

RGC Ref. No.:
UGC/FDS14/H07/20
(please insert ref. above)

**RESEARCH GRANTS COUNCIL
COMPETITIVE RESEARCH FUNDING SCHEMES FOR
THE LOCAL SELF-FINANCING DEGREE SECTOR**

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT SCHEME (FDS)

Completion Report
(for completed projects only)

Submission Deadlines:

1. Auditor's report with unspent balance, if any: within **six** months of the approved project completion date.
2. Completion report: within **12** months of the approved project completion date.

Part A: The Project and Investigator(s)

1. Project Title

The Impact of the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement on Conception of Citizenship in Hong Kong

2. Investigator(s) and Academic Department(s) / Unit(s) Involved

Research Team	Name / Post	Unit / Department / Institution
Principal Investigator	Gary TANG Associate Professor	Department of Social Science / The Hang Seng University of Hong Kong
Co-Investigator	Samson YUEN Associate Professor	Academy of Geography, Sociology and International Studies Hong Kong Baptist University

3. Project Duration

	Original	Revised	Date of RGC / Institution Approval (must be quoted)
Project Start Date	1 Jan 2021	/	
Project Completion Date	31 Dec 2022	31 Dec 2023	8 May 2023 (approved by RGC)
Duration (in month)	24	36	
Deadline for Submission of Completion Report	31 Dec 2023	31 Dec 2024	

4.4 Please attach photo(s) of acknowledgement of RGC-funded facilities / equipment.
N/A

Part B: The Final Report

5. Project Objectives

5.1 Objectives as per original application

1. To outline the conception of citizenship before and after the Anti-ELAB movement
2. To conduct quantitative and qualitative research to examine the construction of public discourses and discursive change related to the conception of citizenship in mainstream media and online during and after the Anti-ELAB movement
3. To test the significance of the Anti-ELAB movement's impact on the conception of citizenship among the public via a population survey
4. To test the significance of the roles of age and social media in intervening in the cultural consequence of the Anti-ELAB movement

5.2 Revised objectives

Date of approval from the RGC: N/A

Reasons for the change:

5.3 Realisation of the objectives

(Maximum 1 page; please state how and to what extent the project objectives have been achieved; give reasons for under-achievements and outline attempts to overcome problems, if any)

All the research objectives stated in the proposal have been fulfilled during the research period. The findings have been analyzed, and some have been presented at academic outlets.

Objectives 1, 3, and 4

To fulfill Objectives 1, 3, and 4, a population survey was conducted from November to December 2021. For Objective 1, people's citizenship norms were compared with data from a survey conducted in August 2020. Objectives 3 and 4 were fulfilled by conducting statistical analyses to examine the relationship between attitudes towards the Anti-ELAB Movement and citizenship, as well as the potential intervening role of age and social media use. The relevant research results have either been published or are under review.

Objective 2

Objective 2 was fulfilled through focus group interviews and data crawling on LIHKG, an online forum. Six focus groups were conducted in July and August 2022 to facilitate the discursive articulation of the survey's results. Data from LIHKG from April 2019 to December 2022 were also crawled to examine potential discursive changes in citizenship norms.

5.4 Summary of objectives addressed to date

Objectives <i>(as per 5.1/5.2 above)</i>	Addressed <i>(please tick)</i>	Percentage Achieved <i>(please estimate)</i>
To outline the conception of citizenship before and after the Anti-ELAB movement	√	100%
To conduct quantitative and qualitative research to examine the construction of public discourses and discursive change related to the conception of citizenship in mainstream media and online during and after the Anti-ELAB movement	√	100%
To test the significance of the Anti-ELAB movement's impact on the conception of citizenship among the public via a population survey	√	100%
To test the significance of the roles of age and social media in intervening in the cultural consequence of the Anti-ELAB movement	√	100%

6. Research Outcome

6.1 Major findings and research outcome

(Maximum 1 page; please make reference to Part C where necessary)

This research reveals the moderating effect of support for the Anti-ELAB Movement and radicalism on the relationship between dutiful and engaged citizenship. Dutiful and engaged citizenship were positively related among those supporting the movement and radicalism. Interviewees in focus groups disclosed that certain incidents during the movement had influenced their perceptions of right and wrong, rendering the conventional idea of civic duties ambiguous. The findings help explain why a broad population might accept radical protests in a city traditionally known for endorsing peaceful protest.

(Output: journal article / Appendix 1)

While age is the prominent factor in building choice-based citizenship among locally bred Hong Kong citizens, choice-based citizenship is associated with support for the Anti-ELAB Movement and the consumption of online news among immigrants from Chinese Mainland. These results have contributed to the theoretical discussion on how acculturation of citizenship norms occurs for immigrants moving to a relatively liberal society.

(Output: journal article and conference paper / Appendices 2 and 4)

This paper presents the mediating effects of perceived fairness of the judiciary on the respective indirect effects of support for the Anti-ELAB Movement and exposure to online news on dutiful citizenship. Individuals who support the movement and have greater exposure to online news tend to have a lower evaluation of the judiciary's fairness, which leads to weaker dutiful citizenship.

(Output: journal article under review and conference paper / Appendices 3 and 5)

Comparing the news consumption of Hong Kong citizens in 2020, 2021, and 2024, a drastic drop in news consumption between 2020 and 2021 was observed, particularly severe among citizens identifying themselves as democrats. The frequency of reading newspapers slightly increased between 2021 and 2024, but the trend of decline continued for TV news. This result can contribute to the discussion about news avoidance and its potential impacts on the cultivation of informed citizens.

(Output: newspaper articles and TV news feature / Appendices 6, 7, and 9)

During the COVID-19 pandemic, people's trust in medical experts was related to their attitudes and willingness to comply with various restriction measures. By analyzing online public opinion on LIHKG, the results revealed that netizens overall had a positive evaluation of the medical experts. However, this opinion clearly shifted to negative starting in mid-2021.

(Output: newspaper article / Appendix 8)

Compared to 2020, most people indicated in the 2021 survey that they were less worried about job loss and felt a higher sense of job security. However, this tendency was weakest among people with lower educational attainment.

(Output: Short research report / Appendix 10)

**6.2 Potential for further development of the research and the proposed course of action
(Maximum half a page)**

This research underscores the strong potential for longitudinal studies to trace changes in citizenship norms among people after 2019. The persistence of these norms could serve as a crucial parameter in measuring the civic resilience of citizens in the post-movement times. Moreover, given that the literature on citizenship norms in Hong Kong is relatively scant compared to that in other countries, additional surveys could be conducted to examine the association between citizenship norms and other social and political attitudes, including tolerance, news consumption, and political efficacy.

Through this research project, we have developed a new variable, "choice-based citizenship," which focuses on differentiating people's views of civic practices as either civic duties or personal choices. This concept was published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, one of the top journals in migration studies (ranked #2). Further research could validate the generalizability of this variable. Additionally, as mentioned in the journal article, further research could explore how immigrants from Chinese Mainland are socialized to acquire and practice civic norms in Hong Kong.

7. Layman's Summary

(Describe in layman's language the nature, significance and value of the research project, in no more than 200 words)

This research explores how the Anti-ELAB Movement and radicalism influence people's views on citizenship in Hong Kong. Findings indicate that those who support the movement and hold radical views are likely to perceive citizenship duties differently, particularly after incidents that challenged traditional notions of right and wrong. This shift explains why more radical protests might be accepted in a city typically known for peaceful demonstrations.

The study also reveals that age significantly influences citizenship views among Hong Kong locals, whereas for Chinese Mainland immigrants, support for the Anti-ELAB Movement and online news consumption are key factors.

Additional results show that individuals who support the Anti-ELAB Movement and consume a lot of online news tend to distrust the judiciary's fairness, leading to weaker adherence to traditional citizenship duties.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, people's trust in medical experts and willingness to comply with health measures were initially positive but turned negative by mid-2021, influenced by online discussions. This shift highlights the impact of public sentiment on compliance with health guidelines.

Part C: Research Output

8. Peer-Reviewed Journal Publication(s) Arising Directly From This Research Project

(Please attach a copy of the publication and/or the letter of acceptance if not yet submitted in the previous progress report(s). All listed publications must acknowledge RGC's funding support by quoting the specific grant reference.)

The Latest Status of Publications				Author(s) (denote the corresponding author with an asterisk*)	Title and Journal / Book (with the volume, pages and other necessary publishing details specified)	Submitted to RGC (indicate the year ending of the relevant progress report)	Attached to this Report (Yes or No)	Acknowledged the Support of RGC (Yes or No)	Accessible from the Institutional Repository (Yes or No)
Year of Publication	Year of Acceptance (For paper accepted but not yet published)	Under Review	Under Preparation (optional)						
2023				Gary TANG*	The intervention of political radicalization to the norms of citizenship/ <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i> , 58(1), 26-45. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909622112493	2023	Yes (Appendix 1)	Yes	Yes https://researchdb.hsu.edu.hk/view/publication/202300011
2024				Gary TANG* & Hans TSE	Exploring the formation of choice-based citizenship: A comparative analysis of Hong Kong natives vis-à-vis Chinese immigrants / <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> , 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2024.2399634	No	Yes (Appendix 2)	Yes	Yes https://researchdb.hsu.edu.hk/view/publication/202400236
		✓		Gary TANG* & Dennis LEUNG	Ungovernable citizens after state repression? Hong Kong citizens' dutiful citizenship in post-protest autocratization / <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i>	No	No	Yes	No

9. Recognized International Conference(s) In Which Paper(s) Related To This Research Project Was / Were Delivered

(Please attach a copy of each conference abstract)

Month / Year / Place	Title	Conference Name	Submitted to RGC (indicate the year ending of the relevant progress report)	Attached to this Report (Yes or No)	Acknowledged the Support of RGC (Yes or No)	Accessible from the Institutional Repository (Yes or No)
June 2023/ Hong Kong	Duty or choice? Comparing citizenship norms between Chinese immigrants and locally bred Hong Kong citizens	Society for Hong Kong Studies Annual Conference	No	Yes (Appendix 5)	Yes	No
August 2023/ Philadelphia, USA	After state repression: The mediating effect of perceived fairness of the judiciary on dutiful citizenship	American Sociological Association Annual Meeting	2023	Yes (Appendix 4)	Yes	No

10. Whether Research Experience And New Knowledge Has Been Transferred / Has Contributed To Teaching And Learning

(Please elaborate)

Apart from publications in academic journals and presentations at academic conferences, knowledge transfer of the research findings was also carried out in the following ways:

- (1) **Newspaper articles:** Focusing on the variables about news consumption, two articles were published to present the longitudinal study of news consumption and to engage in public discussion about news avoidance in Hong Kong. Additionally, one article was published to present the changes in online public opinion related to medical experts during COVID-19, addressing the extent of public impatience with the government's restriction measures. (Appendices 6 to 8)
- (2) **TV news feature:** The newspaper article about news avoidance caught the attention of Cable TV, which produced a news program on this topic, citing the survey results from this project. (Appendix 9)
- (3) **Short report:** This project's survey included respondents' perceived job security and concerns about job loss or salary cuts. A comparison of these two variables between 2020 and 2021 was reported, with data visualization available on the website and social media of HSUHK's Centre for Public Policy Research. (Appendix 10)
- (4) **Teaching:** Data from this survey were used to demonstrate social science research methods in undergraduate programs.

11. Student(s) Trained

(Please attach a copy of the title page of the thesis)

Name	Degree Registered for	Date of Registration	Date of Thesis Submission / Graduation
/	/	/	/

12. Other Impact

(e.g. award of patents or prizes, collaboration with other research institutions, technology transfer, teaching enhancement, etc.)

N/A

13. Statistics on Research Outputs

	Peer-reviewed Journal Publications	Conference Papers	Scholarly Books, Monographs and Chapters	Patents Awarded	Other Research Outputs (please specify)	
No. of outputs arising directly from this research project	3 (including 1 paper under review)	2	/	/	Type	No.
					Newspaper articles	3
					TV news programme	1
					Research report	1

14. Public Access Of Completion Report

(Please specify the information, if any, that cannot be provided for public access and give the reasons.)

Information that Cannot Be Provided for Public Access	Reasons
/	/