



香港教育大學

The Education University
of Hong Kong

28.6–29.6.2017

「香港主權移交 20 年 Hong Kong 20 Years after the Handover」 研討會 Conference



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Lady Ivy Wu Lecture Theatre (D1-LP-04), EdUHK



大中華研究中心
Centre for Greater China Studies



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一個國家、兩種國族主義

One Country, Two Nationalisms

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一個國家、兩種國族主義

One Country, Two Nationalisms



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一個國家、兩種國族主義

One Country, Two Nationalisms

- 國族主義的理論文獻
Nationalism literature
- 北京：國家建構國族主義
Beijing：State-building nationalism
- 香港：邊陲國族主義
Hong Kong：Peripheral nationalism
- 總結：中港關係，何去何從？
Conclusion：The future of
Mainland-Hong Kong relations?



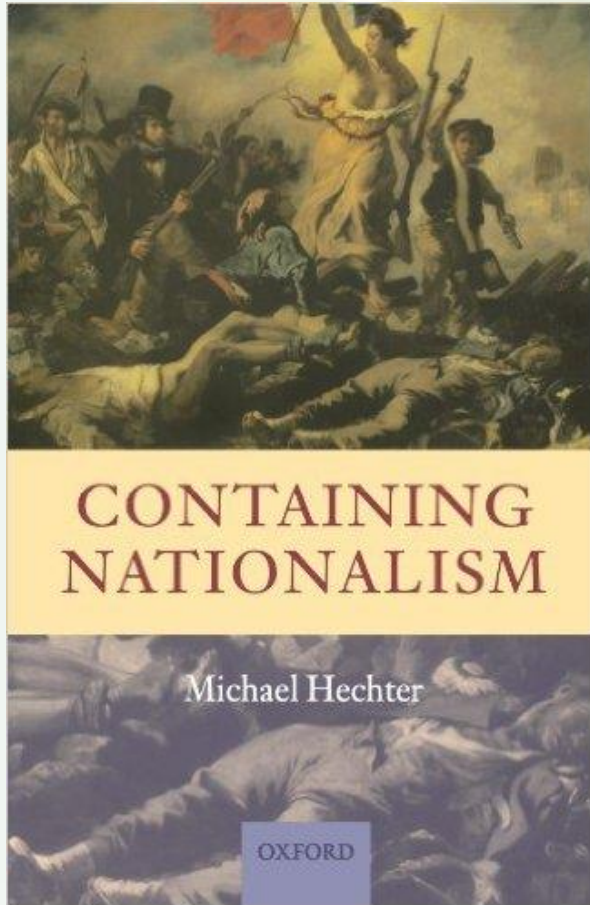


國族主義的理論文獻

Nationalism literature

國族主義的理論文獻

Nationalism literature



- 國家建構國族主義：將不同地區吸納於中央集權政體之下。

State-building nationalism : The incorporation of various regions into a centralizing state.

- 邊陲國族主義：在一個國家之內，地區人民主張和追求一種獨特的身份認同。

Peripheral nationalism : The assertion of a distinctive identity by people living within a specific territory of a nation-state.

A faded, light green map of East Asia, showing the Korean Peninsula, Japan, and the Chinese mainland, serves as the background for the text.

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing : State-building nationalism

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing : State-building nationalism

- 1997至2003：北京採取不干預政策。

1997 to 2003 : Beijing adopted a policy of non-intervention.



2003年的七一遊行，觸發北京改變對港政策

The 2003 July 1 rally provoked Beijing to change its policy toward Hong Kong



北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 將香港吸納於中央管治體系
To incorporate Hong Kong
into governance system of the
center.

*Cheng, Jie. 2009. “The story of a new policy”. *Hong Kong Journal*. Fall, 2009.

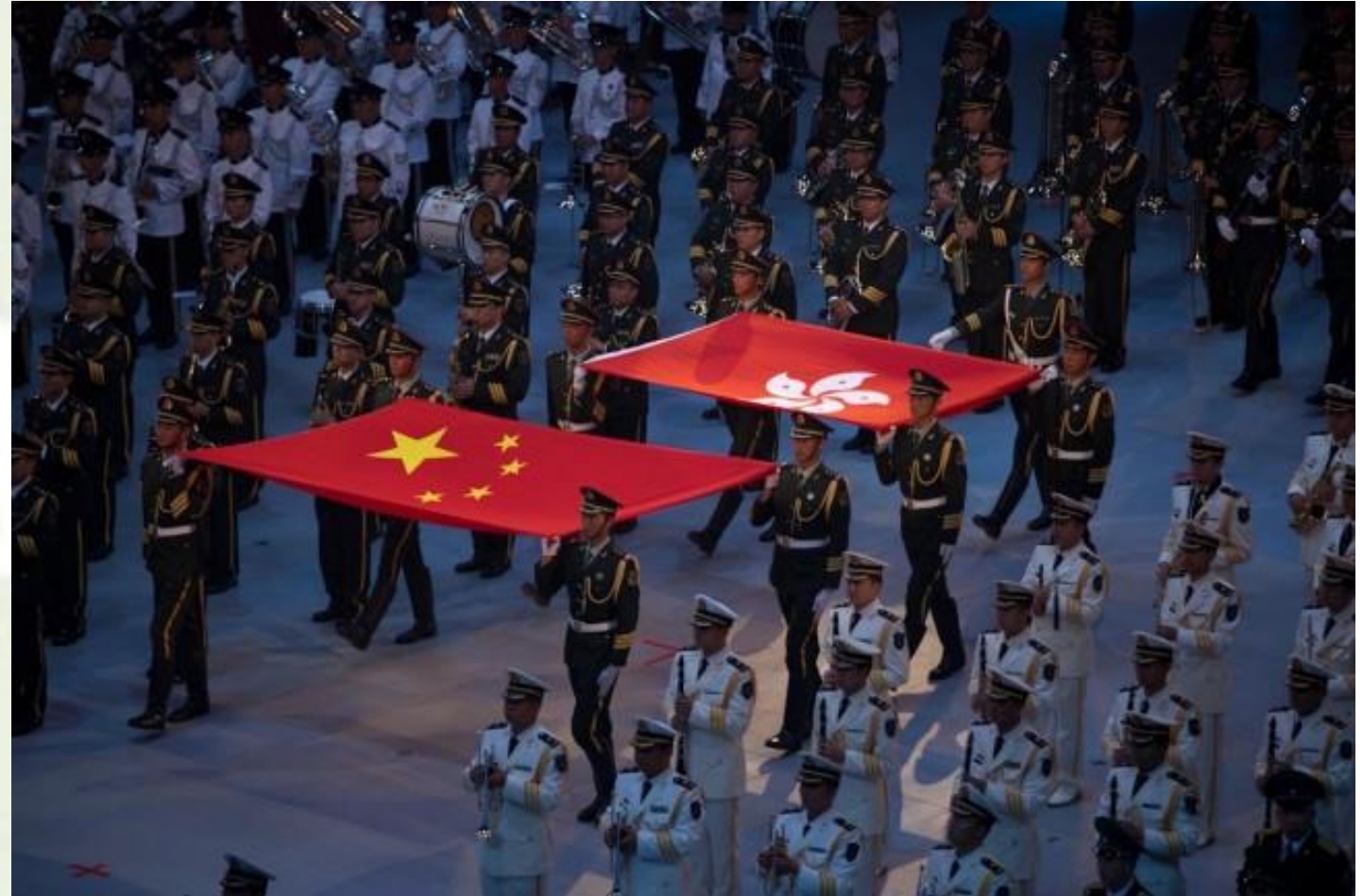
http://www.hkjournal.org/archive/2009_fall/1.htm



北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 政治吸納
Political incorporation
- 經濟吸納
Economic incorporation
- 意識形態吸納
Ideological incorporation



北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 政治吸納 Political incorporation

維護和運用中央權力 *To defend and make use of the power of the Central People's Government*

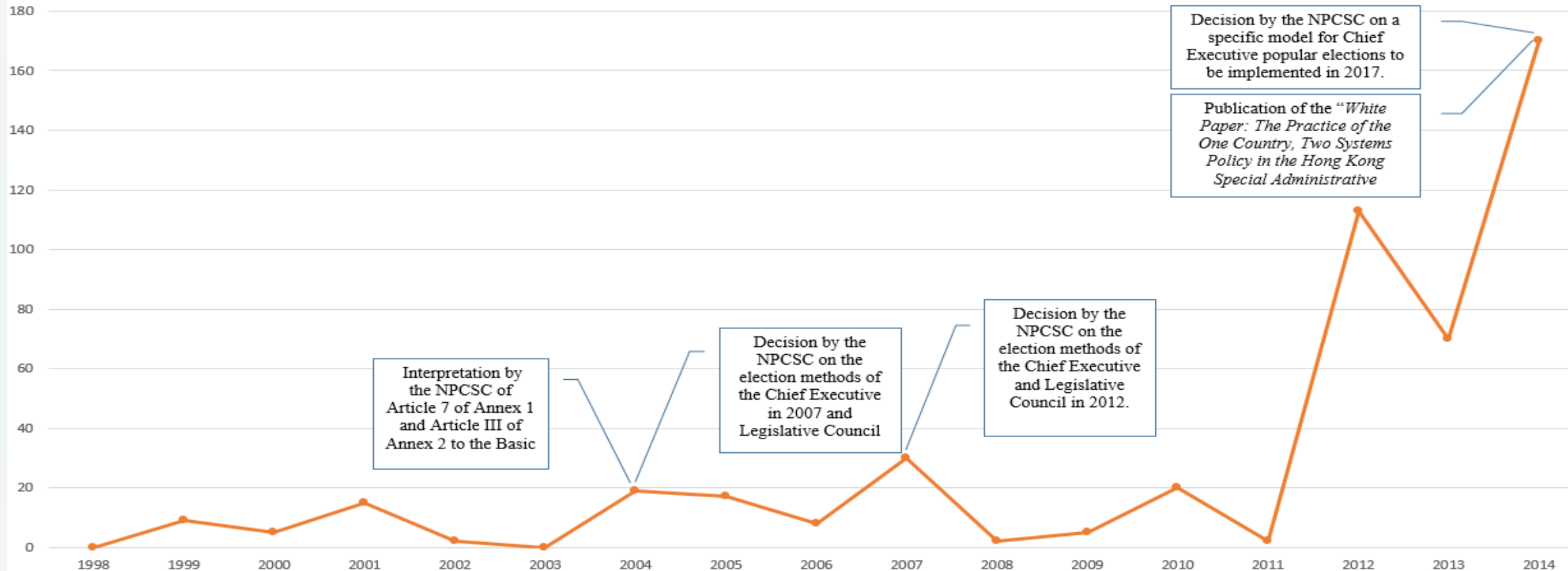


Figure 1: Number of reports published by leftist newspapers on the "power of the CPG" (Zhongyang quanli)
Source: Author's own research based on the information obtained from the WiseNews electronic platform. The research counted the number of newspaper reports which mentioned the Chinese keyword "Powers of Central Authorities" (Zhongyang quanli) from 1998 to 2014. The local leftist newspapers covered in this research are Hong Kong Commercial Daily, Ta Kung Pao and Wen Wei Po.

北京：國家建構國族主義

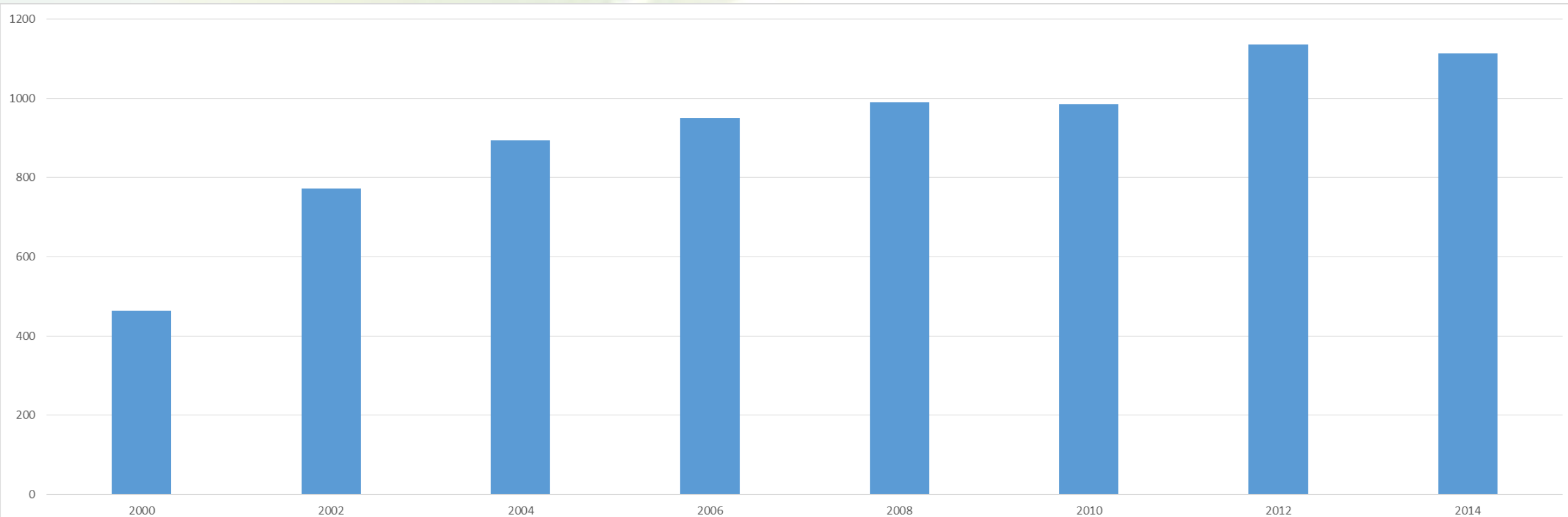
Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 政治吸納 Political incorporation

中聯辦為第二支管治隊伍 *Central Government Liaison Office as second governing team*

Figure 2: Number of public activities of Central Government Liaison Office Officials

Source: Public activities referred to those public events such as social functions, ceremonies, community visits by which CGLO officials hosted and attended. The research was based on the content analysis of newspaper reports of the three local leftist newspapers namely Hong Kong Commercial Daily, Ta Kung Pao and Wen Wei Po. The essence of the content analysis was to search all the newspaper reports with the keyword "Central Liaison Office" (Zhonglianban) through the WiseNews electronic platform and coded those public activities that fit the scope of the research.



北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing : State-building nationalism

• 政治吸納

Political incorporation

以中聯辦作為“第二支管治隊伍”

To make the
Central
Government
Liaison Office as
the “second
governing team”

	Number of member organizations		
(A) Hong Kong Island Federation	142	(C) New Territories Association of Societies	320
Agricultural societies	2	Agricultural societies	16
Business associations	22	Business associations	13
Cultural and recreational organizations	21	Cultural and recreational organizations	96
Senior citizen organizations	1	Senior citizen organizations	7
Labor unions	4	Labor unions	6
Neighborhood / district organizations	40	Neighborhood / district organizations	91
Townsmen associations	15	Townsmen associations	19
Women' s organizations	9	Women' s organizations	20
Youth organizations	4	Youth organizations	16
Others	24	Others	36
(B) Kowloon Federation of Associations	159	Grand total [(A)+(B)+(C)]	621
Agricultural societies	0		
Business associations	0		
Cultural and recreational organizations	49		
Senior citizen organizations	0		
Labor unions	0		
Neighborhood / district organizations	95		
Townsmen associations	0		
Women' s organizations	1		
Youth organizations	13		
Others	1		

Table 1: Member organizations of Hong Kong Island Federation, the Kowloon Federation of Associations and New Territories Association of Societies

Source: Author's own research based on the lists of member organizations of Hong Kong Island Federation (<http://www.hk-if.org/info/bdname2.pdf>), Kowloon Federation of Associations (<http://www.klnfas.org.hk/areashow.aspx?chnid=21&id=123&lan=1>) and New Territories Association of Societies (<http://www.ntas.org.hk/a-list/5415-cht>) as shown in their official websites as at 17 October 2014.

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing : State-building nationalism

- 經濟吸納

Economic incorporation

加快跨境經濟融合
Speed up cross-border economic integration

Cross-border economic cooperation pacts

	Date of signing	Name of agreement
1	29 June 2003	Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA) Main Text
2	29 Sept. 2003	Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA) Six Annexes
3	27 Oct. 2004	Supplement to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
4	18 Oct. 2005	Supplement II to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
5	27 June 2006	Supplement III to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
6	29 June 2007	Supplement IV to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
7	29 July 2008	Supplement V to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
8	9 May 2009	Supplement VI to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
9	27 May 2010	Supplement VII to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
10	13 Dec. 2011	Supplement VIII to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
11	29 June 2012	Supplement IX to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
12	29 Aug. 2013	Supplement X to Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA)
13	18 Dec. 2014	Agreement between the Mainland and Hong Kong on Achieving Basic Liberalization of Trade in Services in Guangdong
14	27 Nov. 2015	Agreement on Trade in Services

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 經濟吸納

Economic incorporation

加快跨境經濟融合
Speed up cross-border economic integration

Cross-border infrastructure		
	Date of commission	Name of infrastructural project
1	July 2007	Shenzhen Bay Bridge
2	29 Sept. 2003	Sheung Shui to Lok Ma Chau Spur Line
3	Under construction	Hong Kong – Zhuhai – Macao Bridge
4	Under construction	Hong Kong section of the Guangzhou – Shenzhen – Hong Kong Express Rail Link
Cross-border economic cooperation platforms		
	Date of Establishment	Name of platform
1	Mar. 1998	Hong Kong/Guangdong Cooperation Joint Conference and related issues
2	Oct. 2003	Hong Kong/Shanghai Economic and Trade Cooperation Conference
3	May 2004	Pan-Pearl River Delta Regional Cooperation and Development Forum
4	June 2004	Hong Kong/Shenzhen Cooperation Meeting and related issues
5	Sept. 2004	Hong Kong/Beijing Economic and Trade Cooperation Conference
6	June 2008	Hong Kong/Macao Cooperation High Level Meeting and related issues

Table 2: Cross-border economic cooperation projects between Hong Kong and Mainland

Source (Cross-border economic cooperation pacts): Industry and Trade Department, HKSAR Government (Website: https://www.tid.gov.hk/tc_chi/cepa/legaltext/cepa_legaltext.html) [Assessed on 14 December 2015].

Source (Cross-border infrastructures): Transport and Housing Bureau, HKSAR Government (Website: <http://www.thb.gov.hk/eng/policy/transport/issues/cbt.htm>) [Assessed on 14 December 2015].

Source (Cross-border economic cooperation platforms): Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau, HKSAR Government (Website: http://www.cmab.gov.hk/en/issues/regional_cooperation.htm) [Assessed on 14 December 2015].

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 經濟吸納 Economic incorporation
加快跨境經濟融合 Speed up cross-border economic integration

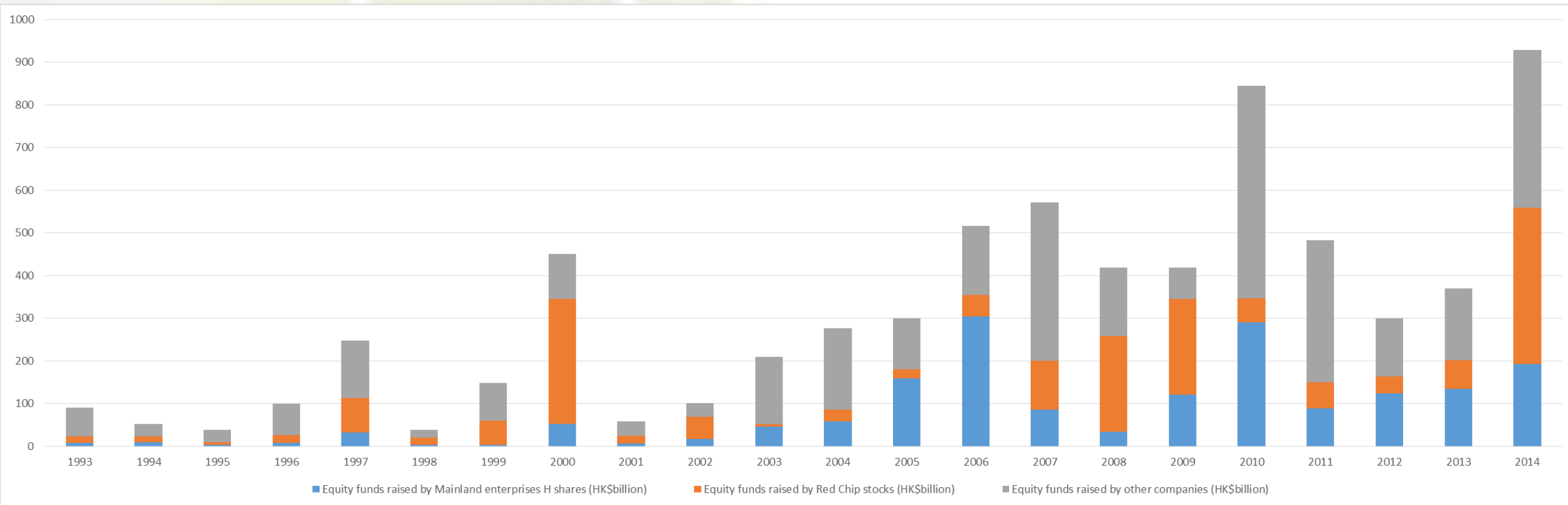


Figure 3: Equity funds raised by Hong Kong's stock market (main board)

Source: Annual factbooks published by Hong Kong Exchanges and Clearing Limited, available at: <http://www.hkex.com.hk/eng/stat/statrpt/factbook>

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

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加快跨境經濟融合 Speed up cross-border economic integration

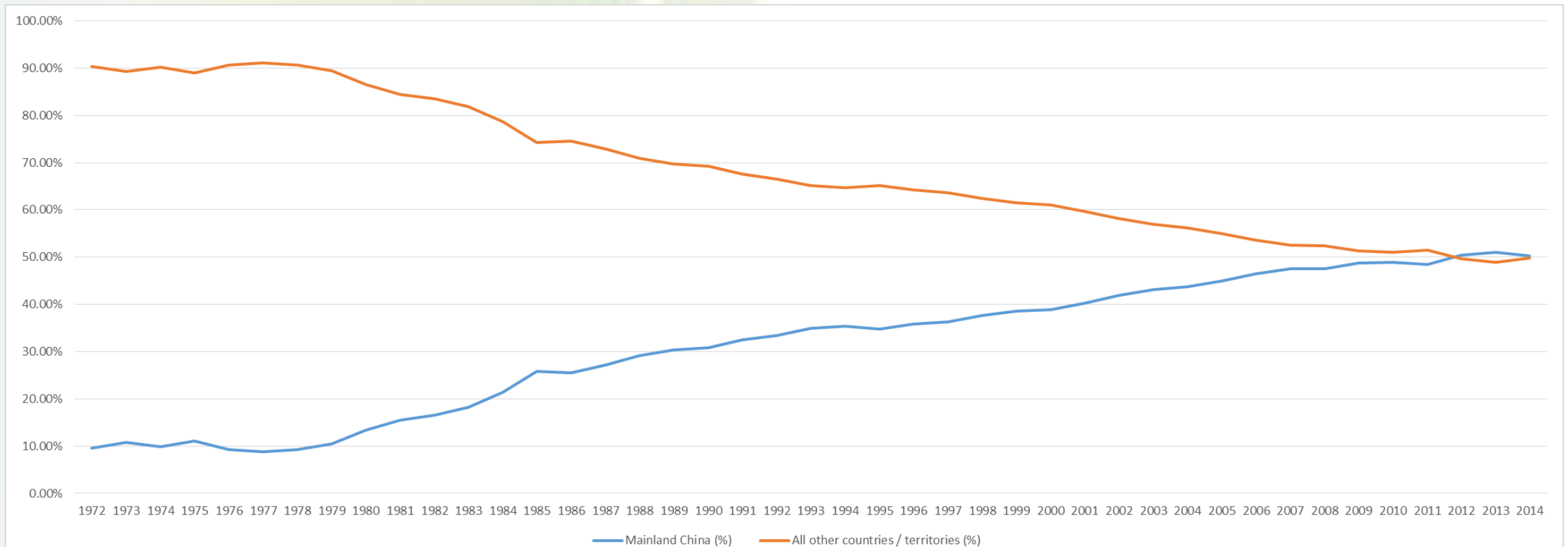


Figure 4: Hong Kong's total trade with Mainland China vis-à-vis other countries / territories Source: Adapted from the statistical tables available at the Census and Statistics Department's website at <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk>

北京：國家建構國族主義

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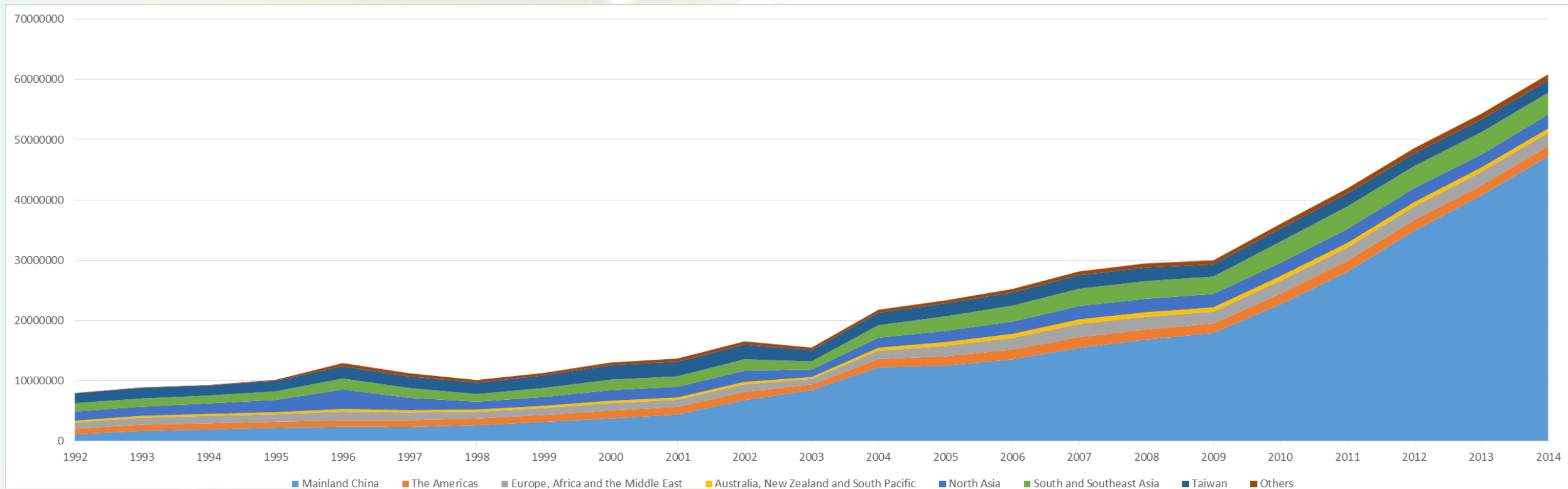


Figure 5: Number of visitor arrivals by country/territory of residence

Source: Annual factbooks published by Hong Kong Exchanges and Clearing Limited, available at: <http://www.hkex.com.hk/eng/stat/statrpt/factbook>

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

- 意識形態吸納 Ideological incorporation
推動建立單一的中國人身份認同 Promoting a homogeneous Chinese national identity

七個學習宗旨



課程發展議會就教育目標和學校課程宗旨，訂定以下學習宗旨，期望在十年內，學生能夠：

- 明白自己在家庭、社會和國家所擔當的角色和應履行的責任，並關注本身的福祉；
- 認識自己的國民身份，致力貢獻國家和社會；
- 養成獨立閱讀的習慣；
- 積極主動及有信心地以中英兩種語文（包括普通話）與人溝通和討論；
- 發展創意思維及掌握獨立學習的能力（例如批判性思考、資訊科技和自我管理）；
- 全面掌握八個學習領域的基礎知識；
- 建立健康的生活方式，並培養對體藝活動的興趣和鑑賞能力。

① www.edb.gov.hk/tc/curriculum-development/4-key-tasks/moral-civic/index.html



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教育局

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主頁

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教育制度及政策

課程發展

學生及家長相關

教師相關

學校行政及管理

公共及行政相關

公開資料

聯絡我們



主頁 > 課程發展 >> 德育、公民及國民教育

德育、公民及國民教育

德育、公民及國民教育是全人教育的重要元素，通過各學習領域／學科課程的學與教，以及其他相關的學習經歷，培育學生正面的價值觀和態度；幫助他們在成長的不同階段，當遇上難題的時候，懂得辨識當中涉及的價值觀，作出客觀分析和合理的判斷，並付諸實踐，方能面對未來生活上種種的挑戰。

學校可培育學生七種首要的價值觀和態度，即：「堅毅」、「尊重他人」、「責任感」、「國民身份認同」、「承擔精神」、「誠信」和「關愛」，作為推動德育及公民教育的方向。

學校應以培育學生正面的價值觀和態度為方向，運用生活化的題材，整合包括品德及倫理教育、公民教育、《基本法》教育、人權教育、國民教育、禁毒教育、生命教育、性教育、可持續發展教育等各跨學科價值教育範疇的學習活動，為學生提供全面的學習經歷，並加強彼此之間的連繫，促進學生的全人發展。

北京：國家建構國族主義

Beijing：State-building nationalism

• 意識形態吸納 Ideological incorporation

推動建立單一的
中國人身份認同
*Promoting a
homogeneous Chinese
national identity*

Financial year	Number of students				Expenditure (\$million)			
	Post- secondary Students	Secondary Students	Primary Students	Total	Post- secondary Students	Secondary Students	Primary Students	Total
2007-08	0	7,937		7,937	0	4		4
2008-09	0	10,300		10,300	0	12		12
2009-10	0	34,800		34,800	0	44		44
2010-11	0	22,000	16500	38,500	0.0	36.0	12.4	48.4
2011-12	1200	19,700	19900	40,800	3.7	33.1	13.6	50.4
2012-13	5900	12,800	7400	26,100	17.8	27.8	4.5	50.1
2013-14	7100	26,200	16700	50,000	21.4	30.6	10.6	62.6
2014-15	4500	29,100	17300	50,900	13.8	34.9	11.7	60.4
2015-16*	5000	46,300	24100	75,400	15.2	66.1	17.6	98.9
Cumulative total (Number of students)				334,737	Cumulative total (Expenditure)			430

Table 3: Number of students receiving government subsidies to join Mainland exchange programs and relevant government expenditure

*Estimated figures for 2015-16 budget.

Source: Administration's replies to Members initial written questions in Special Finance Committee of Legislative Council, Various Years (Website: <http://www.legco.gov.hk/general/english/fc/fc1216.htm>)

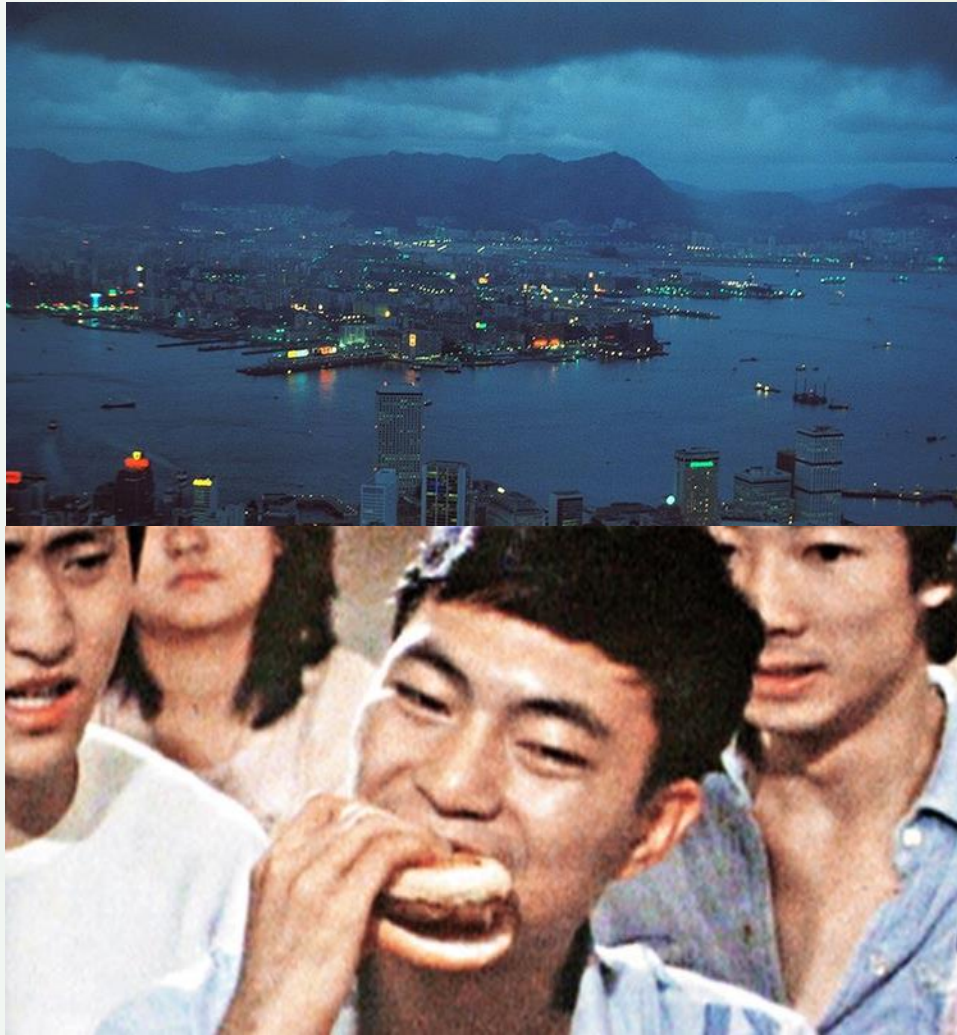
A faded, light green map of East Asia, showing the Korean Peninsula, Japan, and the Chinese mainland, serves as the background for the text.

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong：Peripheral nationalism

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism



- 一種獨特的“香港人身份”，早在主權移交前已經存在。

A distinctive “Hongkongese identity” existed long before the handover.

- 以往，香港人身份主要建基於一種社會經濟的優越感。

In the past, Hongkongese identification was largely built upon Hongkongese’ sense of socio-economic superiority over Mainlanders.

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

- 近年，香港人身份漸成為一種抵抗北京的邊陲國族情感。

Recently, the Hongkongese identification has gradually evolved into a peripheral nationalist sentiment stressing on resistances against Beijing incorporation.

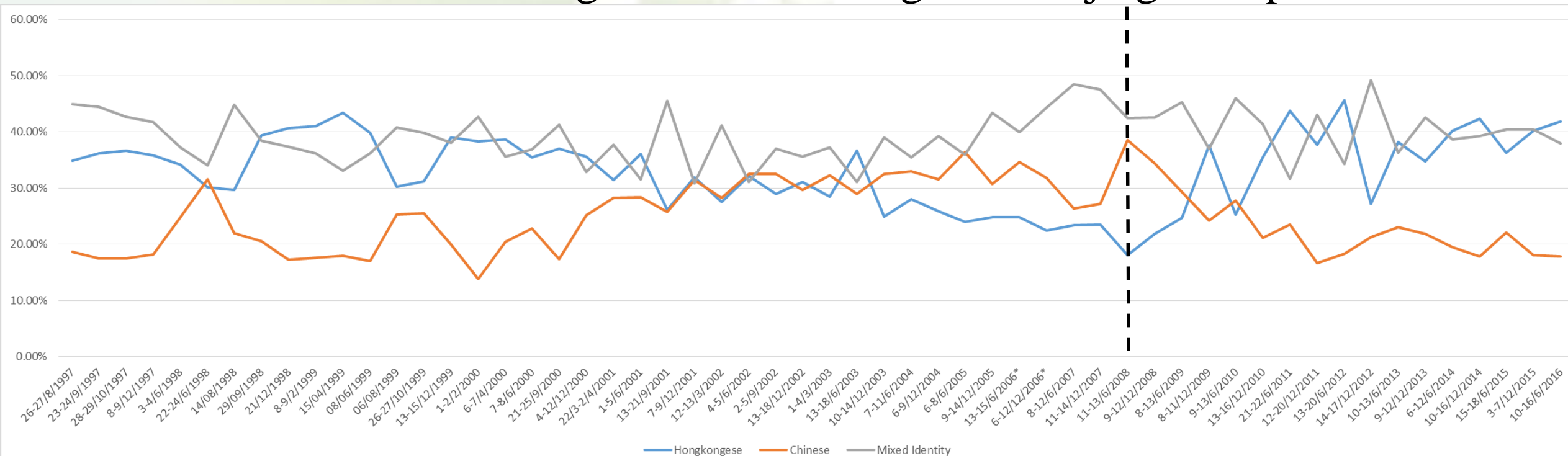


Figure 6: Sense of identification in Hong Kong (1997 – 2016)

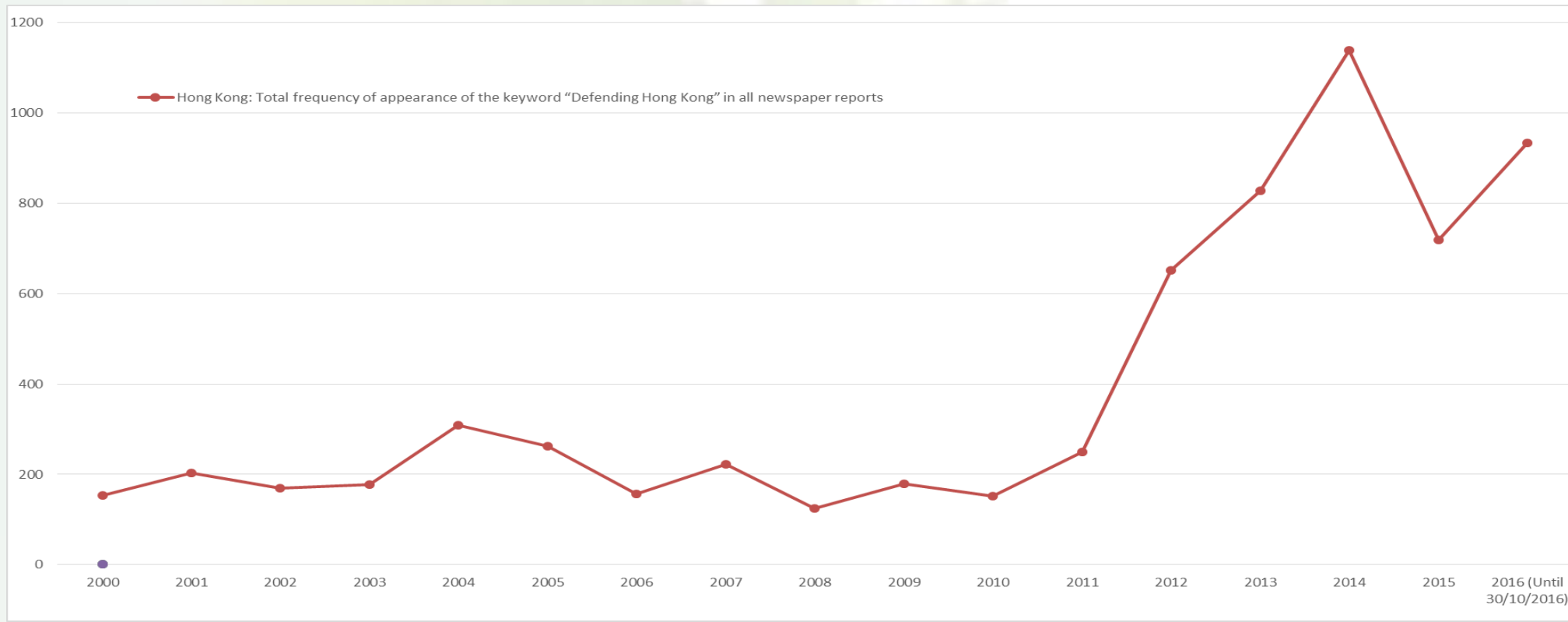
Source: Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong. Note: The figure has excluded people who answered "Others," "Don't know" and "Hard to say."

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

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香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

問題一 Question 1: 請問你覺得你自己係邊度嘅人? Would you identify yourself as a:		總數 Total		
		香港人 Hongkongese	混合身份 Mixed	中國人 Chinese
問題二：請你用0至10分來表示，你對香港實行高度自治嘅重視程度，其中10分表示非常重視，0分表示完全不重視，5分代表一半半。 Question 2: Please rate the degree of importance of high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong in terms of 0 to 10, with 10 indicating very important, 0 indicating not important at all and 5 indicating half-half. *只列出平均分。Mean scores are listed here.		8.23	8.17	7.72
總數 (受訪者百分比) Total (Percentage of respondents)		8.23	8.17	7.72
問題三：你認唔認同「香港嘅高度自治現正受到威脅」？ Question 3: How much do you agree or disagree that “the high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong is now under threat”?		8.23	8.17	7.72
非常認同 / 幾認同 Quite agree / Very much agree		37.3%	47.4%	15.3%
一半半 Half-half		80.7%	52.6%	37.1%
幾不認同 / 非常不認同 Not quite agree / Very much disagree		5.4%	12.2%	5.3%
唔知 / 難講 / 拒絕回答 Don't know / Hard to say / Refuse to answer		9.5%	29.6%	50.3%
總數 (受訪者百分比) Total (Percentage of respondents)		4.4%	5.6%	7.3%
		100%	100%	100%

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

		問題一 Question 1: 請問你覺得你自己係邊度嘅人? Would you identify yourself as:			總數 Total
		香港人 Hongkongese	混合身份 Mixed	中國人 Chinese	
問題四：你認為以下邊一方面， 對香港嘅高度自治構成最大威脅？請選擇： [只追問在問題三回答「非常認同」或「幾認同」的受訪者。]	北京中央政府 Beijing Central Government	65.3%	61.4%	45.6%	61.8%
Question 4: Which of the following do you think is the greatest threat to the high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong? [Only respondents who chose “Quite agree” or “Very much agree” in Question 3 were asked to answer this question]	香港特區政府 The HKSAR Government	12.1%	8.9%	8.8%	10.5%
	中聯辦 Liaison Office of the Central People's Government	9.4%	6.9%	5.3%	8.0%
	大陸新移民 New Immigrants from Mainland China	6.1%	3.3%	5.3%	4.8%
	本地財團 Local business groups	2.4%	6.9%	8.8%	4.8%
	大陸遊客 Chinese tourists	3.0%	2.4%	3.5%	2.8%
	中資財團 Chinese business groups	0.7%	3.7%	1.8%	2.0%
	其它 / 以上皆否 / 唔知 / 難講 / 拒絕回答 None of the above / Others / Don't know / Hard to say / Refuse to answer	1.0%	6.5%	21.1%	5.2%
總數 (受訪者百分比) Total (Percentage of respondents)		100%	100%	100%	100%

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

		問題一 Question 1: 請問你覺得你自己係邊度嘅人? Would you identify yourself as a:			總數 Total
		香港人 Hongkongese	混合身份 Mixed	中國人 Chinese	
問題五：既然你認為香港嘅高度自治現正受到威脅，咁你會唔會考慮參與社會行動以表達不滿？請選擇：	會 Yes	60.8%	43.3%	27.3%	50.5%
[只追問在問題三回答「非常認同」或「幾認同」的受訪者。]	不會 No	32.8%	49.8%	70.9%	43.3%
Question 5: Since you think the high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong is now under threat, would you consider participating in social actions in order to express your dissatisfaction?	唔知 / 難講 / 拒絕回答 Don't know / Hard to say / Refuse to answer	6.4%	6.9%	1.8%	6.2%
[Only respondents who chose “Quite agree” or “Very much agree” in Question 3 were asked to answer this question]					
總數 (受訪者百分比) Total (Percentage of respondents)		100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5: Territory-wide telephone survey (peripheral national sentiment of Hongkongese)

Survey method: This survey was conducted by the Public Opinion Programme of The University of Hong Kong on 12 to 15 January 2015. The whole questionnaire was comprised of 18 main questions and 8 demographic questions. The sampling size of this survey was 1,011 and respondents were randomly generated by computer. The target population of these surveys were Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong of age 18 or above. The response rate of the survey was 69.0%, and the standard error was less than 1.6% (at 95% confidence level, the sampling error of all percentages is less than plus/minus 3.1%). Figures had been rim-weighted according to provisional figures obtained from the

Census and Statistics Department.

香港：邊陲國族主義

Hong Kong : Peripheral nationalism

政黨 Party	憲制訴求 Constitutional demand
傾向自治（不觸及主權框架） <i>Pro-autonomy (Not to touch on Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong)</i>	
民主黨 Democratic Party 公民黨 Civic Party 民協 Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood	內部自決 Internal self-determination
League of Social Democrats 社民連 / People's Power 人民力量	聯邦制下之真實自治 Real autonomy under federalist system
傾向分離（觸及主權框架） <i>Pro-secession (Touching on Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong)</i>	
香港眾志 Demosistō 青年新政 Youngspiration / All-in-HK選舉聯盟 All-in-HK Alliance	包括獨立選項之外部自決 Right to external self-determination (including the options of “independence”)
香港民族黨 Hong Kong National Party	建立自由而獨立的香港共和國 A free and independent Republic of Hong Kong

A faded, light green map of East Asia, showing the Korean Peninsula, Japan, and the Chinese mainland, serves as the background for the text.

總結：中港關係，何去何從？

**Conclusion : The future of
Mainland-Hong Kong relations?**

總結：中港關係，何去何從？

Conclusion : The future of Mainland-Hong Kong relations?



- “一個國家、兩種國族主義”的惡性循環

The vicious circle of “One country, two nationalisms”

- 傾向中央權力之“一國兩制”？

“One country, two systems” leaning central authorities?

- 傾向地方自治之“一國兩制”？

“One country, two systems” leaning regional autonomy?

- 某種對立平衡？

Some forms of equilibrium of tensions?

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