

# Local identities in Taiwan and Hong Kong: accessing the impact of Social Movements in 2014

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# Outline

- Historical trend/background of identity study in Taiwan and Hong Kong
- Comparing two government leaders before social movements on pushing the localism
  - Chen Shui-bian vs Leung Chun Ying
- The findings of local identity in Post social movement period
- Using the Hong Kong data to specifically point out the effect of social movement or differences in any subgroups towards Hong Kong/China identity
- Conclusion

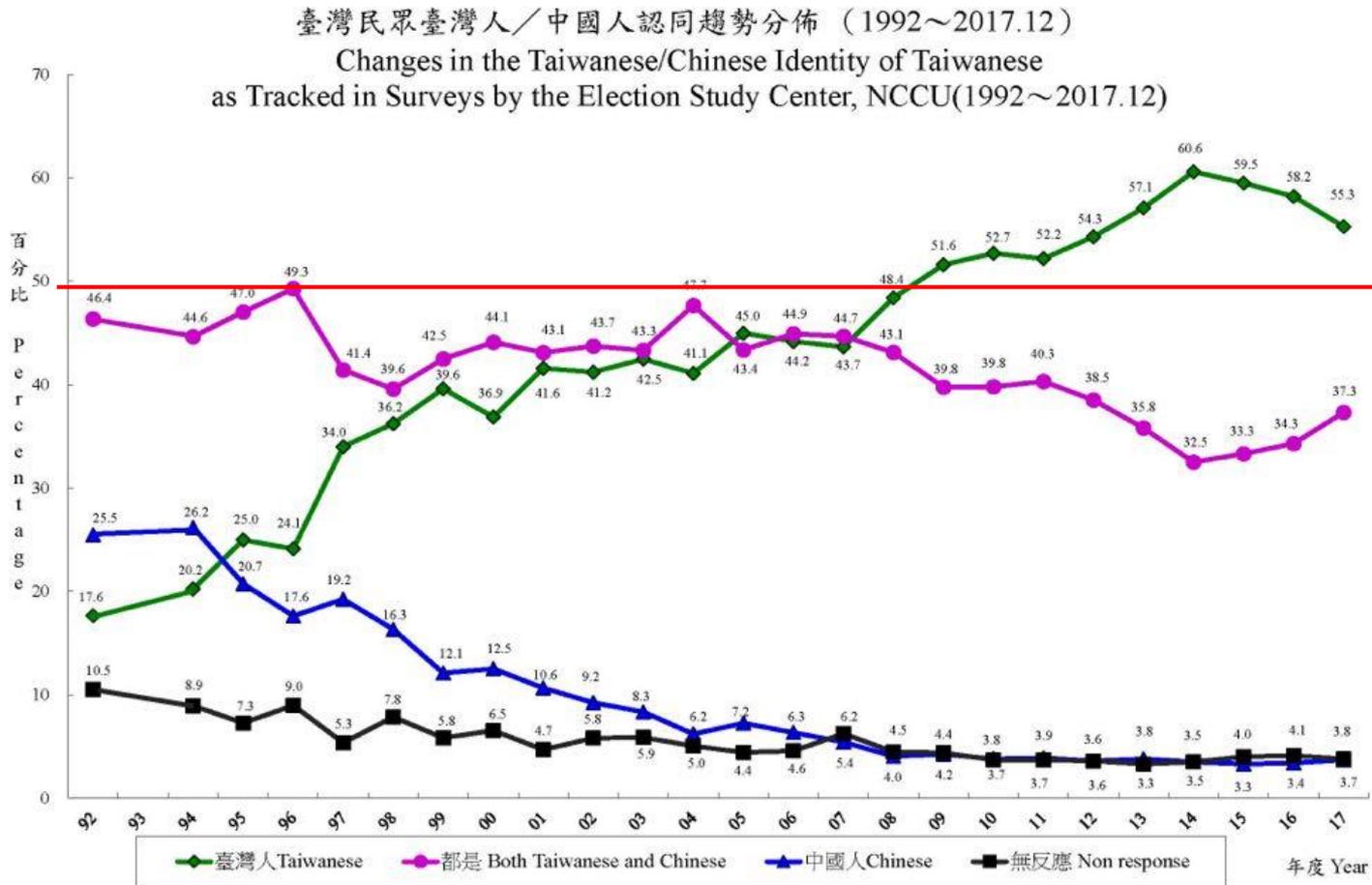
# Social Movements in 2014

- Taiwan:
  - Sunflower Student Movement 太陽花學運
  - Mar18-Apr10, 2014 (23 days)
  - Caused by the opposition to the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA)
  - Lead by Lin Fei-fan, Chen Wei-ting, Huang Kuo-chang, and many student & civil groups
- Hong Kong:
  - Umbrella Movement 雨傘運動
  - Sep28-Dec15, 2014 (79 days)
  - Caused by the opposition to political reform
  - Participated by Scholarism 學民思潮, Occupy Central with Love and Peace & many pan-Democratic political parties
- Both protests were lead by young leaders that advocates local rights/ interests, they also represented the “localists” generation

# Objectives

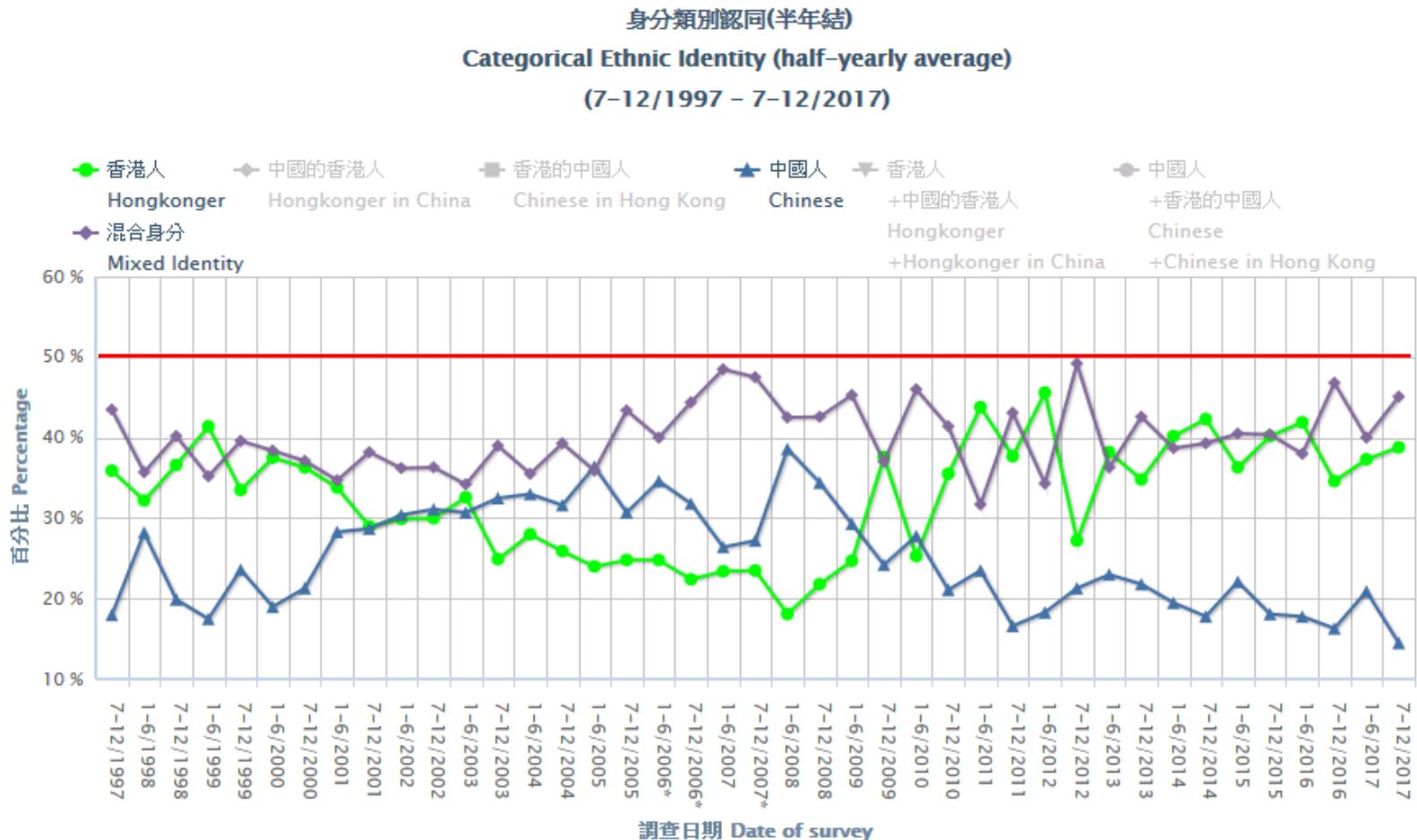
1. What is the effect of the two social movements to local identity as well as Chinese identity?
2. The role of government leaders towards the growth of localism
3. With reference to Taiwan case, explore the bases of “Hongkonger” identity

# Historical trends on local identities (1)



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# Historical trends on local identities (2)



Source: Public Opinion Programme, HKU

# Govt leader that advocates “localism”?

	Taiwan	Hong Kong
Leader	Chen Shui-bian	Leung Chun Ying
Year in office	May 2000 – May 2008	Jul 2012 – Jun 2017
Local identity	Taiwanese: highest at 2014, after Chen’s administration	Hongkonger: highest at early 2012, before Leung’s administration
Chinese identity	Lowest at 2015, after Chen’s administration	Lowest at late 2017, after Leung’s administration
Correlation	Taiwanese: 0.803** vs Chinese: -0.859**	Hongkonger: 0.668* vs Chinese: -0.704*
Interpretation	Chen is a successful leader that advocates “localism” and suppresses Chinese identity	Leung is NOT a successful leader in suppressing “localism” nor promoting Chinese identity

\*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05

# Post-movement local identities

- Both local identities dropped in the post-movement period
- The mixed identity has gained more support in both Taiwan & Hong Kong
- The social movements have not been able to capture more support after the incident
- “Pendulum effect” happened

# Using 2012-2017 Hong Kong data (1)

- Around 11,000 successful cases collected in 11 ethnic identity telephone surveys from Dec 2012 to Dec 2017 were analyzed
- The respondents' strength of recognition or importance as Hongkonger or Chinese identity were used
- Study a) the effect on identities of the social movement in 2014 and b) identify any subgroups that were fundamental different to other subgroups

# Using 2012-2017 Hong Kong data (2)

- The following subgroups were used:
  - Political inclination
    - Pro-democracy
    - Pro-establishment
    - Centrist
    - No inclination/ neutral/ not supporting any groups
  - Age-groups combined with Place of birth
    - Young (18-29) Hong Kong born
    - Young China born
    - Non-young Hong Kong born
    - Non-young China born

# Methodology

- Qns used:
  - Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a “Hongkonger”, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?
  - Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a Hongkonger, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?
  - Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a Chinese, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?
  - Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a Chinese, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?
- Multiple linear regression with Backward selection is used to determine the coefficients of each factor, p-to-entry = 0.01; p-to-removal = 0.05

# Results (1)

		<b>HKersRecogn</b>	<b>HKersImp</b>	<b>ChineseRecogn</b>	<b>ChineseImp</b>
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Levels</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>
	Constant	8.378	8.223	7.284	6.999
Period2_d1	Pre-movement stage				
Period2_d2	During or Post-movement stage			-0.303	-0.271
inclingp_d1	Pro-democracy			-1.302	-1.543
inclingp_d2	Pro-establishment		-0.640	1.388	1.493
inclingp_d3	Centrist	-0.235	-0.430		
inclingp_d4	No inclination/ neutral/ not supporting any groups	-0.223	-0.452	-0.288	-0.299
group2_d1	Young Hong Kong born			-1.561	-1.381
group2_d2	Young China born	-0.476	-0.518	-0.345	-0.443
group2_d3	Non-young Hong Kong born				
group2_d4	Non-young China born	-0.440	-0.262	0.982	1.071

Source: All figures shown here are tested to be significant at  $p < 0.05$

# Results (2)

- The result show the following:
  - The movement has NO positive impact to Hongkonger identity; however, it has brought a negative impact to Chinese identity
  - As for political inclination, pro-democracy supporters will not support Chinese identity while pro-establishment supporters will support Chinese identity but not Hongkongers

# Results (3)

- As for the new grouping (Age-groups combined with Place of birth), young Hong Kong born will not support Chinese identity;
- Young China born will NOT support Hongkonger nor Chinese identity
- Non-young China born will support Chinese identity but not Hongkonger identity

# Results (1) repeated

		<b>HKersRecogn</b>	<b>HKersImp</b>	<b>ChineseRecogn</b>	<b>ChineseImp</b>
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Levels</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>	<b>0-10</b>
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# Conclusion

- Localism, through the expression of recognizing local identities, have dropped after the 2014 social movements, the “Pendulum effect” happened
- Even with the drop, Taiwanese is still the most prevalent identity (>50%) in Taiwan, but Hongkonger (~40%) is NOT (the most prevalent identity is mixed identity)
- “Hongkonger” is just an “imagination” that never existed in history, Hong Kong had suffered with a long history of identity crisis (i.e. the 1967 riot/the negotiation of Hong Kong future over 1997 in the 1980s.)
- By contrast, before the 1970s, Taiwan identity was worldwide recognized despite mixed with Republic of China “中華民國”(ROC)
- Unless there is a significant and successful leader that advocate localism existed in Hong Kong, Hongkonger identity will remain vague and will not become mainstream in local community

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