

Are Hong Kong Students Patriotic?

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DEFINING THE DEBATE



OUR APPROACH

- Based on surveys of different groups of students using the same survey instruments.
- Using established instruments that have focused on the theoretical development of the main constructs (i.e. 'patriotism' and 'nationalism')
- Comparing the results from different groups of students across time, age, and location.
- It is an exploratory approach at this stage with further work to be undertaken in terms of linking the measurement issues with theoretical issues to enhance understanding of the results

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

- First stage: exploratory interviews
 - Review of previously-published literature
- Theoretical and empirical studies of attitudes toward the nation
 - Attitudes of patriotism and nationalism are multi-dimensional
 - Patriotism: attitudes toward the nation without regard to other nations
 - Nationalism: attitudes toward one's nation in comparison to other nations

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

- Selected interview questions
 - What are some things that make you proud of China or proud to be Chinese?
 - In what ways do you think citizens should serve China?
 - Do you think China should be able to limit some individual freedoms in the name of public interest?
 - In your opinion, how does China compare to other nations of the world? Is China any better in any aspects?
 - What do you think China's role should be in the world scene?
 - If you were planning on donating some money for humanitarian aid and there were two causes, flood relief in China and a fund to protect the world environment, how do you think you would spend your money? Why?

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

○ Interview Subjects

- 15 Hong Kong students
 - From five universities
 - Studying economics, medicine, engineering, business, chemistry, physics, translation, and law
- 15 Mainland students
 - Interviews took place in Nanjing
 - Students from seven different provinces
 - From seven universities
 - Studying anthropology, engineering, computer science, Chinese literature, politics, English, and business

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

- Pilot Questionnaire
 - National Attitudes
 - Perceptions of socializing influences
 - Critical thinking
 - Personal background information
- Statements with 5-point Likert scale (Strongly agree --- Strongly disagree)
 - Some from previously published studies that fit with Chinese context
 - Some taken directly from interview transcripts

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

○ Pilot Questionnaire

- Content validity (the degree to which scales measure different dimensions of a concept)
 - Treating national attitudes as multidimensional (7 dimensions)
- Construct validity
 - Obtaining the opinion of judges: do individual scale items fall within particular dimensions?
 - Questionnaire statements randomly ordered
 - Three judges (US, HK, Mainland): disagreed on 7% of items
- Translation and back-translation
- Survey administered to 90 Mainland and 52 HK students

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

○ Pilot Questionnaire

- Reliability analysis
 - Inter-item correlation for each sub-scale
 - Cronbach alpha levels all approached or exceeded .7
 - Items with Item-total correlations below .3 were eliminated
- Validity
 - Analysis of the correlation of items from published studies with new items. $R = .91$

DEVELOPING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

- “Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements”
 - 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Neutral
 - 4 = Agree
 - 5 = Strongly agree

EMOTIONAL CONNECTION TO THE NATION [PATRIOTISM]

- I'm for my country, right or wrong.*
- I feel very happy when I hear China's national anthem at the Olympics.
- I am very proud of the changes China has made since the beginning of reform and openness.
- I am very proud to be a Chinese.
- I love my country.*

SENSE OF DUTY TO THE NATION [PATRIOTISM]

- *Citizens do not have a duty to love China.*
- *It is not my responsibility to help China develop.*
- I would like personally to help my country attain its goals.*
- *It is not important for me to serve my country.**
- *There are no duties to fulfill for the nation.*
- A citizen should be willing to sacrifice his life for his country.*
- *The nation's needs have nothing to do with my own life goals.**

THE NATION SHOULD COME BEFORE THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE REGION [PATRIOTISM]

- *The welfare of the individual is more important than the welfare of the nation.**
- *I'm first a citizen of my local region and second a Chinese.*
- Each of us can make real progress only when the nation as a whole makes progress.*
- My local region should make sacrifices to help a China in need.
- The interests of the nation should come before local regional interests.*
- *I have a stronger connection to my own local region than I do to the nation.*
- One cannot bury one's own value in order to satisfy the needs of the nation.

FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE [PATRIOTISM/NATIONALISM]

- Chinese people are very altruistic.
- I have a favorable impression of the Chinese people.*
- *In general I have very little respect for the Chinese people.**
- I think that the Chinese people are the finest in the world.*
- *The Chinese people are not very patriotic.*
- The Chinese people are more united than other peoples of the world.

DESIRE FOR NATIONAL POWER [NATIONALISM]

- China should strive for power in the world.*
- Because of its size, China has a major role to play in world affairs.
- China should be more forceful in influencing other countries when it believes it is in the right.*
- China should take strong action in the Diaoyutai dispute.
- China should play a more passive role in dealing with other countries.

PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL SUPERIORITY [NATIONALISM]

- No other nation's culture can compare to China's.
- China is the best country in the world.*
- *When it comes to morals, China is no different than any other country.*
- *Chinese culture is no better than other world cultures.*
- China is more morally correct than many other countries.

NATION BEFORE INTERNATIONALISM

[NATIONALISM]

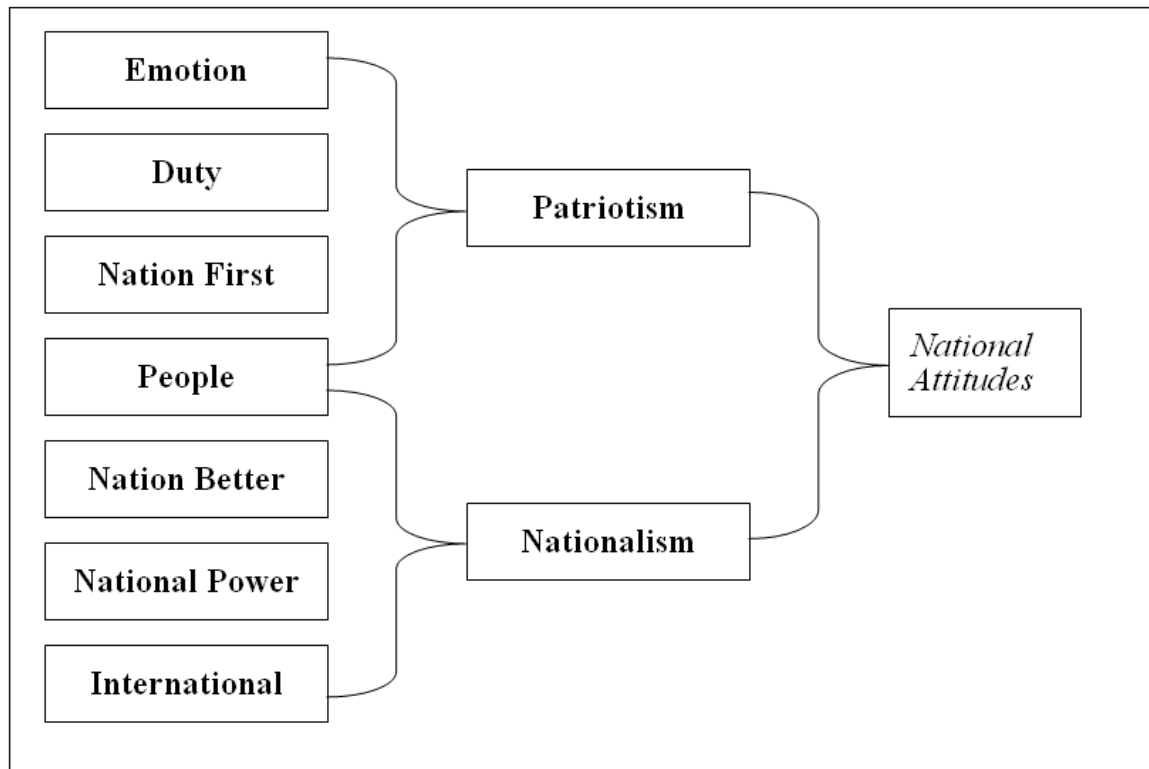
- I'd always help a fellow Chinese before a foreigner.
- Not until you have patriotic feeling toward your own country can you show concern for international issues.
- *All human beings are equally important. No Chinese is of more value than any person from another country.*
- Patriotism is more important than internationalism as a goal of education.
- We should strive for loyalty to our country before we can afford to consider world brotherhood.*
- One cannot be internationalist without first being patriotic.
- *We should teach our children to uphold the welfare of all people everywhere even though it may be against the best interests of our own country.**

STUDIES IN WHICH THE (ITEMS OF THE) QUESTIONNAIRE HAS/HAVE BEEN USED

- The Influence of Political Socialization and Critical Thinking on Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese University Students' Attitudes toward the Nation (2000)
- The Influence of Political Socialization and Critical Thinking on Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese University Students' Attitudes toward the Nation – Second Round Study (2005)
- Hong Kong Students' Attitudes to Citizenship: Monitoring Progress Ten Years after Hong Kong's Return to China (2010)
 - 15-year olds
- Hong Kong module of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (2009)
 - 14-year olds
- Assessment Package for Affective and Social Outcomes (2nd version) (APASO-II) (2010)
 - For use in primary and secondary schools

THE FINAL SURVEY INSTRUMENT

- 45 items
- 7 sub-scales



SAMPLES

○ 2000

- Convenience sample

- 275 students at 8 universities in Beijing, Nanjing, and Shanghai
 - From all provinces except Guizhou, Tibet, and Qinghai
- 260 students at 6 universities in Hong Kong
 - Primary education and all or most of their secondary education before 1997

SAMPLES

- 2005
 - Convenience sample
 - 296 students in 9 universities in Beijing, Nanjing, and Shanghai
 - From every province except Hainan, Tibet, and Gansu
 - 257 students in 6 universities in Hong Kong
 - At least their entire secondary school education after 1997
- 2000 and 2005
 - Majors in education, social sciences, humanities, arts, language, physical and biological sciences, computer science, mathematics, engineering and business

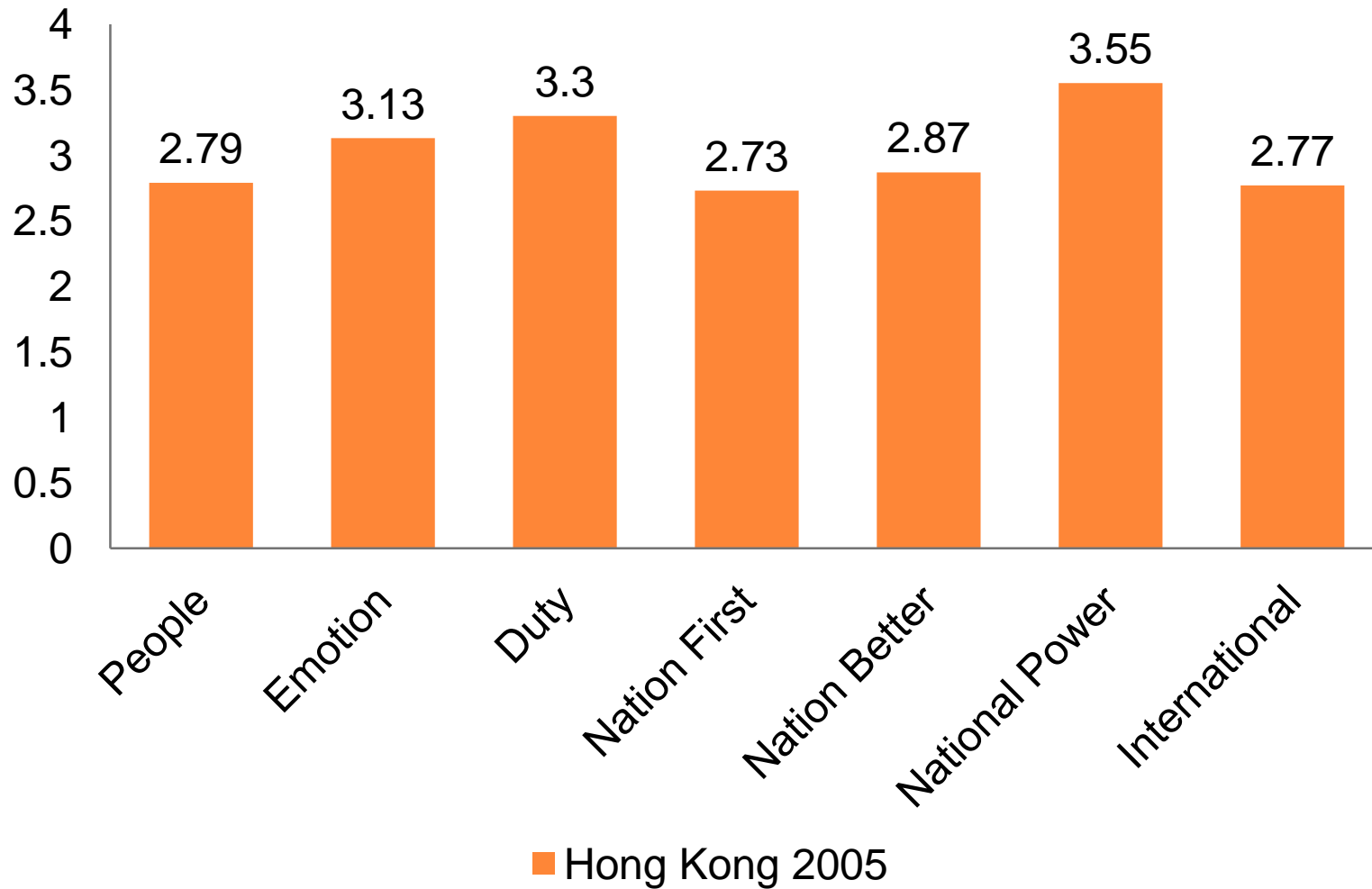
SAMPLES

- 2010 (PPR)
 - 602 drawn from 16 schools across Hong Kong. Mean age is 15.35 (SD=0.728). There were 258 boys and 342 girls.

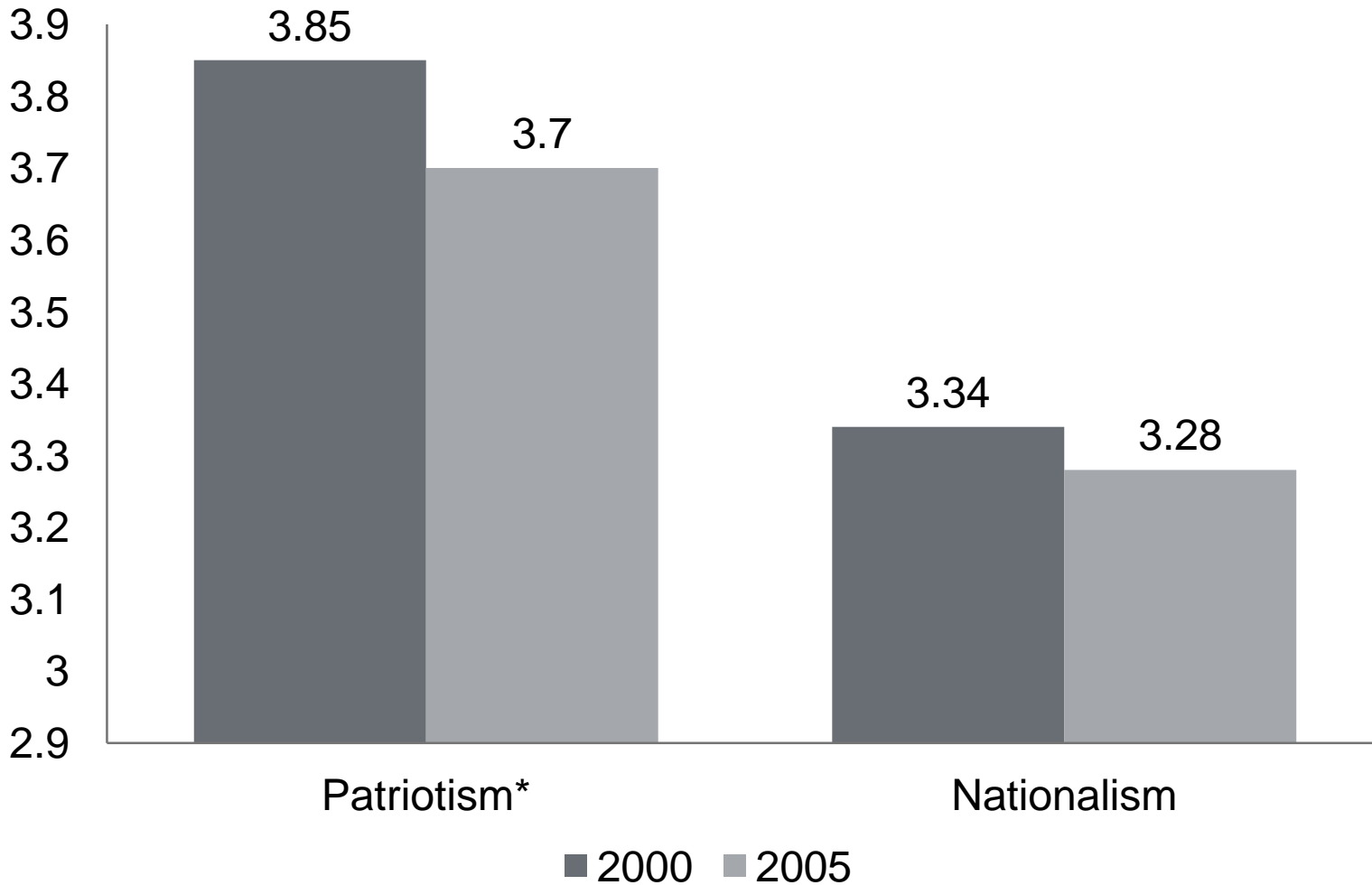
RELIABILITY OF THE SCALES (CRONBACH'S ALPHA)

	2000	2005	2010
Patriotism Scale	.94	.94	.88
Nationalism Scale	.83	.82	.78
Chinese people	.74	.74	.73
Emotion	.89	.89	.82
Duty	.87	.86	.72
Nation First	.81	.79	.49
Nation Better	.69	.69	.68
National Power	.62	.58	.58
International	.71	.70	.65

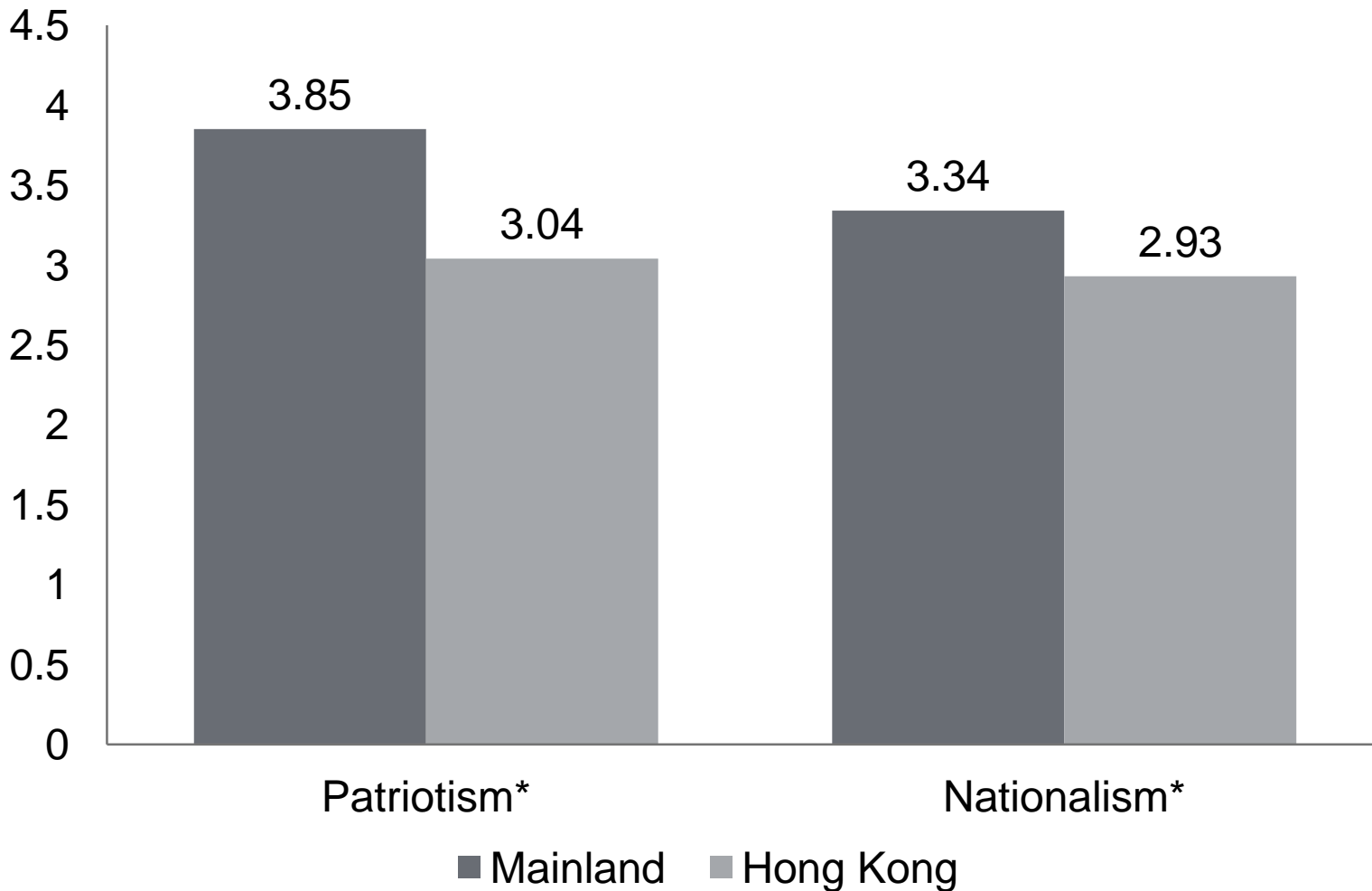
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS



ARE MAINLAND CHINESE STUDENTS PATRIOTIC? (GROUP MEAN) 1 = LOW; 5 = HIGH

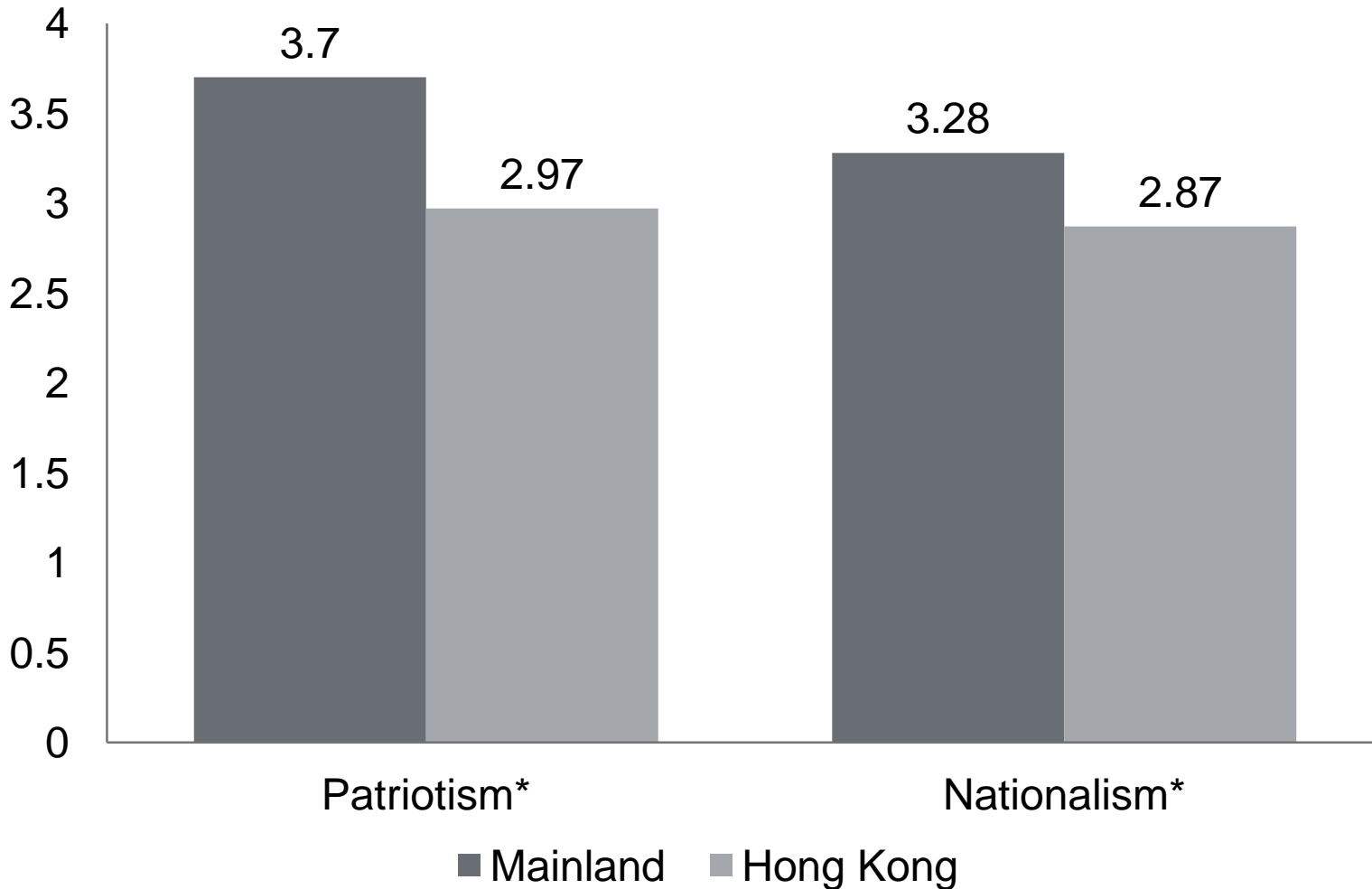


ARE HONG KONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PATRIOTIC? (2000) 1 = LOW; 5 = HIGH

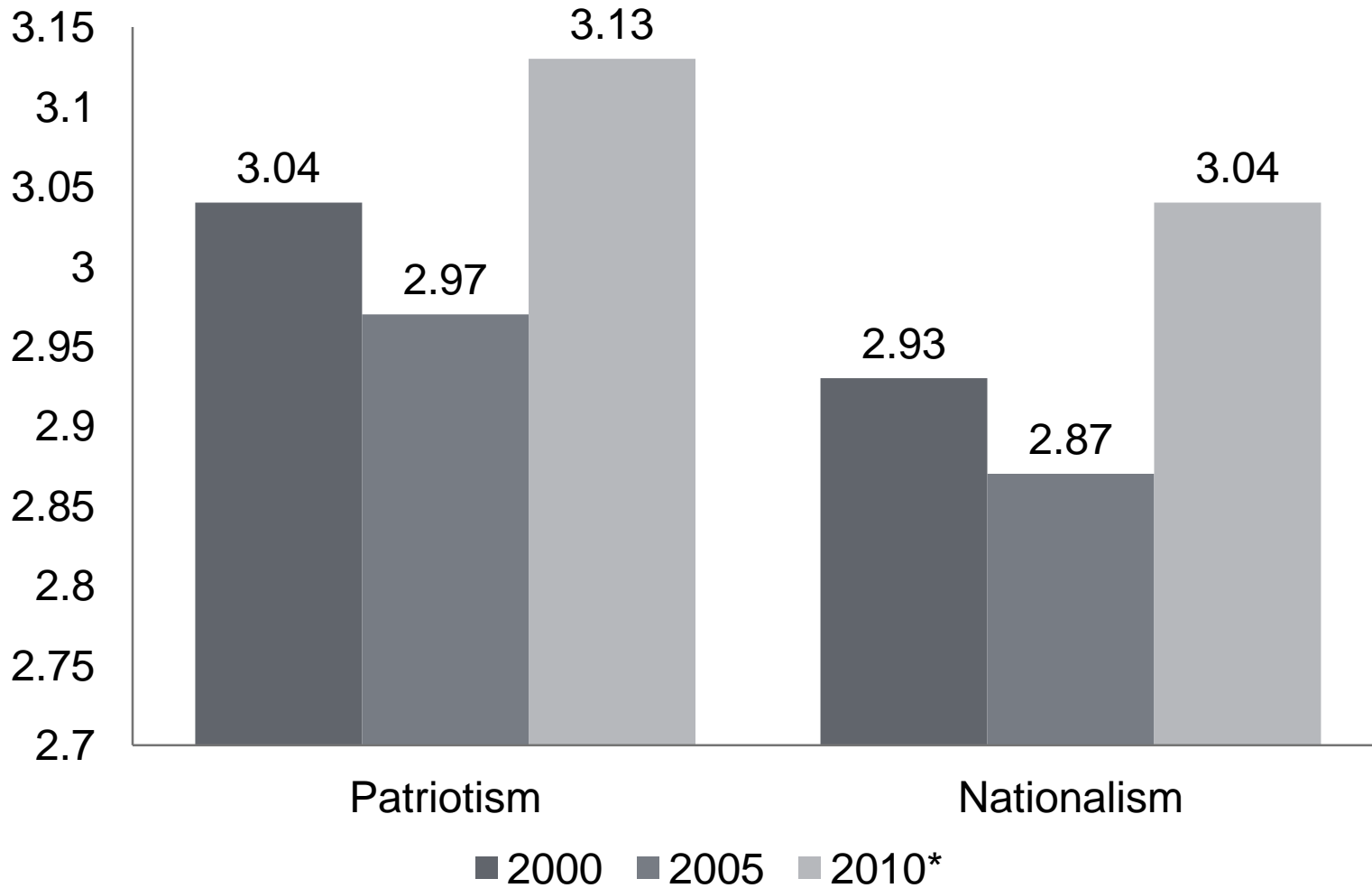


ARE HONG KONG STUDENTS PATRIOTIC? (2005)

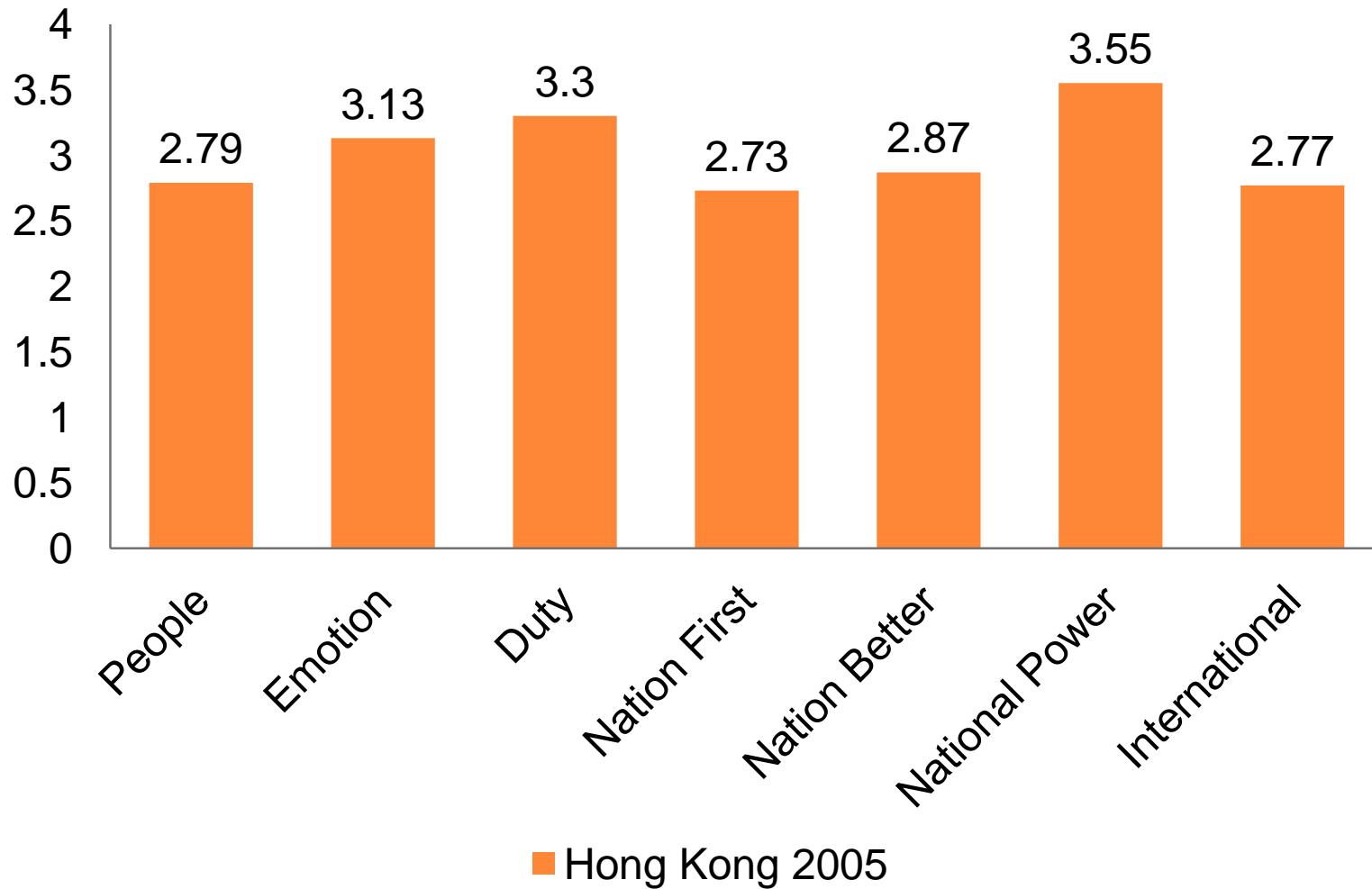
1 = LOW; 5 = HIGH



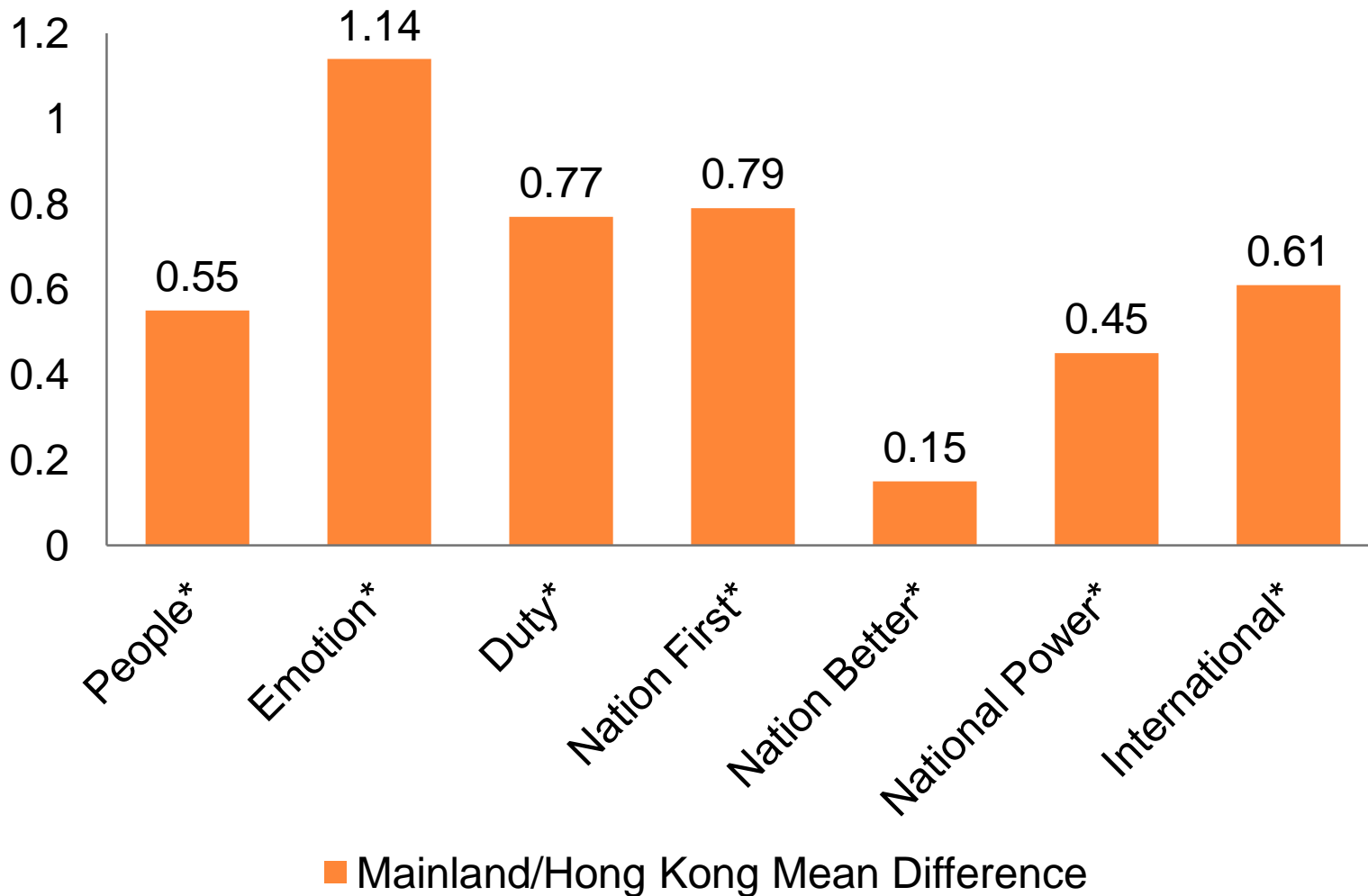
ARE HONG KONG STUDENTS PATRIOTIC?



ARE HONG KONG STUDENTS PATRIOTIC?



ARE HONG KONG STUDENTS PATRIOTIC? (2005)



COMMENTS

- It seems that Hong Kong 15 year old students are patriotic – and they are more patriotic and more nationalistic than Hong Kong university students.
- This is consistent with other studies that suggest younger students in general are more conservative or more supportive of the status quo. For example, they are usually opposed to protest activities but are happy to undertake voluntary activities.
- This suggests there are important political socialization agents that influence students after they leave school.
- Mainland university students in 2000 and 2005 have more positive attitudes to patriotism and nationalism than Hong Kong university students, but we have no comparable sample for the Hong Kong fifteen year olds.

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER/LOWER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2000 AND 2005)

- Socialization Factors in the analysis
 - Knowledge about China from school
 - Extracurricular activities
 - Teachers encouraging students to form their own opinions
 - Attitudes changed since entering university
 - Classmates and professors
 - Family is critical about national affairs
 - Family is concerned about national affairs
 - Regularly read or watch the national news
 - Influence of school, university, family, media, and friends

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER/LOWER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2000 AND 2005)

- Critical Thinking Factors in the analysis
 - Skepticism about patriotic education
 - Curiosity about China
 - Willingness to consider multiple perspectives
 - Tendency to think critically about national affairs
 - Tendency to make up one's own mind about national affairs

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER/LOWER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2010)

- Learning Factors in the analysis
 - In school I have learned to be a patriotic and loyal citizen
 - In school I have learned about the importance of voting
 - +5
- Political Action Factors in the analysis
 - I (never – often) discuss national/international politics with
 - People of my own age
 - My parents or other adult family members
 - Teachers
- Classroom Factors in the analysis
 - Students feel free to disagree openly with their teachers
 - Teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions
 - +10

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER/LOWER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2000)

○ Higher levels of patriotism

- Socialization Factors
 - Extracurricular activities ($\beta = .17$)
- Critical Thinking Factors
 - Curiosity about China ($\beta = .41$)

○ Lower levels of patriotism

- Tendency to think critically about China ($\beta = -.21$)
- Tendency to make up one's own mind about national affairs ($\beta = -.13$)

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER/LOWER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2005)

- Higher levels of patriotism
 - Extracurricular activities ($\beta = .27$)
 - Curiosity ($\beta = .53$)
- Lower levels of patriotism
 - Influence of friends ($\beta = -.12$)
 - Skepticism of school efforts to promote patriotism ($\beta = -.24$)
 - Tendency to think critically about national affairs ($\beta = -.19$)

WHAT IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER LEVELS OF PATRIOTISM (2010)

○ Learning Factors

- Learning in school to be patriotic ($\beta = .38$)
- Learning about the importance of voting ($\beta = .12$)

○ Political Action Factors

- Discussing national politics with peers ($\beta = .12$)
- Listening to the news on the radio ($\beta = .09$)

○ Classroom Factors

- Discussion of political/social issues ($\beta = .10$)

○ All Factors

- Learning in school to be patriotic ($\beta = .41$)
- Discussing national politics with peers ($\beta = .15$)

AN INDEPENDENT SUBJECT OF MORAL AND NATIONAL EDUCATION?

- Extracurricular activities (+) [2000/2005]
- Curiosity about China (+) [2000/2005]
- Learning in school to be patriotic (+) [2010]
- Discussion of political/social issues (+) [2010]

- Skepticism of school efforts to promote patriotism (–) [2000/2005]

- Schooling factors explain only a small proportion of the variance in attitudes [2000/2005/2010]