: What are the implications for the development of administrative and educational policy solutions needed to provide a more supportive youth culture?

The data we used from the IEA international surveys and the interviews conducted with young people have helped us to address these questions. In this final chapter of the Report we shall address each question in a more discursive fashion drawing on the data collected and analyzed while providing some further interpretation and comments.

Research Question 1:

What were 14-year-old Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation and civic values as revealed in the 2009 ICCS study and how have they changed in the ten years under Chinese sovereignty?

In 2009, Hong Kong students' attitudes to the nation were classified into three broad groups – those supportive of the nation, those who held moderate attitudes and those whose attitudes can be considered negative, at least by comparison with the other two groups. The same pattern could be seen in relation to civic trust – there are those who trust both the city's civic institutions but there are also those who do not (the data supporting these observation can be found in Table 6). How did these results compare to the results of students who answered similar questions in 1999?

Students in 1999 could also be differentiated by their attitudes to the nation and their level of civic trust. As shown in Table 11, and graphically in Figures 1 and 2, the difference between the two cohorts was that the inter-group differences were greater in 2009 than 1999. This suggests that the values underlying the groups were constant overtime and, if anything, were held more strongly in 2009. This is in line with results found by Kennedy and Chow (submitted) that over the same time period students' commitment to democracy increased. Overall this may mean that young students' political values should not be underestimated or at least it should not be assumed that 14 and 15 year olds do not possess such values. This is an important point to consider when it comes to civic education for young people – an issue that will be addressed later in this chapter.

While the inter-group differences were greater in 2009 than 1999, this does not mean that students were more negative in their attitudes to the nation and had less civic trust. In fact, while there are greater differences between the groups, the size of the groups have changed substantially by 2009. Table 7 clearly demonstrates this point. The number of Activists represented just 20.11% of the age cohort in 2009 whereas in 1999 they represented 48.75%. Whereas Nationalists represented 7.44% of the age cohort in 1999, the proportion in 2009 was 12.90%. The Moderates represented 66.9% of the cohort in 2009 up from 43.97% in 1999. The trend over time therefore is one where students were more inclined to be moderate in their attitudes to the nation and in terms of civic trust with smaller extremes shown in the Nationalist and Activist group. This is an important point because these students were 14 year olds in 2009 so that by 2014 and Occupy Central they were likely to be in university or the workforce. As will be

shown later, the experiences of Occupy Central played a significant role in shaping some students attitudes to the nation and their civic trust. Yet only a minority of these students exited school with negative attitudes suggesting that for many such attitudes emerged later.

Of course, it could also be argued that the 20% of students whom we labelled as Activists in this study provided a ready group who might be attracted in the future to more radical forms of civic engagement. Yet they were not so attracted as 14 year olds since willingness to engage in illegal protest was not an issue that differentiated the groups and it was not strongly endorsed even within the Activist group (see Figure 4). This suggests that radicalization might be a post-school process, although with our data the senior secondary years cannot be ruled out as a time when radicalization might commence.

Another possible explanation related to the radicalization process may be the period effect. More radical forms of civic engagement were not so prevalent in 2009 (or in 1999), when the surveys were conducted. But more radical activism has become more popular since 2010, as shown in a series of social movements and protests occurred from 2010 to 2016. Therefore, apart from the age factor, the change in the larger political context might also help explain why, for the 2009 cohort of students, radicalization may be a post-school process.

While illegal process was not seen as an option for civic engagement by all groups of students in 2009 (see Figure 4), the reverse was true for their endorsement of Democratic Values. In 1999 these values were moderately endorsed by all groups but by 2009 they were strongly endorsed. The important point to note about this is that while the groups in both 1999 and 2009 differed in terms of their attitudes to the nation and civic trust they did not differ in the same way when it came to democratic values. Thus for many students in the two cohorts it was not a matter of either loving the nation or endorsing democratic values: these were not seen as binaries. For many students it was possible both to embrace the nation and democratic values. Of course, the Activists did not do this, but by 2009 this group represented just over 20% of the cohort. Democracy is often proclaimed as a core value for Hong Kong and the results of this study based on the attitudes of young adolescents tends to support that view.

A final point in this section is related to civic knowledge. Earlier studies (Chow, 2013, Kuang, 2015) have shown that groups of students who opt for alternative or radical forms of civic engagement often also have relatively low levels of civic knowledge. Yet this was not the case in the present study. As Table 10 shows, in 1999 the Activists had the highest average level of civic knowledge and the Nationalists the lowest (although in both cases it should be noted that the mean scores were above the international mean of 100). In 2009, however, all groups had very similar levels of civic knowledge. This suggests that all students had an adequate knowledge base on which to make their decisions – the positions they adopted were not based on a deficit or because they were not aware of the choices. This reinforces the view suggested earlier that younger adolescents – 14 and 15 years old – already have political orientations underpinned by knowledge and based on their best judgments. Such students cannot be regarded as a '*tabula ras*a' waiting to be told what to think about society and about the nation. They are already engaged at least at the level of having thought about political options and having strong views about them. This has significant implications for civic education and the way it is conducted.

Research Question 2: Given that a number of Hong Kong youth have opted for more radical forms of civic engagement in recent times, what is the explanation for this and are there any links to the civic values of the students surveyed in 1999 and 2009?

We addressed this question by collecting data from interviews with a specially selected sample of young people as described in Chapter 5. We chose this strategy deliberately because the main focus of this project was to gain a better understanding of why young people opted for radical forms of civic engagement and also to try and understand the processes of radicalization themselves. Thus we chose a sample of young people who were committed to localist causes. The sample was not representative and it is not meant to suggest that their views are representative of all young people in Hong Kong. We acknowledge that many young people would not support these views, just as many people in the Hong

Kong community would not support them. But our purpose in this project was to try and understand these views, the values that underpinned them and the directions they might take. So, what did we learn?

There is not a single unified independence/self-determination/localist movement in the city. Different groups focus on different outcomes and supporters are attracted to particular groups because of the particular political aspirations of the group. The 'meeting place' for many individuals is online where there are often vigorous debates and discussion that most likely rarely see the light of day. For the most part, these conversations involve young people talking to young people about the ideas and issues that most affect them or about which they feel most strongly. A very strong youth culture has developed around these groups and it often has overflown into organizations such as universities where there are opportunities for young people to give expression to their views and very often to provide a more public face to such views. Often when these views are made public they attract strong criticism from politicians and the general public (e.g. when the Chief Executive attacked the University of Hong Kong's publication supporting independence). The key point to recognize is that these conversations are taking place all the time but only surface occasionally in the public arena. These conversations run in the 'background' irrespective of community attitudes to them and short of censoring the internet and social media, there is little that can be done to curtail them. A key issue, therefore, is how to respond to as well as to be informed by online conversations in a way that is consistent with local values and aspirations for a free society.

While there are serious differences among the independence/self-determination/localist groups the one thing they share in common is dissatisfaction with the status quo. Over and over again the interviewees relayed their dissatisfaction with the current political system, an unfair social system and with China. Dissatisfaction with the latter, however, is of two kinds. One is with 'political China' – the Communist Party of China, authoritarianism, and political behaviour such as corruption and humans rights infringements. This kind of anti-China stance has historical precedents in Hong Kong linked to democratic social movements especially since 1989. Yet it takes on a new dimension with current social

movements in the sense that for many interviewees and the groups from which they come there is no longer a concern for the democratization of China as a whole – the focus for these groups is Hong Kong not the whole of China. It often involves an abrogation of Chinese identity and the adoption of a local identity. This focus on the local leads to a consideration of the second kind of anti-China sentiment that exists among some groups representing independence/self-determination and localism.

This kind of anti-China sentiment is more social in nature, directed against individual Chinese people from Mainland China who are often characterized (and sometimes caricatured) as taking resources that belong to Hong Kong and Hong Kong people through activities such as parallel trading, taking up space in local hospitals and schools, overcrowding on public transport and creating shortages of products in local stores. Mainland Chinese tourists are sometimes characterized as encroaching/eroding the local culture and life style of Hong Kong such as the Cantonese language, traditional Chinese characters, and "better personal hygiene." This kind of localist sentiment is more akin to right-wing populism that is currently finding widespread support in many Western countries. It is based on a revival of local values (e.g. 'Make America Great Again' in the US and the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union), the denigration of global values and opposition to anyone who is not a 'native' (and in particular immigrants). Populism reifies the local and this can be seen in many of the comments made by the interviewees.

Is there a relationship between these two anti-China sentiments? There is not a definitive answer to this question based on our interview data. Strong views were expressed about both kinds of feelings towards China and at times there is the suggestion that closer integration with the Mainland has both political and social overtones. Lee (2016, p. 138), for example, has suggested that attitudes to Mainland China are class based. Elites favour closer integration because of the economic benefits they gain while working class young people often take up the 'localist' call because they do not see any benefits from closer Mainland connections in terms of livelihood accruing to themselves. This argument has little to do with politics as such but highlights the different social and economic lenses through which China is perceived by

different groups within Hong Kong society. Whether these feelings stimulate more politically oriented sentiments (or whether this works in reverse with political feelings against the CCP stimulating feelings of social deprivation) is an open question. What this study shows clearly, however, is that political feelings run deep irrespective of the source of these feelings and it follows that social issues related to the Mainland can only exacerbate what is already strong anti-China political sentiment.

An important issue for the future is to try and better understand anti-China sentiment in Hong Kong in terms of being able to develop policy solutions to address the issues. It is often argued that patriotic education will solve the problem of anti-China sentiment but this does not recognize that the problem is multifaceted with both political and populist undertones. Many of our interviewees, and indeed many people in the Hong Kong community, will even go so far as to eschew their Chinese identity preferring a Hong Kong identity instead. In casting off their Chinese identity people cut their links to both China as a nation and to Chinese people in general – this new identity thus addresses both political and populist issues. What is needed is a policy solution that does the same thing. Some attention will be made to this issue in the Policy Recommendations that accompany this Report.

A point that needs to be stressed here is that this study has highlighted the views of a very particular group of young people – those who have in one way or another already demonstrated their commitment to independence/self-determination/localism. What we cannot say based on this study is how widespread these views are within society or how strong the contrary views are. A broader sample, such as that used by Chiu (2016), gives a wider spread of responses but from secondary students (Form 5) rather than young adults and using a survey and focus groups rather than one-on-one interviews that were used in this study. What we have provided, therefore, are in-depth responses to the generic issue of localism in an attempt to understand why young people opt for radical forms of civic engagement. The remaining issue to be addressed in this section is whether there is any link between the civic values of young adolescents that were discussed in the previous section and the views of older adolescents and young adults expressed through interviews?

While this is a socially important question it is methodologically very complex. Our study has used three different samples of young people at three different time points. At best we can speculate about the connections between these samples.

What each sample of young people contains is a group whose attitudes to the nation are negative and who display negative attitudes to civic trust. While it was shown that the proportion of the age cohort who held these views was smaller in 2009 than it had been in 1999, our interview sample showed that strong anti-China feelings continue to characterize at least some young people in 2017. This trend was confirmed in Chiu's (2016) survey of Form 5 students who answered a number of questions about their attitude to the nation. Only one question was similar to one we asked: "The flag of China is important to me". In 1999, the average score for the 3 groups was 3.0/4 and the range across groups was 2.63-3.38. In 2009, the average score for the 3 groups was 2.92/4 and the range across groups was 2.24-3.57. For Chiu's (2016) Form 5 sample, the mean score was 2.12 and while his study did not produce latent classes as ours did, 67.7% of the students surveyed either "strongly disagreed" or "disagreed" that the flag of China was not important to them with the weight of those responses (43.4%) on the 'disagreed' response category. Thus the views of the localists in this study should not be regarded as 'fringe' views since they appear to be shared by many younger students in a post- Occupy context.

Other results from Chiu (2016, pp 47-48) confirm this trend. When asked to respond to the question: "The political system of the People's Republic of China works well", the average response was a negative 1.83/4 with 81.2% of the respondents selecting the negative response categories (Disagree/Strongly Disagree). When asked to respond to "I have a sense of belonging to China", the average response was 2.09 with 69% of the respondents registering a negative response (Strongly Disagree/Disagree). When asked "Should the Hong Kong SAR Government limit the number of Individual Visit Scheme travelers the average response was 3.24 with just over 88% of respondents agreeing with the statement. When asked whether Moral and National Education should be introduced as a compulsory subject" the average

response was a negative 1.67/4 with just over 88% of respondents choosing the negative response categories (Disagree/Strongly Disagree).

These consistent anti-China responses from a younger sample than the one used in this study suggest that much more needs to be known about how such attitudes develop, how students become radicalized and what are the appropriate policy responses. It may be that such attitudes are held from an early age, as shown from the results of the two IEA studies analyzed here but do radical attitudes continue over time? It needs to be remembered that our localist sample was divided into two categories": 'Converted Localists' who had a record of civic engagement but came to see the localist cause as a more useful way to achieve their political objectives and 'Abrupt Localists' with little political experience but influenced by events to express their political views in radical ways. Young students, therefore, may pass through different stages before opting for radical forms of civic engagement. There may be an interaction between their developing political values and major events that take place within the broader social and political spaces. Yet even without a well-developed set of political values, young people may be significantly influenced by social and political events. This is an issue that will be explored in the next section that seeks to identify key factors influencing young people's choice of civic engagement options.

Research Question 3. What factors have influenced young people's decisions concerning different forms of civic engagement?

The issue addressed by this research question is generally referred as one of political socialization: how are political values developed and transmitted. Torney-Purta et al., (2001) depicted political socialization as a multidimensional, multilevel construct that operated at the personal level (e.g. family and peers), at the school level (e.g. teachers, classrooms, schools) and at the community level (e.g. national values, media, governments,) all of which influence young people as they negotiate at different stages of life. Yet exactly how these different levels interact is unknown and students who experience the same environment do not necessarily develop the same political values. Yet it is possible to make some general

statements about the political socialization of young people in Hong Kong based on the results of the current study. Different influences based on the Torney-Purta et al., (2001) model will be discussed.

Families

Some of our interviewees indicated that parents had engaged them in discussion of political issues but the majority did not. There was one case where the parents' political values were at odds with those of the interviewee. It can be seen from the quantitative studies here and elsewhere that family socioeconomic status did not play a significant role either in students' levels of civic knowledge or in the attitudes to the nation or civic trust. One area where families have been shown to be important is where there is discussion of political and social issues as part of family interactions.

Schools

Civic participation in schools appears to be an important process that engages students in modeling political behaviour and is related to the development of democratic values. Students' level of civic knowledge also influences their commitment to democratic values and is negatively related to students' intentions to engage in illegal protest. Thus schools can do things that encourage the development of specific civic values. A number of interviewees appointed to teachers as being important influences on their political values although there was not strong support for the influence of specific subjects.

Community

For our interviewees, especially the Abrupt Localists, major events in the community such as the Moral and National Education Campaign and Occupy Central were key to the development of their political values as well as influences exerted by key opinion leaders. These often produced 'instant' decisions to join the localist cause. The Converted Localists were also influenced by these events but in a way that interrupted what might be called a more usual political commitment to existing political parties and causes. It might be useful to regard these major events as 'beacons' attracting support and engagement.

Yet it is not the events themselves that socialize or radicalize participants. It is the processes associated with such events that are important. Petrović, Stekelenburg & Klandermans (nd, p. 15) put it this way:

> Becoming a long term activist is to a large extent a matter of embeddedness in milieus conducive to protest. In these milieus people discuss politics, individual grievances are turned into collective claims and people are mobilized for protest, in other words in these milieus people are socialized into movement politics. Moreover, people are more likely to be targeted and persuaded in protest activities in these milieus.

This is exactly what a number of our interviewees reported either in the context of spending time in specific protest sites or through online discussion. Our view is that peers represent the most significant influence on political socialization/radicalization for the young adults in our study and that this took place in the local context through major political events that might be better be characterized as social movements rather than one-off events. Seen in this way, even though the events themselves might have come to an end, the social movement continues. It may be largely online but occasionally takes concrete form in further protest activity or even support for favoured candidates in local elections. The physical presence of Occupy Central may have ceased in November 2014. Yet its aftermath lives on in the social movement it created and in the lives of our interviewees, and likely in the lives of the many young people who join them online in a continuing discussion of Hong Kong's future and their role in it.

Research Question 4: What are the implications for the development of administrative and educational policy solutions needed to provide a more supportive youth culture?

We have considered this question by reflecting on the results of this study and have given it more concrete expression in the Policy Recommendations that have been made as part of this Report. There is an assumption in the question that what we have identified in the Report can somehow be 'managed' to

produce more positive outcomes for Hong Kong. This is an important social and political aspiration that we shall now try to address.

Schools are somewhat easier to manage that the post-school activities of older adolescents and young adults. Yet even so there are still difficulties associated with the management of schools when it comes to civic issues and civic learning. The residual from the Anti Moral and National Education Curriculum Movement of 2012 is a deep mistrust of any HKSARG initiatives that suggest 'brainwashing' might be part of any school initiative. As recently as last year when EDB introduced guidelines for teaching about the Basic Law in secondary schools there were protests about the pressure this placed on schools and criticisms by the Professional Teachers' Union of 'brainwashing' (Chiu & Zhao, 2016). Hong Kong's schools, therefore, cannot be regarded as uncontested sites for promoting potential solutions to what some may regard as a 'civic deficit' in young people's learning. Policymakers need to consider more nuanced approaches and need to recognize that the education system in Hong Kong does not operate in the same way as it does on the Mainland.

Mainland schools work directly to their local education authorities all of which are under the jurisdiction of the national Ministry of Education. Curriculum is highly centralized and there is little change or improvisation when curriculum guidelines are handed down from the Ministry. Each school has its Party Secretary who ensures the political correctness both of staff and the curriculum. There is thus little room for deviation from what is intended and there is certainly little room for discussion. Such hegemony is unknown in Hong Kong where schools have freedom to implement, where community views play an important role in the emphasis that is placed within particular schools and where there are strong voices within civil society unafraid to speak out against government initiatives and government authority. So what does this mean for any curriculum initiative that might seek to influence civic learning and civic outcomes for students?

It means that the HKSARG cannot act like the Central People's Government because the social and political context is entirely different. The HKSARG must do more work to persuade, to include and to

convince the community of the merits of any proposed action. Participatory structures are needed that go further than the standard consultation processes that at best are seen as a sham and at worst as a deceit. Hong Kong people need to be involved in the decisions that affect them if there is to be harmony in society. Hong Kong's policy makers need to give up their colonial mentality as though they can continue to rule by *dictat*. They must enter the community, work with the community and compromise with the community if they are to get support for their proposals. Democracy is hard work and it does not only revolve around the ballot box. As John Dewey said, democracy is as much about "associated living" and Hong Kong's policy makers need to learn this lesson if they are to contribute to the development of an harmonious society.

There is much talk in the community about a greater emphasis on the teaching of Chinese history in the school curriculum, about more focus on national education and about Basic Law education. None of this discourse needs to be interpreted as conservative or reactionary as long as the development of new curriculum is an open process adhering to commonly agreed academic standards and accompanied by consultation with schools and the community. There are many stories to be told about the history of China, many facets to national education and different ways of understanding the way laws works in society. The challenge for the HKSARG is to negotiate these in the form of curriculum so that young people will become informed, concerned and engaged citizens committed to a productive and harmonious future, capable of critical thinking and willing to both listen to and interact with fellow citizens irrespective of whether they agree with them or not.

The key lesson for the HKSARG, therefore, is to take advantage of its constitutional responsibility for education and have some faith in its own well-proven curriculum development process . There is a need to counter a recent trend in curriculum development that appears to mimic what appears to work on the Mainland. The use of Mainland academics as advisors and the adoption of Mainland curriculum materials can only be counterproductive in winning support for a curriculum that reflects not just local values but the distinctiveness of educational provision in Hong Kong. Reclaiming Hong Kong's young people is

about fashioning a local process that can take aboard national concerns and express them in ways that are consistent with local values. This will reduce the perceived gap between Hong Kong and the Mainland, address key issues that the community regards as important and hopefully create an informed and engaged citizenry. Schools can make a difference so it is a matter of creating a context in which this happen and then supporting schools to do their job.

When it comes to older adolescents and young adults – similar to those who participated in our interviews – the state apparatus has fewer options. There is not a single structure that encompasses these young people or a single source of information that will reach them all. If, as our study has shown, many of them are embedded in online communities and are actively engaged in supporting each other's ideas and views then reaching them poses particular problems. Yet the HKSARG needs to reach out to reclaim these young people.

The usual kind of policy responses available might include the establishment of a Youth Bureau and/or a Youth Commission, a youth policy focused on the needs of Hong Kong's alienated youth or an enhanced use of social media by the government to attract groups of young people for debate and discussion of issues they regard as important. The European Commission, for example, has committed itself to creating "youth friendly policies or youth friendly Europe" (Evans & Shen, 2010, p.172) and this is a direction that Hong Kong policy makers could well take. But we would want to add a caveat to any kind of actions that could be taken by the HKSARG. Evans & Shen (2010, p.172) summed it up nicely when they said "for policy makers listening to young people should be more important than just talking".

In whatever steps the HKSARG takes to support Hong Kong's young people the key issue is to listen to them rather than lecture to them. This applies to all groups – whether they are anti-China or pro-China (and the latter should by no means neglected). In deed the point of nay youth structure that can bring different groups together is to get young people to listen to each other in a respectful way. This process has been sadly lacking in Hong Kong where people of different political persuasions tend to shout at each other rather than listen to each other. Of course, the HKSARG cannot support Hong Kong independence

or any kind of self-determination that appears to challenge the Central government, But officials can listen, provide feedback and engage young people. Again, the issue for the HKSARG is not to mimic the strategies of central authorities but to develop strategies that are consistent with the values of the Hong Kong community. In this way, young people can be made to feel as though their voices are being heard and the HKSARG can learn about the depth of the issues that face them. It is this two-way process that seems so essential to the future of Hong Kong.

Summary

In this chapter we have addressed the four research questions that have guided this study. We have done so in such a way that we hope to have drawn the different studies together and to have provided a framework for possible future action. Our argument here is very simple: the alienation of some Hong Kong young people is very real and deeply felt and it may have its roots in the civic thinking of school age youngsters who are far from being apolitical. In addressing Research Question 4 we have suggested that the HKSARG needs a framework for action that reflects Hong Kong values but within the boundaries laid down by the Central Government.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Common items and factors used in both the 1999 CivED and 2009 ICCS surveys.

Note.

1. The wording of question stems, items, and option categories may be different across the two waves of data. Displayed below are those used in the ICCS 2009 survey. Both survey used 4-point Likert scales throughout but in opposite order in most cases, and reverse coding is conducted to ensure the options are incremental, i.e., from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 4 for "strongly agree".
2. Item E11 was removed in the discriminant analysis due to low discriminating power.

CivED 1999 Student Survey Questionnaire (Part) [12]

1. Section D: **Trust in Institutions**

In this section we will name several institutions in this country [name of

country]: How much of the time can you trust each of the following institutions?

D1 The national [federal] government

D2 The local council or government of town or city

D3 Courts

D4 The police

D8 Political parties

D11 National Parliament [Congress]

Response Categories:

1. Never
2. Only some of the time
3. Most of the time
4. Always

0. Don't know

[12] Schulz, W., & Sibberns, H. (2004). *IEA civic education study technical report*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Retrieved from:http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/CIVED_Technical_Report.pdf

2. Section E: Our Country (**Attitudes toward the Nation**)

In this section you will find some statements about this country [name of country]. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

E3 The flag of this country [name of country] is important to me.
E7 I have great love for this country [name of country]
E9 This country [name of country] should be proud of what it has achieved.
E11* I would prefer to live permanently in another country.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
0. Don't know

3. Section A: **Democracy**

You are going to read a list of things that might happen in a country that is a democracy. Each one of them could either be good and have positive results for democracy or it could be bad and have negative results for democracy. There are no right answers and no wrong answers to these questions, because we just want to know what you think about democracy and the things that might influence it. What is good and what is bad for democracy?

A1 Right to express their opinions
A2 Differences in income and wealth between the rich and poor is small
A3* Give political jobs to family members
A6* One company owns all the newspapers
A7 People demand their political and social rights
A10* Critical people forbidden from speaking
A11 Right to elect political leaders freely
A25 People peacefully protest against a law they believe to be unjust

Response Categories:

1. Very bad for democracy
2. Somewhat bad for democracy
3. Somewhat good for democracy
4. Very good for democracy
5. Don't know/doesn't apply
0. Don't know/doesn't apply

Section G: Opportunities 2 (**Positive Attitudes toward Women's Political and Economic Rights)**
In this section there are some statements about the opportunities which members of certain groups SHOULD HAVE in this country [name of the country]. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

G1 Women should run for public office [a seat in the legislature] and take part in the government just as men do

G4 Women should have the same rights as men in every way

G6* Women should stay out of politics

G9* When jobs are scarce, men [should] have more right to a job than women

G11 Men and women should get equal pay when they are in the same jobs [occupations

G13* Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women

Response Categories:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
0. Don't know

Section G: Opportunities 2 **(Positive Attitudes toward ethnic groups' Political and Economic Rights)**
In this section there are some statements about the opportunities which members of certain groups SHOULD HAVE in this country [name of the country]. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

G2 All ethnic [racial or national] groups should have equal chances to get a good education in this country

G5 All ethnic [racial or national] groups should have equal chances to get good jobs in this country

G8 Schools should teach students to respect members of all ethnic [racial or national] groups

G12 Members of all ethnic [racial or national] groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office

Response Categories:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
0. Don't know

Section H: Immigrants **(Immigrants Equality)**

Listed below you will read several statements about immigrants and immigration in this country [name of country]. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

H1 Immigrants should have the opportunity [option] to keep [continue speaking] their own language

H2 Immigrants' children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have

H3 Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections

H4 Immigrants should have the opportunity [option] to keep [continue] their own customs and lifestyle

H5 Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in a country has

Response Categories:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
0. Don't know

Section M: Political Action 2 (**Expected Political Participation)**

Listed below are several types of action that adults could take: When you arean adult, what do you expect that you will do? Tick one box in each column for each action to show how likely you would be to do it

M1* Vote in national elections

M2* "Get information about candidates before voting in an election"

M3 Join a political party

M4 "Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns"

M5 Be a candidate for a local or city office

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly not do this
2. I will probably not do this
3. I will probably do this
4. I will certainly do this
0. Don't know

Section M: Political Action 2 **(Participation in Legal Protest)**

Listed below are several types of action that you as a young person could take during the next few years: What do you expect that you will do? Again tick one box in each column for each action to show how likely you would be to do it. If you don't know, put a tick in the circle in the last column.

M8* Collect signatures for a petition

M9* "Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally"

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly not do this
2. I will probably not do this
3. I will probably do this
4. I will certainly do this
0. Don't know

Section M: Political Action 2 **(Participation in Illegal Protest)**

Listed below are several types of action that you as a young person could take during the next few years: What do you expect that you will do? Again tick one box in each column for each action to show how likely you would be to do it. If you don't know, put a tick in the circle in the last column.

M10 Spray-paint protest slogans on walls

M11 Block traffic as a form of protest

M12 Occupy public buildings as a form of protest

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly not do this
2. I will probably not do this
3. I will probably do this
4. I will certainly do this
0. Don't know

Section N: Classrooms (**Open Climate for Classroom Discussion**)

The next part of the questionnaire includes some statements about things that happen in your school. When answering these questions think especially about classes in history, civic education or social studies [other civic-related subjects]. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

N1 Students feel free to disagree openly with their teachers about political and social issues during class.

N2 Students are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues.

N3 Teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them during class.

N5 Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.

N7 Teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions.

N8 Teachers present several sides of [positions on] an issue when explaining it in class.

N9* Students bring up current political events for discussion in class.

Response Categories:

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Often
0. Don't know

Section J: School **(Confidence in Participation at School)**

Listed below you will find some statements on students' participation in school life. Please read each statement and select the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statement.

J1 Electing student representatives to suggest changes in how the school is run [how to solve school problems] makes schools better.

J2 Lots of positive changes happen in this school when students work together.

J3 Organizing groups of students to state their opinions could help solve problems in this school.

J5 Students acting together [in groups] can have more influence on what happens in this school than students acting alone [by themselves].

Response Categories:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
0. Don't know

ICCS 2009 Student Survey Questionnaire (Part) [13]

1. **INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETY (Students' trust in civic institutions)**

Q27 How much do you trust each of the following groups or institutions?
How much do you trust each of the following institutions?

A. The <national government> of <country of test>
B. The <local government> of your town or city
C. Courts of justice
D. The police
E. Political parties
F. <National Parliament>

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

1. **Students' attitudes towards their country**

Q28 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about <country of test>?

A. The <flag of country of test> is important to me.
C. I have great respect for <country of test>.
D. In <country of test> we should be proud of what we have achieved.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

2. **Students' support for democratic values**

Q20 There are different views about what a society should be like. We are interested in your views on this. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely.
B. Differences in income between poor and rich people should be small.

---

[13] Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., & Losito, B. (2010). *ICCS 2009 international report: Civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement among lower-secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Retrieved from http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/ICCS_2009_International_Report.pdf

C. Political leaders should not be allowed to give government jobs to family members.
D. No company or government should be allowed to own all newspapers in a country.
E. All people should have their social and political rights respected.
F. People should always be free to criticize the government publicly.
G. All citizens should have the right to elect their leaders freely.
H. People should be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

3. Students' attitudes towards gender equality

Q24 There are different views about the roles of women and men in society. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. Men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in government.
B. Men and women should have the same rights in every way.
C. Women should stay out of politics.
D. When there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women.
E. Men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs.
F. Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

4. Students' attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups

Q25 There are different views on the rights and responsibilities of different <ethnic/racial groups> in society. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get a good education in <country of test>.
B. All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get good jobs in <country of test>.
C. Schools should teach students to respect members of all <ethnic/racial groups>.
D. <Members of all ethnic/racial groups> should be encouraged to run in elections for political office.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree

2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

5. Students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants

Q26 People are increasingly moving from one country to another. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about <immigrants>?

A. <Immigrants> should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language.
B. <Immigrant> children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have.
C. <Immigrants> who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections.
D. <Immigrants> should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle.
E. <Immigrants> should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

6. Student's Expected Adult Electoral Participation

Q32 Listed below are different ways adults can take an active part in political life. When you are an adult, what do you think you will do?

A. Vote in <national elections>
B. Get information about candidates before voting in an election
C. Join a political party
D. Stand as a candidate in <local elections>

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly do this
2. I will probably do this
3. I will probably not do this
4. I will certainly not do this

7. Legal Protest in Future

Q31 There are many different ways how citizens may protest against things they believe are wrong. Would you take part in any of the following forms of protest in the future?

A. Collecting signatures for a petition

B. Taking part in a peaceful march or rally

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly do this
2. I will probably do this
3. I will probably not do this
4. I will certainly not do this

8. Illegal Protest in Future

Q31 There are many different ways how citizens may protest against things they believe are wrong. Would you take part in any of the following forms of protest in the future?

A. Spray-painting protest slogans on walls
B. Blocking traffic
C. Occupying public buildings

Response Categories:

1. I will certainly do this
2. I will probably do this
3. I will probably not do this
4. I will certainly not do this

9. Openness in Classroom Discussions

Q16 When discussing political and social issues during regular lessons, how often do the following things happen?

A. Students are able to disagree openly with their teachers.
B. Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds .
C. Teachers encourage students to express their opinions.
D. Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.
E. Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions.
F. Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class.
G. Students bring up current political events for discussion in class.

Response Categories:

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Often

10. Students' perceptions of the value of participation at school

Q19 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about student participation at school?

A. Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better.
B. Lots of positive changes can happen in schools when students work together.
C. Organising groups of students to express their opinions could help solve problems in schools.
D. Students can have more influence on what happens in schools if they act together rather than alone.

Response Categories:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

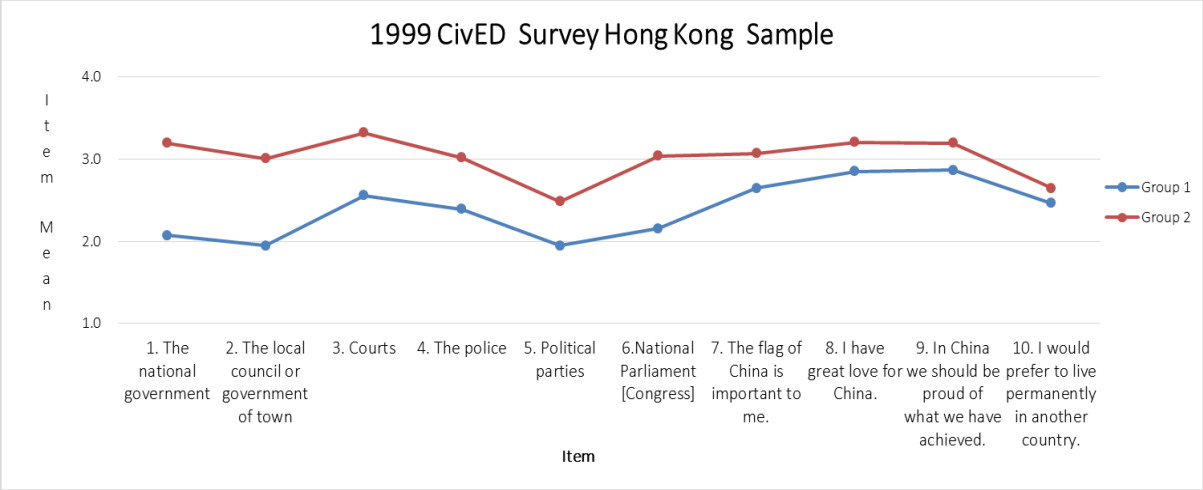
Appendix 2: Tables and Graphs Reporting the Results of Latent Profile Analysis

Table 13. Comparative Model Fit Statistics for Exploratory Latent Profile Analysis of Hong Kong Students' Self-Perceptions of Civic Attitudes (The 1999 Cohort) [14]

	2 Classes	*3 Classes*	*4 Classes*	***5 Classes***
LL	-34633.164	-33985.246	Cannot converge	Cannot converge
AIC	69328.328	68054.491		
BIC	69516.39	68309.285		
Sample Adjusted BIC	69417.89	68175.833		
Entropy	0.827	0.867		
Mean LC	*0.954, 0.948*	0.949, 0.934, 0.919		
	1 *v* 2	2 *v* 3	3 *v* 4	4 *v* 5
LMRA	4546.854 *p* = .0000	1281.395 *p* = .0000		
BLRT	*4598.097* *p* = .0000	*1295.837* *p* = .0000		

[14] Table 13 shows that, among all the solutions the 3-cluster solution fits both the 1999 CivED data and 2009 ICCS data the best, considering the higher indices with the 2-cluster solution and the non-converged 4- and 5-cluster solutions.

Figure 5. Item scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 1999 CivED Sample - 2-cluster Solution) [15]



[15] The graphic output suggests that there are potentially more than one cluster in the data, hence the diversity regarding students' civic trust and national attitudes. To evaluate the solutions statistically, the Akaike (AIC), Bayesian information criterion (BIC) (Fraley & Raftery, 1998) and Sample Adjusted BIC (Chiu, Fang, Chen, Wang, & Jeris, 2001) were used as goodness-of-fit measures. Given equal priors for all competing models, the model with the smallest fit statistics indicates the best statistical solution to identify the appropriate number of clusters (Chow & Kennedy, 2014). In addition, convergence of the estimation is another concern. In this sense, the three-cluster solution is better than the two- cluster solution and other solutions that do not converge.

Nevertheless, Marsh, Hau, and Wen (2004) warned against using the above mentioned three goodness-of-fit indices as the only rule for selecting the suitable model. Rather, any decision regarding the number of clusters needs to be based on the consideration of evidence from multiple perspectives, including not only statistical fit indices but also theoretical evidence and ease of interpretation (Chow & Kennedy, 2014).

In the current study, on deciding the number of clusters, both statistical information and theoretical implications of the clusters are considered. By plotting and comparing the average scores of the ten common items across clusters (Figure 5 and Figure 6), it is observed that compared to the over simple two-cluster solution, the three-cluster solution is the optimal based on both statistical comparison and theoretical considerations. This optimal cluster solution is also supported by literature on the "types of citizens", where identifying three to four citizen types is common (e.g., Chow & Kennedy, 2014; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). For example, Chow and Kennedy (2015) identified four groups of students with Asian sample, as drawn from the 2009 ICCS student survey data. The participator groups identified are "active", "conventional", "radical", and "minimal".

Figure 6. Item Scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 1999 CivED Sample - 3-cluster Solution)

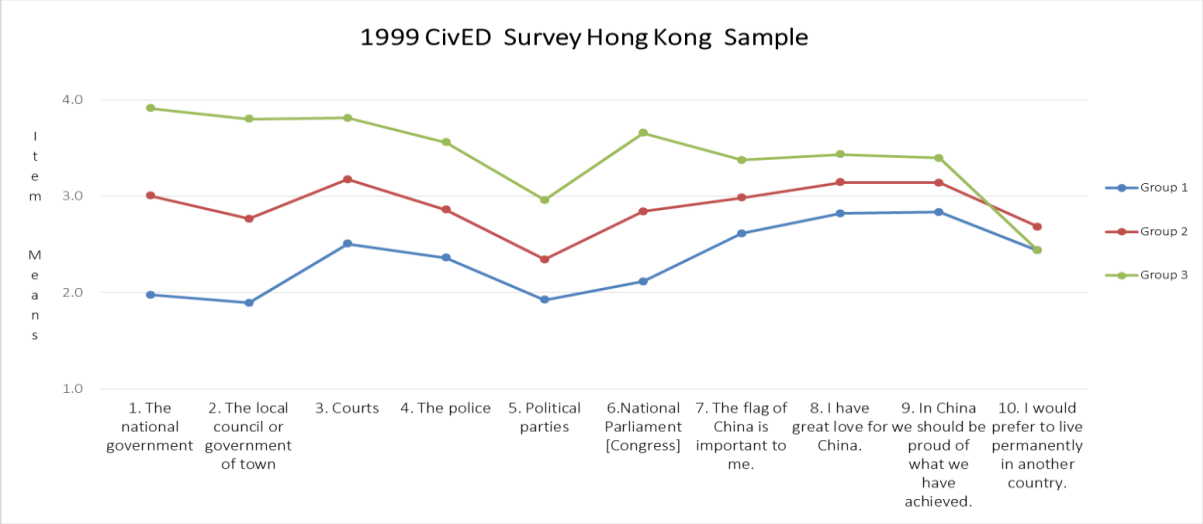
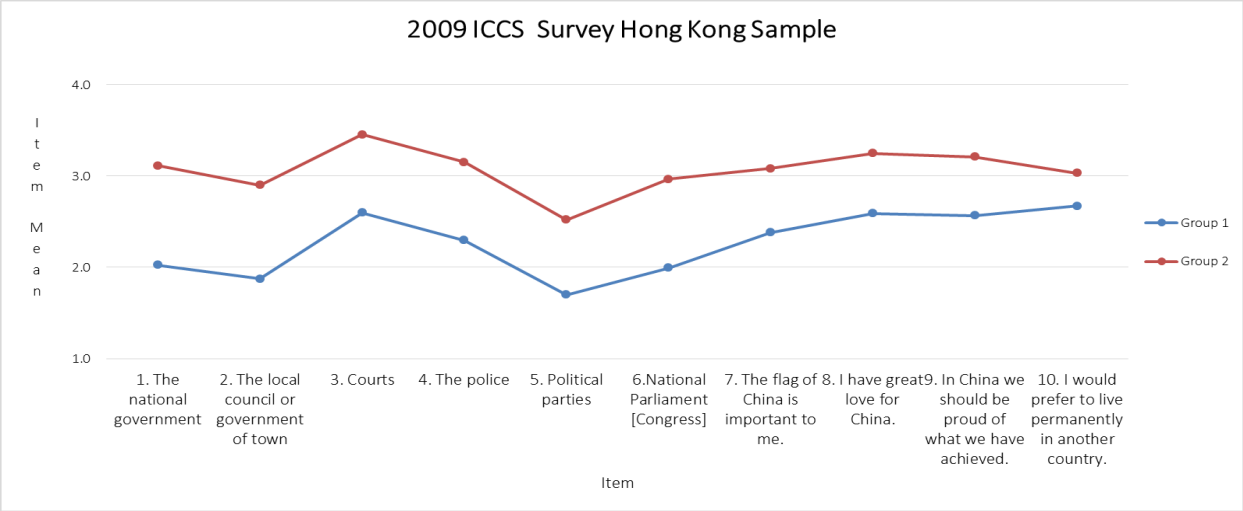


Table 14. Comparative Model Fit Statistics for Exploratory Latent Profile Analysis of Hong Kong Students' Self-Perceptions of Civic Attitudes (The 2009 Cohort) [16]

	2 Clusters	*3 Clusters*	*4* ***Clusters***	***5 Clusters***
LL	-28596.104	-27654.863	-26942.356	-26501.926
AIC	57254.208	55393.726	53990.713	53131.853
BIC	57438.133	55642.915	54305.166	53511.57
Sample Adjusted BIC	57339.636	55509.467	54136.767	53308.22
Entropy	0.87	0.872	0.895	0.896
Mean LC	*0.938, 0.971*	0.940, 0.949, 0.909	0.946, 0.928, 0.958, 0.925	0.946, 0.923, 0.949, 0.943, 0.914
	1 *v* 2	2 *v* 3	3 *v* 4	4 *v* 5
LMRA	5399.108 *p* = .0000	1861.154 *p* =0.0094	1408.868 *p* =0.0119	870.88 *p* =0.0057
BLRT	*5460.979* *p* = .0000	*1882.482* *p* = .0000	*1425.013* *p* = .0000	*880.86* *p* = .0000

[16] Table 14 shows that estimation with all the solutions converge, and the five-cluster solution suggests the smallest fit statistics, hence the best statistical solution to identify the appropriate number of clusters. However, as found from Figure 9 and Figure 10 that discerning the difference between some clusters becomes difficult as the number of clusters increases. This phenomenon is particularly observed in the five-cluster solutions (Chow & Kennedy, 2014). In order to keep the clustering patterns comparable with the 1999 sample, the three-cluster solution is adopted as the optimal solution.

Figure 7. Item Scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 2009 ICCS Sample - 2-cluster solution) [17]



[17] During the latent profile analysis, all the 10 common items measuring civic attitudes (including the 6 items measuring students' civic trust and the 4 items measuring student's attitudes towards the nation) were included in the latent profile analysis. The item measuring student's attitudes towards the nation, "I would prefer to live permanently in another country", is removed in the following analysis due to the low discriminating power, as evidenced in the line charts for both waves of data.

Figure 8. Item Scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 2009 ICCS Sample - 3-cluster solution)

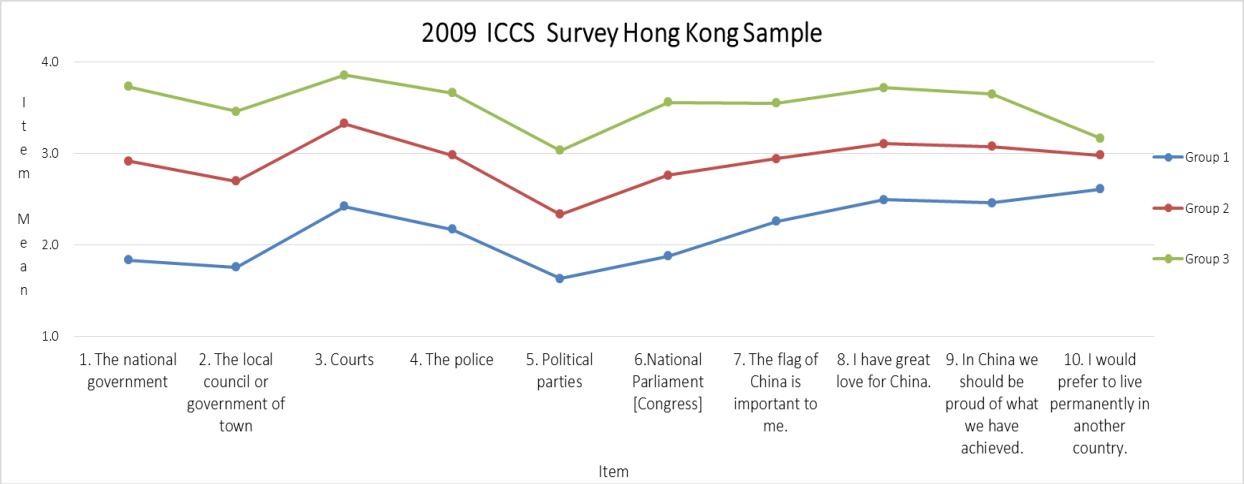


Figure 9. Item Scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 2009 ICCS Sample - 4-cluster solution)

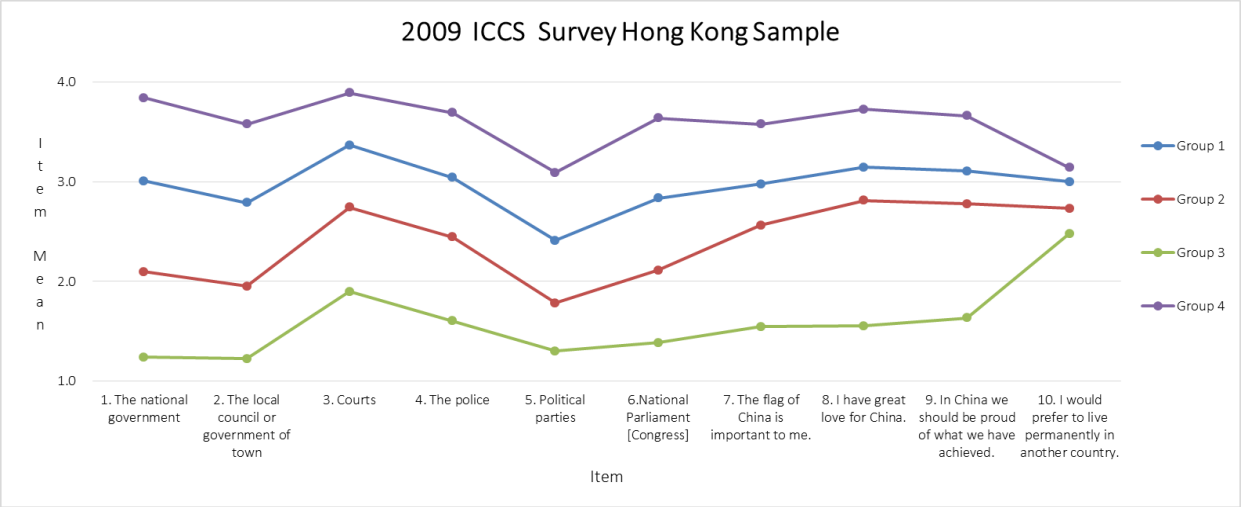


Figure 10. Item Scores across Clusters for Different Cluster Solutions (the 2009 ICCS Sample - 5-cluster solution)

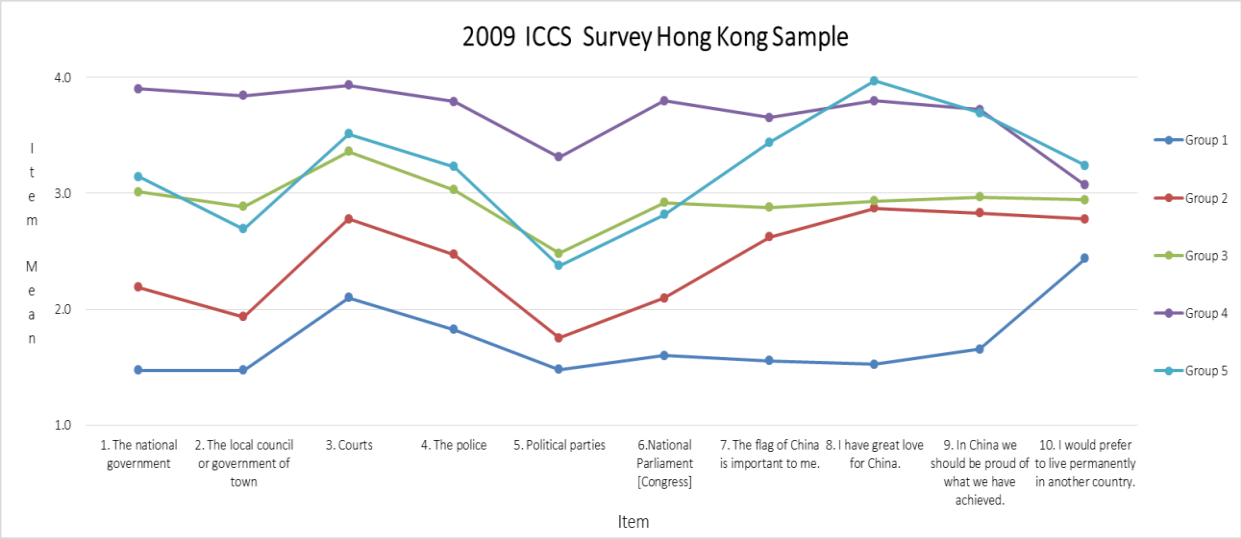


Table 15. Comparative Model Fit Statistics for Exploratory Latent Profile Analysis of Hong Kong Students' Self Perceptions of Civic Attitudes (3-cluster solution) [18]

	Sample and Data	
	1999 CivED	**2009 ICCS**
LL	-31642.977	-24373.292
AIC	63361.954	48822.583
BIC	63594.806	49048.067
Sample Adjusted BIC	63474.063	48927.329
Entropy	0.869	0.874
Mean LC	*0.953, 0.932, 0.971*	*0.941, 0.952, 0.899*
	1 *v* 2	3 *v* 4
LMRA	1314.037 *p* = .0000	1837.919 *p* = .0044
BLRT	*1330.204* *p* = .0000	*1861.084* *p* = .0000
Number for each class	Cluster 1=1645 (48.568%) Cluster 2=1490 (43.992%) Cluster 3=252 (7.440%)	Cluster 1=561 (20.108%) Cluster 2=1869 (66.989%) Cluster 3=360 (12.903%)

[18] The fit indices reported in Table 15 are from modified models of the latent profile analysis, dropping off the non-discriminating item "I would prefer to live permanently in another country".

Appendix 3: Project Description (English and Chinese)

Youth Radicalism in Hong Kong: Exploring Changes in Adolescents' Civic Consciousness and Attitudes to the Nation*

Project Description

Many Hong Kong youth showed their radical inclinations during the Occupy protests and the divisions already evident between different political groups in the city were exacerbated. Students and young people, almost by default, took the lead in these protests. While they were not successful in achieving their aims there is evidence from the recent District Council and Legislative Council elections that "umbrella soldiers", as they have been called, have won some favor with a disillusioned electorate.

The key issue of this project is to understand the civic orientations of this new group of activists spreading across a spectrum of groups that might generally be called "localists." The focus will be on identifying civic and national attitudes and the reasons behind them. The study will seek to identify the trajectories of change from early to late adolescence and early adulthood so that civic attitudes, dispositions and values can be better understood.

Participation in the project is voluntary. The views and comments provided will remain confidential and when analyzed individuals will not be named but code names will be used. We look forward to your participation.

Targeted Participants:

- Young "localist" group members between the ages of 18 and 29.

Research Method:

- In-depth interview

Interview Procedure:

- Each participant will participate in an interview which lasts 1 to 2 hours
- Every interview will be taped recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

Scope of the Interview:

- Basic demographics (e.g. age, occupation, religion, education level)
- Process of and reasons for joining a "localist" group;
- Activities inside a "localist" group;
- Political socialization experiences (living environment, family, education, media etc.);
- Main topics (e.g., democratic values and attitudes towards China)
- Other related topics (e.g., perceptions of personal political future).

Interview Data:

- All information related to you will remain confidential.
- Your interview transcripts will be given back to you as soon as possible for feedbacks.
- Information obtained from this research may be used in future research and may be published.

Notes:

- You have every right to withdraw from this study before or during the research process without penalty or any kind.
- If you have any complaints about the conduct of this research study, please contact Ms. Connie Fung, Secretary of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Education University of Hong Kong in person or in writing (Tel: 2948 8404; E-mail: ypfung@eduhk.hk).

If you would like to obtain more information about this project, please feel free to contact Mr. Ng Hoi Yu (hoiyu@eduhk.hk; 6026 5687). Thank you for your interest in participating in this study.

Centre for Governance and Citizenship

Education University of Hong Kong

*This project is funded by the Central Policy Unit of the Hong Kong SAR Government

香港青年的激進主義：探索青少年的公民意識及對中國態度之變化[19]

研究簡介

眾多香港年青人在2014年的佔領運動中顯出其激進傾向，加深了早已存在於不同政治力量之間的分歧。學生與年青人一直是佔領運動的主角，雖然他們未能通過佔領運動實現他們的政治理想，但這些「傘兵」卻能在最近的區議會和立法會選舉中贏得部分對現狀失望的選民支持，成功奪取一些議席。

這些參選的「傘兵」不少來自一些被社會通稱為「本土派」的組織。本研究的目的就是去了解參與這些組織的年青人的公民意識。其中研究的重點在於了解他們的公民態度和素養、對中國的態度，及其背後的影響因素。本研究亦會嘗試追溯他們由少年至成人階段的成長軌跡，以進一步了解他們的公民態度和價值觀的轉變過程。

參與本研究純屬自願，受訪者的觀點和意見絕對保密，只供研究之用。另外，為保障受訪者之私隱，我們會在研究報告中用化名或代號代替真實姓名。我們現誠意邀請閣下參與本研究。

研究對象：

- 年齡介乎 18 至 29 歲的「本土派」組織成員。

研究方法：

[19] 本研究之經費由香港特別行政區政府中央政策組贊助

- 對「本土派」組織年輕成員進行深入訪談。

訪談程序：

- 與受訪者進行一次約 1 至 2 小時的深入訪談；
- 訪談過程將會全程錄音，以利資料的詳細記錄及製作逐字稿。

訪談內容：

- 加入所屬「本土派」組織的經過及原因；
- 政治社教化經驗(例如：生活環境、家庭背景、教育、媒體)；
- 「本土派」組織活動之參與；
- 對個人政治前途的看法；
- 基本個人資料(例如：年齡、職業、宗教信仰、教育程度)；
- 其他相關課題(例如：民主價值、國民身份認同)。

資料處理：

- 訪談收集的一切資料，均屬保密，只供研究之用。
- 每次訪談結束後，我會儘快把訪談逐字稿寄給您檢閱，以求資料之正確。
- 我們將分析訪談資料，並把資料以不記名方式在研究報告或其他學術出版物中發表。

注意事項：

- 由於談訪內容涉及您的個人經歷，研究報告的讀者有可能辨認出您的身份，尚請見諒。但我會設法(例如用化名等)確保研究資料的匿名性，保障您的私隱。
- 在研究的過程中，您有權利隨時選擇退出。
- 如閣下對這項研究的操守有任何意見，可隨時與香港教育大學人類實驗對象操守委員會聯絡(電郵: hrec@eduhk.hk ; 地址:香港教育大院研究與發展事務處)。

如需更多資料，請致電 6026 5687 或電郵 hoiyu@eduhk.hk 聯絡吳凱宇先生。

香港教育大學

管治與公民研究中心

Appendix 4: Interview Guide (English and Chinese)

Interview Guide

A) Becoming a member of a "localist" group

- Could you describe in detail how did you join _____?
- Could you describe the first contact you had with this group?
- What motivated you to join?
- Why did you choose this group but not others?
- Were there any persons/events that had great influence on your decision?
- Did you face any difficulties or hesitations when you made the decision?
- Did you participate in any political activities before joining this group?

B) Political socialization

- Living environment

  Could you tell me your living environment?

(e.g. where lived and are living, family condition)

- Family background

  What are your parents' occupation, education, and political views?

  How did your parents nurture you?

  What were your parents' expectations of you?

Did your parents or family have any influence on your political participation?

- Education

• Could you tell me your primary and secondary schooling experience?

• How was your university life (e.g. courses taken, student society, social participation)

• How did your schooling experience influence you? (e.g. Shaped your political views? In what way? How can schools be more supportive of young people interested in politics?)

- Work experience

What were you doing after graduation?

How did your work experience influence you politically?

- Political interest and ideologies

When did you first become interested in politics and how did that happen?

Are there anything that have great influence on you? (e.g. persons, events, media, social media)

Civic events: Anti-National Education Movement, Umbrella Movement, Anti-express rail link protest etc.

Could you describe your political beliefs?

Are they similar to those of the group you have joined?

Where did you learn these ideas? (E.g. persons, events, media, social media)

Do you consider yourself as a “localist”? Why and why not?

What does it mean by “localism” according to your interpretation?

What do you think about the political situation in Hong Kong?

Could you tell me which political forces are on your side and which are against you?

If something could be changed in Hong Kong in the future, what would you like the most to be changed?

What are the right strategies/tactics to achieve your political goals? Which one is effective? (e.g. election, legal/illegal protests, violence)

Are there situations in which violence/illegal means are justified?

C) Being a member of a "localist" group

Could you tell me what are the activities of your group? (e.g. attending meetings, electoral campaign, protests)

Do you think people should be able to protest in whatever way, if they believe a law is unfair?

On average how much time do you spend on your group every month?

What role do you play in the group?

Do you consider yourself an active member of your political group? If yes, how?

Are you satisfied with your experience in the group so far?

Could you tell me the happiest/most satisfied and the unhappiest/most discouraged story in the group?

Could you tell me what it means to you personally of participating in this group?

D) Perceptions of future

How do you perceive you own political future? (e.g. running for election, staying as a member)

What do you think Hong Kong would be like in a foreseeable future?

How about the future for China? How would you like it to be?

E) Demographics

Place of birth

Age

Gender

Marital status

Religion

Education level

Occupation

Income

Membership in other organizations (past and present)

Additional Topics (From ICCS2009):

Democratic values

How do you understand democracy?

What do you think are the most important aspects of democracy?

Trust in civic institutions (Why or why not)?

HKSAR Government

Courts of Justice

Hong Kong Police

Political Parties

Has your trust in above-mentioned civic institutions changed since secondary school? If yes, what led to the changes?

Attitudes towards China

Do you trust the Central Government in Beijing (Why or why not)?

Do you think China is important to you? (Why or why not)?

Are you proud of what China has achieved (e.g. economic development, Olympic Games)?

Do you think your attitudes to China have changed since secondary school? What led to the changes?

If possible, would you prefer to live permanently in another country? Why?

香港青年的激進主義：探索青少年的公民意識及對中國態度之變化

研究計劃 訪談大綱

一. 加入「本土派」政團的經過

- 可否詳細談談您加入這個政團的經過??
- 可否詳細談談你起初如何接觸這個政團？
- 有甚麼原因驅使您加入這個政團?
- 為什麼您會選擇這個政團，而不是其他呢?
- 有沒有甚麼人或事對您的決定有特別深遠的影響?
- 您決定加入這個政團時遇到甚麼顧慮、猶豫、掙扎?
- 加入這個政團之前，你是否參加過任何政治活動？

二. 政治社會化

- 生活環境
    - 您的童年生活環境是怎麼的?

      (例如居住環境、家境狀況)

- 家庭背景
    - 父母的職業、教育狀況、政治取向如何？
    - 父母如何撫育您?
    - 父母對您的期望?
    - 父母/家人對您的參與政治有沒有影響?

1. 讀書經歷

- 您的中小學生活是怎樣??
- 大學生活是怎樣?(例如選讀科目、學生社團、社會參與)
- 讀書經歷對您有什麼影響? (例：塑造您的政治觀點？以怎樣的方式塑造？學校如何為對政治感興趣的青少年提供更多支援？)

2. 工作經歷

- 畢業後您做過什麼工作?
- 這些工作如何從政治的角度影響您?

- 政治興趣與政治信念

- 您是何時對政治產**生興趣的**?經過是怎樣的??
- 有沒有甚麼人或事對您有特別影響?（例如：人物，事件，傳媒。）
  - 公民運動：反國教運動，雨傘運動，反高鐵運動等。
- 可以描述一下您的政治理念嗎?
- 您的政治理念與你所加入的政團的理念相同嗎？
- 您的政治理念是從何而來(例如：人物，事件，傳媒)?
- 您認為自己屬於「本土派」嗎？為什麼？
- 根據您的理解，什麼是“本土主義”？
- 您對香港的現今政治形勢有什麼看法?
- 在您看來，哪些政治力量是友好的，哪些是敵對的?
- 如果未來香港社會可以改變，您最想改變什麼?
- 為了達到您的政治目的，哪些策略是正確的？哪些是有效的？（例如：選舉，合法示威遊行，非法示威遊行，暴力）
- 在哪些情況下，暴力或者非法的方法是合理的？

三. 成為「本土派」政團成員的經歷

- 您的政團有什麼活動?(例如會議、助選、示威)
- 您是否認同公民可採取任何手段抗議他們認為不公義的法律？
- 您平均每月花多少時間在政團活動上??
- 您在政團內**擔任什麼職位**?
- 您覺得您是否一名活躍成員?如果是，談談您如何變得活躍?
- 到目前為止，您覺得您參與政團的經歷是否滿意?
- 可以講述參與政團以來，一件最快樂(或最有滿足感)與最難過(或感到挫折)的事?
- 對您個人而言，加入這個政團的意義何在？

四. 對未來的看法

- 談談您對自己政治前途的看法?(例如全職從政、參選、繼續留在政團內**當活躍**成員)
- 您認為香港未來的政制發展將會如何？
- 中國未來的政制發展又將會如何呢？您希望如何？

五. 基本個人資料

- 出生地點
- 年齡/出生年份
- 性別
- 婚姻狀況

- 宗教信仰
- 教育程度
- 職業
- 收入情況
- 以前和現在參與的政治團體

其他主題（參考 ICCS2009 問卷調查題項）

民主價值觀

- 您如何理解民主？
- 您認為民主最重要的元素是什麼?

對各類公共機構的信任（為什麼信任或不信任）

- 香港特區政府
- 法院
- 香港警察
- 政黨
- 您對上面提及的公共機構的信任自中學以來是否有所改變？如有，什麼原因導致這些改變？

對中國的態度

- 您信任中央政府嗎（為什麼信任，或為什麼不信任）?
- 對您而言中國重要嗎（為什麼重要，或為什麼不重要）?
- 您為中國已經取得的成就而感到驕傲嗎（例如：經濟發展，在奧運會上取得的佳績）
- 您對中國的態度自中學以來是否有所改變？如有，什麼原因導致這些改變？
- 如果可能，您是否願意永久居住在另外一個國家？

Chiu, T., Fang, D. P., Chen, J., Wang, Y., & Jeris, C. (2001). A robust and scalable clustering algor-ithm for mixed type attributes in large database environment. In Proceedings of the 7th ACMSIGKDD International Conference on Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining (pp. 263–268). Retrieved from http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=502549