

RGC Ref. No.: UGC/FDS16/H05/18 <hr/> (please insert ref. above)
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**RESEARCH GRANTS COUNCIL  
COMPETITIVE RESEARCH FUNDING SCHEMES FOR  
THE LOCAL SELF-FINANCING DEGREE SECTOR**

**FACULTY DEVELOPMENT SCHEME (FDS)**

**Completion Report**

*(for completed projects only)*

<p><b><u>Submission Deadlines:</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Auditor's report with unspent balance, if any: within <b>six</b> months of the approved project completion date.</li> <li>2. Completion report: within <b>12</b> months of the approved project completion date.</li> </ol>
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**Part A: The Project and Investigator(s)**

**1. Project Title**

Traditionalism, Regime Support and Democratic Legitimacy in Hong Kong

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

<b>Research Team</b>	<b>Name / Post</b>	<b>Unit / Department / Institution</b>
Principal Investigator	Lam Wai-man / Associate Professor	School of Arts and Social Sciences, Hong Kong Metropolitan University
Co-Investigator(s)	Ma Ngok / Associate Professor  Wong Stan Hok-wui / Associate Professor; and Visiting Associate Professor	Department of Government and Public Administration, The Chinese University of Hong Kong  Department of Applied Social Sciences, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University; and Department of International Studies & Modern Languages, University of St. Thomas
Others	NA	NA

### 3. Project Duration

	<b>Original</b>	<b>Revised</b>	<b>Date of RGC / Institution Approval</b> <i>(must be quoted)</i>
Project Start Date	1 January 2019	NA	NA
Project Completion Date	31 December 2020	31 December 2021	9 March 2021
Duration ( <i>in month</i> )	24 months	36 months	9 March 2021
Deadline for Submission of Completion Report	31 December 2021	31 December 2022	9 March 2021

## **Part B: The Final Report**

### 5. Project Objectives

#### 5.1 Objectives as per original application

1. Assess the current state of social and political traditionalism, regime support and democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong
2. Examine how social and political traditionalism, regime support and other socio-economic variables affect democratic legitimacy and other related political values
3. Assess the relative support for democratic values in Hong Kong, and its implications for further democratic development in Hong Kong by comparing the findings of this research with data in other Asian polities in the Asian Barometer Survey
4. Assess the relations between traditional social and political values and political participation of different age groups to unravel the future development of collective mobilization in Hong Kong

#### 5.2 Revised objectives

Date of approval from the RGC: NA

Reasons for the change: NA

- 1.
- 2.
3. ..

### 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)*

The project has conducted both quantitative and qualitative researches to investigate the research objectives. Quantitatively, a household survey of 1,200 successful cases using the core questionnaire of the Asian Barometer Survey, a cross-national survey of political values undertaken in 19 Asian polities, was completed. Qualitatively, interviews with 31 active participants in politics and ordinary citizens as well as one focus group discussion with ordinary young people of different ages, educational levels and occupations in Hong Kong were conducted. All the project objectives have been achieved. The publications in press and under review focus more on the project findings related to research objectives 1, 2 and 4. Preparation of in-depth comparative analysis on the findings of Hong Kong and other participating countries of the Asian Barometer Survey Wave V (project objective 3) is in progress.

## 5.4 Summary of objectives addressed to date

<b>Objectives</b> <i>(as per 5.1/5.2 above)</i>	<b>Addressed</b> <i>(please tick)</i>	<b>Percentage Achieved</b> <i>(please estimate)</i>
1. Assess the current state of social and political traditionalism, regime support and democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong	✓	100%
2. Examine how social and political traditionalism, regime support and other socio-economic variables affect democratic legitimacy and other related political values	✓	100%
3. Assess the relative support for democratic values in Hong Kong, and its implications for further democratic development in Hong Kong by comparing the findings of this research with data in other Asian polities in the Asian Barometer Survey	✓	100%
4. Assess the relations between traditional social and political values and political participation of different age groups to unravel the future development of collective mobilization in Hong Kong	✓	100%

## 6. Research Outcome

### 6.1 Major findings and research outcome

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

The project has conducted both quantitative and qualitative researches to investigate the research objectives. For data analysis, we identified several main variables: namely, regime support revealing the respondents' evaluation of the Hong Kong government, and social and political traditionalism indicating the respondents' views on social stability, social harmony, political legitimacy, authoritarian practices, and so on. Our publications in press and under review focus more on the project findings related to research objectives 1, 2 and 4 whereas the publications on the findings related to research objective 3 are in progress.

#### Regime support:

Regarding regime support, those who are more educated, younger, and who were born in Hong Kong tended to exhibit lower regime support. Economic performance is not a significant predictor of diffuse regime support in the case of Hong Kong, whereas institutional trust and perceived civil liberties are. The decline in diffuse regime support in Hong Kong is mostly driven by the citizens' dissatisfaction with the local authorities' ability to represent their interests, defend their rights, and safeguard procedural justice. Perception of government as responsive and transparent, people having freedom of speech, and the perception of equal treatment of classes also predict system support. Last but not least, there is indirect evidence for the role of stability in shaping regime support, although its importance seems far less obvious than institutional trust and civil liberties.

#### Social and political traditionalism:

Preliminary analysis of social traditionalism was conducted. Social traditionalism is strongly associated with age, which means the older the more socially traditionalistic, and the vice versa. Political traditionalism is found to be strongly associated with social traditionalism, age, Hong Kong identity, regime support, democratic legitimacy, and trust in various institutions. The preliminary analysis demonstrates that our hypothesised model of relationships between variables is supported.

#### Identity, demographic factors, and political legitimacy:

Utilizing the data of the five waves of Asian Barometer Survey in Hong Kong, we conducted preliminary comparative analysis of the relationship between the changing identity of respondents and the legitimacy of the political system. While pride as a Chinese citizen has decreased over the years, pride in the Hong Kong Identity has remained quite constant. Also, while pride in the Hong Kong Identity has remained relatively constant across waves and age groups, pride as a citizen of China has been consistently low among those below 35 and has declined across all age groups since the fourth wave of Asian Barometer Survey (2016). Demographic factors including birthplace, age and gender are significant predictors of the Chinese identity. Both education and income also affect pride in the Chinese identity but not as obvious as the abovesaid demographic variables. Perceptions of government also matter. Those who consider the government very responsive and rarely hide information from public view and those who consider people to be enjoying freedom of speech tended to be prouder as a Chinese citizen. Those who consider rich and poor people to be treated equally by the government also tended to be prouder of their Chinese identity. However, none of the demographic variables predicts pride in the Hong Kong identity. Nonetheless, those who consider the government more responsive and that people are enjoying freedom of assembly tended to exhibit greater pride as a Hong Kong citizen.

One journal article and one book chapter are in press and one book chapter is under review. Preparation of in-depth comparative analysis on the findings of Hong Kong and other participating countries of the Asian Barometer Survey Wave V is in progress.

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

Further analysis of the project data and comparison of the findings of Hong Kong and other participating countries of the Asian Barometer Survey Wave V will be conducted. Further research can be made to investigate the role of stability in shaping regime support, whose effect is relatively inconsistent across different waves of Asian Barometer Survey. Also, slight increases in regime support after the implementation of the National Security Law was observed. Explanations to this change and whether this would persist call for further research.

## 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 investigates social and political traditionalism in Hong Kong people's political identity and values and their regime support, and whether these factors influence democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong. It also studies the extent to which probable alternative explanations, for example, institutional trust, political knowledge, and political efficacy, help explain the changing democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong. Regarding its significance, the research sheds light on the embeddedness of social and political traditionalism in local identity and values, in the extent of regime support and in their effects on democratic support. By comparing the results of different waves of the survey, this project assists the investigation whether and how traditional social and political values affect democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong, and the changes and development of these values over the years. Moreover, the findings help investigate the theories of democratization concerning the relations between traditionalism and democratic consolidation as well as authoritarian resilience. Practically, the research enables a better comprehension of the relations among the changing political values of the people and the problems the future governance in Hong Kong faces.

**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)						
	2022			Lam, Wai-man*, Ngok Ma and Stan Hok-wui Wong	Legitimacy without Democracy? Sources of Diffuse Regime Support in Post-colonial Hong Kong / <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>	No	Yes [Attachment 1 & 2]	Yes	Yes
	2022			Lam, Wai-man*, Ngok Ma and Stan Hok-wui Wong	Political Identity, System Support, and Perceptions of Government Performance in Hong Kong / <i>How Asians View Democratic Legitimacy</i> (NTU Press)	No	Yes [Attachment 3]	Yes	Yes
		Yes		Lam, Wai-man*	Political Identity, Culture, and Participation / <i>Contemporary Hong Kong Government and Politics: Governance in the Post Umbrella Movement Era and Beyond</i> (HKU Press)	No	Yes [Attachment 4]	Yes	Yes

**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)*

<b>Month / Year / Place</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Conference Name</b>	<b>Submitted to RGC</b> <i>(indicate the year ending of the relevant progress report)</i>	<b>Attached to this Report</b> <i>(Yes or No)</i>	<b>Acknowledged the Support of RGC</b> <i>(Yes or No)</i>	<b>Accessible from the Institutional Repository</b> <i>(Yes or No)</i>
NA						

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

*(Please elaborate)*

The project findings will be incorporated as part of the teaching materials for courses on comparative politics, civil society, democratization, and Hong Kong studies.

**11. Student(s) Trained**

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

<b>Name</b>	<b>Degree Registered for</b>	<b>Date of Registration</b>	<b>Date of Thesis Submission / Graduation</b>
NA			



**12. Other Impact**

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

Nil

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**13. Statistics on Research Outputs**

	<b>Peer-reviewed Journal Publications</b>	<b>Conference Papers</b>	<b>Scholarly Books, Monographs and Chapters</b>	<b>Patents Awarded</b>	<b>Other Research Outputs (please specify)</b>	
<b>No. of outputs arising directly from this research project</b>	1	0	2 (1 in print and 1 under review)	0	Type	No.
					NA	

**14. Public Access Of Completion Report**

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

<b>Information that Cannot Be Provided for Public Access</b>	<b>Reasons</b>
NA	