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A STUDY ON CIVIC VALUES AND ENGAGEMENT OF
‘POST-90s’ IN HONG KONG

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**A Study on “Civic Values and Engagement of
‘Post-90s’ in Hong Kong”**

《香港「九十後」的公民價值及參與研究》

Final Report

Submitted by

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Preface

Background and Objective of the Study

This study was commissioned by the Central Policy Unit (CPU) of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in January 2015. The objectives of this study were (1) to find out the post-90s dispositions and attitudes relating to civic engagement; (2) to elicit their views towards different value orientations; (3) to examine the relationships between different value orientations and civic engagement; (4) to delve into the process of political socialization among the post-90s; and (5) to compare the views of the more politically active young people with those of the less active.

Research Team

Members in the research team of the Public Policy Research Centre, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong include:

- Stephen Wing-kai CHIU, Professor, Department of Sociology; and Co-Director, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (Principal Investigator)
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We would also like to acknowledge the able assistance by Mr. LEUNG Yee-kong (Research Associate, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies) and Mr. Michael CHAO Mun-wa (Research Assistant, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies) over the implementation of the research processes.

All opinions and analyses expressed in this report are from the research team and in no way represent that of the Central Policy Unit nor the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Policy 21 Ltd was commissioned to conduct the data collection for the territory-wide F.5 secondary school student survey.

Executive Summary

1. Background of the Study

Research conducted in 2010 and 2014, which were commissioned by the Central Policy Unit and reported in *Social Attitudes of the Youth Population in Hong Kong* and *A Follow-up Study*, found that value orientations such as democratic values and a post-materialistic orientation display stronger correlations with youth's dissenting attitudes toward different public policies than do other variables relating to their personal predicaments such as limited opportunity for social mobility. However, that study could not answer the question of why some young people champion certain sets of political beliefs or ideals, and eventually decide to participate in social movements during these recent few years. One of the aims of the present study was to fill in the above lacunae in our understanding of the current situation with regard to youths' civic and political participation in Hong Kong.

The present study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to gauge specifically the views of the post-90s in Hong Kong. It has probed the process of political socialization among the post-90s and elicited their views towards civic values and engagement. Civic engagement is defined in this study as the "attitudes, behaviors, and behavioral intentions that relate to more general civic participation as well as manifest political participation". As such, civic engagement can involve both formal political participation and other extra-institutional forms of participation.

The objectives of this study were (1) to find out the post-90s dispositions and attitudes relating to civic engagement; (2) to elicit their views towards different value orientations; (3) to examine the relationships between different value orientations and civic engagement; (4) to delve into the process of political socialization among the post-90s; and (5) to compare the views of the more politically active young people with those of the less active.

2. Methodology

Data of this study were collected from (1) a territory-wide F.5 secondary school student survey; (2) focus group interviews with F.5 secondary school students; and (3) in-depth

interviews with young people who have participated actively in recent social movements and/or engaged in other formal political participation process.

In total, 2,896 F.5 students from 25 secondary schools were sampled in the territory-wide survey. The survey fieldwork was conducted between May and September 2015. Second, 12 focus group interviews at 6 secondary schools were conducted between June and August 2015. Third, 20 informants who were very active politically were interviewed between April and August 2015.

3. Findings from Quantitative Data Analysis

Data analysis of the territory-wide student survey focused on the following four areas: (1) students' dispositions and attitudes towards civic and political engagement; (2) students' value beliefs and attitudes; (3) students' views towards various social and political issues; and (4) multivariate analysis of students' value orientations and civic political engagement.

(1) Students' dispositions and attitudes towards civic and political engagement

Two-thirds of the respondents showed a high level of interest in political issues in Hong Kong. However, they showed relatively less interest in political issues in mainland China, with only around two-fifths of the respondents indicating their interest in those issues. The respondents' self-concept in politics was generally high. However, only about a quarter of the respondents agreed with the statement "I have a good understanding of the political issues facing China".

The respondents also showed high citizenship self-efficacy. In other words, the respondents thought they would perform well in different activities related to citizenship participation at or outside of school, such as following a television debate about a controversial issue. The vast majority of the respondents reported that they had participated in the school parliament or class representative elections. However, only two-fifths of them reported taking part in decision-making about how the school is run, and only one-fifth of the respondents reported that they had stood as a candidate for school parliament.

The respondents talked significantly more with friends about political and social issues than they did with parents. They learned about Hong Kong news, China news, and international news more by watching television, using the internet and/or social media than by reading newspapers. Regarding their actual participation in the civic activities of the wider community, only a small minority of the respondents reported having participated in formal civic-related organizations, such as environmental organizations or charitable organizations.

The respondents were asked in the questionnaire to rate their level of engagement in different political activities. Students engaged relatively more in online forms of political participation (e.g. contributing to an online discussion about social and political issues) than they did in traditional forms of political participation (e.g. signing a petition). Apart from their actual participation, the respondents were also asked about their anticipated civic action after becoming adults. More than three quarters of the respondents expected to participate in District Council elections and Legislative Council, while less than one-fifth of the respondents expected that they would join a political party or a trade union.

The respondents were also asked to rate the perceived effectiveness of different types of political activities in advancing claims. More than half of the students rated most protest activities, such as taking part in a peaceful march or gathering and protesting in a public area, as effective. Less than half of the students rated “choosing not to buy a certain product” and “spray-painting protest” as effective.

(2) Students’ value orientations and attitudes

The vast majority of the students supported democratic values as indicated by their high level of endorsement of a set of statements relating to democratic ideals. As for the students’ perceptions of good citizenship, the respondents regarded both “conventional citizenship” (e.g. voting in every election) and “social-movement-related citizenship” (e.g. taking part in activities to benefit people in the local community) as important.

Respondents’ level of trust in different civic institutions varied. Students showed high trust in the courts of justice, but only a moderate level of trust in civil servants and the media. Their level of trust in the Chief Executive was the lowest of all.

The respondents showed great respect for the Hong Kong SAR but only about two-fifths of them agreed that the political system in Hong Kong SAR works well. More than half of the students indicated that they have great interest in the culture of China, but less than two-fifths of them agreed that the political system in the People Republic of China works well. The vast majority of students accepted being labelled as Hong Kong people, while less than half of them agreed to the label Chinese.

The vast majority of students had positive attitudes toward gender equality and equal rights for all ethnic groups in society. However, when it came to their attitudes toward new immigrants and the children born locally but whose parents are non-permanent residents of Hong Kong, only a minority of the respondents supported enabling those groups to enjoy the same rights as other Hong Kong citizens.

We also measured students' post-materialist value orientation. The majority of the respondents fell into the category of "the mixed type," and one-fourth of them fell into the category of "the materialist type," while less than one-fifth of the students fell into the category of "the post-materialist type".

(3) Students' views towards various social and political issues

Three-fourths of the students were satisfied with Hong Kong's economic development but only around one-third were satisfied with the education system and environmental protection in Hong Kong, and only one-fourth were satisfied with Hong Kong's political system.

A majority of the students evaluated their quality of life positively, but they were pessimistic about their job opportunities and their opportunity for further studies in the future. Students were also asked to indicate their intention to pursue further study or to work in the mainland. Only around one-third of the students were willing to do so in the future.

Students were also asked about their views towards some recent local political and social controversies. Over four-fifths of the students agreed that "civil nomination is an essential part of the method for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage" and "Hong Kong SAR Government should limit the number of Individual Visit Scheme travelers". By

contrast, only one-tenth of them agreed that “Moral and National Education should be introduced as a compulsory subject”.

(4) Multivariate analysis of students’ value orientations and civic political engagement

Multivariate analysis was conducted in order to examine the factors influencing students’ level of civic and political engagement. Students expected future civic and political participation and their actual civic and political participation were the two major outcomes of interest. Students’ expected political participation was divided into three dimensions: (1) expected electoral participation; (2) expected institutional political participation; and (3) expected civic engagement. For students’ actual political participation, we focused on three broad types of activities: (1) protest activities; (2) internet activism; and (3) political consumerism.

Most of the background variables, after controlling for other variables, were not significant predictors of either students’ expected political participation or their actual political participation. Civic participation at school, students’ interest in political and social issues, students’ self-concept in politics, and post-materialist orientation were significant predictors of all dimensions of expected political participation and actual political participation. Students’ citizenship efficacy had positive impacts on all dimensions of expected and actual political participation except political consumerism.

Discussion of political and social issues with friends had positive effects on both expected political participation and actual political participation, except for expected electoral participation. Discussion of political and social issues with parents also had significant positive effects on expected electoral participation, actual participation in internet activism, and actual participation in political consumerism.

The use of online media information on political and social issues had positive effects on students’ expected electoral participation, expected civic engagement, actual participation in internet activism and political consumerism, while the use of traditional media information on political and social issues had significantly negative impacts on students’ expected institutional political participation, expected civic engagement, and their actual participation in internet activism.

Students' democratic values had positive impacts on students' expected electoral participation, actual participation in protest activities and internet activism, but had a negative impact on students' expected institutional political participation. Students' civic knowledge had a positive effect on students' expected electoral participation but had a negative effect on students' expected institutional political participation and their actual participation in protest activities. Students' interest in Liberal Studies had a positive effect on students' expected institutional political participation but a negative effect on political consumerism.

Students' trust in civic institutions and students' local identity were significant negative predictors of all students' actual political participation but had no effect on students' expected political participation in the future.

4. Findings from Focus Group Interviews

The data collected from the focus group interviews were mainly used to discern the process of political socialization among young people in Hong Kong. We focused our discussion on five main political socializing agents:

- (1) Schooling: most of the students reported that both formal classroom teaching (e.g. History lesson) and out-of-classroom learning experiences (e.g. school assembly) had some degree of influence on their political orientations and awareness of social and political issues.
- (2) Mass media: although students relied quite heavily on the traditional mass media for updated information about social and political issues, most of them were not passive receivers of information from mass media. Some of the students were able to distinguish between news sources with a neutral stance and those with a biased orientation.
- (3) Online media: apart from traditional mass media, students also used online social media to learn about current social and political issues. Facebook was the most popular means to acquire such information for most focus group participants. Political stances of some focus group participants were largely aligned with the orientation of some online media,

but a number of students claimed they would ignore the occasionally biased and crude contents encountered on the internet.

- (4) Peers: students were not very willing to discuss social and political issues with their peers. The majority of the focus group participants also indicated that peer influence on their value orientation was minimal.
- (5) Family: as was the case with peers, students were also not very willing to discuss social and political issues with their parents. However, positive parental influences on students' civic and political engagement were noted in families where parents and their children could openly exchange their opinions at home.

Students' views towards political participation, Liberal Studies, social mobility, the Hong Kong SAR Government, and China were also discussed:

- (1) Views towards Political Participation: the focus group participants had a low level of political participation. Those who did participate in actions such as demonstrations usually explained their participation by reference to custom, civic responsibility, or the effectiveness of extra-institutional tactics. Some of those who did not participate in such action either questioned their effectiveness or whether such action is lawful. Many other students preferred to remain as observers viewing political participation from a more balanced perspective.
- (2) Views towards Liberal Studies: students in the focus group were quite familiar with the major rationale of Liberal Studies which aims at providing opportunities for students to analyse various issues from multiple perspectives. They were also aware that teachers of Liberal Studies sought to conduct their class in a professional manner. Direct influence from Liberal Studies on a student's political stance was considered to be minimal.
- (3) Views towards Social Mobility: focus group students were pessimistic in general about their future. They perceived that the opportunities to pursue a career one of Hong Kong's core industries were quite limited. They also worried the challenge to their

market competitiveness posed by people from the mainland and overseas. A minority of the students indicated, however, that they would consider pursuing further education or working in mainland China in the future.

- (4) Views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government: most students had a relatively negative impression of the Government. Most of the students could comment just superficially on the government's policies, but some students could express more articulate opinions and cite examples to illustrate the Hong Kong SAR Government's ineffective response to public demands.
- (5) Views towards mainland China: although negative views towards the country were quite common among the focus groups students, a number of students appreciated the many achievements of the country or even expressed a strong attachment to China.

5. Findings from In-depth Interviews

Similar to the analysis of the focus group interview data, the data from in-depth interviews were also used to discern the process of political socialization among the politically active young people:

- (1) Schooling: some informants regarded formal education as one of key platforms supporting the development of their personal interest in political issues, but other informants did not perceive any significant influence from their school learning experiences.
- (2) Mass media: the in-depth interview informants used mass media to inform themselves about social and political issues significantly less than the focus group participants did. This finding actually corroborates the findings from the multivariate analysis that increased usage of mass media had a negative influence on students' level of civic and political participation.
- (3) Online media: the in-depth interview informants used online media extensively and

regarded it as the main channel for acquiring updated information. A significant number of informants claimed that the new media had no direct influence on their political orientation. Rather they considered the new media as a rich and reliable source of information which facilitated their decision-making on whether or not to join a political event.

- (4) Peers: peer influence was not pervasive. Only a few informants mentioned their friends as the major reason they participated in various political events.
- (5) Family: parental influences on their children's civic and political engagement were usually through providing a supportive environment for their children to engage in open discussion or offering a wide range of opportunities for their children to have first-hand experiences of political events in Hong Kong

Informants' views towards political participation, Liberal Studies, social mobility, the Hong Kong SAR Government, and China were also discussed:

- (1) Views towards Political Participation: most of the informants agreed that extra-institutional tactics were a more desirable and effective means for advancing their claims. Yet, some of the informants thought that extra-institutional tactics have now become so routinized that they no longer arouse the same level of attention from the general public and the government as they once did.
- (2) Views towards Liberal Studies: like the focus group participants, the informants were very conscious of the major rationale of Liberal Studies of providing opportunities for students to analyse various issues from multiple perspectives. The informants also claimed that the influence from Liberal Studies on their political stance was minimal. However, they acknowledged that the method of learning and studying in Liberal Studies had stimulated their interests in social issues and enhanced their sensitivity to political controversies in Hong Kong.
- (3) Views towards Social Mobility: like the focus group participants, most informants were also pessimistic about their opportunities to pursue further education or a career in the

future.

- (4) Views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government: most of the informants' impressions of the Hong Kong SAR Government were negative. However, compared to the focus group participants, the informants showed more in-depth understanding of a wide range of social and political issues in Hong Kong.
- (5) Views towards the mainland China: the opinions of the informants towards China were overwhelmingly negative. Most of the informants could comment on a number of social and political issues in the mainland. Some of their comments were based on their first-hand experience.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, the main findings of the present study are as follows:

- (1) Channels of socialization: the multivariate analysis of our quantitative survey results showed that schooling effects are relatively more pervasive than the effects of other socializing agents. Peers exerted influence on more dimensions of political participation than parents did. The impact of online media on students' civic and political engagement is also larger than that of the traditional mass media. The qualitative findings largely corroborate the above findings with the exception on peer effect.
- (2) Impacts of Liberal Studies on Civic and Political Engagement: the multivariate analysis of our quantitative survey results revealed that students' interest in Liberal Studies only had a positive effect on students' expected institutional political participation. The influence from Liberal Studies on students' civic and political engagement turns out to be minimal. The qualitative findings also substantiated the above conclusion.
- (3) Views towards social mobility: Negative sentiment over blocked mobility was quite pervasive among the post-90s. Yet, there was no direct evidence to support the claim that active political participation is a consequence of the perception among young people

of blocked social mobility.

- (4) Views towards Hong Kong SAR Government: The post-90s generation had a relatively negative impression of the Hong Kong SAR Government. Both quantitative data and qualitative data show that youth in general were not satisfied with the government and its policies.
- (5) Views towards China: the post 90s' views toward China were mixed and diverse. The majority held negative views towards the country, but a substantial number of the young people expressed appreciation for China's achievements or strong attachment to the country.

“Are post-90s politically active or apathetic” is one of the main research questions guiding this study. Through triangulating the analyses from quantitative and qualitative data, our answer to the above question is as follows.

The quantitative data reveal that the post-90s are not politically apathetic. The post-90s showed a high level of interest in a wide range of social and political issues. Their interest in engaging in some less demanding civic and political activities was also not low. However, the above evidence also does not support unambiguously the claim that young people in Hong Kong are politically active. The post-90s seemed to have a rather low level of interest in many civic activities and appear reluctant to engage in more demanding political activities. The data from the focus group interviews corroborates the above conclusion.

The politically active youths whom we interviewed were different from the post-90s generally. The politically active youths had a high level of political participation and a high awareness of social and political issues in Hong Kong and China. Our research findings indicated that the causes of their active participation in social movements do not arise from personal discontent or external agitation, but rather should be more accurately regarded as the outcome of lack of effective communication between the government and this particular group of young people.

7. Policy Implications

Our project has two broader implications that might be relevant for further deliberation over concrete public policies. We focus in particular on two primary policy objectives that the Government might consider to be important: first, the promotion of active and participatory citizenship among young people; second, the promotion of participation through institutional channels rather than extra-institutional ones.

- (1) **Fostering Active and Participatory Citizenship:** Post-90s already indicated a high level of acceptance to both “duty-based” norms of citizenship and “engaged citizenship” in our quantitative and qualitative data. What more could be done for the government is to give young people more say in important government decisions by incorporating youth’s voice in relevant institution through the establishment of more effective channels of consultation. However, this should be done in parallel with the further enhancement of young people’s civic awareness and knowledge. For instance, schools can provide more opportunities for civic participation and foster an atmosphere of open but balanced discussions on social and political issues at the classroom level. Liberal Studies is another important platform to develop young people’s civic awareness and knowledge. However, the current Liberal Studies curriculum is considered too broad by teachers and students so that there is scarcely sufficient time to convey important civic values and knowledge. Further review of the curriculum in order to make space for civic development might be considered. Strengthening the career and life education initiatives is also expected to facilitate the young people to develop a sense of their own position and possible roles in the labour market, educational system, polity, as well as the myriad mosaics of community life.
- (2) **Promotion of Participation through Institutional Channels:** One implication from the multivariate analysis is that a young person with an active sense of participatory citizenship may be liable to take part in both institutional and non-institutional forms of activities depending on the situational context and the objectives he or she has in mind. Policy makers therefore need to be reminded that the “risk” for participation to “spill over” from institutional to non-institutional forms is always there, and we cannot foster an active citizenship that focused exclusively on one particular type. Another key finding is of course particularly strong local identity is positive determinant of all three forms of

non-institutional participation. Trust in civic institutions on the other hand tends to reduce the propensity of participation in such activities. We suggest that future policies and educational programmes (the teaching and learning of Liberal Studies and Chinese History for instance) should explore better ways to build up a more positive impression of government and its policies, and to foster a more “balanced” and open form of individual identity towards the community and the nation, and also higher level of trust in civic institutions among the younger generation.

摘要

1. 研究背景

據政府中央政策組在 2010 年撥款資助的一項關於香港年青人的社會態度的研究，和 2014 年的跟進研究顯示，相比於個人對生活的不滿意和認為社會缺乏向上流動機會，年青人的民主和後物質主義等價值傾向，對社會議題持異議有更強的關係。然而，上述研究未有探討年青人如何建立這些價值觀和政治取向，以至進一步投身社會運動的原因。本研究旨在深化我們對年青人進行公民和政治參與的了解。

是次研究透過量化和質性研究方法收集九十後（出生於 1990 年後）年青人的意見。本研究探討九十後年青人的政治社教化過程，公民價值觀及參與。公民投入在本研究中被定義為「廣義上關於公民參與，以及參與更鮮明的政治事件的人，其態度、行為和動機。」公民參與涵蓋制度內的正規渠道及制度外的各式各樣政治參與。

本研究旨在（1）探討九十後對公民參與的意向和態度；（2）訪問他們對不同價值觀的取向；（3）分析不同價值取向與公民參與的關係；（4）探索九十後的政治社教化過程；和（5）比較政治參與度較高的年青人與一般年青人的意見。

2. 研究方法

是次研究透過三個方法收集受訪者意見：（1）全港性中五學生問卷調查；（2）與中五學生進行焦點小組訪談；和（3）與積極參與社會運動及/或其他正規政治參與的年青人進行深入訪談。

全港性問卷調查共訪問了來自 25 間中學共 2,896 名中五學生。調查日期是 2015 年 5 月至 9 月。此外，本研究於 2015 年 6 月至 8 月抽取了 6 間中學進行了 12 個焦點小組訪談，並於 2015 年 4 月至 8 月訪問了 20 位高度政治參與的年青人。

3. 問卷調查結果

全港性中五學生問卷調查的資料分析主要集中於以下四個範疇：(1) 學生對公民和政治參與的意向和態度；(2) 學生的價值觀和態度；(3) 學生對社會及政治議題的意見；和(4) 學生的價值取向與公民政治參與的多變項迴歸分析。

(1) 學生對公民和政治參與的意向和態度

三分二受訪者對本地政治議題有高度的興趣。不過，對內地政治議題感興趣的較少，只有五分二受訪者感興趣。普遍受訪者在政治上的自我概念較強。不過，只有四分一的受訪者認同「我對內地的政治議題有良好了解」。

受訪者亦顯示出高度的公民自我效能感。換言之，受訪者認為他們可以在校內或校外各種與公民參與相關的活動中有好的表現，例如理解電視上就爭議性議題所進行的辯論。大部分受訪者表示他們曾經參與過校內學生會或班會投票。不過，只有五分二受訪者表示曾參與校務的決策過程，只有五分一受訪者表示曾參選校內學生會。

受訪者與朋友或同學討論政治和社會議題，比與父母為多。相比閱讀報紙，他們更多是透過電視、互聯網及/或網上社交媒體接收本地、內地和國際新聞。社區公民活動的實際參與方面，只有少數受訪者表示曾參與公民團體或組織的活動，例如環保組織或非牟利/慈善組織。

是次問卷調查中，受訪者被問及他們就不同政治活動的實際參與程度。學生對網上政治活動（例如在網上論壇或社交媒體，發表及討論對政治及社會議題的意見）的參與程度高於傳統政治活動（例如簽名支持請願活動）。除了他們的實際參與，受訪者亦被問及他們預計成年後會參與的政治活動。過四分三受訪者表示他們將會在區議會和立法會選舉投票，而只有少於五分一受訪者預計他們會加入政黨或工會。

受訪者亦評價了不同政治活動對達成政治目標的成效。過半學生認為抗議活動，例如參與示威或遊行或在公眾地方大規模集結是有效的。少於半數學生認為「罷買某些商品」或「於公眾地方以噴漆寫上請願口號或圖畫」是有效的政治活動。

（2）學生的價值觀和態度

絕大多數受訪學生支持民主價值觀，他們高度認同一系列有關民主價值與理想陳述。當問及受訪者對良好香港公民的定義時，他們指出「傳統公民身份」（例如參與每一次選舉的投票）和「社會運動相關的公民身份」（例如參與社區活動，幫助當區有需要人士）兩者同樣重要。

受訪者對各個公共機構的信任程度有所不同。學生普遍高度信任法庭，但對公務員和傳媒只抱持中度信任。他們對行政長官的信任度是最低的。

受訪者表示高度尊重香港特別行政區，但只有五分二認為特區的政治制度運作良好。過半受訪學生表示他們對中華文化感到濃厚興趣，但少於五分二認為中華人民共和國的政治制度運作良好。絕大多數學生接受香港人身份，少於半數認同中國人身份。

絕大多數學生認同香港是一個性別平等和所有種族均能享有平等權利的城市。不過，當問及他們對新移民及雙非父母於香港所生的子女的觀感時，只有少部分受訪者認為這些群體應該與一般香港人擁有同等的福利。

本研究亦探測了學生的後物質主義傾向。大部分受訪者都屬於「混合型」，四分之一屬於「物質主義型」，少於五分一學生屬於「後物質主義型」。

（3）學生對社會及政治議題的意見

四分三受訪學生對香港的經濟發展感滿意，但只有三分一學生對香港的教育制度和環境保育滿意，僅四分一學生對香港的政治制度感滿意。

大部分學生對他們的生活質素持正面態度，但他們對升學和就業前景都持較消極的態度。到內地謀求發展方面，只有三分一學生願意到內地升學或就業。

學生亦被問及對近期本地具爭議性的政治及社會議題的看法。多於五分四學生認同「公民提名是普選行政長官方案中必不可少的部份」和「香港政府應該限制內地自由行

旅客來港的數目」。相對而言，只有十分一學生認同「德育及國民教育課程有需要成為必修科」。

（4）學生的價值取向與公民政治參與的多變項迴歸分析

本研究透過多變項迴歸分析探索影響學生公民和政治參與的因素。學生預期將來的公民和政治參與，及實際的公民和政治參與，是本研究兩項主要的結果預測。學生預期將來的公民和政治參與分為三個層面：（1）預期的選舉參與；（2）預期的制度內政治參與；和（3）預期的公民參與。學生的實際政治參與方面，我們集中於以下三個類別的活動：（1）抗議活動；（2）活躍於網上政治；和（3）政治消費主義。

大部分的人口特徵背景因素，在控制了其他的變項後，對學生預期政治參與和實際政治參與，在統計學上並無出現顯著的影響。校內的公民參與、學生對政治及社會議題的興趣、學生在政治上的自我概念及後物質主義的價值傾向，都是經統計證實顯著影響學生在所有層面的預期政治參與和實際政治參與。學生的公民身份效能感則對學生各層面的預期政治參與和實際政治參與都有正面的影響，政治消費主義除外。

與朋友或同學討論政治和社會議題對預期政治參與和實際政治參與都有正面的影響，除了預期的選舉參與外。與父母討論政治和社會議題亦正面的影響學生的預期選舉參與、實際網上政治參與和實際政治消費主義活動參與。

使用網上媒介接收政治及社會議題資訊，均正面影響學生的預期選舉參與、預期公民參與、實際網上政治參與，和實際政治消費主義活動參與。使用傳統媒體接收政治及社會議題資訊則對學生的預期制度內政治參與、預期公民參與和實際網上政治參與具顯著的負面影響。

學生的民主價值觀對預期選舉參與、實際抗議活動參與和實際網上政治參與具正面影響，但對學生的預期制度內政治參與則具負面影響。學生的公民知識對預期選舉參與具正面影響，但對學生的預期制度內政治參與和實際抗議活動參與則具負面影響。學生對通識科的興趣，正面影響預期制度內政治參與，但對學生的實際政治消費主義活動參與則有負面影響。

學生的民主價值觀對預期選舉參與、實際抗議活動參與，和實際網上政治參與具正面影響，但對學生的預期制度內政治參與則具負面影響。學生的公民知識對預期選舉參與具正面影響，但對學生的預期制度內政治參與，和實際抗議活動參與則具負面影響。學生對通識科的興趣，正面影響學生的預期制度內政治參與，但對學生的實際政治消費主義活動參與則具負面影響。

學生對公共機構的信任度和學生的本土身份認同感，都對所有的實際政治參與有顯著的負面影響，但對學生的預期政治參與則沒有影響。

4. 焦點小組訪談結果

焦點小組訪談所得的資料主要用於剖析香港年青人的政治社教化過程。本研究集中討論下列五個主要的政治社教化的媒介：

（1）學校：多數學生表示正規課室教學（例如歷史課）和課外學習經歷（例如學校集會）都對學生的政治取向，和認知政治及社會議題有一定影響。

（2）大眾傳媒：縱使學生主要依賴傳統大眾傳媒接收政治及社會議題的最新資訊，但大部分學生並不是被動的接收者。部分學生能夠分辨出中立持平及有偏頗立場的不同新聞來源。

（3）網上媒體：除大眾傳媒外，學生亦透過網上媒體認識政治及社會議題。Facebook 是各組受訪者中最受歡迎的資訊接收媒介。某些小組的受訪者抱持與某些網上新聞媒體相近的政治立場，但部分受訪學生指他們會過濾一些偏頗及粗俗的網上資料或言論。

（4）朋輩：學生不太願意與朋友或同學討論政治及社會議題。大部分焦點小組受訪者表示朋輩對他們的價值觀影響不大。

（5）家庭：與朋輩相若，學生亦不太願意與父母討論政治及社會議題。但是，在父母和子女能夠開放的交流意見的家庭中，父母對學生的公民和政治參與都具正面的影響。

學生亦討論了政治參與、通識科、社會流動、對政府及內地的看法：

（1）對政治參與的看法：焦點小組受訪者的政治參與度不高。有政治參與經驗的受訪者表示他們參與是基於習俗、公民責任感或認同制度外政治活動的成效。相反，部分沒有政治參與經驗的受訪者質疑制度外政治活動的成效及合法性。其餘大部分受訪者對政治參與抱持平衡的觀點。

（2）對通識科的看法：焦點小組受訪者都提出了通識科有助於訓練學生以多角度分析思考不同議題，亦指出通識科老師抱持專業和持平的教學態度。通識科對學生的政治立場沒有直接影響。

（3）對社會流動的看法：焦點小組受訪者普遍對前景感悲觀。他們認為投身香港主要產業的就業機會十分有限。同時，他們對來自內地和海外的競爭者感到憂慮。少數學生表示有打算將來到內地升學或就業。

（4）對香港特區政府的看法：大部分學生對政府持相對地負面的觀感。多數學生表面地評論當局的政策，亦有少數同學具體的闡釋他們對特區政府未能有效地回應市民訴求的意見。

（5）對內地的看法：縱使焦點小組受訪者普遍對內地抱持負面的觀感，有學生亦對國家的成就表示讚賞甚至表達對國家的強烈歸屬感。

5. 深入訪談結果

與分析焦點小組訪談的作用相若，深入訪談所得的資料亦用於剖析香港年青人的政治社教化過程：

（1）學校：部分受訪者認為正規教育是培養他們對政治議題產生興趣的一個重要媒介，但其他受訪者則指出學校的學習經歷對政治社教化並無顯著影響。

(2) 大眾傳媒：深入訪談受訪者比焦點小組的顯著地較少使用大眾傳媒接收政治及社會議題的資訊。此發現與多變項迴歸分析指出年青人愈傾向使用大眾傳媒接收資訊，他們的公民和政治參與度愈低的調查結果吻合。

(3) 網上媒體：深入訪談受訪者多數以網上媒體作為接收政治及社會議題最新資訊的主要媒介。不少受訪者指出新媒體對他們的政治取向沒有影響。他們反而視新媒體為一個豐富和可靠的資訊來源以輔助他們決定是否參與某政治活動。

(4) 朋輩：朋輩影響並不普遍。只有數位受訪者指出他們的朋友是其參與政治活動的主要原因。

(5) 家庭：父母對子女的公民和政治參與的影響通過是透過提供一個具支援性的環境讓子女能夠暢所欲言，互相討論，或者為他們提供第一身參與各類型本地政治活動的機會。

受訪者亦討論了對政治參與、通識科、社會流動、政府及內地的看法：

(1) 對政治參與的看法：多數受訪者認同制度外的政治行動比制度內的更有效達成政治目標。但是，部分受訪者認為現時不少制度外的政治行動亦已經被常規化，未能如以往的引起社會大眾和政府關注。

(2) 對通識科的看法：與焦點小組的受訪者相似，受訪者十分認同通識科為中學生提供了一個學習從多角度批判分析議題的機會。受訪者亦表示通識科對他們的政治立場的影響不大。不過，他們指出通識科的學習方式有助於激發其對社會議題的興趣，和提升他們對具爭議性政治議題的敏感度。

(3) 對社會流動的看法：與焦點小組的受訪者相若，大部分受訪者對升學和就業的前景感悲觀。

(4) 對香港特區政府的看法：大部分受訪者對政府抱持負面觀感。不過，相比於焦點小組的受訪者，深入訪談受訪者對不同範疇的社會及政治議題顯示出更深入的了解和分析。

(5) 對內地的看法：受訪者對內地的觀感非常的負面。大部分受訪者表達了對內地社會及政治議題的評價。部分受訪者的觀感源自於其第一身到內地的經驗。

6. 總結

本研究的主要發現是：

(1) 社教化的媒介：問卷調查的多變項迴歸分析結果顯示，學校是年青人最普遍的政治社教化媒介。朋輩比家庭影響較多層面的政治參與。網上媒體比大眾媒體為學生的公民和政治參與帶來更大的影響。除朋輩影響外，訪談調查結果很大程度上証實上述調查所得。

(2) 通識科對公民和政治參與的影響：問卷調查的多變項迴歸分析結果顯示，學生對通識科的學習興趣僅對他們預期的制度內政治參與有正面的影響。通識科對學生的公民和政治參與的影響不大，訪談結果亦証實此結論。

(3) 對社會流動的看法：缺乏向上社會流動機會而不滿，在九十後十分普遍。不過，沒有直接的證據支持年青人近年活躍於政治參與，是源於缺乏向上社會流動機會所致。

(4) 對香港特區政府的看法：九十後年青人對政府抱持相對負面的觀感。統計和訪談研究結果皆顯示年青人普遍都對政府及其施政不感滿意。

(5) 對內地的看法：九十後年青人對內地的觀感是複雜和多元的。大部分年青人對國家抱持負面的觀感，但亦有一定數量的年青人表達了他們對國家發展成就的讚賞或強烈的歸屬感。

「九十後是政治活躍或是政治冷感」是本研究其中一個重要的研究問題。透過綜合量化和質性資料的分析，我們的答案闡述如下：

問卷調查結果顯示九十後並不是政治冷感。九十後對不同範圍的社會和政治議題顯示出高度興趣。他們對參與要求較輕的公民和政治活動的興趣亦不低。不過，以上的證據亦不足以支持香港年青人是政治活躍的說法。九十後對參與各項公民活動和要求較重的政治活動的興趣不大。焦點小組訪談的資料亦印證了以上結論。

深入訪談中政治活躍的年青受訪者與普遍的九十後不同。這些政治上活躍的年青人有高度的政治參與，對本地和內地的政治與社會議題有深入的認知和了解。本研究發現年青人積極參與社會運動的原因並不是源自於個人不滿或受外界煽動，而是源於政府與這群政治活躍的年青人之間缺乏有效溝通。

7. 政策建議

本研究提出兩個概括的施政方向建議，有關建議需經進一步討論以得出具體的政策措施。我們向特區政府提出兩個施政方針。第一，向年青人推廣積極參與性的公民身份。第二，向年青人推廣制度內的政治參與渠道。

（1）推廣積極參與性的公民身份：九十後對「權利為本」的傳統公民身份和「參與性的公民身份」都高度接受。當局可考慮優化接收年青人意見的諮詢渠道，以鼓勵年青人對重大政策提出他們的意見。不過，當局需要同時提升年青人的公民意識和知識。例如，學校可以提供更多公民參與的機會，和促進學生在課室內能在開放和中肯持平的氛圍下討論不同的社會和政治議題。通識科是年青人發展公民意識和知識的另一重要平台。不過，現時通識科的課程被教師視為過於廣泛，而學生則認為未有足夠時間涵蓋重要的公民價值和知識。未來的課程檢討建議加入更多公民發展的元素。強化生涯規劃教育相信亦可促使年青人建立自我價值和在就業市場、教育制度及社會上找到合適的定位。

（2）推廣制度內的政治參與渠道：多變項迴歸分析結果顯示，主動爭取參與性公民身份的年青人，會因應不同的社會處境和自己的行動目標，去選擇制度內或制度外的政治

行動。政策制定者應注意，活躍於政治的年青人由制度內參與「溢出」制度外的「風險」將經常存在，而我們亦不能夠只推廣公民參與某特定種類的政治行為。另一個重要的研究結果指出，本土身份的強烈認同感正面影響選擇三種制度外的政治參與。愈信任公共機構則愈會減少年青人參與制度外的政治活動傾向。我們建議當局規劃未來的政策和教育課程時（例如在通識科和中國歷史科的教學上），應探索更有效的方法以建立年青人對政府及施政的正面觀感，同時促進年青人對社區和國家抱持一個更均衡和開放的個人身份認同，並致力增強年青人信任公共機構。

I. Background of the Study

In the past decade, we have witnessed an apparent escalation of youth activism. Young people have not only participated actively in varied protests but have also played a leading role in social movements. While some commentators claim that this phenomenon may be ephemeral, others suggest that the rise of youth activism is actually driven by a deep-rooted change in values among the youth.

Research conducted in 2010, commissioned by the Central Policy Unit, provides us with some evidence to support the “value-change” thesis (Chiu 2010). Using data from a telephone survey, the 2010 study reveals that demographic attributes (including age) are relatively weak in accounting for dissenting attitudes among the youth population. Rather, value orientations, for instance towards democracy and post-materialism, display stronger correlation with various dissenting attitudes towards a number of public policies. Moreover, this study also suggests that social unrest among the youth population is prompted more by “positive” beliefs about themselves, the society, and the polity, than by “negative” sentiments.

Owing to the limitations of the telephone survey method, the “value-change” thesis could only be examined to a limited extent, however. The 2010 study could at best reveal that a person’s dissenting view on one political and social issue may be correlated with values in some domains such as post-materialist orientation. Nevertheless, we still do not know why some youngsters buy into certain political beliefs or ideas, and why some of them eventually become dissidents. More importantly, the 2010 study also urges us to pay more attention to the post-90s generation, as they express “radical” ideologies almost comparable to, if not greater than, the post-80s do. One may reasonably ask after engaging in more and more incidents of political conflicts: how likely is it that the post-90s will become the major driving force of social movements in the near future?

In order to solve the above puzzles, this current project, with its more focused research scope, is intended to gauge specifically the views of the post-90s in Hong Kong. It project delves into post-90s political socialization and elicits their views towards civic values and engagement. This project employs both quantitative and qualitative methods so as to provide more in-depth understanding of the post-90s in Hong Kong.

In this project, civic engagement is defined as the “attitudes, behaviors, and behavioral intentions that relate to more general civic participation as well as manifest political participation” (Schulz et al. 2010: 115). Under this definition, civic engagement can also involve formal political participation (e.g. voting or political membership) as well as activism (legal or illegal protest). The development of civic values and engagement among young people can be seen as influenced by multiple and interacting agents of socialization. Specifically, the current project attempts to answer the following five main research questions:

- (1) What are the dispositions and attitudes relating to civic engagement of the post-90s?
- (2) What are their views regarding such value orientations as civic values, post-materialism, national identity and local identity?
- (3) How strong are the associations among different value orientations on the one hand; and civic engagement on the other hand?
- (4) How does political socialization take place among the post-90s? What are the major conduits through which students acquire certain sets of value orientations? What is the respective role of schooling, mass media, the Internet, and the family in this connection?
- (5) Are the post-90s politically “active” or “apathetic” in general? What are the differences between the more politically active youth and the less active? In particular, what are the characteristics of the politically active young people? More importantly, are their values and beliefs the prime driver underlying their civic and political participation?

II. Methodology

In order to answer the above research questions, this project conducted a survey of local secondary school students so as to gauge their views and attitudes towards civic and political engagement. We adopted part of our survey instrument from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (or ICCS) (Schulz et al. 2010; EDB 2009). ICCS primarily studies the ways in which countries prepare their young people to undertake their roles as citizens. It also probes in particular into student's interest and disposition to engage in public and political life. The ICCS gathered data from more than 140,000 Grade 8 students (F.2 students in the case of Hong Kong) from 38 countries during 2008 and 2009. In this current project, our target respondents are F.5 students instead of F.2, as one of our research objectives is to explore the influence, if any, from Liberal Studies on the value orientations of the secondary school students.

Adopting the ICCS instruments, we focused on students' views regarding various civic attitudes and values, including their perceptions of democracy and citizenship, perceptions of equal rights in society, perceptions of their country, and trust in civic institutions. In addition to the ICCS instruments, this project probed into secondary school students' materialist/post-materialistic value orientation, and the nature of their national identity and local identity. We also elicited students' views on current social and political issues, including the opportunity for upward mobility in Hong Kong, political reform and the introduction of Moral, Civic and National Education in Hong Kong's school curriculum. We also gauged the students' intensity of interaction (e.g. usage or participation) with different socializing agents, including the internet, television, newspaper, extra-curricular activities in school, and civic activities outside of school. Such data allowed us to measure the influence of different political socializing agents on students' views towards civic values and engagement.

To further explore the process of political socialization, we conducted qualitative interviews with the post-90s so as to learn more about the channels through which they acquire various values and attitudes. The data collected from qualitative interviews bear primarily on research questions (4) and (5) but also helped us to validate the data collected from the quantitative survey.

There were two sources of qualitative data. First, we conducted in-depth interviews with secondary school students, university students, and recent graduates, who have participated actively in recent social movements and/or engaged in other acts of formal political participation, so as to learn more about their experiences in civic and political participation and views regarding various value orientations. Second, we also conducted focus group interviews with the F.5 students from the schools participating in the quantitative survey. These focus groups not only helped us to gauge the perceptions and views of participants on various issues, they also elicited, through interactions among participants, insights and sometimes unexpected information generated from the dynamics of discussion. In particular, the participants in focus group interviews also served as the “control group” for us to compare with the data collected from in-depth interviews with the “politically active group”. In short, the above qualitative methods aimed at covering the broad spectrum of political views among the youth population. Discussion guides for the focus group interviews and the in-depth interviews are found in Appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

III. Sampling and Data Collection

The project employed two methods of data collection: a student questionnaire survey and qualitative interviews (in-depth interviews and focus group interviews). The target population for questionnaire survey was F.5 students in the 2014/15 academic year who were studying the school curriculum for the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examination (HKDSE). We adopted a random sampling method to select schools for the survey. Currently there are more than 450 local secondary schools with students sitting for the HKDSE. 25 schools were sampled for this study. All F.5 classes in the sampled schools were surveyed.

The total number of sampled students was 2,896. The fieldwork for the survey was conducted between May 2015 and September 2015. We completed data collection at 21 participating schools before the summer holidays. We implemented the surveys at four other participating schools in early September 2016 (i.e., a new academic year) so that F.6 students instead of F.5 students were surveyed in these cases.

We invited five secondary schools from those participating in the quantitative survey and one secondary school through our personal network to join our focus group interviews. Two focus group interviews were conducted in each school. Each focus group was comprised of five to six F.5 students. In total, twelve focus group interviews were conducted at six secondary schools between June 2015 and August 2015.

The participants for the in-depth interviews were secondary students, university students, and recent graduates with a record of active civic and political engagements. They were recruited primarily through snowball sampling. We interviewed 20 informants between April 2015 and August 2015. A list of the in-depth interview respondents is in Appendix 4.

IV. Findings from the Survey of Secondary School Students

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in Part III, a territory-wide secondary school student survey was carried out between May 2015 and September 2015. Through random sampling, 25 secondary schools were selected and all F.5 classes in the sampled schools were surveyed. In total, 2,896 students completed the questionnaires.

The objective of the secondary school student survey was to elicit students' views towards various civic values and engagement, to gauge their intensity of interaction with different political socializing agents, and to examine the associations between different value orientations and civic engagement. To attain these goals, we focus on the following four areas in the subsequent analysis: (1) students' dispositions and attitudes towards civic and political engagement; (2) students' values and attitudes; (3) students' views towards various social and political issues; and (4) multivariate analysis of students' value orientations and civic political engagement. In the following, we shall first present the socio-demographic characteristics of our survey respondents. We shall then report the survey results for the aforementioned four areas. It should be noted that the total percentage distribution in the tables may not always add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

4.2 Socio-demographic Profile of the Survey Respondents

Some 45.5% of the students surveyed were males and 54.5% were females (Table 1). Three-quarters of the students (75.4%) reported their place of birth as Hong Kong, while slightly more than one-fifth reported being born in China (22.7%). The remaining students (1.8%) reported Macau and others as their place of birth. For housing type, 39.0% lived in rented public housing, 25.1% lived in self-owned private permanent housing, and 14% lived in self-owned Subsidized Home Ownership Scheme flats. The majority of the students had no religious beliefs (70.4%). The respective percentage for "Protestantism", "Buddhism", "Catholicism", "Folk Religions", "Taoism", and "Islam", were 19.5%, 3.6%, 2.5%, 2.4%, 0.6%, and 0.2%.

Table 4.2 Socio-demographic profile of respondents

	Percentage
Sex	
Male	45.5
Female	54.5
<hr/>	
Place of birth	
Hong Kong	75.4
Mainland China	22.7
Macau	0.3
Others	1.5
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Housing type	
Temporary Housing	1.0
Public Housing (rent)	39.6
Public Housing (owned)	6.6
Subsidized Home Ownership Scheme (rent)	1.9
Subsidized Home Ownership Scheme (owned)	14.0
Private Permanent Housing (rent – whole flat)	6.4
Private Permanent Housing (rent – part of a flat)	2.6
Private Permanent Housing (owned)	25.1
Workplace / Dormitory	1.4
Others	2.0
<hr/>	
Religious belief	
No religious belief	70.4
Taoism	0.6
Buddhism	3.6
Islam	0.2
Catholicism	2.5
Protestantism	19.5
Folk Religions	2.4
Others	0.7

Table 4.2 Socio-demographic profile of respondents (cont'd)

	Percentage
Most commonly used language at home	
Cantonese	95.6
Putonghua	2.1
English	0.5
Others	1.7
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Father's place of birth	
Hong Kong	61.7
Mainland China	34.8
Macau	1.2
Others	2.2
<hr/>	
Father's education level	
No formal education / Kindergarten	1.5
Primary education	13.4
Secondary education (F.1 to F.3)	20.0
Secondary education (F.4 to F.5)	29.5
Vocational education	2.0
Matriculation	1.8
Tertiary education (associate degree / diploma)	3.0
Tertiary education (degree or above)	11.3
Don't know	17.5

Table 4.2 Socio-demographic profile of respondents (cont'd)

	Percentage
Mother's place of birth	
Hong Kong	46.9
Mainland China	47.6
Macau	0.8
Others	4.7
<hr/>	
Mother's education level	
No formal education / Kindergarten	2.1
Primary education	12.9
Secondary education (F.1 to F.3)	20.2
Secondary education (F.4 to F.5)	33.8
Vocational education	1.4
Matriculation	3.0
Tertiary education (associate degree / diploma)	3.3
Tertiary education (degree or above)	7.7
Don't know	15.6

The most commonly used language at home is Cantonese, used by 95.6% of the students. 2.1% used Putonghua, 0.5% used English, and 1.7% of the students spoke other languages at home. A majority of the students' fathers (61.7%) were born in Hong Kong, while 34.8% of their fathers were born in mainland China. For their fathers' education level, 29.5% attained the F.4 to F.5 upper level of secondary education, 20.0% attained the F.1 to F.3 lower level of secondary education, and 13.4% attained the level of primary education. 47.6% reported mainland China as the place of birth of their mothers while 46.9% reported it to be Hong Kong. 33.8% of their mothers attained F.4 to F.5 upper level of secondary education, 20.2% attained the F.1 to F. 3 lower level of secondary education, and 12.9% attained the level of primary education.

4.3 Students' Dispositions and Attitudes towards Civic Engagement

In this section, we report the findings on the students' dispositions and attitudes towards civic engagement. It will first report their level of interest in political issues; followed by a discussion on their self-concepts in politics and citizenship self-efficacy. It will then focus on the level of participation in various aspects of their civic life: civic participation at school, communication on political and social issues, civic participation in the wider community, political participation in the past twelve months, and their expected future political participation. Towards the end of this section, we discuss students' perceived effectiveness of political activities, and their level of civic knowledge.

4.3.1 Interest in Political Issues

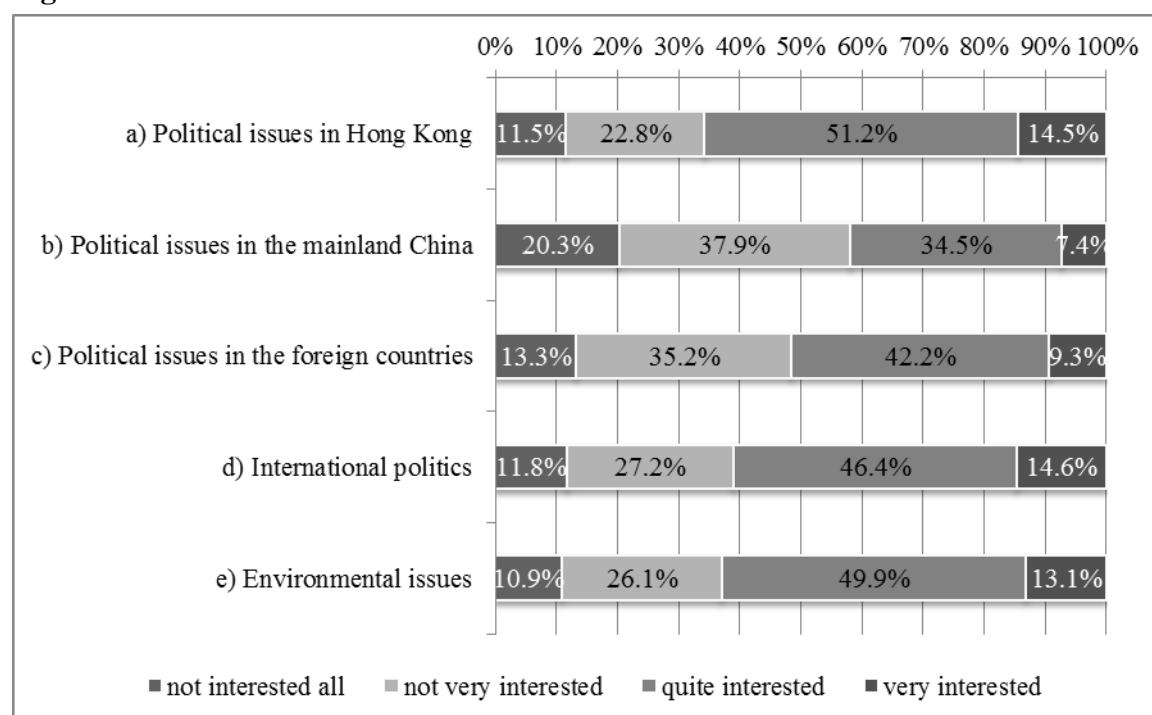
Previous research has shown that an individual's psychological engagement (interest, feelings of efficacy, etc) is an important factor influencing political participation (Schulz et al. 2010: 127). In particular, interest in political issues is generally seen as an important pre-condition for political engagement. In our questionnaire, we measured "interests in political issues" by asking students how interested they were with the following five items: (a) political issues in Hong Kong; (b) political issues in mainland China; (c) political issues in foreign countries; (d) international politics; and (e) environmental issues.

Our respondents showed relatively higher level of interest toward political issues in Hong Kong (mean = 2.69), with 65.7% of the students reporting they were "quite interested" or "very interested" (see Figure 4.3.1). This was followed by environmental issues (mean = 2.65), international politics (mean = 2.64), and political issues in foreign countries (mean = 2.48). Students showed lowest level of interest toward the political issues in mainland China (mean = 2.29) among others, with almost three-fifth of them (58.2%) indicating they were "not very interested" or "not interested at all" (see figure 4.3.1).

Table 4.3.1 Interest in Political Issues

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Political issues in Hong Kong	2.69	0.86	(2885)
b) Political issues in the mainland China	2.29	0.87	(2883)
c) Political issues in the foreign countries	2.48	0.84	(2879)
d) International politics	2.64	0.87	(2879)
e) Environmental issues	2.65	0.84	(2881)

1 = not interested all, 2 = not very interested, 3 = quite interested, 4 = very interested.

Figure 4.3.1 Interest in Political Issues

4.3.2 Self-concept in Politics

Self-concept in politics, also called “internal political efficacy,” has also been found to be a significant predictors of civic engagement. It is usually defined as individuals’ confidence in their ability to understand politics and to act politically (Schulz et al. 2010: 117). We have adopted the ICCS instrument to measure students’ self-concepts in politics.

Of the six statements presented, students indicated highest agreement with the statement “when political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say”, with 65.2% of the students agreeing or strongly agreeing with it (see Figure 4.3.2). 61.9% agreed with the statement “I am able to understand most political issues easily,” 59.6% agreed with the statement “as an adult, I will be able to take part in politics,” and 50.6% agreed with the statement “I have political opinions worth listening to”.

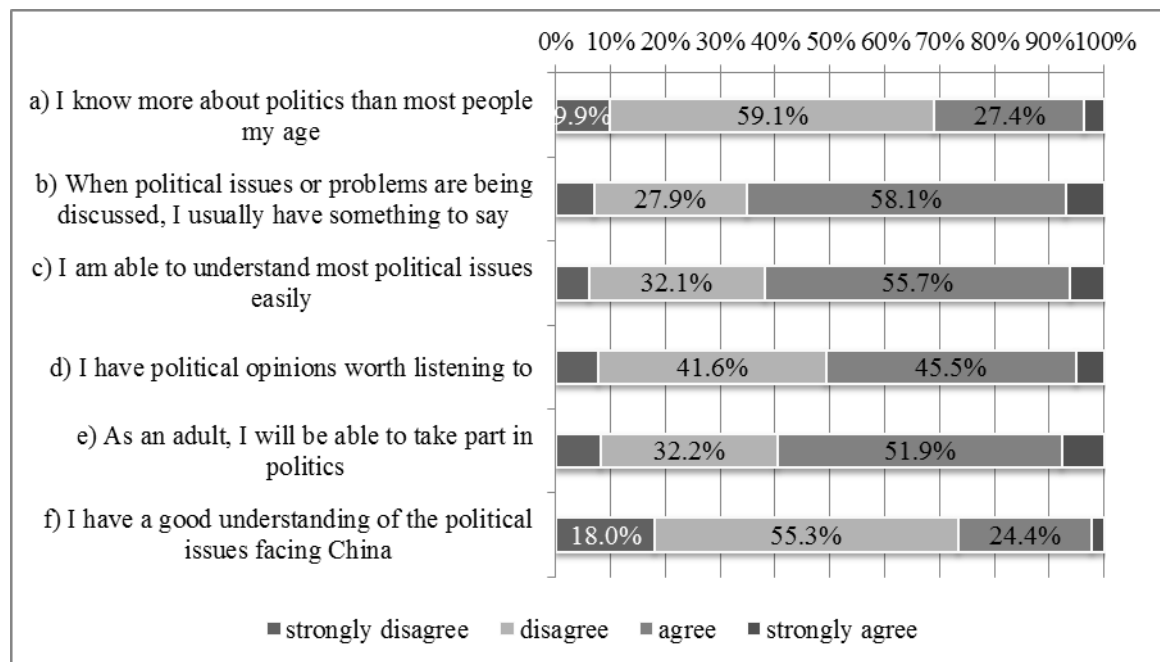
Students scored comparatively lower for the remaining two statements. Only 26.7% of the students agree or strongly agree with the statement “I have a good understanding of the political issues facing China” and 31.0% agree or strongly agree with the statement “I know more about politics than most people my age”.

Table 4.3.2 Self-concept in Politics

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) I know more about politics than most people my age	2.25	0.68	(2884)
b) When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say	2.65	0.71	(2885)
c) I am able to understand most political issues easily	2.62	0.69	(2882)
d) I have political opinions worth listening to	2.48	0.71	(2881)
e) As an adult, I will be able to take part in politics	2.59	0.75	(2882)
f) I have a good understanding of the political issues facing China	2.11	0.71	(2884)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.3.2 Self-concept in Politics



4.3.3 Citizenship Self-efficacy

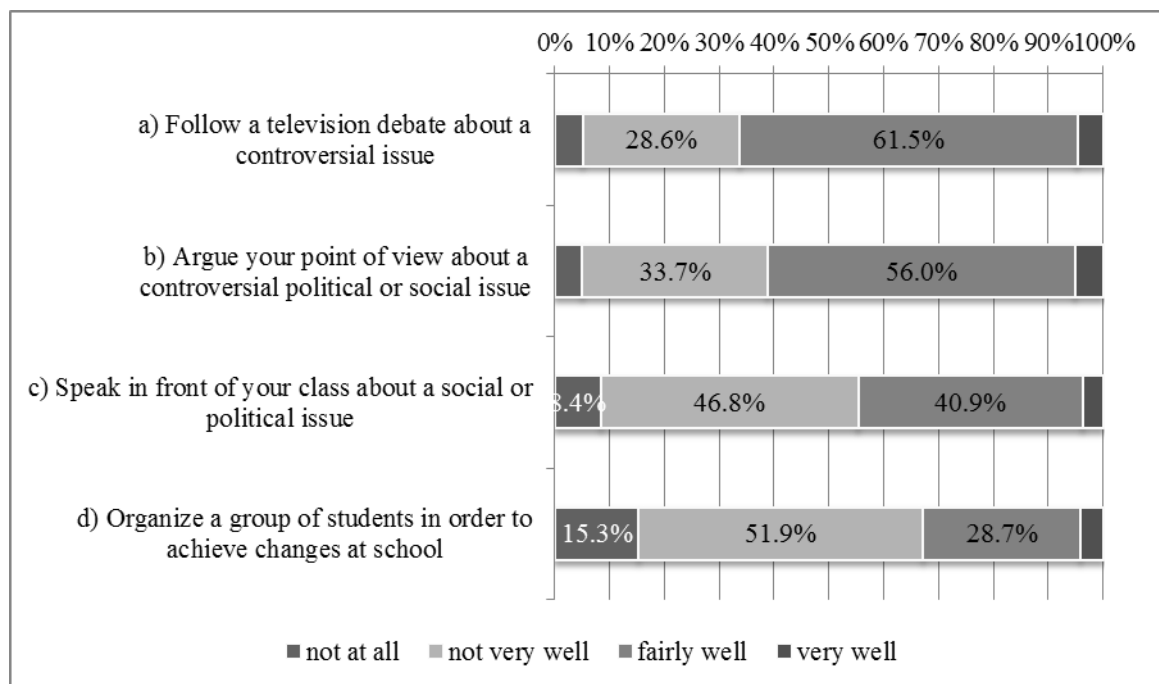
Whereas internal political efficacy refers to the beliefs that individuals have about their capacity to become politically involved, citizenship self-efficacy relates to the general concept of self-efficacy (Schulz et al. 2010: 120). Four items were used to measure students' citizenship self-efficacy. Students were asked to rate how well they thought they would perform each of four specific types of activities relating to citizenship participation at or outside of school.

In our survey, students scored relatively higher for the item "follow a television debate about a controversial issue" (66.3% indicated "fairly well" or "very well"), followed by "argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue" (61.3% indicated "fairly well" or "very well") (see Figure 4.3.3). More than half of the students showed lower levels of confidence for the remaining two items. 44.7% of the students rated "fairly well" or "very well" for "Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue" and only 32.9% rated "fairly well" or "very well" for "Organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school".

Table 4.3.3 Citizenship Self-efficacy

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Follow a television debate about a controversial issue	2.66	0.65	(2878)
b) Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue	2.61	0.66	(2878)
c) Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue	2.40	0.70	(2878)
d) Organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school	2.22	0.75	(2879)

1 = not at all, 2 = not very well, 3 = fairly well, 4 = very well.

Figure 4.3.3 Citizenship Self-efficacy

4.3.4 Civic Participation at School

Students' civic participation at school has been found to be a positive predictor of civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2010: 134-135). Our questionnaire also asked students if they had participated in six different civic-related activities at school "within the last twelve months," "more than a year ago," or "never". The percentages are shown in Figure 4.3.4.

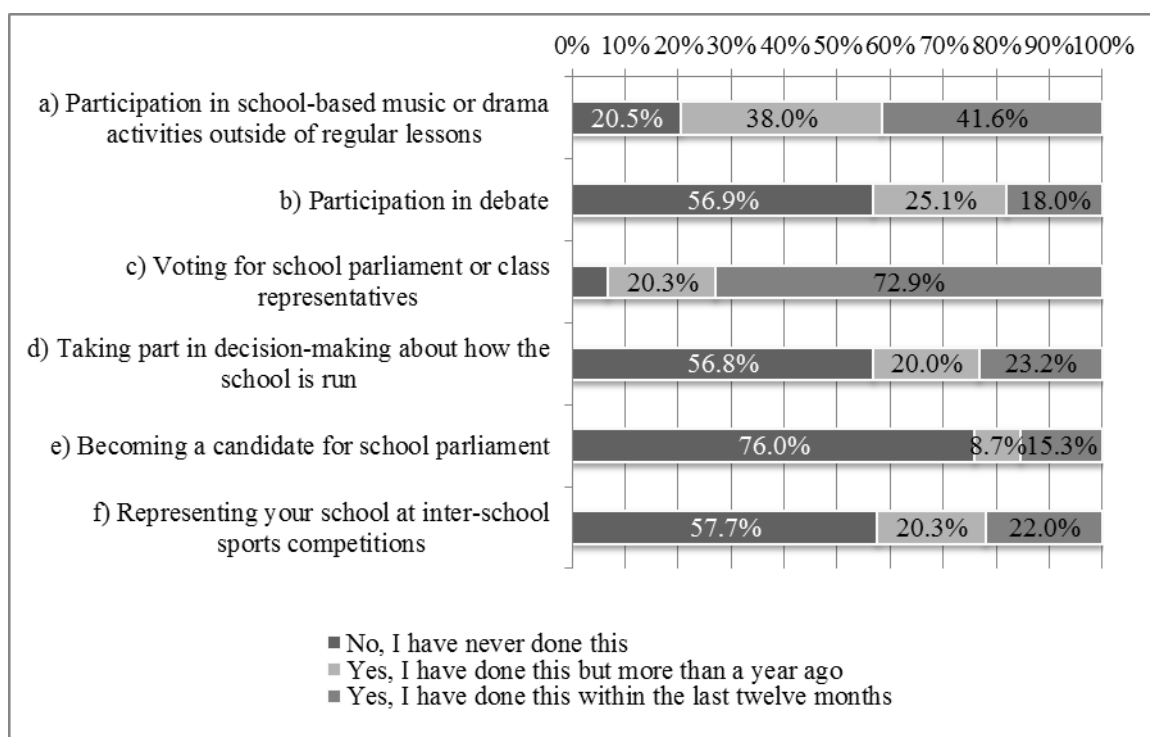
Majorities of the students had participated in the school parliament or class representative election (93.2% said they had participated "within the last twelve months" or "more than a year ago") and in school-based music or drama activities outside of regular lessons (79.5% said they had participated "within the last twelve months" or "more than a year ago"). For the other types of activities, 43.1% of the students had participated in debate, 43.2% had taken part in decision-making about how the school is run, 42.3% had represented their school at inter-school sports competitions, 24.0% had become a candidate for school parliament.

Table 4.3.4 Civic Participation at School

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Participation in school-based music or drama activities outside of regular lessons	2.21	0.76	(2880)
b) Participation in debate	1.61	0.77	(2875)
c) Voting for school parliament or class representatives	2.66	0.60	(2876)
d) Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run	1.66	0.83	(2866)
e) Becoming a candidate for school parliament	1.39	0.74	(2874)
f) Representing your school at inter-school sports competitions	1.64	0.82	(2877)

1 = No, I have never done this, 2 = yes, I have done this but more than a year ago, 3 = yes, I have done this within the last twelve months.

Figure 4.3.4 Civic Participation at School



4.3.5 Communication on Political and Social Issues

Discussion of political and social issues is also an important predictor of civic engagement. Participation in political discussions with peers, parents, and teachers has proven to be a more influential predictor of civic engagement than civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2010: 122). Our questionnaire thus included questions about how often (“never or hardly ever,” “at least once a month,” “at least once a week,” “daily or almost daily”) students discussed political and social issues with parents and with friends and how often they discussed events in other countries with parents and friends. Moreover, the questionnaire also included questions about the frequency of watching television, reading the newspaper, and using the internet and social media to inform oneself about Hong Kong, China and international news.

In our survey, students talked with friends about what is happening in other countries (mean = 2.28) more than they did with their parents (mean = 2.19) (see Table 4.3.5), and the mean difference is statistically significant at the level of 0.05. They also talked with friends about political and social issues (mean = 2.26) more than they did with their parents (mean = 2.09), and the mean difference is statistically significant at the level of 0.05.

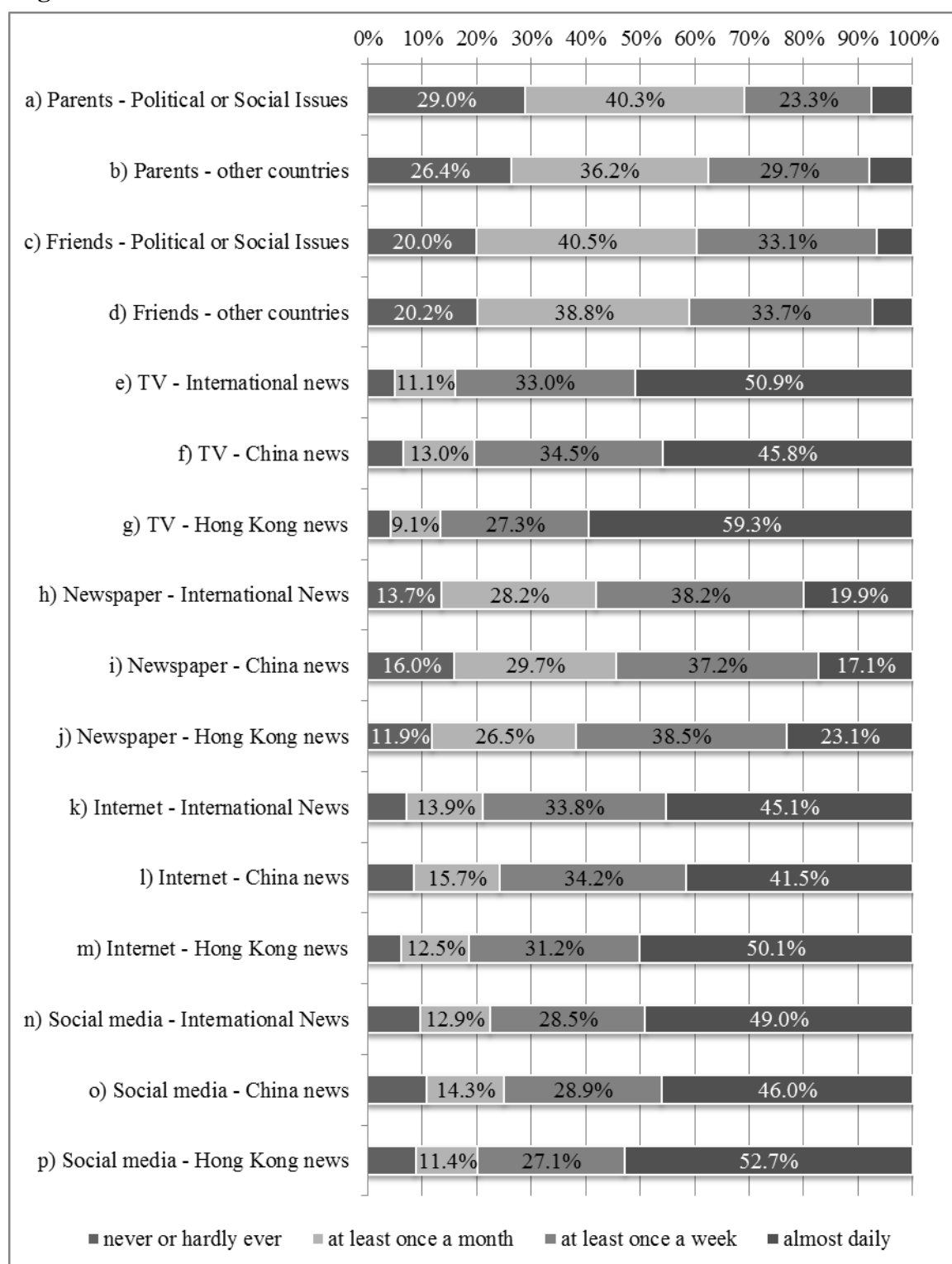
Majorities of the students had learned about Hong Kong, China and international news by watching television (percentages of usage ranged from 93.4% to 95.7%), using the internet (percentages of usage ranged from 90.3% to 93.8%) and social media (percentages of usage ranged from 89.2% to 91.1%), and by reading a newspaper (percentages of usage ranged from 84.0% to 88.1%) (see figure 4.3.5).

Table 4.3.5 Communication on Political and Social Issues

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Talking with your parent(s) about political or social issues	2.09	0.90	(2883)
b) Talking with your parent(s) about what is happening in other countries	2.19	0.91	(2878)
c) Talking with friends about political or social issues	2.26	0.85	(2873)
d) Talking with friends about what is happening in other countries	2.28	0.87	(2871)
e) Watching television to inform yourself about international news	3.30	0.86	(2883)
f) Watching television to inform yourself about China news	3.20	0.90	(2880)
g) Watching television to inform yourself about Hong Kong news	3.42	0.83	(2879)
h) Reading newspapers to inform yourself about international news	2.64	0.95	(2882)
i) Reading newspapers to inform yourself about China news	2.55	0.95	(2882)
j) Reading newspapers to inform yourself about Hong Kong news	2.73	0.95	(2878)
k) Using the internet to inform yourself about international news	3.17	0.92	(2882)
l) Using the internet to inform yourself about China news	3.09	0.95	(2880)
m) Using the internet to inform yourself about Hong Kong news	3.25	0.90	(2881)
n) Using the social media (e.g. Facebook) to inform yourself about international news	3.17	0.99	(2879)
o) Using the social media (e.g. Facebook) to inform yourself about China news	3.10	1.01	(2880)
p) Using the social media (e.g. Facebook) to inform yourself about Hong Kong news	3.24	0.97	(2879)

1 = never or hardly ever, 2 = at least once a month, 3 = at least once a week, 4 = almost daily.

Figure 4.3.5 Communication on Political and Social Issues



4.3.6 Civic Participation in the Wider Community

Numerous studies focusing on social capital and citizenship participation use membership or involvement in organizations or community groups as indicators of civic engagement (Schulz et al. 2010: 129). However, opportunities for active participation in the wider community are limited for secondary school students. Students in our survey were asked about their participation in only five types of organizations or activities.

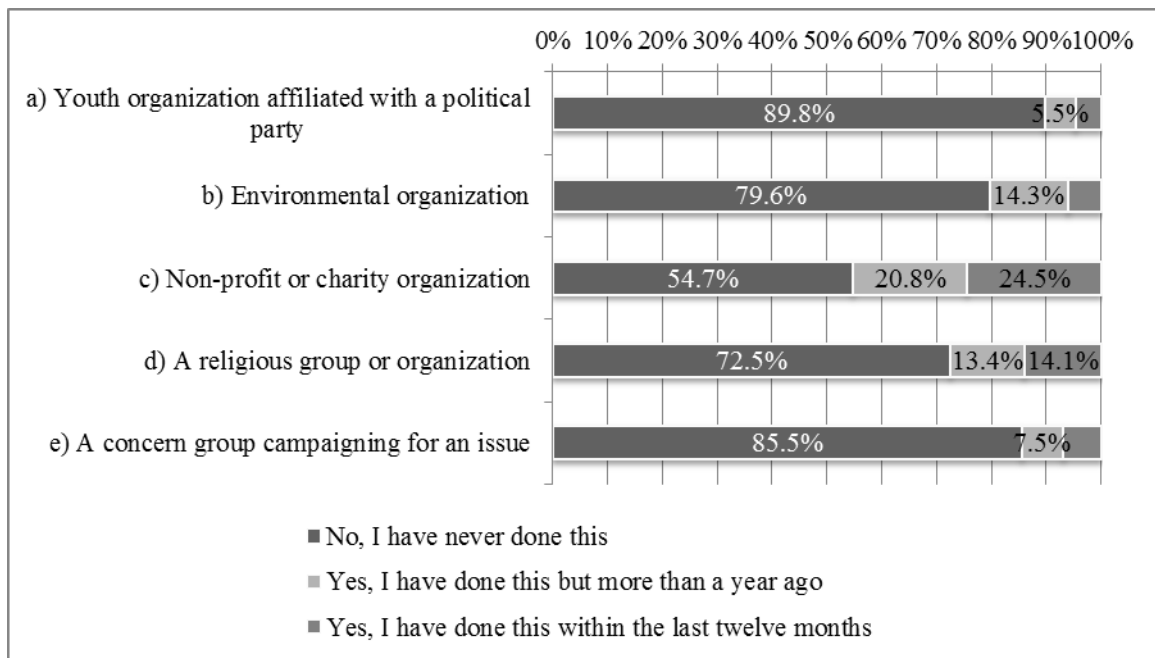
Only small minorities of students in our survey reported participation in formal organizations (see Table 4.3.6) since the responses were concentrated on ‘No, I have never done this’ (see figure 4.3.6). Students’ were relatively more likely to participate in non-profit or charity organizations than in other types of organizations, with 45.3% of the students reporting that they have done this more than a year ago or within the last twelve months (see also figure 4.3.6). 27.5% indicated that they had joined a religious group or organization more than a year ago or within the last twelve months, 20.4% had joined an environmental organization more than a year ago or within the last twelve months, 14.5% had participated in a concern group campaigning for an issue more than a year ago or within the last twelve months, and 10.2% had worked with a youth organization affiliated with a political party.

Table 4.3.6 Civic Participation in the Wider Community

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Youth organization affiliated with a political party	1.15	0.47	(2882)
b) Environmental organization	1.26	0.56	(2879)
c) Non-profit or charity organization	1.70	0.84	(2878)
d) A religious group or organization	1.42	0.72	(2881)
e) A concern group campaigning for an issue	1.21	0.55	(2880)

1 = No, I have never done this, 2 = yes, I have done this but more than a year ago, 3 = yes, I have done this within the last twelve months.

Figure 4.3.6 Civic Participation in the Wider Community



4.3.7 Political Participation in the Past Twelve Months

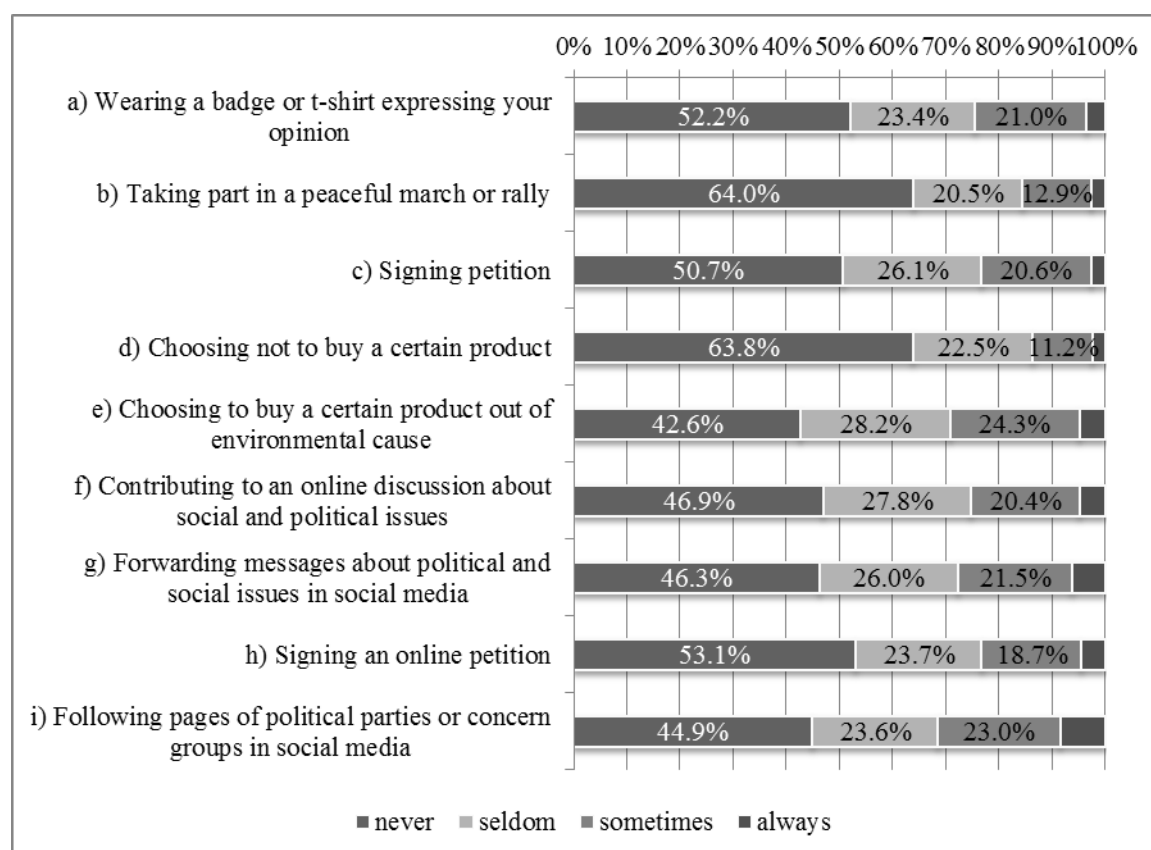
In the relevant literature, political participation is typically treated as a multi-dimensional concept (Deth 2015). In our questionnaire, students were asked about their participation in the following three types of political activities: one for more general acts of political participation (e.g. wearing a badge or t-shirt, marching or rallying, and signing a petition), one for online political participation (e.g. contributing to a online discussion, forwarding political messages in social media, signing an online petition, and following pages of political parties or concern groups in social media), and one for political consumerism (e.g. boycotting and buycotting products).

Of the three traditional forms of political participation, 49.3% of the students had signed a petition, 47.8% of the students had worn a badge or t-shirt to express an opinion, and 36% had joined a peaceful march or rally (see Figure 4.3.7). In contrast with these traditional forms of political participation, students engaged relatively more in online political participation. 55.1% had followed pages of political parties or concern groups in social media, 53.7% had forwarded messages about political and social issues in social media, 53.1% had contributed to an online discussion about social and political issues, and 46.9% had signed an online petition. For political consumerism, students had a moderate to low level of participation. 57.4% had chosen to buy a certain product in connection with an environmental cause, 36.2% had chosen not to buy a certain product.

Table 4.3.7 Political Participation in the Past Twelve Months

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion	1.76	0.90	(2881)
b) Taking part in a peaceful march or rally	1.54	0.82	(2880)
c) Signing petition	1.75	0.87	(2880)
d) Choosing not to buy a certain product	1.52	0.79	(2877)
e) Choosing to buy a certain product out of environmental cause	1.91	0.93	(2878)
f) Contributing to an online discussion about social and political issues	1.83	0.92	(2881)
g) Forwarding messages about political and social issues in social media	1.88	0.95	(2880)
h) Signing an online petition	1.75	0.91	(2878)
i) Following pages of political parties or concern groups in social media	1.95	1.01	(2880)

1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = sometimes, 4 = always.

Figure 4.3.7 Political Participation in the Past Twelve Months

4.3.8 Students' Expected Future Political Participation

As students have only limited opportunities to participate politically as active citizens, their intended political participation in the future was also measured in the original ICCS instrument (Schulz et al. 2010: 137). In our questionnaire, students were asked about their anticipated civic action when they become adults in the following three dimensions: (1) expected future electoral participation; (2) expected conventional political participation; and (3) expected informal political participation. The response categories were “I would certainly not do this,” “I would probably not do this,” “I would probably do this,” and “I would certainly do this”.

For expected future electoral participation, our questionnaire asked students whether they expected to participate as adults in a number of activities ranging from voting in District Council or Legislative Council elections to seeking information about candidates before voting in an election. Majorities of students expect to probably or definitely engage in all of the above activities (see Table 4.3.8). 80.4% of the students expect to participate in District Council elections, and 78.0% expect to participate in Legislative Council elections, while relatively fewer students expect to seek information about candidates before voting in an election (64.5%) (see Figure 4.3.8).

Students were also asked whether they expect to participate as adults in a number of conventional political activities ranging from joining a political party or a trade union to helping a candidate or party during an election campaign. Only small minorities of students anticipated that they would certainly or probably engage in the above activities (see Table 4.3.7). Only 12.7% of the students expected to join a political party, and 14.6% expected to join a trade union while relatively more students (24.5%) expected to help a candidate or party during an election campaign (see Figure 4.3.8).

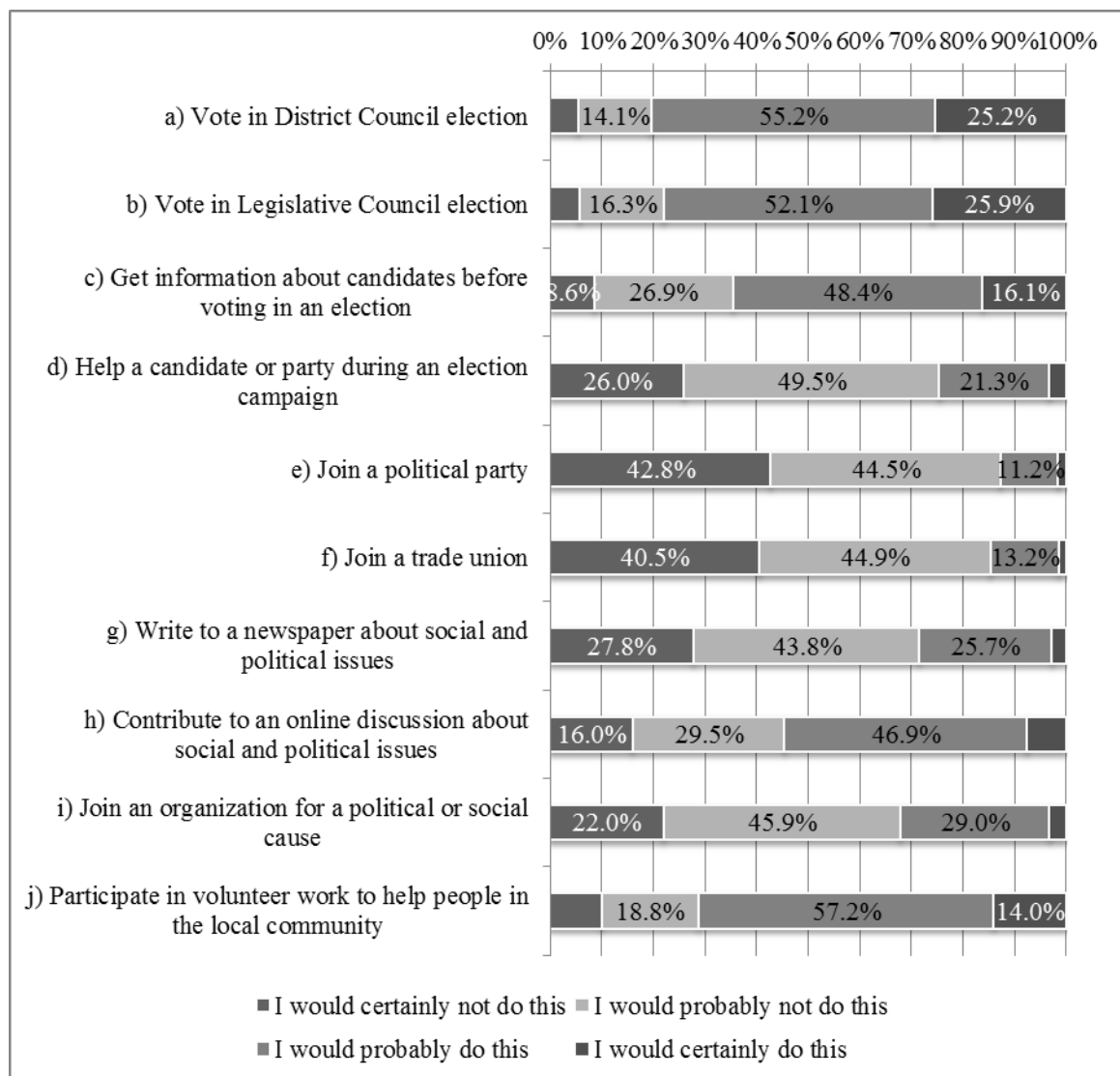
Apart from electoral participation and more conventional forms of political participation, our survey also included questions about participation in the less formal civic activities. 71.2% of the students expected to participate in volunteer work to help people in the local community. 54.5% expected to probably or definitely contribute to an online discussion about social and political issues. Relatively fewer students expected to write to a newspaper about social and political issues (28.4% expected to probably or definitely do this) and join an organization for a political or social cause (32.1% expected to probably or definitely do this) (see Figure 4.3.8).

Table 4.3.8 Students' Expected Future Political Participation

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Vote in District Council election	3.00	0.78	(2878)
b) Vote in Legislative Council election	2.98	0.81	(2878)
c) Get information about candidates before voting in an election	2.72	0.83	(2876)
d) Help a candidate or party during an election campaign	2.02	0.78	(2869)
e) Join a political party	1.71	0.72	(2877)
f) Join a trade union	1.76	0.73	(2876)
g) Write to a newspaper about social and political issues	2.03	0.80	(2876)
h) Contribute to an online discussion about social and political issues	2.46	0.85	(2878)
i) Join an organization for a political or social cause	2.13	0.79	(2877)
j) Participate in volunteer work to help people in the local community	2.75	0.82	(2876)

1 = I would certainly not do this, 2 = I would probably not do this, 3 = I would probably do this, 4 = I would certainly do this.

Figure 4.3.8 Students' Expected Future Political Participation



4.3.9 Students' Perceived Effectiveness of Political Activities

Aside from asking questions about students' actual political participation, we were also interested in their evaluation of the effectiveness of different types of political activities. In the questionnaire, students were thus asked to rate whether several protest activities are effective or not in attaining political goals. The response categories were "definitely not effective," "not effective," "effective," and "definitely effective".

Students rated most protest activities as effective or definitely effective (see Figure 4.3.9) 84.5% of the students indicated that "taking part in a peaceful march or rally" as an effective or definitely effective means to attain political goals. 73.9% rated "contacting Legislative Councilors or District Councilors" as effective or definitely effective. 71.5% said "gathering and protesting at a public area" as effective or definitely effective. 68.5% considered "signing a petition" as effective or definitely effective. 55.3% rated "wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion" as effective or definitely effective.

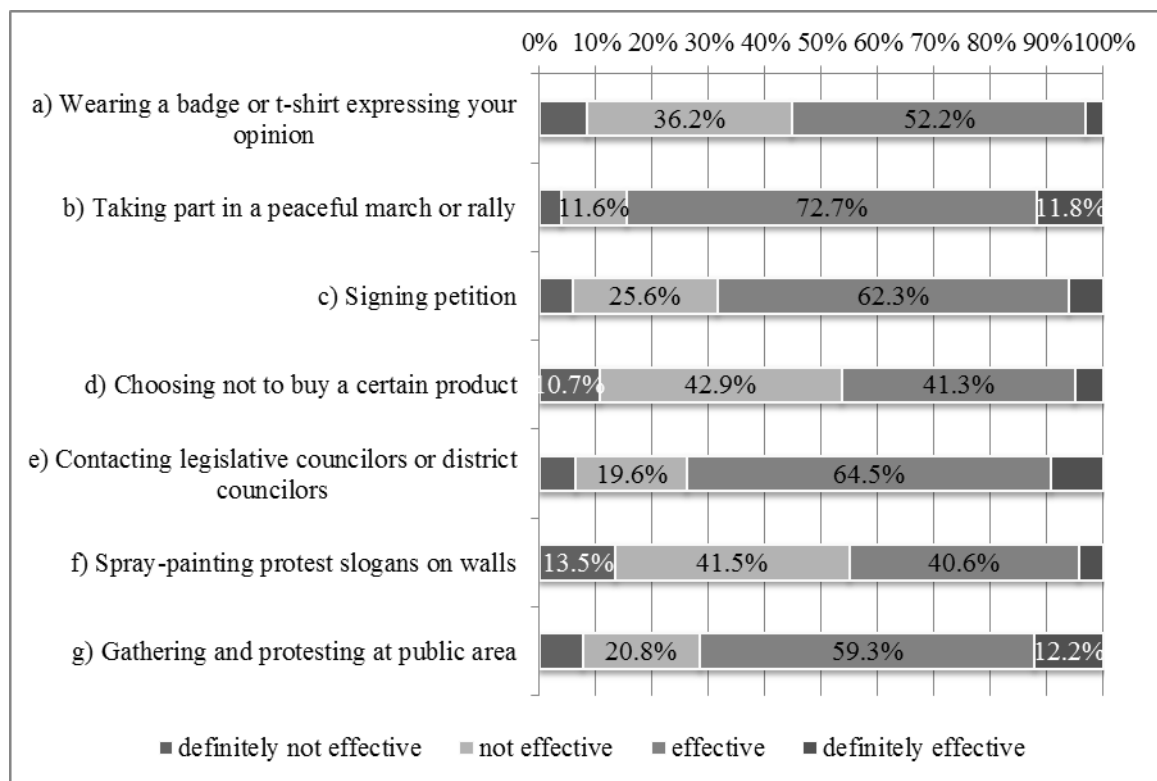
For political consumerism and spray-painting protest, less than half of the students considered them an effective or definitely effective political form of political action. The percentage rating "choosing not to buy a certain product" and "spray-painting protest" as effective or definitely effective were 46.4% and 45.1% respectively.

Table 4.3.9 Students' Perceived Effectiveness of Political Activities

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion	2.50	0.69	(2878)
b) Taking part in a peaceful march or rally	2.92	0.62	(2878)
c) Signing petition	2.69	0.68	(2875)
d) Choosing not to buy a certain product	2.41	0.75	(2875)
e) Contacting legislative councilors or district councilors	2.77	0.70	(2873)
f) Spray-painting protest slogans on walls	2.36	0.77	(2878)
g) Gathering and protesting at public area	2.76	0.76	(2878)

1 = definitely not effective, 2 = not effective, 3 = effective, 4 = definitely effective.

Figure 4.3.9 Students' Perceived Effectiveness of Political Activities



4.3.10 Level of Civic Knowledge

In the ICCS Hong Kong module (Lee et al. 2009), 14 multiple-choice questions were included in the questionnaire to test the proficiency levels of students' civic knowledge with respect to local social and political issues. Based on the correct/incorrect percentage of their results, 5 questions involving varying levels of difficulties were selected for inclusion in the current study. The questions covered the following topics: (1) functions of the Legislative Council; (2) attributes in the Equal Opportunity Commission; (3) rule of law in Hong Kong; (4) rights of Hong Kong citizens; and (5) responsibilities of Hong Kong citizens. The 5 questions and the respective answers choices of each question can be found in Appendix 1. The percentage distribution of the number of correct answers is provided in Table 4.3.10. The average number of correct answers is 3.16.

Table 4.3.10 Level of Civic Knowledge

Number of correct answers	Percentage
5	9.3
4	32.5
3	32.6
2	17.9
1	5.8
0	1.9
(n)	(2896)

mean = 3.16, S.D. = 1.12.

4.4 Students' Values and Attitudes

In this section, we shall report the findings on the students' value beliefs and attitudes. It will first report on their perceptions of democracy and good citizenship; followed by a discussion of their trust in civic institutions. It will then focus on their perceptions of country and their national and local identity. Towards the end of this section, we will discuss students' perceptions of equal rights in society, and their materialist and post-materialist value orientations.

4.4.1 Perceptions of Democracy

Our questionnaire included a set of items, adapted from the ICCS instrument, which seek to ascertain the extent of student endorsement of basic democratic values. Students were asked to indicate their level of agreement ("strongly disagree," "disagree," "agree," and "strongly agree") with five different statements.

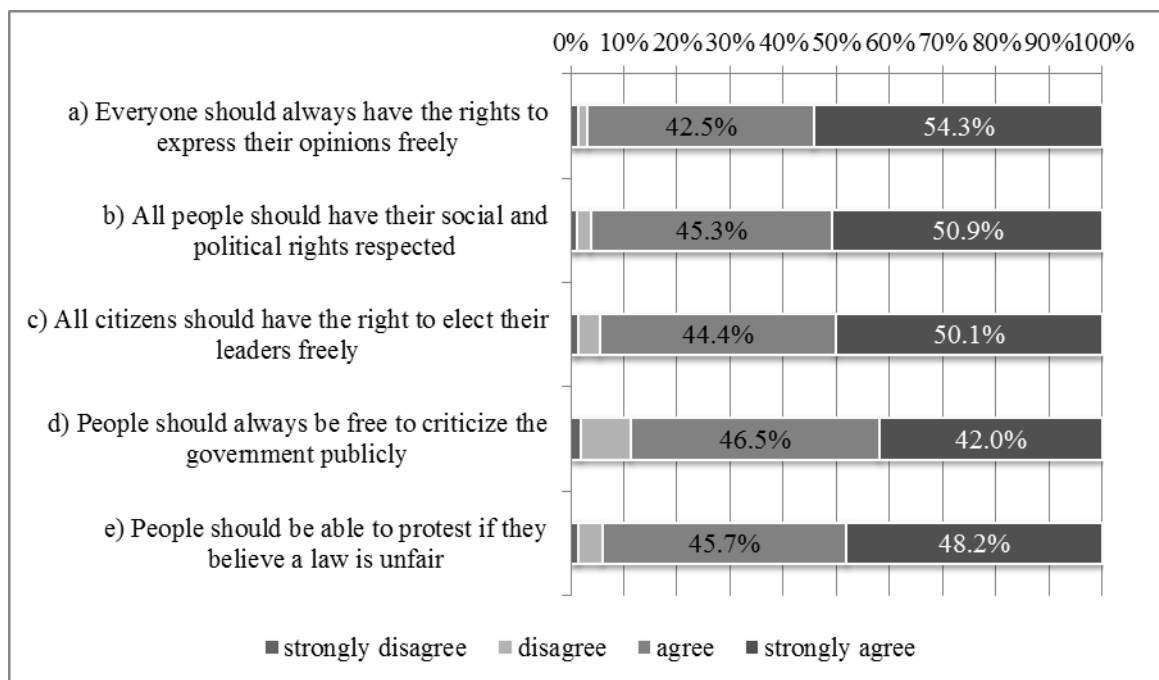
The results, shown in Table 4.4.1 and Figure 4.4.1 indicate that nearly all students endorsed most of these items. 96.8% of the students agreed that everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely, 96.2% agreed all people should have their social and political rights respected, 94.6% agreed all should have the right to elect their leaders freely, 93.9% agreed people should be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair, and 88.6% agreed people should always be free to criticize the government publicly.

Table 4.4.1 Perceptions of Democracy

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Everyone should always have the rights to express their opinions freely	3.50	0.61	(2887)
b) All people should have their social and political rights respected	3.46	0.61	(2886)
c) All citizens should have the right to elect their leaders freely	3.43	0.64	(2883)
d) People should always be free to criticize the government publicly	3.29	0.71	(2883)
e) People should be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair	3.41	0.65	(2881)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.4.1 Perceptions of Democracy



4.4.2 Perceptions of Good Citizenship

The ICCS survey included items asking about the importance of certain behaviors as constituting “good citizenship” (Schulz et al. 2010: 127). Dalton, in his study of European’s perceptions of the importance of different types of citizenship behavior, identified two dimensions of citizenship, namely, “duty-based citizenship” and “engaged citizenship” (Dalton 2008). The former refers to civic behaviors that comply with social norms while the latter relates to elements of liberal or communitarian norms of citizenship. In our questionnaire, students were asked to rate the importance of set of 10 possible citizenship behaviors. The first six of these items measure students’ perceptions of the importance of “conventional citizenship”. The next four items measure students’ perceptions of the importance of “social-movement-related citizenship”. Students were asked to rate the importance of each type of behavior for being a good citizen as follows: “not at all important,” “not very important,” “quite important,” “very important”.

Table 4.4.2 shows the means for students’ perception of the importance of good citizenship. Items (a) to (f) reflect students’ perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship. Majorities of the students agreed with most of the statements as “quite important” or “very important” with the exception of “joining a political party”. 91.1% of the students agreed that “following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet” is important, 87.8% agreed that “voting in every election” is important, 75.0% agreed that “showing respect for government representatives” is important, 73.2% agreed that “engaging in political discussions” is important, and 53.7% agreed that “learning about Chinese history” is important, but only 17.5% agreed that “joining a political party” is important (see Figure 4.4.2).

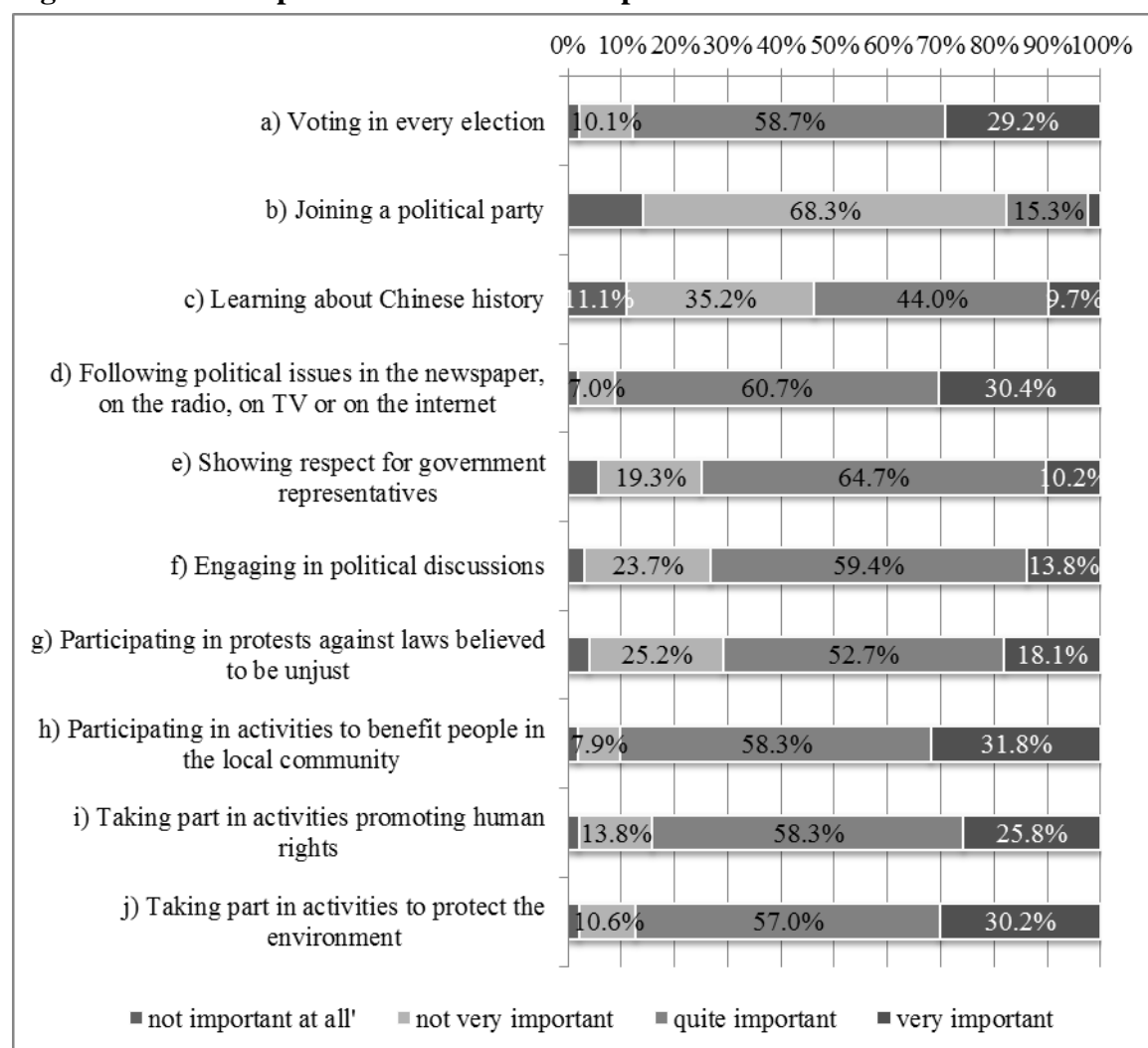
Items (g) to (j) reflected students’ perceptions of the importance of social-movement-related citizenship”. Majorities of the students agreed with all of the statements as “quite important” or “very important”. 90.1% agreed that “participating in activities to benefit people in the local community” is important, 87.2% agreed that “taking part in activities to protect the environment” is important,” 84.1% agreed that “taking part in activities promoting human rights” is important, and 70.8% agreed that “participating in protests against laws believed to be unjust” is important (see Figure 4.4.2).

Table 4.4.2 Perceptions of Good Citizenship

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Voting in every election	3.15	0.67	(2884)
b) Joining a political party	2.06	0.62	(2884)
c) Learning about Chinese history	2.52	0.82	(2885)
d) Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet	3.20	0.64	(2883)
e) Showing respect for government representatives	2.79	0.69	(2885)
f) Engaging in political discussions	2.84	0.69	(2884)
g) Participating in protests against laws believed to be unjust	2.85	0.75	(2882)
h) Participating in activities to benefit people in the local community	3.20	0.66	(2882)
i) Taking part in activities promoting human rights	3.08	0.69	(2885)
j) Taking part in activities to protect the environment	3.15	0.69	(2885)

1 = not at all important, 2 = not very important, 3 = quite important, 4 = very important.

Figure 4.4.2 Perceptions of Good Citizenship



4.4.3 Trust in Civic Institutions

Researchers have been conducting studies about trust in civic institutions for many decades. These studies all show trust in institutions has declined among adults over the past two decades. In line with these studies, we sought to determine the level of trust in civic institutions and political figures. We used mainly the ICCS instrument to measure students' trust in civic institutions. Our questionnaire included 12 items that required students to rate their trust ("not at all," "not trust," "trust," "completely trust") in a number of civic institutions and political figures.

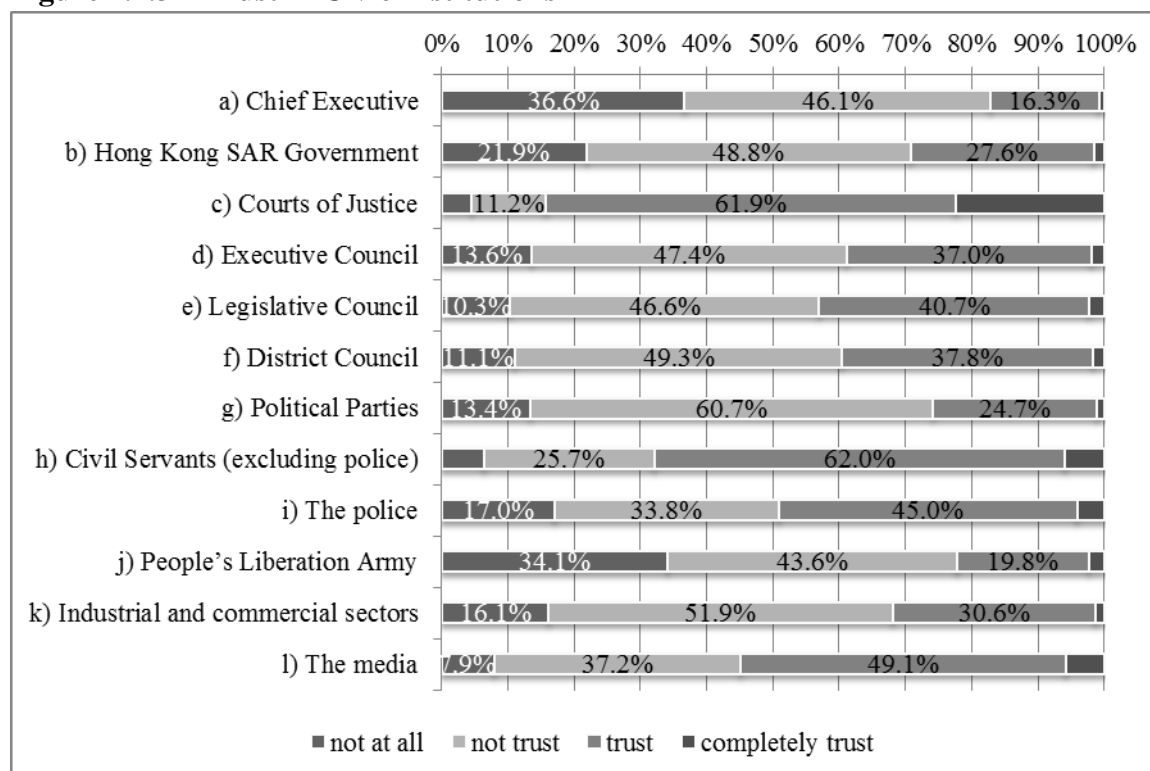
Table 4.4.3 shows the means for students' trust in different civic institutions. Figure 4.4.3 shows the respective percentage distribution of answer choices. Students showed a high level of trust in the courts of justice (84.3% "trust" or "completely trust" them). Students showed a moderate level of trust in civil servants (68.0% "trust" or "completely trust" them) and the media (54.9% "trust" or "completely trust" them). Students expressed relatively less trust in the other civil institutions, with the percentages of "trust" or "completely trust" ranging from 17.2% (Chief Executive) to 49.2% (the police).

Table 4.4.3 Trust in Civic Institutions

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Chief Executive	1.81	0.73	(2874)
b) Hong Kong SAR Government	2.09	0.74	(2877)
c) Courts of Justice	3.02	0.72	(2876)
d) Executive Council	2.27	0.72	(2870)
e) Legislative Council	2.35	0.69	(2877)
f) District Council	2.30	0.68	(2876)
g) Political Parties	2.14	0.64	(2876)
h) Civil Servants (excluding police)	2.68	0.68	(2876)
i) The police	2.36	0.81	(2873)
j) People's Liberation Army	1.91	0.79	(2873)
k) Industrial and commercial sectors	2.17	0.70	(2870)
l) The media	2.53	0.72	(2874)

1 = not at all, 2 = not trust, 3 = trust, 4 = completely trust.

Figure 4.4.3 Trust in Civic Institutions



4.4.4 Perceptions of Country

We modified the original 8-item instrument for measuring students' perceptions of country into two 6-item instruments (Schulz et al. 2010: 101). The first set was designed to measure students' perceptions of Hong Kong or the Hong Kong SAR Government. The second set was designed to measure students' perceptions of China or the PRC Government. We also adopted 4 items on identity from the ICCS Hong Kong module (Lee 2009: 97).

Students' agreement with the statements related to Hong Kong ranged from 41.7% ("the political system in Hong Kong SAR works well") to 71.9% ("I have great respect for Hong Kong SAR") (see Figure 4.4.4 for the percentages for other items). Students' agreement with the statements related to China ranged from 18.8% ("The political system in People Republic of China works well") to 51.8% ("I have great interest in the culture of China") (see Figure 4.4.4 for the percentages of other items).

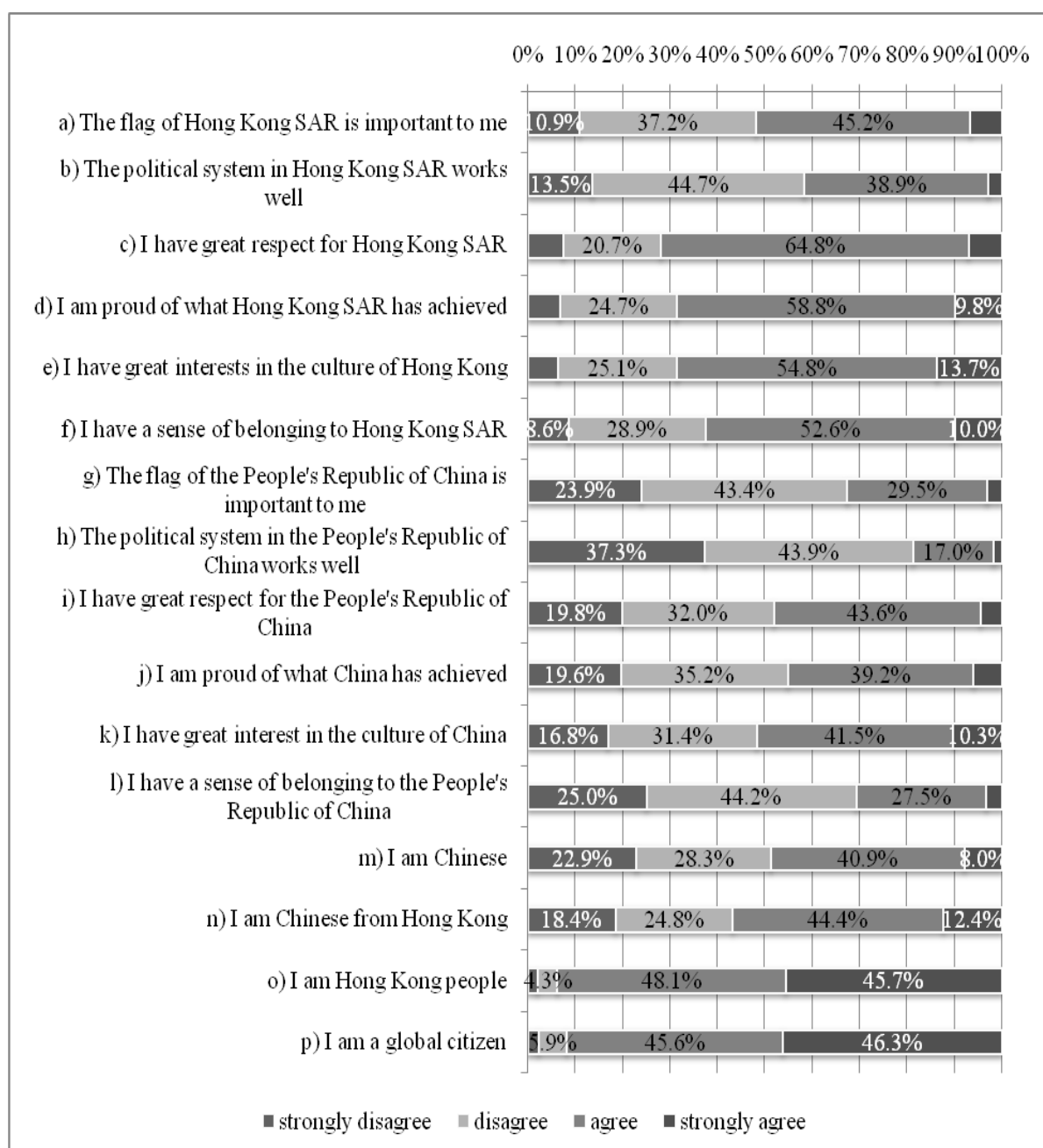
Students were also asked to indicate their level of agreement with different statements about their identity. 93.8% of the students agreed with the statement "I am Hong Kong people," 91.9% agreed with the statement "I am a global citizen," 56.8% agreed with the statement "I am Chinese from Hong Kong," and 48.9% agreed with the statement "I am Chinese" (see Figure 4.4.4).

Table 4.4.4 Perceptions of Country

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) The flag of Hong Kong SAR is important to me	2.48	0.78	(2879)
b) The political system in Hong Kong SAR works well	2.31	0.74	(2880)
c) I have great respect for Hong Kong SAR	2.72	0.70	(2878)
d) I am proud of what Hong Kong SAR has achieved	2.72	0.73	(2878)
e) I have great interests in the culture of Hong Kong	2.76	0.76	(2876)
f) I have a sense of belonging to Hong Kong SAR	2.64	0.78	(2873)
g) The flag of the People's Republic of China is important to me	2.12	0.80	(2877)
h) The political system in the People's Republic of China works well	1.83	0.77	(2875)
i) I have great respect for the People's Republic of China	2.33	0.84	(2873)
j) I am proud of what China has achieved	2.32	0.85	(2875)
k) I have great interest in the culture of China	2.45	0.89	(2875)
l) I have a sense of belonging to the People's Republic of China	2.09	0.81	(2873)
m) I am Chinese	2.34	0.92	(2872)
n) I am Chinese from Hong Kong	2.51	0.93	(2870)
o) I am Hong Kong people	3.38	0.66	(2868)
p) I am a global citizen	3.36	0.69	(2871)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.4.4 Perceptions of Country



4.4.5 National and Local Identity

Our questionnaire also asked students to choose one answer from four choices on how they identify themselves including as “Hong Kong people,” “Chinese,” “both,” and “neither”. 46.1% of the students identified themselves as “Hong Kong people,” 48.3% identified themselves as “both,” 3.2% identified themselves as “neither,” and 2.4% identified themselves as “Chinese” (see Table 4.4.5).

Table 4.4.5 National and Local Identity

	Percentage
Hong Kong People	46.1
Chinese	2.4
Both	48.3
Neither	3.2
(n)	(2874)

4.4.6 Perceptions of Equal Rights in Society

We included four items from the ICCS instrument relating to students' attitudes toward gender equality and equal rights for all ethnic groups in society. We created another six items relating to students' attitudes toward foreign domestic helpers, new immigrants, and children born locally but whose parents are non-permanent residents of Hong Kong. Students indicated their level of agreement ("strongly disagree," "disagree," "agree," and "strongly agree") with the ten statements (see Table 4.4.6).

A majority of the students disagreed to negatively worded items relating to gender equality. 76.8% of the students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement "when there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women". In response to one positively worded item relating to gender equality, 90.2% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs" (see Figure 4.4.6).

Majorities of the students also agreed with two positively worded items relating to equal rights for all ethnic groups in society. 91.3% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "all ethnic groups should have an equal chance to get a good education in Hong Kong". 90.5% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "all ethnic groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs in Hong Kong" (see Figure 4.4.6).

Although a majority of the students agreed (64.5% agreed or strongly agreed) that the number of foreign domestic helpers should be limited in Hong Kong, more than half of the students also agreed (54.9% agreed or strongly agreed) that foreign domestic helpers should be regarded as members of Hong Kong (see Figure 4.4.6).

Only about one-fourth of the students agreed (26.5% agreed or strongly agreed) that new immigrants who reside in Hong Kong for less than seven years should also enjoy the same rights as other Hong Kong citizens. At the same time, a majority of the students agreed (80.1% agreed or strongly agreed) that the number of immigrants should be limited when the unemployment rate is high (see Figure 4.4.6).

When asked about their views towards the younger new immigrants, less than two-fifth of the students agreed (37.4% agreed or strongly agreed) that students who reside in Hong Kong for less than seven years should also enjoy the same social welfare benefits as other local students (see Figure 4.4.6).

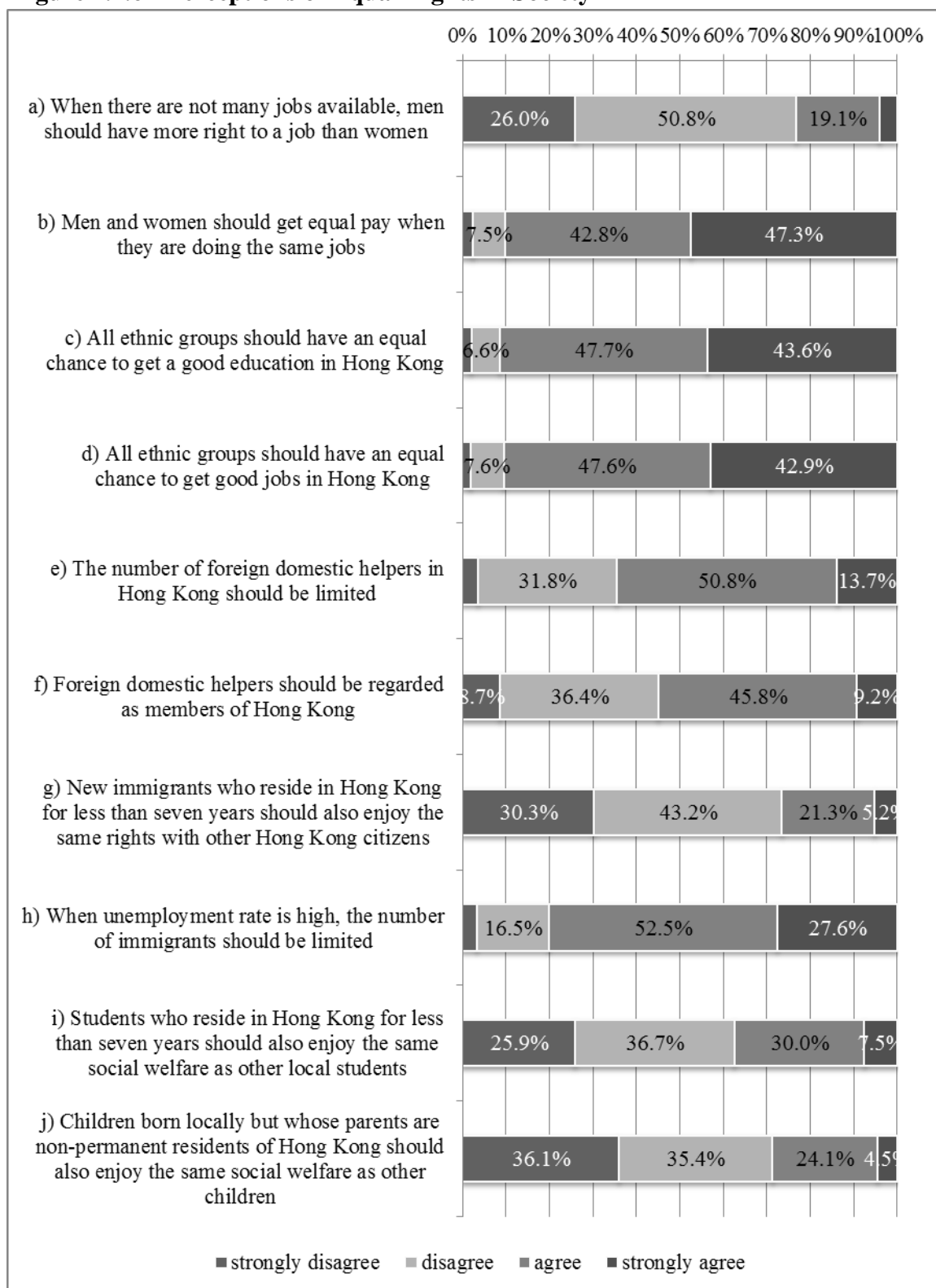
We also asked students about their views towards the children born locally but whose parents are non-permanent residents of Hong Kong. Less than one-third of the students agreed (28.6% agreed or strongly agreed) that those children should also enjoy the same social welfare benefits as other children in Hong Kong (see Figure 4.4.6).

Table 4.4.6 Perceptions of Equal Rights in Society

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) When there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women	2.01	0.78	(2885)
b) Men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs	3.35	0.72	(2885)
c) All ethnic groups should have an equal chance to get a good education in Hong Kong	3.33	0.69	(2884)
d) All ethnic groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs in Hong Kong	3.31	0.69	(2881)
e) The number of foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong should be limited	2.75	0.73	(2883)
f) Foreign domestic helpers should be regarded as members of Hong Kong	2.55	0.78	(2883)
g) New immigrants who reside in Hong Kong for less than seven years should also enjoy the same rights with other Hong Kong citizens	2.01	0.85	(2874)
h) When unemployment rate is high, the number of immigrants should be limited	3.04	0.76	(2878)
i) Students who reside in Hong Kong for less than seven years should also enjoy the same social welfare as other local students	2.19	0.91	(2878)
j) Children born locally but whose parents are non-permanent residents of Hong Kong should also enjoy the same social welfare as other children	1.97	0.88	(2882)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.4.6 Perceptions of Equal Rights in Society



4.4.7 Materialist and Post-materialist Value Orientations

Apart from the ICCS instrument, our questionnaire also included an instrument measuring respondents' materialist and post-materialist value orientation (Inglehart 1990). Inglehart has claimed that increasing levels of affluence in post-industrial societies has brought about fundamental change in their citizens' values. Rising standards of living and an increasing sense of security have shifted individuals' value priorities away from materialist scarcity values towards post-material self-expressive values. Younger generations are thus more likely to develop a post-material worldview than their older counterparts. Studies of post-material value shifts in Hong Kong show that post-materialism is gradually becoming manifest in Hong Kong, but materialists still outnumber post-materialists by more than two to one, while the proportion of individuals who can be classified as the mixed type has remained stable and large (Wong and Wan 2009).

In our questionnaire, Inglehart's four-choice measure of materialism/post-materialism was used to measure an individual's value priority. Students were asked to answer the following question: 'There is a lot of talk these days about what the aims of Hong Kong should be for next 10 years. Which one of these do you consider most important? And which would be the next most important? (a) Maintaining order in Hong Kong; (b) Give people more say in important government decisions; (c) Fighting rising prices; and (d) Protecting freedom of speech'. While (a) and (c) measure materialist needs, (b) and (d) assess post-material needs.

Table 4.4.7a presents the most important and second-most important social development goals chosen by the students. 60.3% of the students chose "maintaining order in Hong Kong" as the most important or the second-most important goal, 52.3% chose "Protecting freedom of speech", 50.0% chose "fighting rising price," 42.2% chose "giving people more say in important government decisions".

We then classified the students into "the materialist type," "the mixed type," and "the post-materialist type" according to their answers (see note to Table 4.4.7b). 50.1% of the students were classified as "the mixed type", 25.9% were classified as "the materialist type," and 18.4% were classified as "the post-materialist type". The corresponding figures from Wong and Wan's study based on a territory-wide sample in 2007 were 56.2% (the mixed), 28.5% (the materialist) and 13.4% (the post-materialist). In short, our F.5 student sample in 2015 has relatively more post-materialist and fewer materialist and mixed types than the territory-wide sample in 2007.

Table 4.4.7a Materialist and Post-materialist Value Priorities

	Percentage
a) Maintaining order in Hong Kong	60.3
b) Give people more say in important government decisions	42.2
c) Fighting rising prices	50.0
d) Protecting freedom of speech	52.3
(n)	(2790)

Note: Percentage choosing given development goal as the most important or the second-most important out of four.

Table 4.4.7b Distribution of Materialist/Post-materialist Value Type

	Percentage
Materialist Type	25.9
Mixed Type	50.1
Post-materialist Type	18.4
Unclassifiable	5.6
(n)	(2896)

Note: If a respondent's first and second choices were 'maintaining order' and 'fighting rising prices', we classified him/her as the 'Materialist type' because his/her top priorities focused exclusively on Materialist goals. If a respondent's first and second choices were 'having more say in government' and 'protecting free speech', we classified him/her as the 'Post-materialist type' because his/her top priorities focused exclusively on Post-materialist goals. If a respondent's first and second choices were a combination of two kinds of goals, he/she would be classified as being a 'mixed type', a mixture of Materialist and Post-materialist.

4.5 Students' Views towards Selected Social and Political Issues

In this section, we first report students' satisfaction with different aspects of life; followed by their evaluation of their quality of life and also their future. It will then focus on their intention to study or work in the mainland. Towards the end of this section, we discuss students' views towards current social issues, their support for political parties, and their attitudes towards Liberal Studies.

4.5.1 Satisfaction with Different Aspects of Life

Students were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction ("strongly dissatisfied," "dissatisfied," "satisfied," and "strongly satisfied") with four different aspects of Hong Kong: (a) economic development; (b) political development; (c) environmental protection; and (d) the education system. As shown in Table 4.5.1, students' level of satisfaction with Hong Kong's economic development was relatively higher than for the other three aspects, with 75.5% of them answering "satisfied" or "strongly satisfied" (see Figure 4.5.1), while only 35.5% were satisfied or strongly satisfied with the Hong Kong's education system and 35.2% satisfied or strongly satisfied with environmental protection in Hong Kong. Students showed the least satisfaction with Hong Kong's political system, with only 24.6% responding they were "satisfied" or "strongly satisfied" with it.

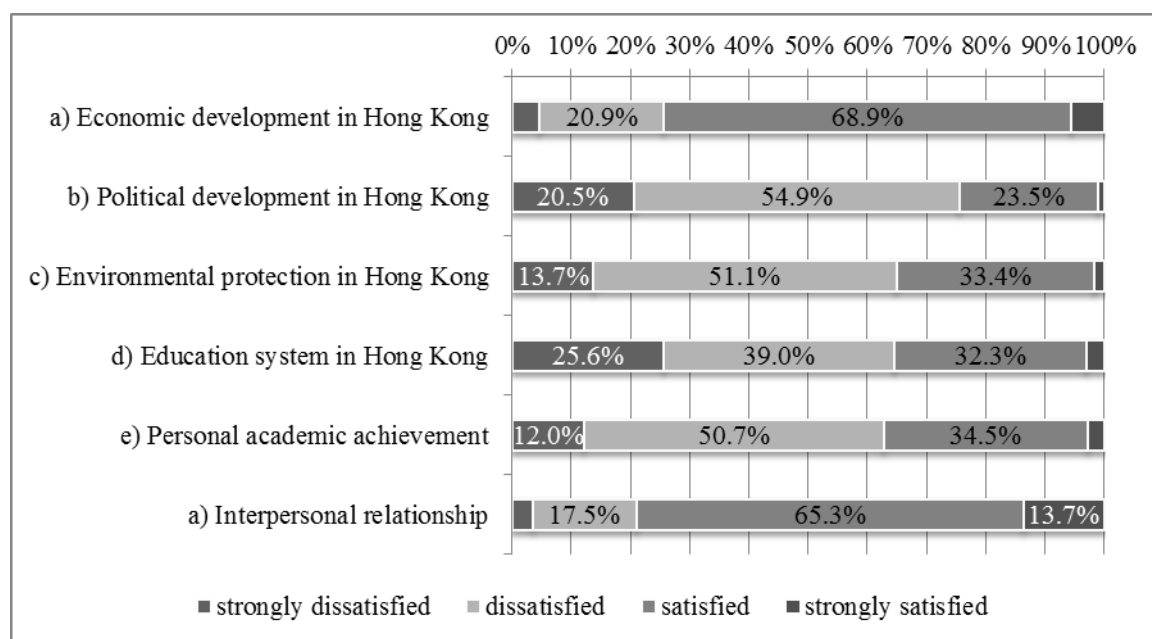
Students were also asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with two personal aspects: (e) personal academic achievement; and (f) interpersonal relationships. The students showed high satisfaction with their interpersonal relationships, with 79.0% answering they were "satisfied" or "strongly satisfied" (see Figure 4.5.1). In contrast, the students were less satisfied with their academic achievement, with only 37.3% responding they were "satisfied" or "strongly satisfied".

Table 4.5.1 Students' Satisfaction with Different Aspects of Life

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Economic development in Hong Kong	2.75	0.62	(2865)
b) Political development in Hong Kong	2.05	0.69	(2865)
c) Environmental protection in Hong Kong	2.23	0.70	(2864)
d) Education system in Hong Kong	2.13	0.83	(2865)
e) Personal academic achievement	2.28	0.71	(2864)
f) Interpersonal relationships	2.89	0.66	(2863)

1 = strongly dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = satisfied, 4 = strongly satisfied.

Figure 4.5.1 Students' Satisfaction with Different Aspects of Life



4.5.2 Self Evaluation of Quality of Life and their Future

In addition to the questions on students' satisfaction with various aspects of life, our questionnaire included questions that asked students to rate their current quality of life, their opportunity for further studies, and their future job opportunities. The response categories were "very bad," "bad," "good," and "very good".

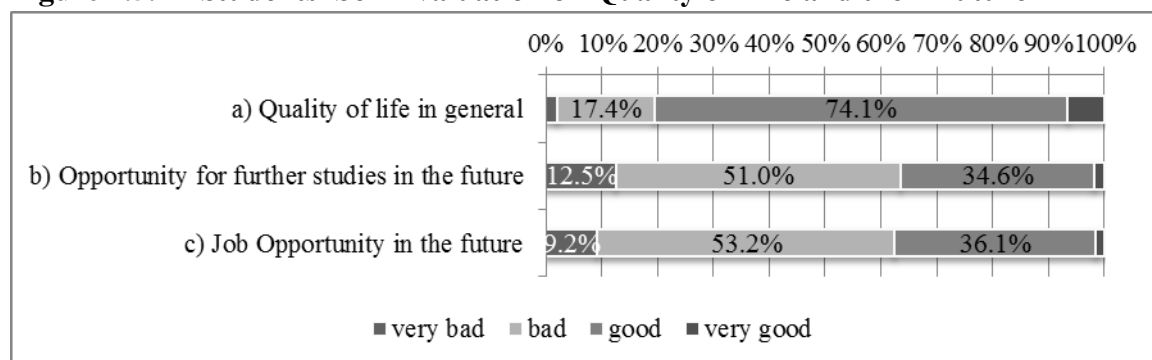
The majority of the students evaluated their quality of life positively, with 80.6% of the students rating it "good" or "very good" (see Figure 4.5.2). By contrast, majorities of the students evaluated their future negatively. Only 37.6% of the students rated their job opportunities in the future as "good" or "very good", and similarly, only 36.5% rated their opportunity for further studies in the future as "good" or "very good".

Table 4.5.2 Students' Self Evaluation of Quality of Life and their Future

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Quality of life in general	2.85	0.55	(2867)
b) Opportunity for further studies in the future	2.26	0.69	(2866)
c) Job Opportunity in the future	2.30	0.65	(2867)

1 = very bad, 2 = bad, 3 = good, 4 = very good.

Figure 4.5.2 Students' Self Evaluation on Quality of Life and their Future



4.5.3 Intention to Study or Work in the Mainland

Young people nowadays are encouraged to pursue further studies and careers in the mainland. Our questionnaire asked students to indicate their intention to study or work in the mainland respectively. The response categories were “not at all,” “not quite,” “quite,” and “very”.

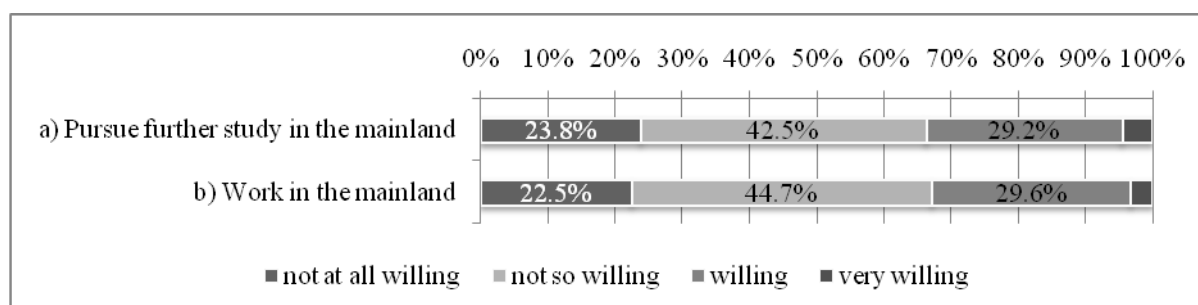
Students showed similar levels of intention to pursue further studies and careers in the mainland (see Table 4.5.3 and Figure 4.5.3). 33.7% of the students indicated that they were “quite” or “very” willing to pursue further study in the mainland. 32.8% revealed that they were “quite” or “very” willing to work in the mainland.

Table 4.5.3 Students' Intention to Study or Work in the Mainland

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) Pursue further study in the mainland	2.14	0.83	(2868)
b) Work in the mainland	2.14	0.79	(2869)

1 = not at all willing, 2 = not so willing, 3 = willing, 4 = very willing.

Figure 4.5.3 Students' Intention to Study or Work in the Mainland



4.5.4 Attitudes to Selected Social Issues

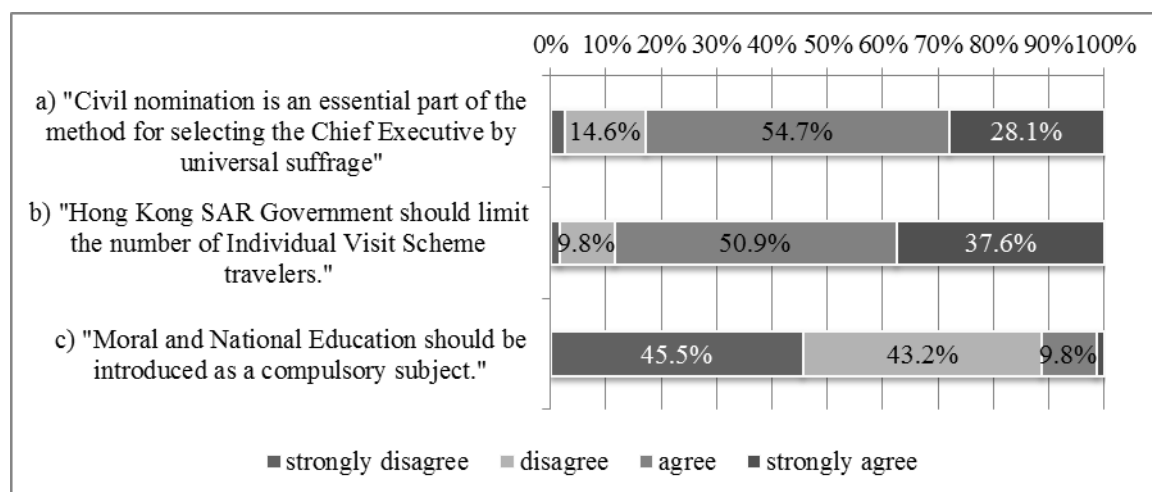
In the questionnaire, we included in our questionnaire three current social issues and asked the students to indicate their level of agreement with three different statements relating to those issues. 82.8% of the students agreed or strongly agreed that “Civil nomination is an essential part of the method for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage.” 88.5% agreed or strongly agreed that the “Hong Kong SAR Government should limit the number of Individual Visit Scheme travelers”. Only 11.3% agreed or strongly agreed that “Moral and National Education should be introduced as a compulsory subject” (see Figure 4.5.4).

Table 4.5.4 Attitudes to Selected Social Issues

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) “Civil nomination is an essential part of the method for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage.”	3.08	0.72	(2857)
b) “Hong Kong SAR Government should limit the number of Individual Visit Scheme travelers.”	3.24	0.69	(2865)
c) “Moral and National Education should be introduced as a compulsory subject.”	1.67	0.71	(2867)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.5.4 Attitudes to Selected Social Issues



4.5.5 Support for Political Parties

As shown in Figure 4.3.3, only 25.9% of the students trust or completely trust political parties in Hong Kong. Our questionnaire included one more item asking students which political party they supported more? The results shows that 61.9% of the students did not support any political party in Hong Kong, while 27.8% of them supported the pan-democratic political parties and 2.1% supported the pro-establishment political parties (see Table 4.5.5).

Table 4.5.5 Which Political Party Do Students Support More?

	Percentage
Pan-democratic	27.8
Pro-establishment	2.1
Do not support any	61.9
No answer / invalid	8.1
(n)	(2896)

4.5.6 Attitudes towards Liberal Studies

Liberal Studies has been a core subject in the New Senior Secondary Curriculum since 2009. Liberal Studies aims to broaden students' knowledge base and enhance their social awareness through the study of a wide range of economic, political and social issues. We assume that Liberal Studies is one of the important conduits that foster the formation of youth's civic values and political attitudes. To test this proposition, the questionnaire asked students to state their level of agreement with 10 different statements relating to the teaching and learning of Liberal Studies.

The students in our sample rated the learning experience in Liberal Studies positively. 68.0% of the students liked the way of learning in Liberal Studies, and 67.8% liked the curriculum content of Liberal Studies. Also, 70.1% of them indicated that they could have more opportunity for discussion with classmates in their Liberal Studies class than in other subjects, and 65.8% agreed that they could also have more opportunity to interact with teachers in the Liberal Studies class than in other subjects (see Figure 4.5.6).

In response to questions about their views towards Liberal Studies assessment methods and the breadth of the curriculum, students expressed mixed or slightly negative opinions. While more than half of the students (52.0%) indicated that they understood well the assessment criteria of the Liberal Studies examination, only about one-third of them (36.7%) liked the methods of assessment. Moreover, 80.4% of the students thought the Liberal Studies curriculum is too broad, and 54.8% agreed that the curriculum involves too much politics (see Figure 4.5.6).

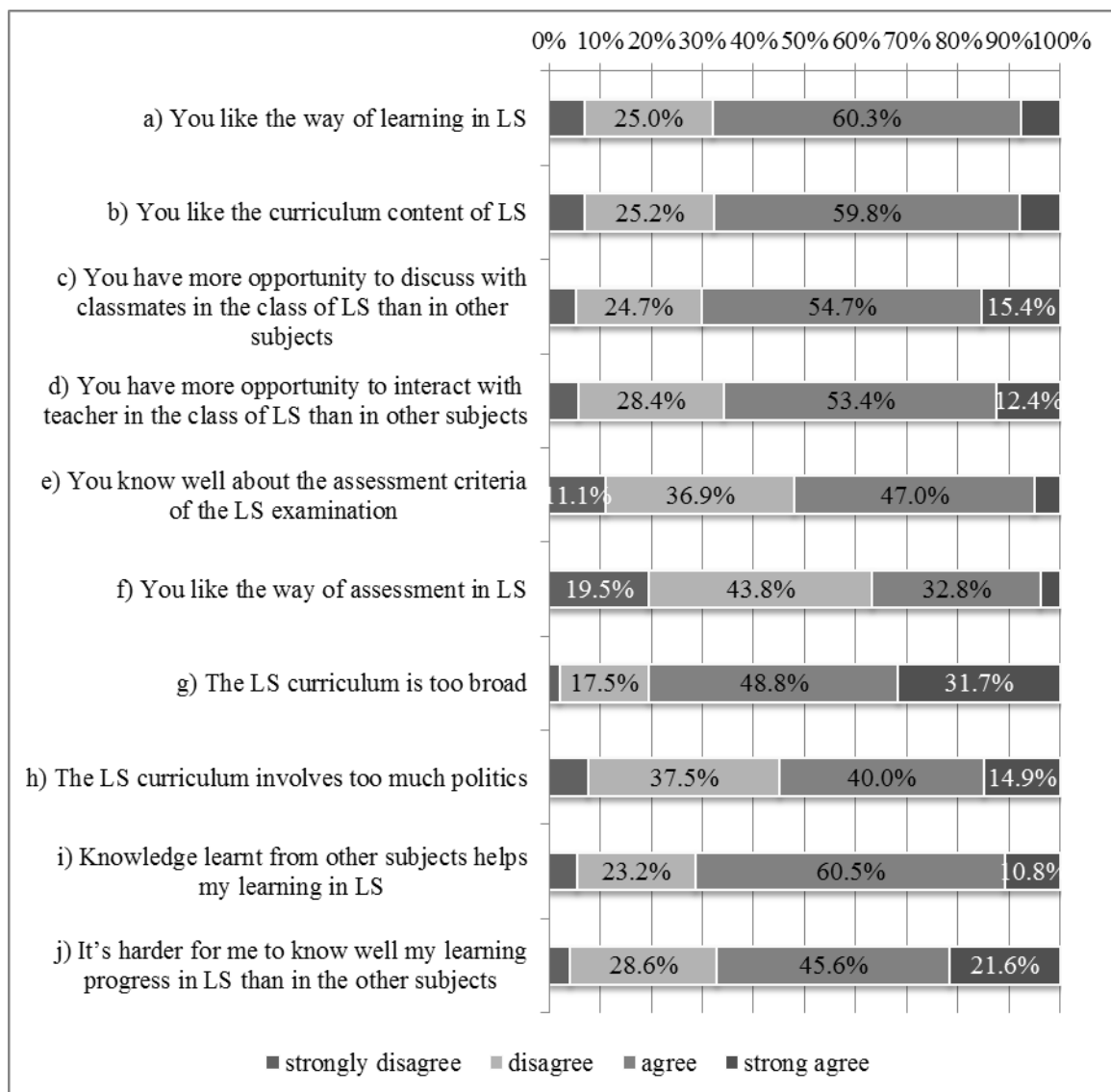
When comparing with other subjects, the majority of the students (71.3%) found the knowledge learnt from other subjects helped their learning in Liberal studies. However, 67.2% of them also found it was harder for them to know well their learning progress in Liberal Studies compared with the other subjects (see Figure 4.5.6).

Table 4.5.6 Students' Attitudes towards Liberal Studies

	Mean	S.D.	(n)
a) You like the way of learning in LS	2.69	0.71	(2879)
b) You like the curriculum content of LS	2.69	0.72	(2877)
c) You have more opportunity to discuss with classmates in the class of LS than in other subjects	2.80	0.76	(2877)
d) You have more opportunity to interact with teacher in the class of LS than in other subjects	2.72	0.75	(2870)
e) You know well about the assessment criteria of the LS examination	2.46	0.76	(2870)
f) You like the way of assessment in LS	2.21	0.80	(2874)
g) The LS curriculum is too broad	3.10	0.75	(2873)
h) The LS curriculum involves too much politics	2.62	0.83	(2866)
i) Knowledge learnt from other subjects helps my learning in LS	2.77	0.71	(2870)
j) It's harder for me to know well my learning progress in LS than in the other subjects	2.85	0.80	(2863)

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree.

Figure 4.5.6 Students' Attitudes towards Liberal Studies



4.6 Multivariate Analysis of Students' Political Participation

The research question that we address in this section is: how strong are the associations between different value orientations on the one hand; and civic engagement on the other hand? We will employ multivariate models in order to examine background factors relating the the sampled students' expected political participation and actual political participation. We used the following scales reflecting students expected or actual participations for our multivariate analyses:

Students' expected political participation has three dimensions: (1) expected electoral participation; (2) expected institutional political participation; and (3) expected civic engagement.

- *Expected electoral participation:* We derived this from three questionnaire items that asked students if they intended, once they become adults, to vote in District Council elections, vote in Legislative Council elections, or obtain information about candidates before voting in an election.
- *Expected institutional political participation:* We based this on three items that asked students if they thought they would help a candidate or party during an election campaign, or if they would join a political party, or join a trade union.
- *Expected civic engagement:* We constructed this from four items that asked students if they would write to a newspaper about social and political issues, contribute to an online discussion about social and political issues, join an organization for a political or social cause, or participate in volunteer work to help people in the local community.

For students' actual political participation, we focused on three broad types of activities: (1) protest activities; (2) internet activism; and (3) political consumerism.

- *Participation in protest activities:* We measured this by using three items that asked students how frequently they had participated in the following activities: wearing a badge or t-shirt, marching or rallying, or signing a petition.
- *Participation in internet activism:* We derived this from four items that asked students how frequently they had participated in the following activities: contributing to an online discussion, forwarding political messages in social media, signing an online petition, or

following pages of political parties or concern groups in social media.

- *Participation in political consumerism.* We based this on two items that asked students how frequently they had chosen to buy a certain product in support of environmental cause, or had chosen not to buy a certain project.

4.6.1 A Model of Influences on Expected and Actual Political Participation

The following multiple regression analyses are based on several key theories and perspectives. The first one is ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979). This theory proposes that multiple systems interacting with one another influence young people's cognitive development, including the development of civic engagement. Contacts with family, school, peer group, and neighborhood not only contribute to the development of adolescents' knowledge but also influence the behavioral intentions of young people. Family orientations toward active forms of citizenship and school-based civic participation are factors potentially shaping students' disposition to participate in activities related to politics and citizenship.

The other perspective is related to the concept of social capital (Putnam 1993). According to this perspective, three components of social capital (social trust, social norms, and social networks) provide a context for effective participation in society. In particular, previous research (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) has identified the following three factors as key determinants of active political participation: (1) resources (time and knowledge); (2) psychological engagement (interest and efficacy); and (3) recruitment network (political parties and social movement organizations).

In this study, we drew mainly on the above perspectives, the analysis conducted in the ICCS report (Schulz et al. 2010: 219-245), and also our own hypotheses to determine which key predictors should be included in the multivariate analyses. In sum, we assumed that students' expected political participation in the future and their current political participation would be influenced by the following 9 sets of variables: (1) student background (such as gender and student's family background); (2) interaction with different socializing agents; (3) experience in civic participation at school; (4) students' self-beliefs related to civic engagement; (5) students' attitudes toward civic institutions; (6) students' civic knowledge; (7) students' post-materialist orientation; (8) students' interest in Liberal Studies; and (9)

students' national and local identity.

The individual student-background characteristics that we included in our analysis are:

- *Gender*: We coded this variable 1 for females and 0 for males.
- *Highest parental education*: Students were asked in the questionnaire about their parents' highest level of education. When students provided data for both their parents, we used the highest level as the indicator of parental educational attainment. We generated valid data for 87.7% of the participating students.
- *Educational resources at home*: For this variable, we used students' reports of the availability of ten different resources at home which facilitated learning during their primary school years. We generated valid data for 99% of the participating students. The minimum and maximum values of this variable are 0 and 10 respectively. The average numbers of educational resources at home is 5.36, with standard deviation of 2.36.
- *Immigrant status*: We based immigrant status on the birthplace of the student and his or her parents. We then used these data to form a trichotomous measure with students as follows: (1) students with no immigrant background; (2) students who were born in Hong Kong but whose parents were born in other places; and (3) students who reported that they and their parents had been born in other places. We generated valid data for 98.2% of the participating students.

The variables that we used as indicators for students' interaction with different socializing agents are as follows:

- *Frequency of discussion of political and social issues with parents* (four-point scale, 1 = never or hardly ever, 2 = at least once a month, 3 = at least once a week, 4 = almost daily) This variable reflects the occurrence of communication with parents about civic-related themes.
- *Frequency of discussion of political and social issues with friends* (four-point scale, 1 = never or hardly ever, 2 = at least once a month, 3 = at least once a week, 4 = almost daily) This variable reflects the occurrence of communication with friends about civic-related themes.
- *Frequency of students' use of media information on political and social issues* (four-point scale, 1 = never or hardly ever, 2 = at least once a month, 3 = at least once a week, 4 = almost daily) We computed this variable as the highest frequency reported by

students when they were asked how often (1) they watched television or (2) read newspapers to inform themselves about international, national, or local news. The variable reflects communication-seeking behavior and exposure to information about civic-related issues through traditional mass media.

- *Frequency of students' use of online media information on political and social issues* (four-point scale, 1 = never or hardly ever, 2 = at least once a month, 3 = at least once a week, 4 = almost daily) We computed this variable as the highest frequency reported by students when they were asked how often (1) they used internet or (2) used social media to inform themselves about international, national, or local news. The variable reflects communication-seeking behavior and exposure to information about civic-related issues through online media.

The variable that we used as indicators for students' experience in civic participation at school was:

- *Participation in civic activities at school:* This variable was based on a set of 6 items that asked students if they had participated in each of six different school-based activities.

We also included predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs about their own interests and skills related to civic engagement. These were:

- *Interest in political and social issues:* We based this measure on a set of five items that required students to rate their interest in a variety of political and social issues.
- *Self-concept in politics:* We derived this from a set of six items that asked students to indicate the extent to which they thought they would have the general capacity to deal with various political issues.
- *Citizenship self-efficacy:* We derived this from a set of four items that asked students how well they thought they could perform several tasks related to civic engagement.
- *Democratic values:* We derived this from a set of five items that measured the extent of student endorsement of basic democratic values.

The predictor that we used to reflect students' attitudes toward civic institutions was:

- *Trust in civic institutions:* This variable was based on a set of six items, reflecting students' ratings of their trust in different civic institutions, including Hong Kong SAR Government, Courts of Justice, Legislative Council, District Council, political parties, and the police.

The predictor that we used to reflect students' cognitive abilities in the field of civics and citizenship was:

- *Students' civic knowledge:* We used students' responses to a set of five items relating to their proficiency levels of civic knowledge about local social and political issues to construct this variable (for a description of this scale, see section 4.3.8).

In this study, we also assumed that students' post-materialist orientation would shape students' disposition to participate in activities related to politics and citizenship. This was measured by:

- *Students' post-materialist orientation:* We used Inglehart's four-choice measure of materialism/post-materialism to measure an individual's value priority. We recoded it into a variable with three ordinal categories (0 = materialist, 1 = mixed, 2 = post-materialist).

The curriculum of Liberal Studies covers issues ranging from various local political and social issues through to globalization. While one of the aims of this subject is to strengthen students' citizenship, some commentators in Hong Kong have alleged that the subject is too "politicized" and induces students to become overly critical towards the establishment on many political issues. In the following analysis, we shall examine whether students' interest in this subject would influence their expected or actual participation in different types of civic and political activities:

- *Students' interest in Liberal Studies:* This variable is based on two items which measure their agreement with the following statements: (i) "You like the way of learning in LS"; and (ii) "You like the curriculum content of LS".

There has been a surge of social movements and protests advocating the protection of the culture and rights of local citizens. How is local identity connected with political participation of secondary school students in our sample? We made use of one question and recoded as the variable of interest the following:

- *Students' local identity:* The original item asked students to choose one answer out of four choices including "Hong Kong people," "Chinese," "both," and "neither". We recoded it into a new variable with two values with 1 representing "Hong Kong people" and 0 representing all the other three answers.

4.6.2. Results of Analysis

Table 4.6 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis for expected political participation and actual political participation. For expected electoral participation, of all the students' background variables, only immigrant status has a significant negative effect on

Table 4.6 Multiple regression model results for expected and actual political participation (Standardized Coefficients)

	Expected Electoral Participation	Expected Institutional political participation	Expected Civic Engagement	Participation in Protest Activities	Participation in Internet Activism	Participation in Political Consumerism
Gender	0.01	-0.08***	0.08***	0.02	0.03	0.02
Highest Parental Education	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.03	0.02
Educational Resources at Home	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.04	0.01	0.01
Immigrant Status	-0.05**	0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02	0.02
Discussion with Parents	0.07**	-0.02	0.02	0.03	0.05*	0.05*
Discussion with Friends	-0.03	0.08**	0.06**	0.07**	0.09***	0.07**
Use of Traditional media	0.02	-0.13***	-0.07**	-0.03	-0.08***	-0.04
Use of Online media	0.05*	-0.03	0.08***	0.02	0.11***	0.08**
Civic Participation at School	0.09***	0.07**	0.09***	0.15***	0.08***	0.11***
Interest in Political and Social Issues	0.17***	0.13***	0.19***	0.06*	0.09***	0.12***
Self-concept in Politics	0.16***	0.11***	0.15***	0.17***	0.24***	0.11***
Citizenship Self-efficacy	0.09***	0.13***	0.15***	0.06*	0.05*	0.04
Democratic Values	0.17***	-0.07**	0.00	0.05*	0.05**	0.00
Trust in Civic Institutions	0.03	0.03	0.04	-0.07***	-0.06**	-0.04*
Civic Knowledge	0.07***	-0.08***	-0.01	-0.06**	-0.01	-0.03
Post-materialist Orientation	0.09***	0.07**	0.10***	0.16***	0.17***	0.08***
Interest in Liberal Studies	0.01	0.05*	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.06**
Local Identity	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.12***	0.10***	0.07**
R ²	0.32	0.15	0.27	0.24	0.33	0.15

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

students' expected electoral participation, while the effects of gender, highest parental education, and educational resources at home are not significant after controlling for other variables. Among the four channels of political socialization, discussion of political and social issues with parents and use of online media information on political and social issues have significantly positive regression coefficients for expected electoral participation. Students' participation in civic activities at school was also a positive predictor of students' expected electoral participation. Most of the predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs, except their trust in civic institutions, are positive predictors. Civic knowledge and post-materialist orientation are also positive predictors to students' expected electoral participation. However, students' interest in Liberal Studies and their local identity has no significant effects.

There is gender difference for students' expected institutional political participation, while students' other background variables (including highest parental education, educational resources at home and immigrant status) have no significant effects. Discussion of political and social issues with friends, but not with parents, is a positive predictor. The use of traditional media information on political and social issues, however, has significantly negative regression coefficients for expected institutional political participation, while the use of online media information has no significant effect. Students' participation in civic activities at school is a positive predictor of students' expected institutional political participation. Most of the predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs are positive predictors, except for democratic values and their trust in civic institutions. Democratic values, however, are a negative predictor of students' expected institutional political participation, while students' trust in civic institutions has no significant effect. Civic knowledge is also a negative predictor to students' expected institutional political participation. Post-materialist orientation and students' interest in Liberal Studies are positive predictors to students' expected institutional political participation. Local identity was not a significant predictor.

There is also gender difference for students' expected civic engagement, while other students' background variables (including highest parental education, educational resources at home and immigrant status) have no significant effects. Discussion of political and social issues with friends, but not with parents, is a positive predictor. While the use of traditional media information on political and social issues has significantly negative regression coefficients for expected civic engagement, the use of online media information has a positive and significant effect. Students' participation in civic activities at school is a positive predictor of students' expected civic engagement. Most of the predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs, except for democratic values and their trust in civic institutions, are positive. Civic knowledge is not a significant predictor of students' expected civic engagement. Post-materialist orientation has a positive regression coefficient, while

students' interest in Liberal Studies and their local identity has no significant effects.

All students' background characteristics have no significant effects, after controlling for other variables, on actual participation in protest activities. Discussion of political and social issues with friends, but not with parents, is a positive predictor. Neither the use of traditional media information nor the use of online media information has significant influences on students' actual participation in protest activities. Students' participation in civic activities at school is a positive predictor. All predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs, including students' interest in political and social issues, self-concept in politics, citizenship self-efficacy, democratic values and their trust in civic institutions, are positive for students' participation in protest activities. Civic knowledge is, however, a negative predictor for students' actual participation in protest activities. Their post-material orientation and local identity have significantly positive regression coefficients, while student's interest in Liberal Studies is not significant.

For the actual participation in internet activism, all students' background characteristics also have no significant effects. Discussion of political and social issues with parents and with friends both had positive regression coefficients. The use of online media information on political and social issues has significantly positive effect, while the use of traditional media information has significantly negative influence, however. Students' participation in civic activities at school is again a positive predictor. All predictors reflecting students' self-beliefs, including students' interest in political and social issues, self-concept in politics, citizenship self-efficacy, democratic values and their trust in civic institutions, are also positive predictors to students' participation in protest activities. Civic knowledge, however, is not a significant predictor to students' actual participation in internet activism. Students' post-material orientation and local identity have significantly positive regression coefficients, while their interest in Liberal Studies is not significant.

For political consumerism (i.e., boycott or buycott), all students' background characteristics again have no significant effects. Discussion of political and social issues with parents and with friends both have positive regression coefficients. The use of online media information on political and social issues has a significantly positive effect, while the use of traditional media information has no significant influence. Students' participation in civic activities at school is again a positive predictor. Students' interest in political and social issues and self-concept in politics are positive predictors while trust in civic institutions is a negative predictor to political consumerism. Citizenship self-efficacy and democratic values have no significant effect. Civic knowledge is also not a significant predictor to students' political consumerism. Post-material orientation and their local identity have significantly positive regression coefficients. However, students' interest in Liberal Studies

has a negative regression coefficient for political consumerism.

In sum, most of the background variables, after controlling for other variables, are not significant predictors of both students' expected political participation and actual political participation, except gender and immigrant status. Discussion of political and social issues with friends has positive effects on two of measures of expected political participation and all three measures of actual political participation, while discussion of political and social issues with parents has significant positive effects on expected electoral participation, actual participation in internet activism, and actual participation in political consumerism.

Use of traditional media information on political and social issues, interestingly, has significantly negative impacts on students' expected institutional political participation, expected civic engagement, and their actual participation in internet activism. Use of online media information on political and social issues has positive effects on students' expected electoral participation, expected civic engagement, actual participation in internet activism and political consumerism.

Civic participation at school is a significant predictor to all kinds of expected political participation and actual political participation. Students' interest in political and social issues and their self-concept in politics also have significantly positive effects on students' expected political participation and actual political participation. Students' citizenship efficacy has positive impacts on all kinds of expected and actual political participation except political consumerism. Students' democratic values have positive impacts on students' expected electoral participation, actual participation in protest activities and internet activism, but have a negative impact on students' expected institutional political participation. Students' trust in civic institutions had no significant effects on all measures of expected political participation, while it is a significant negative predictor to all measures of students' actual political participation.

Students' civic knowledge has a positive effect only on students' expected electoral participation, but is a negative predictor to students' expected institutional political participation and their actual protest activities participation.

Post-materialist orientation is a significant positive predictor for all kinds of expected and actual political participation. Students' interest in Liberal Studies has a positive effect on students' expected institutional political participation but a negative effect on political consumerism. Student's local identity had no significant effects on all measures of expected political participation, while it is a significant negative predictor to all measures of students' actual political participations.

Overall, the explanatory power of this set of predictors performed satisfactorily with R-squared ranging from 0.15 to 0.33.

V. Findings from Focus Group Interviews

In this section, we shall report the research findings from the twelve focus groups which met between June 2015 and August 2015. As described in Part III, we invited five secondary schools from those participating in the quantitative survey and one secondary school through a personal network to join our focus group interviews. The level of academic prestige of these six secondary schools varied. Two focus group interviews were conducted in each school, with five to six students per group.

Although the data collected from the focus group interviews are used primarily to answer our research question about how political socialization takes place among the post-90s, we shall also report students' view towards political participation, Liberal Studies, social mobility, the Hong Kong SAR Government, and China.

5.1 How Does Political Socialization Take Place?

How do young people acquire certain sets of value orientations relating to civic and political participation? In the following, we shall focus our discussion on the role of five different political socializing agents – school, mass media, online media, peers, and family – in influencing students' orientations towards civic values and political participation and their awareness of social and political issues.

5.1.1 Schooling

In our quantitative data analysis, a school context variable – students' civic participation at school – was a relatively strong and positive predictor of both expected political participation and actual political participation. When our focus group participants were asked how they acquired civic related values and orientations, a number of them also mentioned various classroom learning experiences, extra-curricular activities, and some special school events as some of the channels that have increased their awareness of social and political issues.

Formal classroom learning experience was still considered the primary channel through which students' civic literacy was raised. Liberal Studies and History were regarded by a

number of focus group participants as the two major subjects in the formal curriculum that enabled them to acquire more in-depth knowledge about politics and the social development. As the issue of Liberal Studies will be dealt with in a separate section below, we shall focus our discussion here on History.

For some students, the study of Chinese and world history enabled them to acquire a more balanced understanding of politics and aroused their interest in current affairs. Some typical comments are the following:

I remembered that during the Chinese History lessons, I learned about the June Fourth Incident and the development of Chinese political institutions. On the other hand, during the History lessons, I learned about the concept of democracy and different political orientations including the radical, the leftist and the rightist. I also learned about the history of the underdevelopment of Hong Kong's political institutions, explained by the Britain's skewed emphasis on promoting economic prosperity (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 3).

After I studied Chinese History, I am more eager to do something for the society. Though I may not take part in any social action, I am more eager to act as a so-called "keyboard fighter" and more willing to search for information about current issues on the web, rather than playing computer games. (School E, Group 1, Participant no. 1).

We also asked students about their views on the civic values lessons or other related activities. However, just a few of the schools in our sample had a student civic education group or a formal civic education lesson scheduled in their time table.

Apart from the formal classroom learning experience, another major channel through which students learn more about politics and current issues is extra-curricular activities. For instance, one claimed that she had learned a lot about the Occupy Movement in Hong Kong from joining the school debate team as she had to prepare for the debate topic on civic disobedience and political reform. Another student talked about his participation in the Model United Nations as a fruitful experience:

Every competition has a unique theme. If the theme was about the United Nations Refugee Agency, we will play the role of delegates of different nations and deliberate over issues concerning the human rights of the refugees. This is a good way to learn about civic values (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

Some students mentioned other special school activities, for instance a school assembly which discussed the June 4th Incidence, as the significant event that had also influenced the development of their civic values. Other students indicated that their actual participation in school elections had also helped to raise their civic awareness:

The experience of taking part in the elections for the Student Union and House representatives could demonstrate the civic values associated with democracy because every student has the right to elect their representatives and the freedom to express their own view (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 1).

In short, most of the students in the focus groups regarded both formal classroom teaching and out-of-classroom learning experiences as the factors that had exerted some degree of influence on their political orientations and awareness of social and political issues.

5.1.2 Mass Media

The quantitative results we discussed previously show that majorities of the students had learned about Hong Kong, China and international news by watching television and by reading newspapers. In the multiple regression analysis, however, the use of traditional media sources of information on political and social issues was shown to have significant negative impacts on students' expected institutional political participation, expected civic engagement, and their actual participation in internet activism. How exactly did the secondary school students view the traditional mass media? Were they passive recipients of information from the mass media or not?

Most of the students indicated during the focus group interviews that they usually used traditional mass media as their source of information on current issues. In particular, a significant numbers of students mentioned their appreciation of some 30-minute newsmagazine programmes as a rich information source and for their unbiased stance:

“Hong Kong Collection” and other similar news documentary series helped me to understand the current issues from a more comprehensive perspective, as they would do extensive research and interview different stakeholders (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

From our qualitative data, we also found that students were not passive receivers of information from the traditional mass media. Some students were able to distinguish between news programmes and news sources that were relatively impartial and those which might have adopted a biased stance:

I think those 30-minute news documentary series like “TVB News Magazines” are quite comprehensive as it will report both the pros and cons of an issue. Though they might sometimes be biased in their selection of film clips to present, they are more objective than newspapers, which tend to be more biased (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

Some other students viewed all the traditional mass media critically, and maintained that one should triangulate with other sources or use independent thinking skills when watching or reading news from the traditional mass media:

Television news is one-sided, what they are showing on the screen are snapshots which capture only part of the reality. I think the information we receive from the internet is more comprehensive as we can view different versions of the full video, which allow us to analyse the issue from a more comprehensive angle (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 4).

Every media has its own stance. They might elect to show only some part of the reality that will lead the audience to support their stance. I prefer to see with my own eyes sometimes instead of relying on the mass media (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

In short, while students still rely on the traditional mass media for updated information about current issues, they are not just passive receivers of this information. Some students

even use their independent thinking skills to judge for themselves whether such information is biased or not. However, we still do not have enough data to decipher why significant negative relationships exist between the use of traditional media information on political and social issue and some of the students' expected and actual political participation. Further research is needed on the impact of traditional mass media on students' civic and political participation. One possible explanation may lie in the more conservative stance taken by some of the traditional mass media as compared with the new online media, which then influences the students' orientation towards political participation.

5.1.3 Online Media

In the quantitative analysis, students showed levels of usage of online media similar to that of traditional mass media. Our qualitative data corroborates this finding as most of the students from all the focus groups also indicated that they relied heavily on social media, in addition to the traditional mass media, for updates on current issues. Students mentioned the names of different mobile applications, designed by the local press in Hong Kong, that they had frequently used. The most popular source among the students was, however, through the news feeds from the social networking site, Facebook. Some typical reasons for using online media were:

New media is very convenient. I read the news on my smart phone every day while I am travelling to school (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

After you install mobile phone applications like "Apple Daily", you can receive instant news pop-ups. But the major channel through which I receive news is through friends' newsfeeds on Facebook (School C, Group 2, Participant no. 2).

As indicated by the multiple regression results, the use of online media for information on political and social issues had positive effects on most of the students' expected and actual political participation. Although we could not find any direct evidence from the qualitative data to substantiate this claim, some students revealed that their political stance was at least somehow influenced by the content of online media:

Before the Occupy Movement, people we are divided into either pro-democracy

or pro-establishment camps. After the Occupy Movement, we saw the emergence of Localism and I prefer to support them. The reason is that when you read the news from the online media, you saw some of the pro-democracy protesters were playing Mahjong or barbecuing on the occupied roads. I didn't really like their casual attitudes and behaviors (School E, Group 1, Participant no. 1)

Similar to their perception of traditional mass media, students in the focus groups also claimed that they were aware of the one-sided nature of the information circulating on the internet and in their Facebook. Some students could even point out the “homophily” tendency in their Facebook news feeds:

I think Facebook is a big melting pot. People of the same color [political orientation] subscribe to and share news from similar online sources (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 1).

New media is like.....if I followed ten Facebook pages, eight of them are presenting a similar viewpoint (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 2).

A handful of students on the other hand commented negatively on online media content, and indicated that they had refrained from reading those online materials when there were on-going political controversies in the wider society:

During the Occupy Movement, I followed some Facebook Pages, such as Civic Passion. Other followers of those pages used too much foul language in their feedback on the news feeds and their comments were too radical. So after a while, I seldom read news from those pages (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

In sum, a majority of the students used online media to inform themselves about current political and social issues. While the political stances of some focus group participants were largely aligned with the orientation of some online media, other students were fully aware of the occasionally biased and crude contents on the internet.

5.1.4 Peers

We found from the quantitative analysis that students did not talk too much about social and political issues with their friends. About 40% of them talked to their friends about social or political issues at least once a month, another 20% answered never or hardly ever. Some hints garnered from the focus groups help to explain why students were not very willing to discuss social and political issues with their peers:

I seldom discuss current issues with my friends. To a certain extent we have conflicting standpoints, so in-depth discussion may harm our friendship. I would avoid serious discussion (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 5).

Seldom. We don't discuss social issues unless it involves a huge controversy and we share the same standpoint (School E, Group 2, Participant no. 2).

Majorities of the students from the focus groups agreed that peer influence on their value orientation was minimal, while some students pointed out that peer influence could only occur when their friends invited them to join in some actual action. Students followed their friends sometimes out of companionship:

I think [peers influence] on my values is very limited. But in the case of taking action, if my friends invite me to go [to participate in a social movement)], I probably would go (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

I went to the occupied zone because many classmates went there, not because of any specific reason (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 1)

Comparing to the multiple regression analysis, we were not able to find in the focus group interview data any direct evidence showing a strong and positive peer influence on civic and political engagement. In other words, students' political orientations were formed independently from their fellows as revealed by the focus group participants. Peer influence on actual political participation was also minimal.

5.1.5 Family

Similar to the situation in the above discussion on peer influence, students in general did not talk very much with their parents about social and political issues. As already revealed in the quantitative data, around 40% of the students indicated that they talked to their parents about social or political issues only at least once a month, slightly less than 30% indicated never or hardly ever. The main reason why they chose not to discuss these issues with parents was to avoid getting into arguments with them. Some typical comments are as follows:

I share a similar political orientation with my father, but different from my mum's. Sometimes we had heated debates during dinner. I think that disagreement between us has created more conflicts in the family, which in turn harmed the sense of harmony (School B, Group 2. Participant no. 3).

They always say that we university students have been brainwashed, that our subjective and irrational viewpoint made it difficult for us to engage in constructive discussion. I told my dad that I did not support the Occupy Movement, but he was still dissatisfied with my neutral standpoint (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 1).

In some families, however, the parents managed to create an open environment for discussion, sometimes in spite of conflicting political stances between parents and their children:

My family is quite open-minded. We exchange our viewpoints whenever we watch the news reports. We will analyse the issues from different stakeholders' perspectives, for instance, we will discuss the rationale behind actions of the government, the affected citizens and the student protestors [on the Occupy Movement] (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 4).

I discuss current issues with my parents. Although my parents disagree with the use of protest, they respect my standpoint rather than imposing theirs on me, so we seldom argue during our discussion (School A, Group 1, Participant no. 1).

My father and uncle are policemen, so they certainly are opposed to the Occupy Movement. Yet, when I changed my Facebook profile to a yellow ribbon, they didn't judge me, so I think my family could accept me having an opposite opinion [to theirs] (School E, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

During the Occupy Movement, I discussed a lot with my parents and my younger sister. My mum maintained a neutral standpoint and my father, maybe because he was raised in the Mainland, shows more acceptance of Communist rule and tends to support the Hong Kong government. Yet, the good thing is that, though my dad's standpoint differs from mine and my sister's, he allowed me to go, and even brought us to observe the occupied zone in Mongkok (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

In the multiple regression analysis, parental influence was found to be positive and significant on three outcome variables (expected electoral participation, actual participation in internet activism, and actual participation in political consumerism). Our qualitative data provides some evidence to support such findings. Some typical responses are:

I think they [parents] should have influenced me. When I was young, I was not able to judge what is right or wrong and understand how things happen. Most of the time, I relied on my parents to explain the full picture to me, so to a certain extent, I adopted their value orientation (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 5).

I think my family should be the most influential factor, as I spent most of my time with my family members and we exchanged a lot of ideas and viewpoints (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 3).

In sum, the qualitative data analysed above basically substantiates the quantitative findings that there were positive parental influences on students' civic and political engagement, especially for those families that maintained an open environment for discussion between parents and children. However, it should be noted that the majority of the students were still unwilling to discuss social and political issues with their parents

5.2 Views towards Political Participation

In our quantitative data, most students showed a medium to high level of participation in different types of civic-related extra-curricular activities organized by their own schools, non-profit organizations, and community-based social welfare organizations. For political engagement, a majority of the students had no experience participating in any type of political activity, while a minority did participate but had only a low level of participation. How did the students in the focus groups perceive political engagement?

When the students were asked why they had joined some common political activities, protests for instance, their answers usually revolved around the following three factors: custom, civic responsibility, and the effectiveness of extra-institutional tactics in influencing the government's policy-making process. Typical responses are as follows:

I think it became a custom. It is weird to stay at home on July First. Every year you will have new complaints and demands direct at the government, also, you could learn more about your society and understand the concerns of the underprivileged. For me as a student, I had a public holiday on that day, so I went to the July First demonstration to express my viewpoint (School E, Group 2, Participant no. 5).

I think it is my civic responsibility to participate in demonstration and protest. Although sometimes protests do not have any impact on the government's decision, it must have an impact on our society. Don't think that your participation won't matter, everyone counts (School C, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

I think that the non-institutional means is more effective [to influence the government]. You can see that if you send a letter to officials or attend a consultation session, the government won't respond to your demands. By contrast, the Occupy Movement drew massive public attention, it was even reported as headline news in some overseas newspapers, which could pressure the government to respond to the public's demand (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 2).

Some students did not join any protests and questioned the real effectiveness of using such non-institutional means to achieve a political goal and solve social problems:

Protesters cannot see the problem of the society from a macro perspective. If the government responds to the protesters, it will ignore other interest groups and become short-sighted in policy making (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 3).

The focus group interviews were held around half a year after the Occupy Movement in Hong Kong, so many students were able and willing to state their views towards the Movement during the interviews. Students' comments were diverse. Some students joined in occasionally, supporting the Movement for various reasons. For instance, they would like to have first-hand experience participating in such a significant political event. Some typical responses are as follows:

I think that each newspaper and television news channel has its own standpoint. Even when you receive news from your friend, he/she may be telling you something that reflects their own viewpoint. That's why I prefer to go to the street to observe the protests before I make any judgment. Besides, I think Hong Kong protestors are quite peaceful as compared with the protesters overseas; the police's use of force was too radical (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 1).

I participated in the movement in response to the inappropriate use of force by the police. I wanted to express my sentiment towards the police, especially when they used excessive force towards fellow students of my age. (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 5).

Yet some other students rejected this protest action entirely as it was against the law:

I think the Occupy Movement is hurting the rule of law. Occupying public roads and depriving others of the right to use them is essentially another form of violence. There were many stickers, drawings and other kinds of damage done to the roads. This [Movement] definitely cannot be considered peaceful (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

Many of the students remained as observers and commented on the issues from a more balanced view perspective. They maintained the best solution was still negotiation among different stakeholders, although it seemed to them to be unworkable given the current political environment:

I think that the protesters should not just adopt those radical forms of protest, there must be other means to fight for their goals. But I also think that the police and the government were too harsh, they should invite the protesters to engage in dialogue rather than using force to suppress them. Therefore, if both the protesters and the government failed to any compromises, the road to “double universal suffrage” would be tough to follow (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

Although the majority of the students had no experience engaging in political activities, most of them were quite capable of articulating their opinions and demonstrating a relatively in-depth understanding of current social and political issues.

5.3 Views towards Liberal Studies

One of our research objectives was to explore the influence, if any, from the Liberal Studies on secondary school students’ value orientations. We assumed Liberal Studies to be one of the important conduits that fosters the formation of civic values and political attitudes among the youth population. However, some commentators have gone further and asserted that Liberal Studies is one of the factors that has driven young people to become more radical nowadays. What is Liberal Studies about in the eyes of our focus group participants? In what way, if any, do they think Liberal Studies has changed them?

One of the rationales for Liberal Studies is to provide opportunities for students to make connections among different disciplines and examine issues from multiple perspectives. Students in the focus groups were fully aware of this rationale as indicated from the following typical responses:

It requires us to see thing from multiple perspectives which changed me a lot as I

used to judge an issue solely from my own viewpoint (School A, Group 2, Participant no. 1).

Liberal Studies also includes friendship and personal development. Teachers discussed the ways to maintain good interpersonal relationships, which inspired me to become more passionate and out-going. This is the thing that I learn from Liberal Studies (School C, Group 1, Participant no. 2).

At the beginning, I was a supporter of the Occupy Movement. In Liberal Studies, we learned to judge issues from a more objective viewpoint. Teachers told us that occupying public roads is a form of political action which helps the protesters to advance their demands, but it also affects the livelihood of others. This influenced to some extent my degree of support for the Occupy Movement (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 4).

Some students questioned the assessment methods of Liberal Studies and thought it has defeated the original purpose of the curriculum design by requiring students only to answer the examination questions in some standardized ways:

We are just fulfilling the requirements of teachers and the marking scheme [in Liberal Studies]. Some students answer exam questions to fit with the availability of materials and supporting evidence. This becomes meaningless if students are all focusing on their examination score (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 2).

Liberal Studies is just like other subjects which test your answering skills. Liberal Studies claims to train our analytical skills, but the reality is that teachers don't have the time to teach us all the background knowledge. Most of the time, we were only trained to recite a bundle of "model answers" (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

Some commentators have also questioned whether Liberal Studies teachers could be impartial in teaching their class to students. However, as our qualitative data show, students are fully aware of the fact that teachers of Liberal Studies are professional and had refrained from imposing their own stance upon students in their classes:

Basically, our teachers will teach the class and analyse every issue objectively. They won't reveal their own stance, maybe because they want to avoid conflict with students who held opposite standpoints (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 2).

All teachers may have their own stance on different issues, but our teachers won't impose their own stance upon us. I think they are quite professional in maintaining a balanced viewpoint when teaching their students (School E, Group 2, Participant no. 5).

As mentioned above, some commentators have asserted that students have now become more radical because of Liberal Studies. Our qualitative data shows, most students consider the influence from Liberal Studies on their own political stance to be indeed minimal. Some students also pointed out that the goal of Liberal Studies was not to encourage students to participate in political activities; it rather encouraged students to think critically from multiple perspectives, and to make an informed decision on their own:

I should make one point clear that Liberal Studies doesn't encourage us to participate in political action. Although it introduced various local political actions and the rationales behind them, it in fact didn't encourage us to participate in protest action. What determines our action is our own will (School E, Group 1, Participant no. 6).

Although Liberal Studies taught me much basic knowledge about Hong Kong politics and inspired me to read more news and judge things from multiple perspectives, I think my political stance was not influenced by it (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 2).

As revealed above, students perceived Liberal Studies as a subject that has enhanced their ability to examine social and political issues from multiple perspectives. In the eyes of our focus group participants, teachers of Liberal Studies were impartial in delivering the curriculum content. The students were able to think independently and critically about controversial current issues. In short, as seen from our qualitative data, Liberal Studies has

at best increased most students' awareness of current social and political issues. There was no direct evidence of students becoming more radical because of their experience in Liberal Studies.

5.4 Views towards Social Mobility

Young people in Hong Kong complain a lot in recent years about their limited opportunity for social mobility. How did the students in our focus groups perceive their own opportunity for further education and for pursuit of a career in Hong Kong?

Students from the focus groups were in general pessimistic about their future. They perceived that only those working in a few Hong Kong industries such as finance could earn a good salary, but the opportunity for them to enter those industries was expected to be slim:

I think our economy is too homogenized. We rely too heavily on the "Four Pillars" [trading and logistics, financial services, professional and producer services, and tourism]. Since those working in those four industries could make money, this makes me feel less optimistic (School A, Group 2, Participant no. 1).

Other students complained that the education system in Hong Kong was experiencing many changes in recent years which made it harder for them to cope. They were also worried about their competitiveness in the face of the global challenges. A typical response expressing this kind of sentiment is the following:

I feel pessimistic about my future, first of all, you must get a degree before you can make your career choice, yet the education system is very unstable and constantly changing the rules of competition, like the 3-3-4 new senior secondary curriculum education reform. Besides facing intense competition locally, you have to compete with elites from the Mainland and overseas, so it is very difficult indeed..... (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

In short, negative sentiment over blocked mobility was quite pervasive among the focus group students. e, some students were more positive about their future. For instance, a minority of the students would consider going to mainland China or Taiwan for further

education if the opportunity to pursue higher education in Hong Kong is slim:

If I failed any subject or could not meet the minimum requirement for university admission [in Hong Kong], I would not retake the exam. I don't want to take the DSE again. I will look for other opportunities like studying abroad, maybe Taiwan, the Mainland or overseas (School C, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

5.5 Views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government

During the focus group discussions, students were asked about their views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government. Most students had a relatively negative impression of the Government. They could list a number of examples that they believe revealed the ineffectiveness of the Hong Kong SAR Government in responding to public demands. Typical responses are the following:

Since the protest against the Moral and National Education curriculum, I began to become discontented with the HKSAR government. This sentiment has grown over the years, as the government repeatedly avoided responding to the public's demand directly and instead tried to divert the public's attention away from controversies (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

The government is really unresponsive. It seldom takes action to prevent a crisis from occurring. Also, they seldom express its concern for the grassroots (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 3).

Most students could only comment briefly on some of the government policies, but a handful of students could provide more articulate opinions, including responses that were also quite balanced and analytical. Below are some of the examples:

I think our society has many social problems and political controversies, yet, the government should not be the only one to be blamed. The previous generation, maybe owing to the "Lion Rock Spiri", tended to emphasize more on economic development and individual prosperity. But for the new generation like us, we are raised in an environment of material abundance. We enjoy more scope to

think about what is truly right for the society. Conflicting views have sometimes resulted. (School E, Group 2, Participant no.5).

I felt empathic towards the government, the officials wanted to do something for the public good, but it was very hard to find a win-win solution that could satisfy the interests of different stakeholder (School C, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

To sum up this section, students in the focus groups viewed the Hong Kong SAR Government negatively in general. While some of the students could at best provide some brief impressionistic comments criticizing the government, other students could engage in relatively more in-depth discussion on the government's performance with the researchers.

5.6 Views towards the mainland China

Although the majority of the students from the focus groups held slightly cynical views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government, their views toward China were indeed quite diverse. While most of the students' comments on China were negative and critical, some other comments actually revealed their ambivalence towards the country. There were also a number of positive comments from students who showed a strong sense of attachment to the country.

Students who had negative views towards the country usually expressed concern about the issues of bribery, freedom of speech, human rights, and food safety, etc. Typical comments are the following:

'Corrupt' was the main impression that the Chinese government gave me, as I heard many officials were found guilty during the anti-corruption campaign (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 2).

I think what Hong Kong people fear about China is the Communist's totalitarian dictatorship. You can see that opposition is suppressed at all levels of governance. Hong Kong used to be a free city, we can criticize the government without worrying about censorship (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 5).

Although China has great economic, technological and social achievements, I was surprised by its backwardness in human rights protection (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 1).

When I was a child, many people said that China is emerging to become a great country. Yet, I heard more and more negative news on China as I have grown up, like the food safety scandal, I began to realize that China is far from being a great power (School C, Group 2, Participant no. 2).

Other students expressed ambivalent sentiments towards the country. While these students were aware of the country's problems such as those mentioned above, they could also appreciate many of its achievements as well as support from China:

To ordinary citizens, the most essential role of the Chinese government is to bring them material satisfaction. I think the Central government did a good job in this regard as they had good long-term planning. Yet, I have some negative feeling towards the people who were bad-mannered. I think this is the cause for many social problems (School B, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

I think Hong Kong people used to over generalize about the Chinese people. China had offered us many kinds of assistance, such as during the Manila Hostage-taking Incident and providing clean water supply. We should not write off the mainland Chinese. Though we have a different cultural background, we are actually the same (School D, Group 2, Participant no. 4).

A few students in the focus groups indicated they had a strong sense of belonging to the country. Examples are as follows:

I think the Chinese way of governance will become the second mainstream in the world [an alternative to the democratic system]. I admire this way of governance. I think we should be proud of it (School C, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

I have a strong sense of belonging towards my country. I was proud when a Chinese athlete won the Olympic medal. I think since the 1979 reform, the

country is becoming stronger and stronger (School F, Group 2, Participant no. 3).

Some other students focused on the connection between China and Hong Kong, and claimed that the dependence on China was actually crucial to the development of Hong Kong:

If the economic ties between mainland China and Hong Kong were loosened, Hong Kong's development would suffer. The impact of the Occupy Movement on our economy is evident. We cannot let the situation worsen (School B, Group 1, Participant no. 1).

I think closer integration with China has pros and cons. For the pros, our retail and tourism industry have benefited from the huge influx of Mainland visitors. For the cons, we indeed have more and more conflicts with the Mainland visitors owing to different cultural background. But I still think that the economic relationships with mainland China should be strengthened rather than vice versa. (School D, Group 1, Participant no. 2)

Hong Kong mass media sometimes portray young people as unpatriotic. As indicated by our focus group data, however, students' comments and opinions towards the country were indeed rather diverse. A substantial number of students expressed appreciation for the many achievements of the country; some other students even expressed their strong attachment to the country. However, it should be noted that the negative and critical views towards the country were still quite common among the focus group students.

VI. Findings from In-depth Interviews

In this section, we shall report the research findings collected from the in-depth interviews with young people who had a high level of participation in civic or political activities. We have interviewed 20 such informants between April 2015 and August 2015. The discussion guide for in-depth interviews is in Appendix 3.

The informants were recruited primarily through snow ball sampling. Five of the informants were female and 14 male. They ranged from 15 to 25 years of age. Five of the informants were secondary school students, while the rest of them were studying in associate degree, degree, or postgraduate degree programmes at local higher education institutions at the time of interview. Basic information about the informants is listed in Appendix 4.

As in the case of the data collected from the focus groups, the data gathered from the in-depth interviews were also used primarily to answer the research question of how does political socialization take place among the post-90s. We shall first discuss what influence, if any, different political socializing agents had on the informants' orientations towards civic and political participation. We shall then report the students' views towards political participation, Liberal Studies, social mobility, the Hong Kong SAR Government, and China respectively. We shall also briefly compare the research findings collected from focus groups and in-depth interviews, so as to delineate the differences, if any, between the youths in general and the youths who were politically active.

6.1 How Does Political Socialization Take Place?

How did political socialization take place among the young people who had a high level of participation in civic or political activities? Were there any differences between their experience and the experience of young people in general? In the following, we shall again focus our discussion on how the five major political socializing agents, i.e., school, mass media, online media, peers, and family, shape the informants' orientations towards civic and political participation.

6.1.1 Schooling

The degree of influence from schooling on the formation of civic values and political orientation varied among the informants. For a number of informants, secondary schools served as the main platform providing the necessary information and materials for them to further develop their own interests in social and political issues. Some typical responses we obtained are as the following:

In 2010, my Integrated Humanities teacher showed us the video about the June Fourth Incident. At that time, many people were protesting against the construction of the express railway. My teacher also taught us about what was happening and explained the viewpoints of both the protesters and the government; that, to me, was like experiencing political enlightenment (Informant no. 2).

From the study of Economics and Public Affairs, I learned basic facts about the Hong Kong political system, including the separation of three powers, the arrangement for the election of the Legislative Council and the Chief Executive, what the Basic Law is and how it protects our rights etc. I think the transfer of this basic political knowledge stimulated me to find out more about the current issues and understand what's going on in our society (Informant no. 16).

I was very shocked when my teacher taught us about Modern Chinese Society. He asked me how I viewed modern China; I replied that I thought China was admirable as it had become a great economic power. He challenged me by saying that we should not emphasize solely on the economic growth; we must also consider the development of other aspects like political, human rights and social security etc. I came to realize that there are many problems that money cannot solve (Informant no. 15).

For some informants, however, formal education was not a major channel of political socialization. According to these informants, even though social and political issues were discussed in the classroom and sometimes outside it, most of the secondary schools actually paid little attention to these issues because they were not closely related to the public

examinations (except Liberal Studies, which will be discussed below in more detail). Some informants stated explicitly that political issues were seldom taught or mentioned at their secondary schools:

My school tends to avoid discussing politics, our teachers won't encourage us to participate in political action nor talk about politics with the students (Informant no. 5).

My school is a Christian one, most of the teachers and the senior management maintained that Christian should stay away from politics, which upset me (Informant no. 7).

Although we found from focus group data that formal education actually had some influence on students' political orientations and awareness of social and political issues, schooling's impacts on our informants seemed more diverse. While some informants regarded formal education as an important platform which supporting the development of their interest in political issues, other informants did not perceive any significant influence from their school learning experiences.

6.1.2 Mass Media

Our in-depth interview informants used mass media to inform themselves about social and political issues significantly less than our focus group participants did. This finding actually corroborates results from the quantitative analysis which indicated that the more the students made use of mass media, the less likely they would be to participate in civic and political activities.

When some informants were asked whether they have used mass media to learn more about current social and political issues, a number of them replied with a categorical "no". Some of them have seldom acquired information from the mass media ever since their childhood. They would only use it when necessary such as when required for doing an assignment or homework. Rather, they would seek for information, for instance, from the internet:

I never listen to news reports on the radio. Yet, after I participated in social movements, I now read news from the radio stations' websites, as their reporting is the most updated. I also read news from the website of different newspapers and television channels but not from printed newspapers and the television (Informant no. 17).

Other informants were more like the focus group participants that they were not mere receivers of information even though they used traditional mass media to acquire updated information about current issues:

Basically I get daily information about the current issues by watching evening television news reports. New documentaries like "Hong Kong Connection" also helped me to have a more in-depth understanding of specific issues. After I participated in social movements, I became more skeptical when watching TV news report, as I would consider how they selected topics to report on and the way they presented them (Informant 7).

A minority of our informants replied that they relied more on the traditional mass media than on other sources for updated information. For those informants, mass media was regarded as the major channel of their political socialization:

The impact of mass media on me (his/her political socialization) is large. Daily television news report, news documentary and commentary programmes all help me to acquire a better understanding to the current issues and to master the viewpoints of different stakeholders (Informant no. 16).

Since I was a child, I like to read the editorials in the newspapers because I want to know more about what is happening in the city (Informant no. 5).

In sum, triangulating with the focus group data, the data from the in-depth interviews appear to corroborate the findings from our quantitative data which indicated that more usage of mass media would have a negative influence on students' level of civic and political participation.

6.1.3 Online Media

Most of the in-depth interview informants used online media as the main channel for updated information. Similar to the focus group participants, the interview informants most commonly used the news feeds in Facebook, among all other online media, to obtain information about social and political issues. Some typical comments in this connection are as follows:

Rather than the mass media, my “mainstream” is new online media. There is basically only one television news channel in Hong Kong, its reporting maybe too one-sided and biased. I prefer to acquire information from multiple pages that I followed on Facebook (Informant no. 6).

It is very easy and convenient to receive a huge flow of information by using new media, especially Facebook. When you turn on your mobile phone, you could receive instant news from multiple sources. This greatly enhances my attachment to the community where I live (Informant 7).

Facebook is the quickest channel to get and share news, as everyone could disseminate news instantly and use ‘tags’ to suggest that other users read it (Informant no. 8).

Informants viewed the new media content as more interactive and diversified than that found in traditional mass media. They also praised the instantaneity of the new media:

The speed of traditional mass media can’t compare to the speed of the new media in disseminating the most updated news instantly. Besides, traditional mass media is one-sided and the audiences do not have any platform to exchange their views. New media enables interaction among different audiences. New media content is also more diversified (Informant no. 9).

I realize that every new media channel has its own stance and orientation, yet, by subscribing to news from multiple new media channels, I could analyse a current issue from a more objective angle, rather than exposure only to the viewpoint

of the conservative mainstream media (Informant no. 16).

However, a number of informants held views opposite to the positive comments discussed above. Similar to the focus group participants, these informants also pointed out the “homophily” tendency of the online media’s content. They claimed that the discussions in most online discussion forums or bulletin board systems were quite one-sided so that one could hardly read content from a counter point of view in those sites:

If you go to “ABC forum”, you will see posts supporting some of the government’s policies. Any post that opposes the government would be banned [by the forum administrator]. If you go to “XYZ forum”, everyone is complaining about the government. (Informant no. 5). You would only become more and more extreme, if you read only a few forums.

When the informants were asked whether the new media had any influence on, or had even altered, their political orientation, most rejected this suggestion. Rather, they regarded the new media only as a rich source of information which might help them to make informed decisions about, for instance, whether to join a political event or not:

I think online media has no influence on my civic values. It is rather my orientation or stance that determines which online media I will turn to. For political participation, I think new media allowed me to get more immediate information about protest campaign and facilitated my decision to participate (Informant no. 15).

New media is instantaneous. By collecting first-hand information from online media, I could then immediately decide whether I should participate in a protest or not (Informant no. 16).

I developed my own political stance when I was very young. New media only helps to strengthen my stance instead of shaping it (Informant no. 8).

Among the politically active individuals, online media were definitely an important channel through which they acquire updated information about current social and political

issues. A rich seam of information available on the internet also better enabled them to judge whether it is worthwhile to join a political event. However, there is no direct evidence to show that their judgement was influenced by the internet content. Further research on the impacts of online media on students' civic and political participation is needed.

6.1.4 Peers

Peer influence was not pervasive. According to most of the informants, they seldom discussed social and political issues with their friends and classmates. Nor did they invite their friends to join political events. The exception was three informants who explicitly mentioned their friends as the major reason for them to participate in various political events:

My friends' influence on me is that.....they provide me with the rationale and the confidence to participate [in social protest]. To a certain extent, my friends are the reason I participate (Informant no. 6).

My friends have a huge influence on me. During the early stage of my participation in social movements, I am not very familiar with the issues and the demands of the protesters. My friends helped me by sharing their knowledge with me (Informant no. 7).

My friend was a good role model for me. He convinced me that even teenagers like us could participate and even contribute to the betterment of society. (Informant no. 16).

In short, there were peer influences on some of the informants' political participation, but such influence was non-existent for most of the informants. Although the multiple regression analysis showed peer influence to have a positive and significant effect, our qualitative data could only partially support this claim as there were only a few such cases.

6.1.5 Family

Most of the informants reported having good relationships with their parents. According to most informants, their parent did not adopt an authoritarian parenting style.

For instance, some of the informants' parents would let their children participate in various political events even though they did not fully agree with their children's rationale for joining the events. Moreover, similar to the focus group participants, only a minority of the informants were willing to discuss about social and political issues with their parents at home. Some typical responses are as follows:

I always discuss about current issues with my parents. Our relationship is good so it is natural for us to discuss various issues. However, we didn't talk that much during the Occupy Movement, as they prefer to see the use of institutional means like dialogue and negotiation whereas I support direct protest action (Informant no. 13).

My parents opposed my protest participation during the early stage as they worried that I was being manipulated by others. As the protest developed, they gradually turned to support my protest participation (Informant no. 10).

Compared to the focus group participants, however, more informants indicated that they also had the experiences of participating in a wide range of past political events, such as the June Fourth assembly or the July First protest, because of their parents:

My parents brought me to the candlelight vigil for the June Fourth Incident. During one of the July First Demonstration, they also explained to me the reasons to campaign for the double universal suffrage. I was taught about the undesirable features of Chinese Communist rule and that we should fight for our right to elect our Chief Executive (Informant no. 13).

Nonetheless, most informants perceived parental influences on their orientation towards social and political issues to be minimal. They claimed that their parents have usually refrained from imposing any values on them ever since childhood. But some of the informants actually were aware of how their parents gave them, such as sharing on social and political issues during their childhood, has served as a foundation for the further development of their interest in social and political issues:

They didn't impose their values and stance on me, they encouraged me to watch

television news and shared with me the facts about the June Fourth Incident and so on. They just present the facts to me and let me to develop freely (Informant no. 7).

My parents laid the foundation for me by selecting the right media channels and brought me up to participate in different social events. All these facilitated building my own civic values orientation (Informant no. 8).

Parental influences on some of the students' civic and political engagement were shown in our quantitative analysis to be positive and significant. Our qualitative data also show parental influences existed in most of the cases. Some parents provided a supportive environment for their children to engage in open discussion of social and political issues, while other parents provided a wide range of opportunities for their children to experience first-hand in different political events in Hong Kong. Those opportunities laid the foundation for the informants to develop their own interests in social and political issues.

6.2 Views towards Political Participation

All of our informants had a high level of participation in various activities of recent local social movements. How did the informants explain their active political engagement? In particular, how did they perceive the effectiveness of extra-institutional political participation in comparison with using existing institutional tactics? Most of the informants indicated that they were fully aware of the advantages of institutional political participation. However, they also questioned its effectiveness, especially in the context of Hong Kong nowadays. They claimed that institutional channels, such as public hearings or consultations, were usually ineffective in bringing public voices or demands into the institutional decision-making arena:

Among all the institutional channels, I think only election is effective as each vote counts. However, in the case of those public hearings, unless you attend them in person, otherwise your voice would never be heard by the government (Informant no. 10)

Some informants claimed that people sometimes had to turn away from the traditional

institutional channels and use extra-institutional means to make the government more responsive to the popular will:

I think using institutional means is of course better as it is a stable and permanent arrangement to enable the citizens to express their views. The drawback is that that it could not respond to some of the urgent public demands quickly and in a timely fashion. In this case, we have to turn to use extra-institutional tactics to express our views and pressure the government (Informant no. 16).

For most of the informants, extra-institutional political participation was also viewed as a more effective means than using institutional channels to arouse public awareness of and concern with social and political issues. The more public attention an issue receives, the greater the chance that the government would respond to it:

I think that extra-institutional means is more effective as it could attract more media attention and arouse more public concern (Informant no. 9).

However, a few informants opined that some commonly-used extra-institutional tactics have now become so routinized that they no longer arouse the same level of attention from the general public and the government:

I think the Occupy Movement has had a huge impact on the society, at least it aroused a massive public reaction and forced the government to respond. However, for other rather routinized demonstrations, if they fail to mobilize a significant number of participants, the government could now easily neglect them (Informant no. 7).

I used to think that only the number of participants matters to a movement's success. However, numbers do not count now. I foresee only more radical action in the future if we want real change (Informant no. 15).

One informant provided a relatively balanced evaluation of extra-institutional tactics by looking at social movement impacts from the point of view of the general public. This informant acknowledged that protests in Hong Kong had created wider cleavages among

people with disparate political stances:

I think that social protest has both pros and cons. For the pros, it could arouse public concern and mobilize people to take action against bad policies. For the cons, take the Occupy Movement as an example, protest could actually deepen the conflicts among different groups and tear the society apart (Informant no. 13).

Most of the informants regarded extra-institutional tactics as a more preferable and effective means in advancing their claims given the current political environment. But some other informants also acknowledged the downside of social movements as they might create more social conflicts even they regarded these tactics as a more preferable means to bring about change.

6.3 Views towards Liberal Studies

The informants' views towards Liberal Studies were similar to those expressed by focus group participants. For instance, both groups were fully aware that Liberal Studies was a subject that asked students to examine social issues from multiple perspectives. Furthermore, some informants indicated that, through studying Liberal Studies, they could analyse social and political issues in Hong Kong, such as the filibuster, from a new perspective that differed from their own:

When my teacher taught us about filibustering, he mentioned both the pros and cons of that political action. He would not try to impose or lead us to support a given stance. He provided us with much background information to enhance open discussion (Informant no. 8).

The syllabus of Liberal Studies is very comprehensive. In the past, I only focused on social and political issues. Liberal Studies has widened my horizons and raised my concerns towards other issues like environmental preservation (Informant no. 7).

Liberal Studies taught us about diverse issues. I learned about globalization and what's happening to the other parts of the world. It widened my horizons and

strengthened my civic awareness (Informant no. 13).

Liberal Studies taught me many concepts and theories. Teachers elaborated on theoretical concepts by using current issues as examples. For instance, when talking about institutional and extra-institutional means, my teacher would use different examples to illustrate this distinction. My knowledge of politics was enhanced in this way (Informant no. 6).

The majority of the informants pointed out that the influence from Liberal Studies on their political stance was minimal:

Teachers and textbooks did not embrace any particular stance. Politics was not discussed that much. Actually we talked more about other social issues. Liberal Studies really has little influence on my stance (Informant no. 6).

Rather, the way of learning and studying in Liberal Studies had aroused their interests in social issues and enhanced their sensitivity to various political controversies in Hong Kong:

My teachers had told us what happened in the past and used many good examples to illustrate the textbook concepts. They also suggested we use the internet for self-learning. Their teaching influenced me and made me more aware of what is happening in our society. My teacher's role is very important (Informant no. 11).

Similar to some focus group participants, a number of informants also commented that students of Liberal Studies were taught to answer examination questions in a rather mechanical manner which actually discouraged the development of critical thinking skills:

Liberal Studies is just another spoon-feeding subject. It just forced you to write down both "for" and "against" arguments in the examination paper. This spoon-feeding style of education won't influence your political stance (Informant no. 5).

It cannot train up your independent analytical skills if what you focus on the most is how to write the answers that suit the marking scheme (Informant no. 2).

In general, our informants liked Liberal Studies because it gave them the opportunity to learn more about different social and political issues from multiple perspectives. Contrary to some commentators' claim, however, the political stances of the informants were not influenced by the learning experiences in Liberal Studies. A minority of the informants even criticized the assessment methods of Liberal Studies for actually discouraging the development of critical thinking skills.

6.4 Views towards Social Mobility

The focus group data revealed that a negative sentiment over blocked social mobility was quite pervasive among the students. Indeed, similar sentiments were also shared by our informants. Most informants were pessimistic about their opportunities to pursue further education, develop a career, and purchase a flat in the future. Some typical comments are as follows:

As you can see, the price of a flat is hardly affordable now, and you cannot expect it to fall in the near future. Besides, the number of university graduates has been expanding and we are losing the comparative advantage in the job market. As for my career, I think there are simply too few career paths for young people to pursue in Hong Kong (Informant no. 5).

For education, only 18% of the students of the same cohort could be admitted to the local universities. The government has the resources to invest more on education, but they decided to invest instead in the express railway or the third airport runway. For my career, I think I could find a job anyway to support my livelihood. But I definitely have no hope of being able to purchase a flat (Informant no. 10).

Some informants were also dissatisfied with the prospects open to young people to pursue their own interests in Hong Kong. They perceived that such prospects were bleak in Hong Kong because there were only a few paths available for young people to pursue:

The society doesn't allow the teenager to choose some alternative pathways, like

working immediately after graduation from high school, or becoming an artist or a full time sportsman. Only the mainstream is acceptable to the society. (Informant no. 16)

Some other informants drew a connection between social movements and their own livelihood. They asserted that it was indeed not easy to disentangle a social movement related to social justice from a social movement related to material interests. They indicated that the pursuit of social justice through social movements should also take into account the importance of livelihood issues for the grassroots:

When I first participated in a social movement, I was motivated solely by the goal of achieving social justice. I hadn't considered any material interests. But now, I realize that social movements cannot be separated from material interests. We could not just fight for some noble value and abstract rights, we must also fight for material improvement. The labor movement is a good example, since both the workers' dignity and their livelihood are important (Informant no. 10).

The vast majority of the informants, however, did not draw a linkage between their active political participation and their pessimism about social mobility. There was thus no direct evidence to support the claim that active political participation among young people is a consequence of their perceived blocked social mobility.

6.5 Views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government

Compared to the focus group participants, the in-depth interview informants were much better in articulating their comments on a number of government's policies, such as the development of West Kowloon Cultural District, the issues of Link REIT, the Express Rail Link controversies, the implementation of Moral and National Education, Universal Retirement Protection, and so on. They also showed a more in-depth understanding of the above issues than the focus group participants. Most of the informants' impressions of the Hong Kong SAR Government were negative, for instance:

I used to have a positive perception to the government when I was young. I used to think that it was very difficult for a government to satisfy all the parties in the

society. However, some of the officials' misbehavior and the government's indifferent attitude to public demands upset me (Informant no. 6).

I think there is a huge room for improvement in governance. On the one hand, the progress of political reform is unsatisfactory, on the other hand, the policies on public livelihood, including retirement security, medical and housing welfare and education policies are far from satisfactory (Informant no. 16).

Take the political reform as an example, the government is expected to play an impartial role when collecting opinions from the public. However, as we could see, the government had already decided on its stance and presumptions before consulting public opinion. The consultation report only reported the views that were favorable to the government's proposal. This greatly affected the credibility of the SAR government (Informant no. 16).

6.6 Views towards the mainland China

Whereas the focus group participants expressed more diverse views towards mainland China, the informant opinions were overwhelmingly negative. Their negative comments were usually supported by citing many examples or based on their own first-hand observations:

I have been to Sichuan for three times, once before the earthquake, once after the earthquake and then once after the rebuilding. I was shocked by the corruption of the Chinese officials who approved those Tofu-dreg projects. After the earthquake, some newly built schools were demolished only because some officials wanted to build luxurious houses on the land (Informant no. 10).

Most of the informants could also comment on a lot of social and political issues in the mainland without any prompting by the researchers, for instance, the June Fourth Incidence, food risk issues, the Individual Visit Scheme, the implementation of “One Country Two Systems”, and so on. Some typical responses are as follows:

The Individual Visiting Scheme has benefited Hong Kong's economy. However, if there are too many visitors, it would only affect the livelihood of the ordinary Hong Kong people (Informant no. 19).

My confidence in the "One Country, Two Systems" has been declining as the Central government is not respecting its previous agreement with the British and Hong Kong people (Informant no. 6).

The Chinese government is exercising more and more control over Hong Kong. It maybe owing to the Occupy Movement which damaged the mutual trust between the Central government and Hong Kong people (Informant no. 9).

VII. Conclusion

In this final section, after briefly describing the objectives of the study and its research design, we shall summarize the main findings of this study under five major topics: (a) channels of socialization; (b) impacts of Liberal Studies on civic and political engagement; (c) views toward social mobility; (d) views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government; (e) views towards China. We conclude this study with a discussion on whether Hong Kong youth are generally politically “active” or “apathetic”, followed by some policy recommendations.

7.1 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were (1) to find out the post-90s dispositions and attitudes relating to civic engagement; (2) to elicit their views towards different value orientations; (3) to examine the relationships between different value orientations and civic engagement; (4) to delve into the process of political socialization among the post-90s; and (5) to compare the views of the more politically active young people and with those of the less active.

7.2 Research Design

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to gauge the views of the post-90s in Hong Kong. Data of this study were collected from (1) territory-wide F.5 secondary school student survey; (2) focus group interviews with F.5 secondary school students; and (3) in-depth interviews with young people who have participated actively in recent social movements and/or engaged in other formal political participation processes.

In total, 2,896 F.5 students from 25 secondary students were sampled in the territory-wide survey. The survey fieldwork was conducted between May and September 2015. Second, 12 focus group interviews at 6 secondary schools were conducted between June and August 2015. Third, 20 informants who were very active politically were interviewed between April and August 2015.

7.3 Summary of Main Findings

(a) Channels of socialization

This study focused on five selected socializing agents, namely, schooling, mass media, online media, peers, and family, and discerned their relative strength in influencing youth's civic and political engagement.

The multivariate analysis of our quantitative survey results revealed that schooling, as measured by students' civic participation at school, is a significant predictor of all six dimensions of expected political participation and actual political participation. Peer influences, as measured by students' discussion of political and social issues with friends, are also shown to have positive effects on two dimensions of expected political participation and all three dimensions of actual political participation. Parental influence, as measured by students' discussion of political and social issues with parents, has significant positive effects on only three of our outcomes of interest.

The impact of online media on students' civic and political engagement is also shown to be large in the regression analysis, as the use of online media information on political and social issues had positive effects on two dimensions of expected political participation and two dimensions of actual political participation. The impact of traditional mass media on students' civic and political engagement is indeed quite puzzling, as the regression results have shown that the use of traditional media information on political and social issues is a negative predictor of students' expected institutional political participation, expected civic engagement, and their actual participation in internet activism.

Our qualitative findings largely corroborate the findings from the multivariate analysis of the quantitative survey. Most of the focus group students regarded both formal classroom teaching and out-of-classroom learning activities as important experiences which had enhanced their awareness of social and political issues. Some in-depth interview informants also viewed formal education as one of key platforms supporting the development of their personal interest in political issues, while a minority of the in-depth interview informants did not perceive any significant influence from their learning experiences at school.

From our focus group data, positive parental influences on students' civic and political engagement were also noted in families where parents and their children could openly exchange their opinions at home. Among the politically active informants, parental influences on their children's civic and political engagement were through providing a supportive environment for their children to engage in open discussion or offering a wide range of opportunities for their children to have first-hand experiences in different political events in Hong Kong

The politically active informants used mass media to inform themselves about social and political issues significantly less than did the focus group students. This finding actually corroborates the findings from the multivariate analysis which indicated that increased usage of mass media would have a negative influence on students' level of civic and political participation. However, further research is needed to decipher why more use of traditional mass media would reduce the level of a student's civic and political engagement.

Both the focus group students and the in-depth interview informants used online media extensively and regarded it as the main channel for acquiring updated information. They both considered the new media as a rich source of information to learn about current social and political issues. Yet, the influence of new media on youth's political stance should be more subtle, as a significant number of the in-depth interview informants claimed that the new media had no direct influence on their political orientations.

We did not find from our qualitative data any strong evidence to support the existence of peer influences on students' civic and political engagement. Among the politically active informants, peer influence was not pervasive. Only a few informants mentioned their friends as the major reason they participated in various political events. The majority of the focus group participants also indicated that peer influence on their value orientation was minimal.

(b) Impacts of Liberal Studies on Civic and Political Engagement

One of the rationales for Liberal Studies is to provide opportunities for students to make connections among different disciplines and to examine issues from multiple perspectives. Some commentators in Hong Kong have alleged, however, that the subject is too

“politicized” and induces students to become overly critical towards the establishment on many political issues. Our quantitative data revealed, however, that students’ interest in Liberal Studies had a positive effect only on students’ expected institutional political participation. The assertion by those commentators was thus not supported.

The above conclusion is substantiated by our qualitative data. Students in our focus groups claimed that they were quite familiar with the major rationale of Liberal Studies which aims at providing opportunities for students to analyse various issues from multiple perspectives. The majority of the focus group students also considered the direct influence from Liberal Studies on their political stance to be insignificant. Like the focus group participants, the politically active informants were also very conscious of the above major rationale of Liberal Studies. The influence from Liberal Studies on their political stance was also considered to be minimal. The politically active informants only liked the way of learning and studying in Liberal Studies which has aroused their interests in social issues and enhanced their sensitivity to political controversies in Hong Kong.

(c) Views towards social mobility

Negative sentiment over blocked mobility was quite pervasive among the post-90s. Although the majority of the students in the quantitative survey evaluated their quality of life positively, they were pessimistic about their job opportunities and their opportunity for further studies in the future. Focus group students were also pessimistic in general about their future. They perceived that the opportunities to pursue a career in Hong Kong’s core industries were quite dim. They also worried about the challenge to their market competitiveness posed by those from the mainland and from overseas. The politically active informants also expressed similar sentiments. Yet, there was no direct evidence to support the claim that active political participation among young people is a consequence of their perceived blocked social mobility.

(d) Views towards Hong Kong SAR Government

The post-90s generation had a relatively negative impression of the Hong Kong SAR Government. Although the majority of students in the quantitative survey showed great respect for the Hong Kong SAR, only about two-fifths of them agreed that the political

system in Hong Kong SAR works well and only one-fourth were satisfied with Hong Kong's political system. In addition, the students' level of trust in the Chief Executive was the lowest among all the civil institutions in Hong Kong. The above quantitative analysis results are also substantiated by our qualitative data. The vast majority of the focus group students and the in-depth interview informants held negative views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government.

(e) Views towards China

Although the post-90s held overwhelmingly negative views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government, their views toward China were relatively more diverse. As indicated by our quantitative data, the post-90s were more interested in the Chinese culture but less interested in the politics of China. For instance, more than half of the students showed great interest in the culture of China, but less than two-fifths of them agreed that the political system in the People's Republic of China works well. They also showed relatively less interest in political issues in mainland China than in political issues in Hong Kong.

Our qualitative data further revealed the ambivalent attitudes of the post-90s towards China. Although the majority views held by the focus group students towards the country were still negative, a substantial number of students expressed appreciation for the many achievements of the country; some other students even expressed their strong attachment to the country. The politically active informants were more critical towards the country though. Yet, they also revealed their relatively in-depth knowledge about China by citing many examples or using their own first-hand experience to support their critical views.

7.4 Are the Post-90s Politically Active or Apathetic?

One of the objectives of this study was to answer the question, "are post-90s politically active or apathetic in general?" Through triangulating the analyses from quantitative data and qualitative data, we shall provide our provisional answers to the above question in the following.

Two-thirds of the respondents from the territory-wide F.5 student survey showed an interest in political issues in Hong Kong. They also indicated their interest in other issues

including environmental issues, international politics, and political issues in foreign countries. However, only about two-fifths were interested in the political issues in mainland China. In short, students' awareness of current issues was generally high, with the notable exception of issues related to mainland China.

Apart from their awareness of social and political issues, students' self-concept in politics was also quite high. Self-concept in politics refers to the individual's confidence in his/her ability to understand politics and to act politically. From the quantitative analysis, it appears students are confident in their ability to act politically, for instance, a majority of them agreed with the statement "as an adult, I will be able to take part in politics".

Students seemed to have positive attitudes towards civic and political engagement, but how about their actual behavior? The quantitative data showed that the students' level of civic participation in the wider community was not high. For instance, less than half of the students had participated in non-profit or charitable organizations. Their level of participation in the cases of environmental organizations, community concern groups, and youth organizations affiliated with a political party was even lower. However, when we take a closer look at their actual political participation, the situation appears to be somewhat better. For instance, considering the traditional forms of political participation, about half of the students had signed a petition and also half of them had worn a badge or t-shirt to express an opinion, while about one-third had joined a peaceful march or rally in the past. The students were more active politically on the internet. For instance, more than half of them had posted messages about political and social issues on social media or had contributed to an online discussion about social and political issues.

Lastly, the quantitative data indicated that students expected they would actively engage in politics as responsible citizens in the future. For instance, about four-fifths of the students expected to participate in District Council and Legislative Council elections as adults. However, fewer students expected they would participate in more demanding activities, such as joining a political party or trade union.

The quantitative data reveal that students in Hong Kong are not politically apathetic. They showed a high level of interest in a wide range of social and political issues (except those issues related to China). They were also quite confident about their ability to

understand politics and to act politically. Their interest in engaging in some less demanding civic and political activities was also not low. However, the above evidence also does not support unambiguously the claim that young people in Hong Kong are politically active. Students seemed to have a rather low level of interest in many civic activities and appear reluctant to engage in more demanding political activities.

The data from the focus group interviews corroborate the above conclusion. The focus group participants had a certain degree of awareness of social and political issues. Most of them could also articulate clearly their thoughts regarding various political controversies. However, their level of participation in actual political events was not high. They also expressed diverse viewpoints towards political participation. Moreover, some popular explanations for youth's active political participation, such as their perceived resentment over the lack of educational and economic opportunities, were also not supported. They are indeed dissatisfied with their opportunities but that sentiment did not drive their political participation.

The politically active youths whom we interviewed were indeed different from youths generally. They constitute a minority among the younger generation, although still a substantial one. They not only had a high level of political participation, they also had a high level of awareness of social and political issues in Hong Kong and China. However, the motivation for them to participate so fervently in various political events does not stem from their dissatisfaction with opportunities for upward social mobility, albeit such dissatisfaction is apparent. Neither were they influenced by their learning experiences in Liberal Studies, as some commentators have argued. The common sentiment that we encountered during the interviews is their negative views towards the Hong Kong SAR Government and its policies. Their perception that institutional channels for solving issues were ineffective was another major driver for them to adopt the extra-institutional path of action. In short, the causes of their active participation in social movements do not arise from personal discontent or external agitation, but rather should be more accurately regarded as the outcome of lack of effective communication between the government and this particular group of young people.

7.5 Policy Implications

The escalation of youth activism in the last ten years has drawn the attention not only of the mass media commentators but also of policy makers to the causes of “youth dissent”. Several explanations have been advanced. One explanation has attempted to link youth’s dissenting attitudes toward different public policies to their frustration over blocked upward mobility. Another explanation links youth dissent to the teaching and learning of “critical thinking” in Liberal Studies. However, the empirical findings of the present study do not support the above “explanations” which are based on casual observation. Rather, it directs our focus back to the issues of governance and the modes of communication between the government and the society. In line with the above main conclusion of the present study, our report puts forth the following directions for future policy deliberations. In particular, we shall focus on two primary policy objectives that the Government might consider to be important. First, the promotion of active and participatory citizenship among young people. Second, the promotion of participation through institutional channels rather than extra-institutional ones. We may not have concrete policy recommendations to pursue right away because our objectives have been exploratory and explanatory rather than evaluative of specific policies and programmes, but we believe our findings would serve as good foundation for future policy deliberations.

7.5.1 Fostering Active and Participatory Citizenship

As shown in the western literature (for example, see Dalton 2008), citizenship norms have been gradually shifting in the advanced industrial societies. The “duty-based” norms of citizenship has been weakening, as revealed in the decline of turnout in elections. Meanwhile, the norm of “engaged citizenship” is also emerging. The notion “engaged citizenship” denotes individuals’ political participation in activities that give them more direct say and influence (Dalton 2008: 92).

Post-90s indicated a high level of acceptance to both types of citizenship in our quantitative survey. For instance, the vast majority agreed that “voting in every election” is important, about three-fourths of them also agreed that “participating in protests against laws believed to be unjust” is important. Our qualitative data also corroborates with these findings, the political active youths are always looking for effective channels of participation,

either institutional or non-institutional, so as to exert more influence to the government's decision-making process.

In the light of these findings, I believe the Government and the Community has done a very good job so far since the establishment of the SAR in inculcating a sense of active citizenship among young people, as testified by their high level of political efficacy and intention to participate in the political processes as adults. What more could be done for the government is to give young people more say in important government decisions by incorporating youth's voice in relevant institution through the establishment of more effective channels of consultation. Fostering institutionalized participation among youths, for instance through voting, should be the primary task of the government; otherwise more politically active youths will feel compelled to take the extra-institutional path of action in the near future.

The schools also turned out to be the most important milieu for the development of young people's sense of political efficacy and participatory inclinations. More opportunities for civic participation should therefore be provided by schools for young adults and classrooms should foster an atmosphere of open but balanced discussions on social and political issues. Teachers may be reminded of these roles and principals should pay attention in creating an environment that develop the sense of efficacy and participatory citizenship among students. Parents are not particularly influential in the civic development of their children. Perhaps more attention could also be paid to parental education that helps parents to foster a more healthy sense of citizenship among young people.

One area of concern is to what extent young people are sufficiently informed of the complexities of social and political issues. The DSE subject Liberal Studies could be a very important platform to achieve this aim as the subject is embedded on many areas and modules pertaining to the development of civic values, knowledge and citizenship. Rather than swaying students towards one-sided views of issues, our respondents have testified to the possibility of the subject to help them discover the multiple perspectives on certain issues and offer them the competences to look for information and think through different political positions. We should make sure the subject and its teachers are well supported to undertake these critical tasks. The current Liberal Studies curriculum, however, is considered too broad by teachers and students so that there is scarcely sufficient time to convey important

civic values and knowledge. Further review of the curriculum in order to make space for civic development might be considered.

While our study could not confirm the direct linkages between the perception of individual opportunities for socio-economic advancement and their sense of citizenship, the development of a sense of being able to participate in the society fully is also desirable for citizenship development. As youth labour market and education policies pertaining to young are too broad and involve many more political parameters, we would not venture into these areas. It would be possible, however, to further develop and consolidate career and life education initiatives, so that young people will have a clearer road map of themselves in the community in aspects more than narrowly economic and occupational. It should be another critical area that could be strengthened to allow young people to develop a sense of their own position and possible roles in the labour market, educational system, polity, as well as the myriad mosaics of community life.

7.5.2 Promotion of Participation through Institutional Channels

One headline finding from our both quantitative and qualitative fieldwork is that young people do not actually see a sharp break between institutional and non-institutional channels of civic and political participation. Many are willing to take part if they feel that the particular form of action would achieve their aims. Our multivariate models also confirm that multiple forms of participation are shaped by the same set of variables. Civic participation at school, interest in political and social issues, self-concept in politics, citizenship self-efficacy, and post-materialist orientation are all positive determinants of all the forms of expected and actual political participation included in the survey. One implication is that a young person with an active sense of participatory citizenship may be liable to take part in both institutional and non-institutional forms of activities depending on the situational context and the objectives he or she has in mind. Policy makers therefore need to be reminded that the “risk” for participation to “spill over” from institutional to non-institutional forms is always there, and we cannot foster an active citizenship that focused exclusively on one particular type.

Nevertheless, our findings have also shown a number of important correlates of

non-institutional civic participations, and in particular protest activities and internet activism. One key finding is of course particularly strong local identity (by identifying themselves singularly as “Hong Kong people”) are positive determinants of all three forms of non-institutional participation. By contrast, these factors are not influential in institutional forms of participation. Trust in civic institutions also tends to reduce the propensity of participation in such activities. The government's youth development works should therefore pay particular attention to foster a more “balanced” and open form of individual identity towards the community and the nation, and also higher level of trust in civic institutions.

This project has not explored into the relative effectiveness of different forms of programmes in doing these so we could not pin down the specifics here. One point that needs to be reiterated here is that while there were early concerns about the effects of Liberal Studies, our project should offer evidence to clear this misconception definitively. Not only Liberal Studies has not made students more “critical” (in the negative sense) of the social and political establishment, it has actually “encouraged” intentions to participate politically through “normal” institutional channels. More interestingly, it has also discouraged political consumerism. Therefore, while we do not want to overburden one single subject, the Government should make sure that the subject could develop healthily and to supply the teacher community with the requisite resources and professional development for a more balanced, tolerant and inclusive civic values. Level of civic knowledge also has a significantly negative effect on protest participations, and of course apart from the normal civic education activities, Liberal Studies has had a tremendous effect in enhancing students' civic knowledge. Our finding suggests that the more they know, the more circumspect they would be in deciding whether to join a protest action. The challenge is therefore how to do that more effectively through Liberal Studies and other curricular and non-curricular learning activities.

One other unexpected finding of our qualitative interviews of activist youth is the effect of the subject of Chinese History. Quite a few respondents told us that their impressions of China had come to a change after some Chinese History lessons, especially when it comes to contemporary Chinese history. While the professional community of Liberal Studies has emphasized all along the need to present a balanced view of issues without preempting student judgments (and this is unequivocally supported by student responses), there appears

to be a concern that the same may have been done only unevenly in other subjects. It is therefore imperative that when the Government seeks to strengthen the teaching and learning of Chinese History, it should be advised to ensure that approach to teaching would be balanced and open-ended, as the effect of the subject may actually be double-edged. It is particularly important when teachers and students approach contemporary Chinese history, especially if the instructional approach may elicit emotional responses and personal reflections. Students did tell us that contemporary issues may present China in a more negative light if not handled “properly”, thereby shaping students' perception of the nation and their own identification to it. More emphasis on the cultural heritage of China rather than “modern” political events may be the way forward for Chinese History if we are mindful of the effects on students' national identity. Apart from Chinese History, national education is a sensitive issue in the community and has to be handled very carefully but more creative and constructive modes of national education activities may be considered.

The final, larger, issue that emerges from our finding is that why more than half of our sample responded to us affirming the effectiveness of (peaceful) protest activities like gathering or marching in public area. Of course this has to be considered in conjunction to the similar high percentage of students saying that contacting legislative councilor and district councilors, and again this suggests that young people are not discriminating institutional versus non-institutional forms of actions. Yet if we also take into consideration the low level of trust on civic and political institutions as well as the negative impressions of many qualitative respondents over the Hong Kong and Central Government, we worry that for some young people at least, the apparent ineffectiveness of institutional channels of participation may push them over to the non-institutional pathway. It is therefore crucial that the Government would have to better communicate to young people about how responsive it has been to their concerns as well as from some other quarters of community. Good governance should not be only done, but be seen being done, and perception is a tricky thing. We suggest that future policies and educational programmes should explore better ways to build up a more positive impression of government and its policies.

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Appendix 1 Questions on Students' Civic Knowledge

Note: Correct answer is in boldface.

1. One function of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong is:
 - a) To safeguard the labour rights of employees
 - b) To endorse the appointment and removal of the Chief Executive
 - c) **To deliberate and enact the laws, bills, and ordinances in Hong Kong**
 - d) To enact, amend and abolish the Basic Law
2. Which of the following attributes is not included in the Equal Opportunity Commission?
 - a) **Age**
 - b) Gender
 - c) Disability
 - d) Marital Status
3. Under the rule of law in Hong Kong, courts must be:
 - a) **Independent of the Chief Executive**
 - b) Composed of Chinese judges only
 - c) Governed by the Chinese legal system
 - d) Supervised by the Legislative Council
4. Which of the following statements about the responsibilities of permanent residents in the Hong Kong is true?
 - a) They are obliged to obey the national laws of China
 - b) They are obligated to serve in the People's Liberation Army
 - c) **They are obligated to serve as jurors in court**
 - d) They are not obligated to pay taxes to the Hong Kong Government if they work in international companies in Hong Kong
5. The Hong Kong residents have the responsibility to pay:
 - a) **Taxes to the HKSAR Government**
 - b) Taxes to the Central Government
 - c) For the services of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Hong Kong
 - d) For the services and operational expenses of the Hong Kong representatives of the National People's Congress

Appendix 2 聚集小組訪談大綱

Part 1—公民參與的種類及其程度

- 1) 你們有參與什麼課外活動（例如：聯校/校外學生組織、學生會或制服團體等等）？
- 2) 你們參與過以下不同組織的活動嗎？（例如：非牟利/慈善組織/環保組織的義務工作、政黨或工會有聯繫的青年組織的活動、針對特定議題的關注組的組織工作）
- 3) 你們有參與社會運動嗎？主要從什麼渠道得知？參與程度有多高？可否談談在參與過程中的經歷？
- 4) 自二零零九年始，我們的社會發生了一連串社會運動，你對於特區政府的施政有什麼意見？
- 5) 什麼原因驅使你們參與上述的活動？

Part 2—政治社教化

(a) 學校

一般學習歷程（高中通識以外）

- 1) 從小學和中學的學習過程中，公民教育／國民教育是怎樣的？
- 2) 你們有否從學校學習到有關民主、人權、平等、環保價值觀？
- 3) 你們認為以上的教育過程對你們的公民價值及政治參與有否影響/啟迪作用？

通識教育科

- 1) 你們認為學習通識科有助提升你對社會時事的認知嗎？
- 2) 你們認為通識科對你們就不同社會議題的意見/取向有所影響嗎？
- 3) 你們如何評價在通識科的學習經驗？通識科有助訓練你們的獨立批判思考能力嗎？
- 4) 通識老師的教導對你們的公民價值及政治參與有沒有影響嗎？

(b) 主流媒體

- 1) 你們會否使用主流媒體取得有關本地政治、社會或民生議題的資訊？較多使用的是哪種(電視、電台、報紙)？有幾常用呢？
- 2) 主流媒體對你們了解本地政治、社會、民生議題有何影響？
- 3) 整體而言，主流媒體對你們的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(c) 新媒體與互聯網

- 1) 除主流媒體外，你們會否使用其他網上媒體以取得本地政治、社會、民生議題的資訊？較多使用的是哪種（新聞網站、網上討論區、網上社交媒體、網絡電台）？有幾常用呢？
- 2) 你們會否與網友討論政治或社會議題？網友對你們就不同社會議題的意見/取向有沒有影響？
- 3) 整體而言，新媒體對你們的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(d) 朋友與社交網絡

- 1) 你們會否與朋友討論政治或社會議題？一般會討論些什麼？
- 2) 你們覺得現在抱有的公民價值及相關的政治參與跟你們的朋友有關係嗎？

(e) 家庭

- 1) 你們會否與父母討論政治或社會議題？一般會討論些什麼？
- 2) 你們覺得家人對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響？

Part 3—中港關係與未來發展

- 1) 對中國的認識（政治、經濟、社會方面），是從哪個渠道得到的呢？對中國的看法，自小學開始到現在有沒有改變？
- 2) 中港關係的看法和態度？
怎樣看未來在香港的發展機會（包括升學、就業、晉升及置業）？

Appendix 3 深入訪談大綱

Part 1—政府施政與政改

- 1) 在二零零九年之前，你對於特區政府的施政有什麼意見？
- 2) 自二零零九年始，我們的社會發生了一連串社會運動，你對於特區政府的施政有什麼意見？

Part 2—公民參與的種類及其程度

- 3) 你自己較多參與的公民或政治活動是哪幾種？而哪一種的參與程度較高？

註：以下 (a) 到 (c) 只問受訪者曾參與的部份

(a) 非政府組織/政治組織

- 4) 你參與過以下不同組織（例如：NGO、社會服務團體、政黨、社區關注組等）的活動嗎？（例如：非牟利/慈善組織/環保組織的義務工作、政黨或工會有聯繫的青年組織的活動、針對特定議題的關注組的組織工作）
- 5) 如有，為什麼你會參與？
- 6) 從中對你的公民價值或政治參與有甚麼啟發？

(b) 課外活動

- 7) 讀中學或大學時，你有參與什麼課外活動（例如：聯校/校外學生組織、學生會/系會、上莊或制服團體等等）？
- 8) 如有，為什麼你會參與？
- 9) 從中對你的公民價值或政治參與有甚麼啟發？

(c) 社會運動

- 10) 你從何時開始關注社會不同議題？你從何時開始對政策或社會不公義等有屬於你自己的看法？
- 11) 2009 年後出現一連串的社會運動(天星/皇后/囍帖街/反高鐵/反國教/五區總辭/反褸補/反國教/港視發牌/全民投票/佔領行動/反水貨)，你主要從什麼渠道得知有關行動？
- 12) 你有參與以上的社會運動嗎？你的參與程度有多高？可否談談你在參與過程中的經歷？在當中你的角色是什麼？
- 13) 什麼原因驅使你參與上述的社會運動？
- 14) 從現在的角度來看，你對上述的社會運動有什麼評價？你覺得社會運動能為香港社會帶來什麼樣的影響？

Part 3—政治社教化

(a) 家庭

- 15) 你可否跟我們分享一下你的父母的教育程度、職業、出生地點和政治取向？
- 16) 你會否與父母討論政治或社會議題？一般會討論些什麼？
- 17) 你覺得你現在抱有的公民價值及相關的政治參與跟你父母的教導或你的成長背景有關係嗎？
- 18) 家人是否支持你參與社會運動？家人對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響？

(b) 朋友與社交網絡

- 19) 你會否與朋友討論政治或社會議題？一般會討論些什麼？
- 20) 你覺得你現在抱有的公民價值及相關的政治參與跟你的朋友有關係嗎？
- 21) 你身邊有否一些活躍於社會運動/公民參與的朋友？他們對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(c) 主流媒體

- 22) 你會否使用主流媒體取得有關本地政治、社會或民生議題的資訊？較多使用的是哪種(電視、電台、報紙)？有幾常用呢？
- 23) 上述主流媒體對你了解本地政治、社會、民生議題有何影響？
- 24) 整體而言，主流媒體對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(d) 新媒體與互聯網

- 25) 除主流媒體外，你會否使用其他網上媒體以取得本地政治、社會、民生議題的資訊？較多使用的是哪種（新聞網站、網上討論區、網上社交媒體、網絡電台）？有幾常用呢？
- 26) 你會否與網友討論政治或社會議題？他們對你就不同社會議題的意見/取向有沒有影響？
- 27) 相對於主流媒體，你認為新媒體對你了解本地政治、社會、民生議題有沒有特別的影嚮？
- 28) 整體而言，新媒體對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(e) 學校

一般學習歷程（高中通識以外）

- 29) 從小學和中學的學習過程中，公民教育是怎樣的？
- 30) 你有否從學校學習到有關民主、人權、平等、環保價值觀？
- 31) 你認為以上的教育過程對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響/啟迪作用？
- 32) 除正規課程外，在學校裡還有沒有其他深刻的事件或對你來說重要的人物，對你現在抱有的公民價值及相關的政治參與有所影響？

通識教育科

- 33) 你認為學習通識科有助提升你對社會時事的認知嗎？
- 34) 你認為通識科對你就不同社會議題的意見/取向有所影響嗎？
- 35) 你如何評價你在通識科的學習經驗？通識科有助訓練你的獨立批判思考能力嗎？
- 36) 通識老師的教導對你的公民價值及政治參與有沒有影響嗎？
- 37) 你知道通識老師的政治立場嗎？從何得知？你認為通識老師的政治立場有影響他的教學嗎？
- 38) 整體而言，學習通識科對你的公民價值及政治參與有否影響或啟迪？

(f) 最關鍵的啟迪因素

- 39) 整體而言，你認為什麼是影響你公民/政治參與之最關鍵的啟迪因素？

Part 4—中港關係與未來發展

- 40) 對中國的認識（政治、經濟、社會方面），是從哪個渠道得到的呢？對中國的看法，自小學開始到現在有沒有改變？
- 41) 中港關係的看法和態度？
你怎樣看你未來在香港的發展機會（包括升學、就業、晉升及置業）？

Appendix 4 Profiles of Informants of In-depth Interviews

No. of Informants		20
Age	15-18	5
	19-25	15
Sex	Male	15
	Female	5
Birth Place	Hong Kong	16
	The Mainland	3
	Other	1
Attended/ Attending Education Level (Highest)	Secondary	5
	Sub-Degree	3
	Degree	11
	Above Degree	1
Current Study/Work Status	Secondary	5
	Post-Secondary	13
	Graduate	2
Social Class	Lower Class	8
	Lower-Middle Class	6
	Middle, Upper-Middle and Upper Class	6
Political Orientation	Pro-Establishment	0
	Between Pan-Democratic and Pro-Establishment	1
	Pan-Democratic (Moderate)	10
	Pan-Democratic (Radical)	9
	No Political Orientation	0
National Identification	Hong Konger	14
	Chinese	0
	Hong Kong, but also Chinese	3
	Chinese, but also Hong Kong	3
Religious Belief	Protestantism	10
	Catholicism	2
	No Religious Belief	8