Running head: SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION OF HONG KONG ADOLESCENTS

Differential Emphases on Modernity and Confucian Values in Social Categorization:

The Case of Hong Kong Adolescents in Political Transition

Shui-fong Lam   Ivy Y. Lau   Chi-yue Chiu

The University of Hong Kong

Ying-yi Hong

The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Si-qing Peng

The University of Hong Kong

Abstract

This study investigated if modernity and Confucian values were ingroup's positively valued distinctiveness for Hong Kong adolescents with different social identities. Participants (236 Hong Kong adolescents) filled out a questionnaire which tapped social identity and intergroup perception. They also participated in a card-sorting activity in which they decided if any of 20 attributes (e.g., advanced, respecting collective will) could be used to characterize a specific ethnic-social group (e.g., mainland Chinese, Hongkongers, Americans). Multidimensional scaling performed on the card-sorting data resulted in a two-dimensional solution. Emphasis on Dimension 1 (modernity) correlated with positive perception of Hong Kong and Hong Kong people while emphasis on Dimension 2 (Confucian values) correlated with positive perception of China and Chinese. In addition, compared to adolescents who identified themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers, those who identified themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkonger-Chinese placed more emphasis on modernity and less on Confucian values. The results were discussed with reference to Tajfel's theory of social identity.

Differential Emphases on Modernity and Confucian Values in Social Categorization:

The Case of Hong Kong Adolescents in Political Transition

Ethnic Chinese citizens in Hong Kong may claim for themselves a Hong Kong identity and/or a Chinese identity. Previous studies consistently found that the Hong Kong identity is more salient than the Chinese identity among the majority of Hong Kong people (DeGolyer, 1994; Ho, Chau, Lam, & Lee, 1995; Lee & Leung, 1995) and particularly among adolescents. In October 1995, we conducted a questionnaire survey with over 10,000 Hong Kong adolescents in 25 secondary schools (Lam, Lau, Chiu, & Hong, 1996). Three-quarters of the adolescents surveyed identified themselves as either "Hongkongers" or "Hongkongers, only secondarily Chinese." Those who identified themselves as "Chinese" or "Chinese, only secondarily Hongkongers" constituted less than 25% of the sample. (For the sake of brevity, we will use the label "Hongkonger-Chinese" to refer to those adolescents who identified themselves as "Hongkongers, only secondarily Chinese" and the label "Chinese-Hongkongers" to refer to those who identified themselves as "Chinese, only secondarily Hongkongers.") [1] This was in contrast to the fact that most Hong Kong people would become nationals of the People's Republic of China when Hong Kong ceased to be a British colony on July 1, 1997.

As a preliminary attempt to understand the choice of social identity among Hong Kong adolescents, we conducted a focus group study in the summer of 1995 (Lam, Chiu, Lau, & Hong, 1995). In the study, we had 19 adolescents sort a deck of cards, draw pictures, complete a questionnaire, and participate in group discussion. Findings from this study suggest that modernity might be closely related to the participants' social categorization. In the group discussion, when asked to describe the characteristics of Hong Kong people, the adolescents who identified themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkonger-Chinese often volunteered the attributes "smart," "materialistic," "fashionable," "diligent," "efficient," "energetic," "prosperous," "busy," "realistic," and "open-minded." In contrast, they often described a typical mainland

Chinese as "poor," "out of style," "conservative," and "backward." Almost all of them stated that they were proud of the economic achievement of Hong Kong and that Hong Kong people were superior to mainland Chinese. Compared to these adolescents, those who identified themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers provided slightly more positive descriptions of mainland Chinese. They attributed to mainland Chinese merits of people who are struggling in adverse environment, including qualities such as "hardworking," "honest," "frugal," "persevering," "determined," and "able to bear difficulties and endure sufferings."

Similar results were found in picture drawing and card sorting. Most participants depicted in their drawings mainland Chinese as peasants from rural and backward area, and Hong Kong people as sophisticated business men or women in a modern society. Economic development or modernity was also a major consideration for the adolescents when they sorted into piles a deck of cards, which included one with the word "me" and others each with the name of an ethnic-social group or a group attribute. Cluster analyses performed on the sorting revealed an association between social identity and emphasis on modernity in categorization of social groups. Adolescents who identified themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkonger-Chinese put themselves in a cluster of urbanized, prosperous and modern people which included Japanese and Hong Kong people. This cluster was distinct from an economically backward cluster that included Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Indians. Mainland Chinese were in a separate cluster together with negative adjectives such as "out of style," "authoritarian," and "conservative." In contrast, the adolescents who identified themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers placed less emphasis on modernity and perceived mainland Chinese more positively. They put themselves, mainland Chinese, Hongkongers, Taiwanese, and Japanese in the same cluster together with positive adjectives such as "honest," "righteous," "law-abiding," "diligent," and "upright."

Taken collectively, the focus group data suggest that modernity may be an important consideration for social categorization among Hong Kong adolescents. We

therefore further examined the extent to which adolescents consider modernity when they categorize social groups and if such consideration is related to their choice of social identity.

According to Tajfel (1981), individuals have a need for positive social identity. In his own words, "It can be assumed that an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspect of his social identity" (Tajfel, 1981, p.256). People derive a positive self-image partly from the ingroup's positively valued distinctiveness from the outgroup. To compare themselves positively with contrasting outgroups, people tend to highlight dimensions of comparison on which they fare well. Comparisons on these dimensions provide the ingroup's positively valued distinctiveness. Findings of our focus group study suggest that for the adolescents who identified themselves as Hongkongers, modernity could be a salient part of the ingroup's positively valued distinctiveness. However, its importance as an ingroup's positively valued distinctiveness may be downplayed by the adolescents who identified themselves as Chinese.

In the Lam et al. (1995) focus group study, when asked to compare Hong Kong people with mainland Chinese, a participant who identified himself as Chinese-Hongkonger replied that Hong Kong people were superior in economic development whereas mainland Chinese had a superior cultural heritage. According to him, Westerners could learn from some old but useful elements in Chinese culture. This suggests to us that positive evaluation of Chinese traditional values may be essential to the adolescents who identify themselves as Chinese.

The importance of traditional Chinese values in social categorization for Hong Kong adolescents becomes more obvious when we examine the historically uneasy relationship between modernization and Westernization in Chinese history (Pye, 1991). In the early 20th century, many educated Chinese saw modernization as symbiotic to Westernization. In search of modernization, they advocated a whole-hearted adoption of Western culture and a complete rejection of Chinese tradition

(King, 1993). Although Bond and King (1985) argued that contemporary Chinese intellectuals do not pit traditionality against modernity, it is unclear how Hong Kong adolescents view the compatibility of traditionality and modernization. Given this historical and cultural background, we sought to investigate the role of traditional Chinese values in social categorization among Hong Kong adolescents.

In the present study, we investigated whether modernity or traditional Chinese values is an important positively valued ingroup distinctiveness among Hong Kong adolescents, depending on their social identities. Based on Tajfel's (1981) theory of social identity and the findings of our focus group study (Lam et al., 1995), we expected a relationship to exist between Hong Kong adolescents' social identity and their emphasis on modernity and traditional Chinese values. Specifically, modernity was hypothesized to be an important positively valued ingroup distinctiveness for the adolescents who identify themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkonger-Chinese, and traditional Chinese values was hypothesized to be an important positively valued ingroup distinctiveness for the adolescents who identify themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers. Moreover, if modernity/traditional Chinese values is a positively valued dimension of distinctiveness for a particular social identity group, emphasis on this dimension should correlate with a positive social image of the respective identity group. Thus, an emphasis on modernity in social categorization should be associated with positive perception of Hong Kong and Hongkongers, and an emphasis on traditional Chinese values be associated with positive perception of China and Chinese.

In summary, we hypothesized that among Hong Kong adolescents, emphases on modernity and traditional Chinese values in social categorization would be related to social identities and intergroup perception.

Method

Sample

The participants were 236 adolescents from two secondary schools in Hong Kong. The age of the participants averaged 15.58, with a range of 13 to 20 and a

standard deviation of 1.57. Other demographic information of the participants is presented in Table 1.

(Insert Table 1 here)

Previous findings by Lam et al. (1995, 1996) showed that only a minority of Hong Kong adolescents would identify themselves as Chinese. In addition, birthplace is related to choice of social identity: Hong Kong-born adolescents tend to identify themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkonger-Chinese, whereas those who were born in mainland China tend to identify themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers. In order to have approximately equal number of adolescents in each of the social identity groups, we collected data from a school with a large in-take of immigrants from mainland China and from a secondary school with similar socio-economic background but with mostly Hong Kong-born students. The students of both schools were mainly from the lower middle class.

Table 1 shows that, as in previous studies, birthplace was strongly associated with the choice of social identity. Based on their responses to a questionnaire (see below), the adolescents were divided into four social identity groups: (1) the Hongkonger group, (2) the Hongkonger-Chinese group, (3) the Chinese-Hongkonger group, and (4) the Chinese group. Table 1 shows that as expected, the majority of the adolescents in school 1 were in the Chinese or Chinese-Hongkonger groups whereas the majority of the adolescents in school 2 were in the Hongkonger or Hongkonger-Chinese groups.

Procedure

The data were collected in Spring, 1996. The participants were asked to sort a deck of cards and fill out a questionnaire in their own classroom on a regular school day. The participants in groups of 30 to 40 completed the tasks with the instructions and assistance from 2 to 3 research assistants for each group. Most participants completed the card-sorting activity in 35 minutes and the questionnaire in 10 minutes.

Card-Sorting Activity

In the card-sorting activity, the participants were asked to determine if any of a set of 20 attributes, each printed on a separate card, could be used to characterize each of the following groups of people: American, British, mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, Hongkonger, Japanese, Singaporean, Indian, and Canadian. Most of the attributes used in this study were generated by the adolescents during group discussion in the focus group study (Lam et al. 1995) described previously. A majority of these attributes concern modernity or economic development, e.g. "backward," "advanced," "affluent," "poor," and "out of style." In order to investigate the importance of traditional Chinese values in social categorization, we added attributes which are relevant to the distinction between the Chinese and the Western cultures. These attributes include "emphasizing legality," "emphasizing human relations," "emphasizing individual freedom," and "respecting the collective will."

Questionnaire

The questionnaire included items that tapped the adolescents' social identity, perception of mainland Chinese and Hongkongers, and evaluation of the Chinese culture. Participants were asked to choose from four social identities the one that could best describe themselves. The four identities were Hongkonger, Hongkonger-Chinese, Chinese-Hongkonger, and Chinese. To assess their intergroup perception, we asked the extent to which they trusted mainland Chinese and Hong Kong people, felt that Hong Kong people were superior to mainland Chinese, were proud of being a Hong Kong person or Chinese, and thought that Hong Kong was more potent than China in both economic and political aspects. To measure their evaluation of the Chinese culture, we asked the extent to which they considered the Chinese culture to be superior to the Western culture, Chinese to be superior to Westerners, and the extent to which they agreed that modernization of China requires whole-hearted Westernization and abandonment of Chinese traditions.

For all but one item, participants indicated on 7-point scales (with appropriately worded anchor for each point, e.g., from "obviously inferior" to "obviously superior" with "more or less the same" as the midpoint) their perception

or evaluation. For the modernization item, participants indicated the extent to which they agreed that modernization of China requires whole-hearted Westernization and abandonment of Chinese traditions.

<u>Statistical Analysis</u>

A multidimensional scaling (MDS) procedure was performed to analyze the data collected from the card-sorting activity. MDS has been widely used in research on social categorization. Researchers have used alternating least-squares scaling (ALSCAL), an MDS procedure, to identify the dimensions in their subjects' social categorization when individual differences among the subjects in the dimensions of social categorization are not a concern to them (e.g., Cameron & Lalonde, 1994; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995; Frable, 1993). However, individual differences are essential to other studies on social categorization. As Brown and Williams (1984) pointed out, group identification does not mean the same thing to all people. In some circumstances researchers need to investigate if individual subjects place differential emphases on the same dimensions of social categorization (e.g., Augoustinos, 1991; Rosenthal, Whittle, & Bell, 1989).

Individual differences scaling (INDSCAL) is an MDS procedure that addresses this need (see Carroll & Chang, 1970). INDSCAL generates for each individual subject a weight on each dimension and thus allows assessment of individual differences. The weight represents the salience of a dimension to an individual. If the weight is large, the dimension is important to the individual or the individual emphasizes this dimension in social categorization. On the other hand, if the weight is small, the dimension is relatively unimportant to the individual or the individual does not emphasize this dimension in social categorization. In the present study, the data from the card-sorting activity were analyzed using the INDSCAL program in SPSS. By comparing the average weights of the dimensions underlying the social categorization of the four social identity groups, we were able to assess the relative importance of these dimensions to these groups.

Results

Multidimensional Scaling

We ran nonmetric, Euclidean multidimensional scaling on the distance matrices using the INDSCAL program in SPSS. The distance between two ethnic-social groups was determined by the number of times they were assigned or not assigned the same attributes. We first analyzed the distance matrices using an ALSCAL procedure. The stress level for the 4-, 3-, 2-, and 1-D solution was .15, .20, .30, and .40, respectively. We then ran an INDSCAL analysis on the distance matrices. Because mathematically, a 1-D solution is not permitted on the definition of a weighted Euclidean distance model (Norusis, 1994), we reported only the 4-D, 3-D, and 2-D solutions. The R^2 was .50, .54, and .54 for the 4-D, 3-D, and 2-D solution, respectively. As there was no goodness-of-fit improvement in the 3-D or 4-D INDSCAL solution, and that the stress level of the 1-D ALSCAL solution was discernibly higher than that of the 2-D ALSCAL solution, we adopted a 2-D solution.

Figure 1 shows the 2-D solution. On Dimension 1, Mainlanders had the most negative coordinate, followed by Indian, Taiwanese, Singaporean, Canadian, Japanese, Hongkonger, British, and American (which had the most positive coordinate). On Dimension 2, Canadian had the most negative coordinate, which was followed by British, Indian, American, Mainlander, Taiwanese, Japanese, Hongkonger and Singaporean.

(Insert Figure 1 here)

A cursory examination of the configuration suggests that Dimension 1 may represent a modernity dimension and Dimension 2 may represent a traditional Chinese values. To verify our interpretation of the two dimensions, we correlated the multidimensional scaling coordinates of the 9 groups of people with the frequency of the 20 attributes assigned to each group. The results are presented in Table 2. Dimension 1 was positively correlated with "emphasizing legality," "emphasizing individual freedom," "advanced," "affluent," "law-abiding," "democratic," "liberal," and "well-groomed," but negatively correlated with "backward," "poor," "lack of regard for the public welfare," "slow and mediocre,"

"conservative," and "out of style." Dimension 2 correlated only with "honest." The correlation analysis supports the interpretation that Dimension 1 represents modernity. However, the results do not lend clear support to the interpretation that Dimension 2 represents traditional Chinese values.

(Insert Table 2 here)

To further verify the interpretations of the two dimensions, we correlated the multidimensional scaling coordinates of the 9 groups of people with their corresponding countries' per capita Gross National Product (GNP) and per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Bottom Line, 1997, April 25). The correlation coefficients for Dimension 1 with GNP and GDP was .94 (p < .001) and .85 (p <.005), respectively. As GNP and GDP are indices of economic development, their high correlations with Dimension 1 supported the interpretation that Dimension 1 represents modernity.

To examine the interpretation of Dimension 2, we reviewed international studies on cultural values. In a questionnaire survey on work-related values administered to 100,000 employees of a multinational company (IBM) in 40 countries, Hofstede (1980) extracted four dimensions from a factor analysis of the responses. One dimension was "individualism," which describes the extent to which individuals are integrated into groups. Excepting Mainland China, the individualism index is available for the remaining 8 countries in our study. We correlated these countries' individualism index with their multidimensional scaling coordinates in our study. Dimension 2 in our study correlated negatively with the individualism index in Hofstede's study (r = -.83, p = .01).

The Chinese Culture Connection (1987) conducted a Chinese Value Survey among university students in 22 countries. Four dimensions of cultural values were extracted from a factor analysis of the responses. One dimension was Confucian work dynamism, which reflects Confucian work values such as "ordering relationships," "thrift," "persistence," and "respect for tradition." We correlated factor scores for Confucian work dynamism of the countries with their multidimensional

scaling coordinates. The Confucian work dynamism was significantly correlated with Dimension 2 (r = . 73, p <.05).

Both the internal and external correlates provided consistent evidence for the interpretation that Dimension 1 represents modernity. However, the interpretation of Dimension 2 as traditional Chinese values did not receive similarly consistent support. Dimension 2 correlated negatively with the individualism index in Hofstede's study and positively with Confucian work dynamism in the Chinese Culture Connection survey. These external correlates suggested that Dimension 2 may be related to traditional Chinese values. Nevertheless, the only attribute that correlated with this dimension was "honest." In addition, the two most representative groups of Chinese culture, the mainland Chinese and Taiwanese, scored lower than Singaporean, Hongkongers and Japanese on this dimension. This evidence casts doubt on whether Dimension 2 should be labeled as traditional Chinese values.

In short, Dimension 2 appears to be a measure of some aspects of the Chinese culture, which sets the Confucian groups (Singaporean, Japanese, Taiwanese) apart from the non-Confucian groups (Indian, American, British). We propose to use Confucian values as a working label for Dimension 2. We believe that this working label may explain some of the results described above. Theoretically, Yan (1993) has argued that treating oneself and others with honesty is a basic characteristic of Chinese people and this characteristic is rooted in Confucianism. Honesty is a core virtue in Confucianism and its importance is highlighted in the Confucian classics, the Four Books (1992). Empirically, Dimension 2 correlated significantly with the attribute "honest" and Confucian work dynamism. As Confucian values are only part of traditional Chinese values, it is possible for mainland Chinese and Taiwanese to score lower than Japanese, Hongkongers, and Singapore on Dimension 2, although mainland Chinese and Taiwanese may adhere most closely to other traditional Chinese values. With these arguments and appropriate caveats, we label Dimension 2 the dimension of Confucian values.

Intergroup Perception

Before we examined the relation between the emphasis on the two dimensions and intergroup perception, we first compared the mean scores of the four social identity groups on the questionnaire items related to intergroup perception. All the variables listed in Table 3 varied with the social identity claimed by the adolescents. The results of ANOVAs indicated that, compared to the Hongkonger and Hongkongers-Chinese groups, the Chinese and Chinese-Hongkonger groups had more favorable perception of China and mainland Chinese, greater trust in Mainlanders and were more proud of being a Chinese. Furthermore, when asked to make comparison with the people and potency of Hong Kong, they perceived Mainlanders and China as less inferior.

(Insert Table 3 here)

To test the hypothesis that emphasis on modernity and Confucian values in social categorization was related to intergroup perception, we examined the correlation between the participants' individual weights on the two dimensions and their intergroup perception. As shown in Table 4, emphasis on modernity in social categorization was positively correlated with a sense of superiority of Hong Kong people over mainland Chinese and perceived potency of Hong Kong over China in both the economic and the political domains. But it was negatively correlated with trust in mainland Chinese, pride in being a Chinese, and a sense of superiority of Chinese over Westerners. On the other hand, the emphasis on Confucian values in social categorization was negatively correlated with a sense of superiority of Hong Kong people over mainland Chinese, perceived potency of Hong Kong over China in both the economic and the political domains, and the belief that modernization of China requires whole-hearted Westernization and abandonment of Chinese traditions. In contrast, the emphasis on Confucian values was positively correlated with trust in mainland Chinese, pride in being a Chinese, a sense of superiority of Chinese culture over Western culture, and a sense of superiority of Chinese over

Westerners. In short, the data supported the hypothesis that intergroup perception is related to emphasis on the two dimensions in social categorization.

(Insert Table 4 here)

<u>Social Identity</u>

To test the hypothesis that Hong Kong adolescents with different social identities would place differential emphases on modernity and Confucian values in social categorization, we examined average relative weights of each social identity group on the two dimensions. ANOVAs performed on these relative weights indicated that the four groups had placed different amount of emphases on the two dimensions. Table 5 shows that the four groups' weights on the modernity dimension were significantly different, $\underline{F}$ (3, 203) = 6.03, $\underline{p}$ < .001. Post-hoc Scheffé tests indicated that the Hongkonger group emphasized the modernity dimension significantly more than did both the Chinese and Chinese-Hongkonger group. The four groups also placed significantly different levels of emphasis on the Confucian values dimension , $\underline{F}$ (3,203) = 7.64, $\underline{p}$ < .001. Post-hoc analysis showed that the Hongkonger group emphasized the Confucian values dimension less than did both the Chinese and Chinese-Hongkonger groups. The Hongkonger-Chinese group also emphasized this dimension less than did the Chinese group.

(Insert Table 5 here)

In summary, there was clear support for the hypothesis that Hong Kong adolescents with different social identities placed differential emphases on modernity and Confucian values in social categorization.

Discussion

There is clear evidence for the hypothesis that the emphases on the two dimensions are related to intergroup perception. Specifically, the data suggest that when Hong Kong adolescents emphasize modernity more in social categorization, they may have more positive perception of Hong Kong and Hong Kong people but less positive perception of mainland Chinese and less favorable evaluation of the Chinese culture.

Emphasis on the Confucian values dimension in social categorization had a completely different pattern of correlation with intergroup perception than that of the modernity dimension. When Hong Kong adolescents emphasize Confucian values more in social categorization, they may have more positive perception of mainland Chinese, have more positive evaluation of Chinese culture, and subscribe less to the belief that modernization requires whole-hearted Westernization.

Emphases on the two dimensions in social categorization were related to the choice of social identity among the adolescents. The results indicate that the adolescents who identified themselves as Hongkongers emphasized modernity more than did those who identified themselves as Chinese or Chinese-Hongkongers. Furthermore, the Hongkonger group emphasized Confucian values to a lesser extent than did the Chinese or Chinese-Hongkonger groups. By contrast, the Hong Kong adolescents who emphasized the Confucian values dimension more in social categorization tended to identify themselves as Chinese.

Taken together, the results suggest that modernity may be a positively perceived ingroup distinctiveness for the Hong Kong adolescents who identify themselves as Hongkongers. First, the modernity dimension was more important to these adolescents than to those who identified themselves as Chinese. In addition, the emphasis on modernity was positively correlated with a sense of superiority of Hongkonger over mainland Chinese and perceived potency of Hong Kong over mainland China, but negatively correlated with pride in being a Chinese. These findings suggest that the adolescents who choose to highlight their Hong Kong identity and downplay their Chinese identity are the adolescents who see modernity as an important dimension for social categorization and that they consider mainland Chinese as less modern than Hongkongers. The identity choice of these adolescents, to a certain extent, is consistent with Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, which assumes a fundamental individual motivation for positive self-image behind people's self-categorization. The Hong Kong adolescents use modernity to distinguish Hong Kong people from mainland Chinese may derive higher self-

esteem by identifying themselves as Hongkonger than as Chinese. The maintenance or enhancement of self-esteem may be a motivation behind the choice of a Hongkonger identity.

Traditional Chinese values, specifically Confucian values, as a dimension for social categorization seems to be more important to the adolescents who identify themselves as Chinese than to those who identify themselves as Hongkongers. The weight on the Confucian values dimension correlated positively with pride in being a Chinese, a sense of superiority of Chinese over Western culture, a sense of superiority of Chinese over Westerners, and negatively with the belief that modernization of China requires whole-hearted Westernization and abandonment of Chinese traditions. In other words, the importance of Confucian values as a dimension for social categorization was associated with positive evaluation of the Chinese culture. The Hong Kong adolescents who relied on Confucian values to positively distinguish themselves from non-Chinese appeared to have more positive perception of the Chinese culture and tended to highlight their Chinese identity and downplay their Hongkonger identity.

In the present study, we did not compare the importance of the modernity dimension versus the Confucian values dimension for the total sample or for each of the four social-identity groups. The emphasis on any dimension for categorization is a function of the nature of the context within which categorization is carried out. In the present study, the participants were given 9 ethnic-social groups and 20 attributes that could be used to describe these groups. Unlike the studies by Deaux et al. (1995), we did not include a full range of social groups in our study. In addition, most of the selected attributes were about modernity. Hence, modernity turned out to be the dominant dimension for social categorization. As Table 5 shows, the average relative weight for the modernity dimension was larger than that of the Confucian values dimension for each of the four social identity groups. However, we would not claim that all four groups emphasized the modernity dimension more than the Confucian values dimension. As noted, most of the attributes included in

the present study were related to modernity. Attributes related to traditional Chinese values were far under-represented. Thus, the apparent dominance of the modernity dimension could be an artifact of the selection of attributes.

It would be desirable in future research to include equal numbers of attributes related to modernity and those related to traditional Chinese values. The validity of the study would also be enhanced if the selected attributes were sampled from items of well-established measures of traditionality and modernity, such as the Chinese Traditional-Modern Scale (Dawson, Law, Leung & Whitney, 1971), the Chinese Value Survey (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987), and the Individual Traditionality-Modernity Scale (Yang, Yu, & Yeh, 1989). In the present study, we selected 20 attributes related to modernity and traditional Chinese values because we were interested in differential emphases on these two dimensions among the four social identity groups. Because of the limitations in the selection of attributes, we would not claim that modernity and Confucian values are the two most important dimensions underlying the social categorization of Hong Kong adolescents. In spite of the above limitations, modernity and traditional Chinese values, specifically Confucian values, may still be important dimensions for social categorization among Hong Kong adolescents since most of the attributes we used as stimuli in the present study were generated by the subjects in an earlier study (Lam et al., 1995) when they were asked to describe the characteristics of Hong Kong people and mainland Chinese.

The fact that birthplace was closely related to the choice of social identity among the adolescents may create interpretive problems. The perceptions and emphasis on modernity and Confucian values could be predicted by the participants' birthplace alone. However, this explanation does not delineate the intervening psychological processes that mediate the relationship between a demographic variable and the adolescents' perceptions and attitudes. Second, in our previous studies in which most participants were born in Hong Kong, the participants' social identities bore strong correlations with measures of intergroup

perceptions (Lam et al., 1996). In the present study, although social identity was seriously confounded with birthplace, on most of the measures shown in Table 3 (i.e., trust in Mainlanders, superiority of Hong Kong people over Mainlanders, pride in being a Hongkonger, pride in being a Chinese, and whole-hearted Westernization), the effects of social identity was reliable ($p<.01$) even after the effects of birthplace was partialled out. These suggest that independent of birthplace, social identity may play an important role in predicting and explaining Hong Kong adolescents' intergroup attitudes.

The pattern of results obtained in the present study may change when the socio-political environment changes. With the rapid modernization of China, Hong Kong adolescents may have different evaluation of China's status on the modernity dimension. With the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China and possible emphasis on Chinese culture in school curriculum, Hong Kong adolescents may also have different evaluation of traditional Chinese values. Although the mechanism underlying the pattern as postulated in Tajfel's social identity theory may remain unchanged, the possible environmental changes may contribute to a different pattern of social identification among Hong Kong adolescents. This is a fascinating topic for research in the future.

Although Tajfel's social identity theory provides a useful framework for the present study, it has limitations as well. A close examination of data revealed that both the Chinese and Chinese-Hongkonger groups in our present study agreed that Hong Kong people are slightly superior to Mainlanders and that Hong Kong is slightly more potent than China in both political and economic domains (see Table 3). Ratings for both groups on the superiority item were significantly above the midpoint of 4 which was anchored by "more or less the same" (for the Chinese group, $t = 2.15$, $p < .05$, for the Chinese-Hongkonger group, $t = 5.67$, $p < .001$). Rating for Chinese-Hongkonger group on the potency item was also significantly above the midpoint ($t = 2.69$, $p < .01$). This may contradict the motivational assumption of Tajfel's social identity theory. If the desire for positive self-evaluation provides a

motivational basis for differentiation between social groups, the adolescents in the Chinese or Chinese-Hongkonger groups would not have agreed to even a slight superiority of Hong Kong people over the Mainlanders and a greater potency of Hong Kong over China. The fact that these adolescents were also Hong Kong residents and therefore literally not Mainlanders may ameliorate the contradiction. However, it still raises questions about the motivational basis of social identity theory.

Empirical support for the role of self-esteem as a determinant of social identification is not conclusive (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Hogg & Abrams, 1990). It has been widely found in the literature that members of socially disadvantaged and stigmatized minorities maintain positive self-esteem in the face of negative intergroup comparison (Crocker & Major, 1989). The positive distinctiveness motive cannot provide a satisfactory explanation to this phenomenon. Furthermore, the association between positive distinctiveness and social identity does not necessarily support a causal relationship between the two. Positive distinctiveness might be the consequence rather than the cause of social identity. As the data of our present study are correlational in nature, it is also possible to interpret the ingroup bias and the emphases on modernity or Confucian values as the consequences of social identification rather than the causes of it.

In view of the weaknesses of the motivational bases in social identity theory, Brewer (1993) proposes an alternative theory to understand the role of distinctiveness in social identity. Her theory of optimal distinctiveness assumes that different social identities are activated in order to satisfy two competing universal human needs: the need for differentiation of the self from others and the need for inclusion of the self into larger social groups. As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, all ethnic Chinese citizens in Hong Kong may claim for themselves at least two social identities. The emphasis on either identity is possibly a function of the optimal distinctiveness activated in various context (Brewer, 1997). The data in the present study do not address the optimal distinctiveness theory, but the theory may

open up new directions for studying the social identity of Hong Kong adolescents. For example, it will be interesting to see how the emphases Hong Kong adolescents place on modernity and traditional values in social categorization may shift from one situation to another, depending on whether the differentiation or inclusion needs are activated.

References

Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (1988). Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. <u>European Journal of Social Psychology</u>, <u>18</u>, 317-34.

Augoustinos, M. (1991). Consensual representations of social structure in different age groups. <u>British Journal of Social Psychology</u>, <u>30</u>, 193-205.

Bond, M. H., & King, A. Y. C. (1985). Coping with the threat of Westernization in Hong Kong. <u>International Journal of Intercultural Relations</u>, <u>9</u>, 351-364.

Bottom Line. (1997, April 25). <u>Asiaweek</u>, p.71

Brown, R., & Williams, J. (1984). Group identification: The same thing to all people? <u>Human Relations</u>, <u>37</u>(7), 547-564.

Brewer, M. (1993). The role of distinctiveness in social identity and group behaviour. In M. A. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), <u>Group motivation: Social psychological perspectives</u> (pp. 1-16). New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Brewer, M. (1997, July). <u>Multiple identities and identity transition: Implications for Hong Kong</u>. Paper presented at the International Conference on the Transition to HKSARPRC.

Cameron, J. E., & Lalonde, R. N. (1994). Self, ethnicity, and social group memberships in two generations of Italian Canadians. <u>Personality and Social psychology Bulletin</u>, <u>20</u>(5), 514-520.

Carroll, J. D., & Chang, J. J. (1970). Analysis of individual differences in multidimensional scaling via an n-way generalization of 'Eckhart-Young' decomposition. <u>Psychometrika</u>, <u>35</u>, 283-319.

Chinese Culture Connection (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture. <u>Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,</u> <u>18</u>(2), 143-164.

Crocker, J. & Major, B, (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. <u>Psychological Review,</u> <u>96</u>, 608-30.

Dawson, J. L. M., Law, H., Leung, A., & Whitney, R. E. (1971). Scaling Chinese traditional-modern attitudes and the GSR measurement of "important" versus "Un-important" Chinese concepts. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 2(1), 1-27.

Deaux, K., Reid, A., Mizrahi, K., & Ethier, K. A. (1995). Parameters of social identity. <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,</u> <u>68</u> (2), 280-291.

DeGolyer, M. E. (1994). Politics, politicians, and political parties. In D. H. McMillen & S.-W. Man (Eds.), <u>The other Hong Kong report 1994</u> (pp. 75-101). Hong Kong.

Frable, D. E. S. (1993). Dimensions of marginality: Distinctions among those who are different. <u>Personality and Social psychology Bulletin,</u> <u>19</u>(4), 370-380.

Ho, D. Y. F., Chau, A. W. L., Lam, S. F., & Lee, H. C. B. (1995, November). <u>Transitional Hong Kong from psychological perspective: confidence in the future</u>. Paper presented at the Conference on Countdown to 1997: Hong Kong in the Transition, Hong Kong.

Hogg, M. A. & Abrams, D. (1990). Social motivation, self-esteem and social identity. In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), <u>Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances</u> (pp. 28-470). London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hofstede, G. (1980). <u>Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

King, A. Y. C. (1993). Chinese society and culture [Zhong guo she hui yu wen hua]. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Lam, S. F., Chiu, C., Lau, I., & Hong, Y. (1995, November). Social identity of Hong Kong adolescents. Paper presented at the Conference on Countdown to 1997: Hong Kong in the Transition, Hong Kong.

Lam, S. F., Lau, I., Chiu, C., & Hong, Y. (1996, July). Social identities of Hong Kong adolescents and their relations to intergroup perception and intended interaction. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Personality and Education, Xian.

Lee, M.-K. & Leung, S.-W. (1995). Democracy, capitalism, and national identity in public attitudes. Occasional Paper Series No. 4. Department of Applied Social Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Norusis, M. J. (1994). SPSS Professional Statistics 6.1. Chicago: SPSS.

Pye, L. W. (1991). The challenge of modernization to the Chinese national identity. Chinese University Bulletin, 22, 12-29.

Rosenthal, D., Whittle, J., & Bell, R. (1989). The dynamic nature of ethnic identity among Greek-Australian adolescents. Journal of Social Psychology, 129(2), 249-258.

Tajfel, H. (1981). Human groups and social categories. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

The four books (1992). (J. Legge, Trans.). Changsha: Hunan Publishing House.

Yan, G. C. (1993). Traditional Chinese culture and Chinese personality [Zhong guo chuan tong wen hua yu zhong guo ren de xing ge]. In K. S. Yang & A. B. Yu

(Eds.), <u>Psychology and behavior of Chinese people: Concepts and methodology</u>.

Taipei: Laureate Publishing Co.

Yang, K. S., Yu, A. B., & Yeh, M. H. (1989). Chinese individual traditionality

and modernity: Concept and measurement [Zhong guo ren de ge ren chuan tong

xing yu xian dai xing: Gai lian yu ce liang]. In K. S. Yang & K. K. Huang (Eds.),

Chinese psychology and behavior (pp.241-306). Taipei: Laureate Publishing Co.

Author Note

Shui-fong Lam, Ivy Y. Lau, and Chi-yue Chiu, Department of Psychology; Ying-yi Hong, Division of Social Science; Si-qing Peng, Department of Psychology.

Correspondence should be addressed to Shui-fong Lam, Psychology Department, the University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong. E-mail: lamsf@hkusub.hku.hk

Footnotes

[1] We did not provide other social identity because we were concerned with how Hong Kong people with Chinese ethnic background chose between their Chinese and Hong Kong identities.

Table 1

<u>Demographic Information and Chosen Social Identity of Participants</u>

	School 1	School 2	Total
	N (percentage)	N (percentage)	N (percentage)
Sex			
Male	66 (56.9%)	55 (46.2%)	121 (51.5%)
Female	50 (43.1%)	64 (53.8%)	114 (48.5%)
Grade			
Grade 8	32 (27.6%)	38 (33.0%)	70 (30.3%)
Grade 9	41 (35.3%)	38 (33.0%)	79 (34.2%)
Grade 10	43 (37.1%)	39 (34.0%)	82 (35.5%)
Birthplace			
Hong Kong	6 (5.2%)	114 (95.0%)	120 (50.8%)
Mainland China	106 (91.4%)	6 (5.0%)	112 (47.4%)
Others	4 (3.4%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (1.8%)
Social Identity			
Hongkongers	1 (0.8%)	53 (44.2%)	54 (22.9%)
Hongkonger - Chinese	6 (5.2%)	52 (43.3%)	58 (24.6%)
Chinese - Hongkongers	59 (50.9%)	13 (10.8%)	72 (30.5%)
Chinese	50 (43.1%)	2 (1.7%)	52 (22.0%)

<u>Note.</u> Numbers for sex and grade do not add up to 236 due to missing data.

Table 2

Correlation of the Two Dimensions with the Twenty Attributes

Attributes	Dimension One	Dimension Two
Emphasizing legality	.68*	.51
Emphasizing human relations	-.08	.61
Emphasizing individual freedom	.82**	.00
Respecting the collective will	.66	.45
Backward	-.88**	-.32
Advanced	.88**	.24
Affluent	.94**	.27
Poor	-.83**	-.35
Lack of regard for public welfare	-.84**	.01
Law-abiding	.70**	.56
Honest	.02	.79*
Flamboyant	.07	-.03
Smart	.59	.54
Slow and Mediocre	-.87**	-.39
Democratic	.81**	-.04
Authoritarian	-.76*	.25
Liberal	.92**	.20
Conservative	-.94**	.07
Well-groomed	.83**	.51
Out of style	-.96**	-.23

Note: ** p < .01, * p < .05

Table 3

The Mean Scores of the Four Identity Groups on the Intergroup Perception Variables

Variables	Hongkonger Group (N = 54)	Hongkonger-Chinese Group (N = 58)	Chinese-Hongkonger Group (N = 72)	Chinese Group (N = 52)	F-values
Trust in Hongkongers	4.90	5.11^a	4.68	4.45^a	3.49*
Trust in Mainlanders	2.36^{abc}	3.30^{ad}	3.82^b	4.02^{cd}	20.55**
Superiority of Hong Kong people over Mainlanders	5.65^{ac}	5.59^{bd}	4.68^{cd}	4.33^{ab}	20.80**
Pride in being a Hongkonger	5.07	5.02	4.62	4.40	3.38*
Pride in being a Chinese	2.93^{ab}	3.66^{cd}	5.36^{ac}	5.60^{bd}	49.21**
Relative potency of Hong Kong over China	5.11^{ab}	4.86	4.41^a	4.26^b	5.60**

Superiority of Chinese culture over Western culture	3.46^{ab}	4.00	4.42^{a}	4.71^{b}	8.23**
Superiority of Chinese over Westerners	3.19^{ab}	3.38^{cd}	4.15^{ac}	4.13^{bd}	11.00**
Whole-hearted Westernization	4.42^{ab}	4.00^{cd}	2.21^{ac}	2.48^{bd}	25.86**

Note. The scores are on a 7-point scale with "4" as the midpoint, "1" the minimum score, and "7" the maximum score. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01. For each variable, means sharing the same superscript were significantly different.

Table 4

Correlation of the Intergroup Perception and Modernization with the Relative

Individual Weights for the Two Dimensions.

Variables	Relative Weight on the Modernity Dimension	Relative Weight on the Confucian values Dimension
Trust in Hong Kong people	.02	-.05
Trust in mainland Chinese	-.22**	.22**
Superiority of Hong Kong people over mainland Chinese	.20**	-.22**
Pride in being a Hongkonger	-.02	.03
Pride in being a Chinese	-.26**	.29**
Relative potency of Hong Kong over China	.19*	-.20*
Superiority of Chinese culture over Western culture	-.13	.18*
Superiority of Chinese over Westerners	-.19**	.20**
Whole-hearted Westernization	.13	-.14*

Note. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01

Table 5

Average Relative Weights of the Two Dimensions in the Four Social Identity Groups

	Hongkonger	Hongkonger-Chinese	Chinese-Hongkonger	Chinese	F Values
Relative Weight of the Modernity Dimension	.88[ab]	.85	.81[a]	.79[b]	6.03***
Relative Weight on the Confucian Values Dimension	.40[ab]	.46	.54[a]	.58[b]	7.64***

Note. The average absolute weights of the Hongkonger, Hongkonger-Chinese, Chinese-Hongkonger, and Chinese groups were .64, .57, .53, and .48, respectively, for the modernity dimension and .24, .27, .30, and .33, respectively, for the Confucian values dimension. For each dimension, relative weights sharing the same superscript were significantly different. .*** $p < .001$

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Configuration of the nine groups of people in a two-dimensional model.