Processes of Individual Mobilization into Political Party Activism: Case Studies of Hong Kong Youth

by

NG Hoi Yu

A Thesis Submitted to

The Hong Kong Institute of Education

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2014

UMI Number: 3680628

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI 3680628

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ng Hoi Yu, hereby declare that I am the sole author of the thesis and the material presented in this thesis is my original work except those indicated in the acknowledgement. I further declare that I have followed the Institute's policies and regulations on Academic Honesty, Copy Right and Plagiarism in writing the Thesis and no material in this thesis has been published or submitted for a degree in this or other universities.

_____

Ng Hoi Yu

October 2014

Thesis Examination Panel Approval

Members of the Thesis Examination Panel approve the thesis of Ng Hoi Yu defended on

Supervisors

Dr. Gregory Fairbrother
Associate Professor
Department of Social Sciences
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Prof. Lo Shiu Hing Sonny
Professor
Department of Social Sciences
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Dr. Chan Kit Wa Anita
Associate Professor
Department of Social Sciences
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Examiners

Prof. Ian Scott
Visiting Professor
Department of Politics and Public Administration
University of Hong Kong

Prof. Ming Chan
Visiting Scholar
Centre for East Asian Studies
Stanford University

Prof. Kerry Kennedy
Research Chair Professor of Curriculum Studies
Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Approved on behalf of the Thesis Examination Panel:

_____

Chair, Thesis Examination Panel
Prof. Lo Sing Kai
Associate Vice President (Graduate Studies) and Dean of Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Processes of Individual Mobilization into Political Party Activism:

Case Studies of Hong Kong Youth

by NG Hoi Yu

The Hong Kong Institute of Education

Abstract

The central goal of this study is to conceptualize the mobilization processes of a sample of young party activists in Hong Kong, which is a semi-autonomous hybrid regime under Chinese sovereignty. It does so by examining the processes leading a sample of young people to come to join and become active in political parties and the roles of macro-, meso-, and individual-level influences in the processes. Life history interview is the primary data collection method. A total of 23 young party activists from five major political parties in Hong Kong were interviewed.

In general, this study found that the individual mobilization of young people to party activism can be conceptualized as a four-step process shaped by a variety of macro- and meso-level contexts and the individual agencies of young people. The macro-level influences in this study indicate that the macro-context of Hong Kong is not completely unfavorable to party activism. The "liberal authoritarian" hybrid regime has given rise to many political events, such as demonstrations and movements for the pro-democracy parties to inspire young people to participate in party activism. The status of Hong Kong as a dependent polity of China also enables pro-Beijing parties to receive abundant

resources from pro-Beijing organizations and corporations to fund their recruitment efforts.

The meso-level contexts in this study show that Hong Kong parties are not completely at the mercy of the unfavorable context. They can use different strategies and incentives to recruit new blood. Other meso-contexts, such as university, mass media, and voluntary organizations, also serve as agents of socialization and social networks that directly and indirectly draw some young people into party activism.

The contextual influences can interact, but not every influence operates at the same time in a person's life and is important for all young people. Furthermore, the effect of these contextual influences is not deterministic, as young people can assert their individual agencies to interact with and reflect on the contextual influences when they decide on their course of action.

These different configurations and the interactions of the contextual and individual influences have led the participants of this study to go through different paths toward party activism. For some participants, they developed an ideological affinity to the party or expressed interest in participating before they became involved in the party, and these political beliefs usually motivated them to get involved. However, some only learned about the beliefs of the party and developed an interest in a political career after participating in the party. Their initial involvement in the party was mainly due to non-political reasons. Some participants joined the party as members before participating in any party activity. However, some were less decisive and went through an exploratory period in the party before making the final decision to join.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my principal supervisor Gregory Fairbrother for his excellent supervision, patient guidance and detailed feedback throughout my entire PhD journey. Without him I would not have been possible to complete this arduous and seemingly insurmountable work. I would also like to thank my two associate supervisors, Sonny Lo Shiu Hing and Anita Chan Kit Wa, for their invaluable assistance and useful advice. I am also greatly indebted to many academics inside and outside HKIEd such as Leung Yan Wing, Benson Wong Wai-kwok, Kerry Kennedy, Eric Chong King Man, Brian Fong Chi Hang, and Stephan Ortmann for their comments and support. Besides, I must thank the 23 young political party activists who took their precious time to participate in this study and generously share their life stories with me. This study would not have been successfully carried out without their participation. Moreover, many classmates and friends have provided me with invaluable support. They are Joseph Chow, Nicky Li, Tiffany Li, Jenny Qian, Emily Tsoi, Linnie Wong, Cheng Lee, Fiona Ching, Bhowmik Miron Kumar, Patrick Wong, Tam Siu Lung, Anthony Tso, Yuki Fong, and Yeung Hon Kwan. Lastly, I must thank my parents. I am sure that I would not have been possible to complete my thesis without their emotional support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Statement of Originality	ii
Thesis Examination Panel Approval	iii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Abbreviations	x
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Political Parties and Youth Party Membership in Hong Kong	22
Chapter 3: Explaining Individual Mobilization into Party Activism	75
Chapter 4: Research Methodology	109
Chapter 5: Individual Mobilization Process into Party Activism: Hesitant Believer Path	145
Chapter 6: Individual Mobilization Process into Party Activism: Decisive Believer Path	196
Chapter 7: Individual Mobilization Process into Party Activism: Converted Staff Path	261

Chapter 8: Discussion 303

Chapter 9: Conclusion 347

References 355

Appendix A: Questionnaire of the Small-scale Survey of young District Council Election Candidates (Chinese Original) 387

Appendix B: Questionnaire of the Small-scale Survey of Young District Council Election Candidates (English Version) 390

Appendix C: Invitation Letter for Life History Interview (Chinese Original) 393

Appendix D: Invitation Letter for Life History Interview (English Version) 394

Appendix E: Life history Interview Guide (Chinese Version) 395

Appendix F: Life history Interview Guide (English Original) 397

Appendix G: Information sheet (Chinese Original) 399

Appendix H: Information sheet (English Version) 401

Appendix I: Informed Consent Form (Chinese Original) 403

Appendix J: Informed Consent Form (English Version) 404

Appendix K: Sample Transcript Excerpt 405

Appendix L: Party Official Interview Guide (Chinese Original) 406

Appendix M: Party Official Interview Guide (English Version) 407

Appendix N: Conceptual Framework 408

LIST OF ABBBREVIATIONS

ADPL	Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CE	Chief Executive
CP	Civic Party
CUHK	Chinese University of Hong Kong
DAB	Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong
DP	Democratic Party
FC	Functional Constituencies
FTU	Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions
GC	Geographical Constituencies
HKFYG	Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups
HKPA	Hong Kong Progressive Alliance
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
HKU	The University of Hong Kong
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
LegCo	Legislative Council
LP	Liberal Party
LSD	League of Social Democrats
MTR	Mass Transit Railway
NGO	Non-governmental Organization

NPP	New People's Party
RTHK	Radio Television Hong Kong
SNP	Scottish National Party
UDHK	United Democrats of Hong Kong
VTC	Vocational Training Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	National Levels of Party Membership
Table 2	Membership Figures of Major Political Parties in Hong Kong (1992-2013)
Table 3	Turnout Rates by Age Groups of LegCo Geographical Constituencies Elections, 1995-2012
Table 4	Percentage of Respondents Who are Party Members
Table 5	Youth Party Membership in Hong Kong
Table 6	Number of Party Affiliated District Council Election Candidates Aged 30 or Below in 2007 and 2011
Table 7	Age and Gender of the Survey Respondents
Table 8	Place of Birth and Social Class of the Survey Respondents
Table 9	Education and Occupation of the Survey Respondents
Table 10	Religion and Organization Membership of the Survey Respondents
Table 11	Survey Respondents' Relationship with Their Parties
Table 12	Political Socialization Experiences of the Survey Respondents
Table 13	Information about the Participants
Table 14	Information about the Party Officials Interviewed
Table 15	Key Differences between the Three Paths
Table 16	Basic Demographics of the Participants Following the Hesitant Believer Path
Table 17	Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Hesitant Believers
Table 18	Participants Following the Decisive Believer Path

Table 19 Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Decisive Believers

Table 20 Participants following Path Three

Table 21 Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Converted Staff

Table 22 Meso-level influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Processes

Table 23 Different Types of Interactions between Various Contextual Influences

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 A Conceptual Diagram Showing the Individual Mobilization Process Leading Young People to Become Party Activists

Figure 2 Hesitant Believer Path (Path One)

Figure 3 Decisive Believer Path (Path Two)

Figure 4 Converted Staff Path (Path Three)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.Introduction

Political parties play an important role in modern states, regardless of whether they are democratic or authoritarian (Lipset, 2000; Ma, 2007a; Rogers, 2005). According to Ware (1996), "[i]n contemporary states it is difficult to imagine there being politics without parties" (p.1). Political parties in democratic countries fulfill important functions in the political system, such as simplifying choices for voters, mobilizing people to participate in politics, and aggregating and articulating political interests (Ma, 2007a; Wattenberg & Dalton, 2002; Whiteley, 2012b).

As political parties in most countries are membership-based organizations, party members have a crucial role in maintaining the function of a political party. Research shows that substantial party memberships can help boost the political legitimacy of a political party by showing that the public supports the party and the party is rooted in the concerns of the people (Scarrow, 1996; Seyd & Whiteley, 2004). Party members are also important "part-time marketers" (Van Aelst, Van Holsteyn, & Koole, 2012) and "election foot soldiers" (Scarrow, 2007) during election campaigns (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Seyd & Whiteley, 2004). Members also serve as "ambassadors to the community" (Scarrow, 1996) by linking the party to the community. They help disseminate

the messages of the party to the grassroots and inform the party leaders of the opinions and concerns of the voters (Seyd & Whiteley, 2004; Van Aelst et al., 2012). Moreover, party members contribute to the party financially through membership fees and donations. Most importantly, members, particularly the young and active ones, provide parties with a pool of potential future candidates, party officials, and party leaders, which are important for the rejuvenation and sustainable development of the party (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Seyd & Whiteley, 2004).

Despite the importance of party members, the literature clearly shows that the levels of party membership in Europe (Biezen, Mair, & Poguntke, 2011; Mair & Van Biezen, 2001; Van Biezen & Poguntke, 2014; Whiteley, 2011) and many established democracies, such as Australia (Abjorensen, 2010), Canada (Cross & Young, 2004), Israel (Kenig, Philipov, & Rahat, 2013), Japan (Van Biezen & Poguntke, 2014), and South Korea (Chung, 2013), have rapidly and substantially declined since the 1990s or even earlier.

The decline is particularly evident among the younger generations. A large body of the literature suggests that young people in many established democracies increasingly shun traditional or institutional forms of political participation, such as voting and party membership. They tend to favor extra-institutional forms of activism, such as boycotts, protests, new social movement, civil disobedience, and online activism (Flanagan, 2009; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Fyfe, 2009; Norris, 2002; Norris, 2003; O'Neill, 2007; Quintelier, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002). These forms of participation are more flexible, action-oriented, individualized, and less hierarchical compared with

party and trade union activism (Flanagan, 2009; Norris, 2003; O'Neill, 2007). Following this trend, youth party membership in Western democracies has declined significantly (Whiteley, 2007), and parties have increasing difficulty in recruiting young members (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008b), contributing to the aging of the party membership. Currently, the average age of party members in most Western European countries is higher than the average age of the general population (Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010). This trend is also apparent in other established democracies, such as Canada (Cross & Young, 2004) and Israel.

This seemingly bleak trend has motivated scholars in established Western democracies to investigate why the levels of party membership have declined (e.g., Linek & Pecháček, 2007; Scarrow, 2007; Seyd & Whiteley, 2004; Van Biezen & Poguntke, 2014; Whiteley, 2011) and why young people are reluctant to join political parties and engage in institutional forms of politics (e.g., Cammaerts, Bruter, Banaji, Harrison, & Anstead, 2013; Henn & Foard, 2012; Theocharis, 2009). Some studies have also attempted to investigate how and why some young people move against the general trend and continue to participate and become active in political parties (e.g., Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008a, 2008b; Recchi, 1999). However, studies attempting to explain youth party membership and activism are limited, and they primarily focus on established democracies in Europe and North America. They rarely examine the situations in non-Western countries or in other regime types, such as authoritarian and hybrid regimes. However, the phenomena of low party membership and the reluctance of young people to join political party are not

limited to established Western democracies. These issues are also reported in democracies in non-Western countries, such as Taiwan (Lin, 2013), and semi-democratic hybrid regimes, such as Hong Kong (Choy, 1999; Ma, 2007a), Singapore (Tan, 2010), and Morocco (Desrues & Kirhlani, 2013).

To fill this research gap, this study focuses on the case of Hong Kong and explores how and why a sample of young people have been mobilized to political party activism. The socio-political context of Hong Kong shares both differences and similarities with that of industrialized Western democracies, and it serves as an interesting case for comparison with existing studies on youth party activism.

In terms of differences, Hong Kong is not an independent sovereign state. Since the end of the British colonial rule in 1997, it has become a sub-national, semi-autonomous Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong is also not a full democracy but a hybrid regime, which is a type of regime that shares elements of democracy and authoritarianism (Diamond, 2002; Levitsky & Way, 2002). On the one hand, the Basic Law (the mini-constitution of Hong Kong) guarantees a high level of civil liberties comparable with those of Western democracies (Fong, 2013; Ma, 2010). The seven million residents of the city are free to demonstrate and protest, and the media is basically free and vibrant (Chan & Lee, 2007a, 2007b; Ma, 2010).[1] On the other hand, its political system is only partially democratic. The Chief

[1]For example, Hong Kong has more than 20 Chinese newspapers, three radio broadcasts, and two free-to-air television broadcasters (Chan & Lee, 2012). In recent years, we have also witnessed the rise of a number of online media, such as My Radio, Memehk, VJ Media, Independent Media Hong Kong, and The House News.

Executive (CE) is neither popularly elected nor allowed to have party affiliation. The power of the legislature is also limited by various constitutional constraints, and only slightly more than half of its members are directly elected (Ma, 2007a). Some scholars call this condition “liberal authoritarianism” (Case, 2008) or “liberal autocracy” (Kuan & Lau, 2002).

Despite these differences, the situation of Hong Kong also shares some similarities with industrialized Western democracies. For example, in the last decade, politically active youth in Hong Kong preferred to join those less hierarchical, spontaneous, and single-issue social movements or civil society organizations than political parties (Choy, Wong, Tsoi, & Chong, 1998; Ma, 2007a; Sham & Shen, 2007). Many studies have shown that the youth in Hong Kong is not interested in joining political parties (Lin, 2010; Ma, 2007a). Public trust toward political parties remains low, and many people have anti-party sentiment (Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2011, 2012, 2013; Sing, 2004).

Regardless of whether the context presented above is different from or similar to Western democracies, local political scientists generally interpret it as unfavorable to the development of political parties. They generally describe political parties in Hong Kong as relatively underdeveloped compared with those in Western democracies. They have relatively small memberships, weak resources, and low mobilization capacity and public legitimacy (Lau & Kuan, 2002; Ma, 2007a; Sing, 2004). People with political ambition are reluctant to join parties (Ma, 2007a).

Despite this seemingly bleak picture, a small number of young people are

willing to join parties. Some parties have successfully recruited more young members in recent years (Ming Pao, 2010a). Nevertheless, the absolute number of young party member is very small compared with that of many established Western democracies. Joining a political party remains atypical and unusual in Hong Kong society. Given this condition, exploring the puzzle of how and why some young people in Hong Kong decide to join and become active in political parties is interesting and worthwhile.

1.2. Research Problem, Purpose, and Questions

This section presents the problem statement, purpose of research, and the research questions.

1.2.1. Problem statement

The literature argues that the development of political parties in Hong Kong encounters an unfavorable socio-political condition. Compared with their counterparts in many Western established democracies, the parties are relatively underdeveloped and non-institutionalized and have low public legitimacy. Political party activism is also not a popular form of political participation among young people in Hong Kong. Despite this seemingly unfavorable circumstance, a small number of young people still choose to join and become active members in political parties. However, little research has been conducted to explore the reasons behind. Therefore, exploring this puzzle through an

empirical study is worthwhile.

1.2.2. Statement of purpose and research questions

The central goal of this study is to explore and conceptualize the individual mobilization processes of a sample of young political party activists in Hong Kong. Hong Kong is a post-industrial, semi-autonomous liberal authoritarian hybrid regime under Chinese sovereignty, in which political parties are relatively underdeveloped and have low public legitimacy. The study examines the processes that result in the decision of 23 young people in Hong Kong to join and become active in political parties as well as the important macro-, meso-, and individual-level influences in the processes. The main research questions of this thesis are as follows:

1. What are the processes that lead a sample of young people in Hong Kong to join a political party and become active party members?
2. What contextual and personal influences shaped their processes to become party activists?

1.2.3. Overview of the Research Design

Qualitative life history was adopted as the primary research method for this study. The method uses in-depth interviews to collect personal life stories and narratives, which are subsequently interpreted and reported by the

researcher (Denzin, 1989; Roberts, 2002). This method is the most appropriate way to address the research objectives and research questions. First, the method is suitable for exploring the process that leads people to become politically active (Blee, 1996; Bosi, 2012; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Munson, 2008). Second, it is suitable for understanding the subjective perceptions of the participants of the study (Blee & Taylor, 2002; Denzin, 1989). Finally, the method is effective for exploring the dynamic interplay between individual agency and the social context (Cole & Knowles, 2001).

Given the qualitative nature of the study, a purposive sampling method was used to select the research participants. As the study aimed to explore the individual mobilization processes of a sample of young political party activists in Hong Kong, two criteria were used to select the participants. First, they should be young people aged 18 to 29. Second, they should be active members of a political party. Ultimately, through cold-calling, snowballing, and other methods, life history interviews with 23 young party activists from five major political parties in Hong Kong were conducted from 2012 to 2013. To ensure the depth of the information, slightly more than half of them were interviewed twice. Two kinds of additional data were collected to supplement and triangulate with the life history interviews. The first kind was materials related to the biographies of the participants, such as personal writings and newspaper articles. The second kind was in-depth interviews with party officials responsible for managing the young members of their respective parties.

All life history interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Based on the interview guide and a careful reading of the transcripts, a coding system

was developed to label and categorize the narratives of the participants. Then, the coded data were sorted and summarized. Finally, cross-case analyses were conducted to look for the similarities and differences between the participants in terms of the process of their becoming party activists and the influences at play.

1.3. Significance of the Study

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it can shed light on the development of political parties in Hong Kong. Political parties in Hong Kong are relatively underdeveloped compared with those in Western established democracies (Lam, 1997; Lau & Kuan, 2000; Ma, 2007a). Ma (2007a) suggested that the underdevelopment of political parties is a crucial factor that impedes the democratization process of Hong Kong and results in the deterioration of governance. Underdeveloped political parties fail to mediate and reconcile conflicts between the state and society and channel societal interests into the political process. To reinforce themselves, the parties need to recruit more party members, particularly the active ones, because they can help raise funds, campaign at the grassroots, and serve as election candidates (Scarrow, 2007; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002). New members can also rejuvenate the party by providing a new generation of activists and leaders (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008a). Political parties in Hong Kong are eager to groom young members (Lo, 2010). Some parties, such as the Civic Party (CP), the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB), and the League of Social Democrats (LSD) have seemed to successfully expand

their young membership in recent years (Ming Pao, 2010a; Ta Kung Pao, 2011) despite unfavorable socio-political context.

However, little is known about these phenomena because research on Hong Kong political parties has focused on describing and explaining the underdevelopment of political parties as a whole (Lam, 1997; Lau & Kuan, 2002; Ma, 2007b; Ma, 2007a; Sing, 2004). This study fills this gap in research by exploring the puzzle of why some young people choose to join and actively participate in these parties and by determining which strategies Hong Kong parties have adopted to recruit and retain more young members.

Second, this study can enhance our understanding of youth political participation in Hong Kong. For a long time, young people in Hong Kong were described as politically alienated (Leung, 1997), apathetic (Lai, 1998), and having low level of political participation (Kwok, 1999). Youth political participation and activism were not popular fields of research in Hong Kong. However, the situation has changed. More young people have actively become engaged in various political activities and social movements in recent years, and this situation has renewed academic interest in the field (Chiu & Leung, 2010; Wu, 2010; Yip et al., 2011). However, most of these studies are based on questionnaire surveys, which only provide a general picture. Only a few studies are comprehensive and focused on the process of how some young people decide to become politically active (e.g., Leung, 2006; Ng, 2009). According to Chiu et al. (2010) in a report on youth social attitudes, "We need further research for example on the processes of political learning through which various social and political values are formed and internalized….leading finally

to public actions" (pp.88–89). Local studies on youth political participation also seldom focus on specific types of activism. Therefore, the present study can enhance our understanding of youth political participation by focusing on a sample of young people who are actively involved in political parties.

Apart from contributing to the literature, this study can also help reveal the future political development of Hong Kong. First, youth is a politically definitive period (Flanagan, 2009) and "a time of structuring and restructuring of the political self" (Jennings & Niemi, 1978). Political scientists have found that the political attitudes and orientations of youth are less stable, such that young people are more open to different ideas (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Jennings & Niemi, 1978; Stoker & Jennings, 2008). By attending university or going to work, young people have many opportunities to encounter diverse political perspectives that may influence their political orientations (Finlay, Wray-Lake, & Flanagan, 2010; Flanagan & Levine, 2010).

Second, research shows that the political attitudes and behavioral patterns learned in youth are likely to persist over time (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Jennings & Niemi, 1978; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996; Stoker & Jennings, 2008). For example, Prior (2010) found that political interest developed in youth is enduring and stable over time. Plutzer (2002) revealed that when young people vote once, they are likely to vote in the future. Jennings (2002) discovered that young people involved in student protests in the United States in the 1960s continued to be more politically active than the non-protesters by the time they reached middle age. For these two reasons, enhancing our knowledge on a sample of young party activists can provide us with one more

clue to anticipate the possible future development of Hong Kong politics.

Finally, this study can contribute to cross-national comparative studies on youth political participation and party members. Most current research on youth civic and political participation is concentrated on established democracies in North America and Western Europe. Research on these topics in East Asia, particularly those conducted by indigenous scholars, is scant (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Sapiro, 2004; Youniss et al., 2002). Research on political party members has a similar situation (Heidar, 2006). As a liberal authoritarian hybrid regime, a former British colony, and now a Special Administrative Region of China, Hong Kong is different from the West. Therefore, the findings of this study can be an interesting comparison with those in the North American and European cases.

1.4. Defining the Key Concepts and Terminologies

This section describes and defines the key concepts and terminologies used in this thesis.

1.4.1. Definition of key concepts

Youth. Youth is not a concept that can be easily defined because its definition varies with time and place. According to Flanagan and Syvertsen (2006), "Youth is an elastic category: where it begins and ends is subject to interpretation and is sensitive to social and historical context. Typically, this

stage or time in the life cycle refers to a person in the adolescent and emerging adult years" (p.11). Therefore, youth does not have a strict age range, and it generally refers to people in their adolescence and early adulthood. In the international context, the United Nations defines youth as people aged 15 to 24 (http://social.un.org/index/Youth.aspx), whereas the World Bank defines youth as people aged 15 to 25 (http://youthink.worldbank.org/glossary#Y). Hong Kong people tend to define youth more elastically. For example, the Charter for Youth of the Commission on Youth (n.d.) defines youth as people aged 15 to 24, but the age range may be adjusted up to five years in either direction for practical needs. Political parties have more flexible definitions of youth. For example, the youth wing of the DAB includes members aged 18 to 35 (http://www.youngdab.org.hk/), whereas the youth wing of CP includes members aged up to 40 (http://www.ycp.hk/ycp/). In terms of academic research, local scholars usually define youth as people aged either 15 to 29 (e.g., Chiu & Leung, 2010; Wu, 2010; Yip et al., 2011) or 15 to 24 (e.g., Wong, 2000). Based on these definitions and my own judgment, this study defines youth or young people as people aged 15 to 29. This age range is focused enough, and it did not pose great difficulty in the search for potential participants.

Political Party. Defining political party, like youth, is not a simple task. According to White (2006), "Defining what a political party is and what functions it should assume is hardly an objective task. Rather, it is a normative one, and the answers given by political scientists have varied over time" (p.6). This condition is particular to Hong Kong because its political parties are not

yet legally recognized entities[2] and are not allowed to form government. In this study, a political party is defined in terms of four criteria. First, it must openly proclaim itself a political party. Second, the party must be a membership association, as most self-proclaimed parties in Hong Kong are membership based. Third, consistent with Sartori's (1976) definition, the party must regularly field candidates in elections for public office. Fourth, to avoid further complexity, trade unions are excluded, although some of them have fielded candidates in elections. Therefore, a political party is defined in this study as a membership association that recognizes itself as a political party, regularly fields candidates in elections for public office, and is not a trade union. On the basis of a thorough review of the political science literature on Hong Kong, I am confident that this definition can capture most political groups commonly perceived by the public as political parties.

Party Activist. The term activist is also a controversial one. According to Fyfe (2009), "In research, use of the term 'activist' can be problematic. It has strong connotation with the politics of the left, and has become increasingly associated with violent street protest and acts of vandalism" (p. 40). In this study, a more neutral definition based on the amount of time and energy an individual has spent on a political party is adopted. A model for this definition can be found in the works of Searle-Chatterjee (1999), Klandermans and Mayer (2006b), and Munson (2008). Based on their definitions, party activists are defined in this study in terms of two criteria. First, they must be party members.

[2]This situation does not mean that political parties are illegal in Hong Kong. It only means that no law exists to allow political parties to register as legal entities. They can only register as societies under the society ordinance or as companies under the company ordinance.

Second, they must either participate actively in party activities in an enduring way or hold a leadership position in a party. Therefore, merely being a member and making a single donation to a party does not qualify an individual as a party activist. In this study, party activist and active party member are used interchangeably.

1.4.2. Explanation of terminologies appearing frequently in the thesis

Article 23 controversy and the July 1 Rally, 2003. These events refer to a series of political crises that occurred in Hong Kong in 2003. Article 23 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong requires the Special Administrative Region to enact a national security law to prohibit treason, secession, sedition, and subversion against the Chinese central government. In September 2002, the Hong Kong government proposed to legislate Article 23, and in February 2003, the government submitted the draft of the legislation to LegCo for first reading. This proposed national security law generated strong criticism from some elements of civil society, particularly the Catholic Church, legal professionals, and journalists because they perceived many provisions of the law to be harmful to civil liberties and human rights. On July 1, 2003, half a million Hong Kong people joined a demonstration against the legislation on Hong Kong Island. The demonstration was organized by the Civil Human Rights Front, a coalition of 30 social activist groups and political parties. Despite the massive protest, the government decided to submit the legislation for second reading as scheduled after making several amendments to the bill. On July 6,

the pro-government Liberal Party decided to withdraw its support to the government, depriving the government of its majority in LegCo and forcing the government to postpone and later withdraw the draft bill. This political crisis was described as an event that brought new momentum to the Hong Kong democratic movement (Cheng, 2005; Ma, 2005).[3]

2010 Constitutional Reform Proposal. This constitutional reform proposal was passed by both LegCo of Hong Kong and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China in June 2010 to amend the election procedures of the CE and the LegCo. The proposal stipulated that the election committee, which elects the CE, would be expanded from 800 to 1,200 members, and that the number of LegCo members would increase from 60 to 70. The candidates of the five new functional constituency seats would be nominated by district councilors and then elected directly by all voters not belonging to any existing functional constituencies.[4]

The original proposal of the Hong Kong government in November 2009 was more conservative; thus, the legislators from the pro-democracy camp initially vowed to veto the proposal in the LegCo.[5] Later, the moderate wing of the pro-democracy camp, including the Democratic Party (DP) and the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPL), initiated a direct negotiation with the Chinese central government, which had the final say on the

[3]For details on the crisis, see Ma (2005) and Cheng (2005).
[4]The official name of this newly created functional constituency is "District Council (2)," and the seats are commonly called "super seats".
[5]According to the Basic Law, any amendment of the election methods of the Chief Executive and the LegCo requires a two-thirds majority in the LegCo to pass. In 2010, the pro-democracy camp had more than one-third of the LegCo seats, which allowed it to veto the proposal as it had done once in 2005.

constitutional reform of Hong Kong. After a series of talks between both sides, the central government agreed to make a minor concession, allowing the five new functional constituency seats to be directly elected after nominations by a number of district councilors. The DP agreed to vote for the revised proposal in June 2010, but this decision was severely criticized by the radical wing of the pro-democracy camp for betraying democracy and the people of Hong Kong (Ma, 2011).[6]

Defacto Referendum Movement, 2010. The De facto Referendum Movement or the Five Constituencies Referendum Movement was a political movement initiated by the CP and LSD in 2010 to fight for universal suffrage in Hong Kong, and it was closely related to the 2010 Constitutional Reform Proposal. When the Hong Kong government announced the draft constitutional reform proposal in November 2009, the pro-democracy camp was upset and dissatisfied because the draft was almost the same as the 2005 proposal.[7] In response to the proposal, the radical wing of the pro-democracy camp, mainly the CP and LSD, announced that one of their legislators from each of the five geographical constituencies would resign to trigger a by-election. They saw this move as a de facto referendum that provided the public with the opportunity to express their desire for true democracy and the abolition of functional constituencies. However, this move was severely criticized by the central government and the pro-Beijing camp as unconstitutional and even subversive.

[6]For details on the entire negotiation and bargaining processes between the moderate democrats and the central government, see Ma (2011).
[7]The 2005 Constitutional Reform Proposal was vetoed by the pro-democracy camp in the LegCo in 2005.

The pro-Beijing camp boycotted the election by not fielding any candidates. The moderate wing of the pro-democracy camp, particularly the DP, also showed a lukewarm attitude toward the movement as the party wanted to negotiate with the central government. Despite vigorous campaigning, the election turnout was only 17%, which was a very low figure. All five legislators who resigned and ran for reelection did not face strong competition and were successfully reelected because the pro-Beijing camp boycotted the election (Ma, 2011).

Constituency work. Constituency work or constituency services refer to the services offered by political parties and legislative and district councilors to the residents of a specific electoral district to cultivate electoral support. Among them, the most important service is case handling (Choy, 1999), in which the party or councilor handle the inquiries, complaints, and requests for assistance of residents. Common cases include complaints about poor sanitation, maintenance of local communities, and requests for assistance in applying for public housing and social welfare. Other important constituency services are recreational activities, such as banquets, tea gatherings, tours, interest classes, and haircut service for the elderly (Choy, 1999; Ma, 2001). Other constituency works include organizing protests and petitions together with the residents on community issues and helping the residents to form owners' corporations and mutual help committees.

Apple Daily. *Apple Daily* is a local newspaper founded in 1995 by Hong Kong businessman Jimmy Lai Chee Ying. The newspaper is generally regarded as a pro-democracy paper because its news reports, editorials, and

commentaries tend to favor the pro-democracy camp. The paper also frequently criticizes the Hong Kong and Chinese central governments and encourages the people to participate in pro-democracy demonstrations and activities. *Apple Daily* is a one of the more popular newspapers in Hong Kong. In 2008, its average daily circulation was 308,000 (Lai, 2012). Research shows that *Apple Daily* readers on average are more supportive of accelerating the pace of democratization in Hong Kong (Chan & Lee, 2012).

Ming Pao. *Ming Pao* is a local newspaper founded in 1959 by scholar and novelist Louis Cha Leung-yung. The paper is now owned by Malaysian businessman Tiong Hiew-King. The editorial style of *Ming Pao* is serious and professional (Chan & Lee, 2012). Its target readers are the middle class, intellectuals, and professionals. Many schools in Hong Kong encourage or even require their students to subscribe to *Ming Pao*. In 2008, its average daily circulation was 83,000 (Lai, 2012). According to the Public Evaluation on Media Credibility Study conducted by the Center for Communication and Public Opinion Survey of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Ming Pao* was the most credible local Chinese language media from 1997 to 2010, but this status was replaced by the *Hong Kong Economic Times* in 2013 (http://www.com.cuhk.edu.hk/ccpos/en/). The political orientation of *Ming Pao* can be classified as moderately pro-democracy because most of its viewpoints are similar to those advocated by the moderate wing of the pro-democracy camp.

1.5. Forthcoming Chapters

The next chapter further examines the political background of Hong Kong. This chapter provides a detailed overview of the development of political parties in Hong Kong. It also presents a summary of youth political participation and party membership in Hong Kong and reports a small-scale survey of a sample of young party-affiliated district council election candidates to present a glimpse of the background of young party activists in Hong Kong.

Chapter Three reviews the literature on individual involvement in political parties. The chapter first reviews the effect of a range of macro-, meso-, and individual-level influences. After introducing the process approach, I explain why I go beyond the search for factors and shift the research focus from the individual mobilization process to party activism. Finally, the analytical model that guides the study is introduced.

Chapter Four discusses the research design and methodology. It discusses the rationales for adopting a qualitative approach and using the life history method. Then, the methods and procedures for sampling and recruiting the research participants are described. Thereafter, it discusses how I conducted the life history interviews and collected the additional data. Finally it discusses the data analysis procedures, ethical issues, and limitations of the study.

Chapter Five is the first chapter to present the research findings. It has two objectives. First, it examines the mobilization process of party activists in general. It shows that the individual mobilization process can be divided into four steps, but not all participants went through these four steps in the same order. In total, three sequences of steps were identified, producing three

different paths toward party activism. Second, this chapter describes in detail the first path toward party activism and examines the influences in the process through the narratives of the participants. Chapters Six and Seven describe and examine in detail the same aspects of the other two paths identified.

Chapter Eight summarizes the findings of the previous three chapters and critically discusses their implications for literature, theory, and our understanding of the Hong Kong context. It also integrates the findings and insights gained from the discussion to offer an overall conceptualization of the mobilization process of young party activists in Hong Kong.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis. It concisely presents the key findings and arguments of the thesis and describes how each chapter contributed to them. The contributions of this study to the literature and suggestions for future research inspired by this study are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL PARTIES AND YOUTH PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN HONG KONG

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will set the stage for the upcoming chapters by introducing the background necessary to understand party activism and youth political participation in Hong Kong. It first outlines the development of political parties and the party system of Hong Kong by examining their origins, evolution, functions, organizational characteristics, and trends in party membership. Then, this chapter traces and examines the landscape of youth political participation and youth party membership in Hong Kong. Finally, it presents and examines the demographic background of a small sample of young active party members collected from a small-scale survey of district council election candidates.

2.2. Party Development in Hong Kong

2.2.1. *Development of the Hong Kong party system*

The first dimension of party development I will review is the origins and evolution of the Hong Kong party system. A party system refers to the patterns of interaction, competition, and cooperation among political parties within a

political entity (Clark, 2012; Roskin, 2012; Sartori, 1976). Party systems can be classified in many ways, but the simplest one is to count the number of parties in a society (Roskin, 2012). Based on this method, party systems can be classified into one-party, two-party, and multiparty systems. Socialist countries such as China and Vietnam usually have a one-party system, in which only the Communist Party is allowed to govern. A prominent example of countries with a two-party system is the United States. Although it has many parties, effectively there are only two, the Republican and the Democratic, compete for power. Multiparty system has many examples. One is Israel, where the number of parties in its parliament has never fewer than 10, and usually no party can win an overall majority (Kenig et al., 2013).

The Hong Kong party system is a fragmented multiparty structure. In 2012, it had 17 political parties and groups in the 70-seat LegCo, and no single party has won an overall majority (Fang, 2012). These parties and groups can be roughly divided into two rival political camps, namely, pro-democracy and pro-Beijing camps (Lo, 1998; Ma, 2012). The parties in the pro-democracy camp advocate quicker democratization and emphasize values such as human rights, civil liberty, and rule of law. The pro-Beijing parties stress political stability and economic prosperity over democratization. They also emphasize maintaining good relations with the Chinese central government. The pattern of competition between these two camps in post-handover Hong Kong has been quite stable, with the pro-democracy camp consistently obtaining 55% to 60% of the votes in the LegCo Geographical Constituencies (GCs) elections and the pro-Beijing camp obtaining 30% to 40% of the votes (Ma, 2012).

I briefly examine the origins and evolution of the two major political camps in Hong Kong. Compared with that of most countries and societies in the world, the history of political parties and the party system in Hong Kong is relatively short because of its colonial history. Hong Kong was originally part of China but was ceded to Britain in 1842 following the defeat of China in the First Anglo-Chinese War (the Opium War). From 1842, Hong Kong was a British colony until it was returned to China in 1997 as a Special Administrative Region.

Until the 1980s, the Hong Kong colonial government was authoritarian and ruled by an unelected governor appointed by the British government. Government policies were made by the governor with the help of a group of senior civil servants (Cheung, 2002; Miners, 1998). No political party was involved. Moreover, all members of the LegCo were appointed by the governor. The only elected government body at that time was the Urban Council, which had a few elected seats, but the franchise was limited to the rich and the highly educated (Ma, 2010). Therefore, no political party was formed by the indigenous Hong Kong people at that time. Although the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) had established their presence in Hong Kong since the early 20th century, they seldom participated in local politics except during the 1956 and 1967 riots (Lam, 1997; Ma, 2010).[8]

The situation gradually changed as Hong Kong entered the period of decolonization. In 1979, the Chinese government began to negotiate with the

[8]For details on the two riots, see Lam (2004) and Bickers and Yep (2009).

British government on the sovereignty of Hong Kong. Instead of allowing Hong Kong to become an independent state like most other European colonies, the two governments signed a joint declaration in 1984 stating that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997 as a Special Administrative Region with a high degree of self-governance (Carroll, 2010). From that time, the colonial government accelerated the process of democratization. Direct elections were introduced to the District Boards and the Urban Council in 1982 and 1983 respectively. Indirect election was introduced to some seats of the LegCo in 1985.

The Sino-British negotiations on the political future and the gradual democratization of the political system of Hong Kong in the 1980s ignited the political interest of some pressure group leaders and former student and social movement activists who had been active in the 1970s. On the one hand, they formed embryonic political parties or "groups of political participation," such as Meeting Point, the Hong Kong Affairs Society, and the ADPL, to participate in the District and Municipal Council elections (Lam, 1997; Ma, 2007a; 2010). On the other hand, they formed a pro-democracy movement alliance, the Joint Committee on the Promotion of a Democratic Government, in 1986 with various labour, professional, religious, and student organizations to promote faster democratization and a more democratic political structure for Hong Kong after the handover (Sing, 2000). These acts marked the birth of the pro-democracy camp.

The 1989 Tiananmen Democracy Movement and the decision of the colonial government to introduce direct election in the LegCo in 1991

encouraged some pro-democracy activists to organize themselves. In 1990, they formed the first indigenous political party in Hong Kong, the United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK). Henceforth, Hong Kong experienced a growth stage of party development until 1997 (Ma, 2007b; 2010). To prepare for the 1994 LegCo direct election and further consolidate the democrats against the growing pro-Beijing force, the UDHK merged with the smaller pro-democracy political group Meeting Point in 1994 to form the DP, which became the flagship pro-democracy party in Hong Kong (Yu, 1997). Pro-democracy legislator Emily Lau formed another smaller but more radical pro-democracy party called the Frontier with several pro-democracy politicians in 1996.

The political environment of Hong Kong changed considerably since Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997. The electoral system of the LegCo GCs has changed from first past the post to proportional representation (Choy, 2002). The strength of the pro-Beijing parties gradually grew (Ma, 2001). The class gap became more salient because of the increasing income gap (Ma, 2002). The protracted transition to full democracy intensified the disputes within the pro-democracy camp regarding the strategies of the democratic movement (Ma, 2011).

All these changes led to the gradual decline of the DP (Ma, 2001) and the emergence of several new pro-democracy parties, dividing the pro-democracy camp even further. For example, a group of barristers and professionals involved in the 2003 anti-national security legislation campaign formed the CP in 2006. Raymond Wong, a famous talk show host, and two other legislators formed a radical left-wing pro-democracy party, the LSD, in the same year (Lo,

2010; Sing, 2009). However, Wong resigned from the party after a party split and formed another radical party, People Power, in 2011. In late 2010, a group of DP members who disagreed with the 2010 Constitutional Reform Package resigned and formed a small party called the Neo Democrats. Finally, a group of union leaders and pro-democracy legislators formed the Labour Party in late 2011.

Unlike the pro-democracy camp that has a single origin, the pro-Beijing camp has two major origins. The first one is the pro-CCP force in Hong Kong. Pro-CCP forces have established their presence in Hong Kong since the 1920s (Loh, 2010). Although they had a number of strong grassroots organizations such as trade unions, they were seldom involved in local politics except inciting the anti-British riots in 1967. However, when the political system gradually opened up in the 1980s, the pro-CCP force re-entered the political arena by participating in various levels of elections. The landslide victory of the pro-democracy camp, particularly the UDHK, in the 1991 LegCo election triggered the pro-CCP force to establish the DAB, its own political party, in 1992 (Lo, 1996). Given that the image of DAB was strongly grassroots, the Chinese government encouraged a group of pro-CCP businessmen and professionals to establish another pro-Beijing party, the Hong Kong Progressive Alliance (HKPA), in 1994 (Loh, 2010).

The second stream of the pro-Beijing camp originated from the business sector. During most of the colonial period, Hong Kong business people, particularly the big tycoons, were not pro-Beijing. Instead, they formed an alliance with the colonial government that guaranteed that their interests would

be protected (So, 2000). However, when Hong Kong gradually democratized in the 1980s, their attitudes began to change. Many businessmen feared that democracy would generate populism, strong unions, and generous welfare policies, which could harm the business environment. This fear drew them closer to Beijing, which was also opposed quick pace of democratization in the city. Their relationship was further strengthened by the strong economic ties established between Hong Kong and China after China started its economic reform in the early 1980s. To counter the challenge from the pro-democracy camp and protect business interests, some business people formed the Liberal Party (LP) in 1993 (So, 2000). Therefore, the pro-Beijing camp was formed with the founding of the pro-CCP DAB and HKPA and the pro-business LP in the early 1990s.

Similar to the pro-democracy camp, the pro-Beijing camp also became more fragmented after the handover. The strength of DAB continued to grow in the 2000s, as it merged with the HKPA in 2005. However, its close ally, the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), decided to field its own candidates instead of running under the DAB banner starting in 2004. Some LP legislators resigned from the party and formed Economic Synergy in 2009 because of internal disputes. The party was rebranded as the Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong in 2012. In the same year, former Secretary for Security Regina Ip established a middle class-oriented party called the New People's Party (NPP) (Ma, 2012).

In short, party politics in Hong Kong have a short history, and it did not develop until the city entered the decolonization period in the 1980s. The Hong

Kong party system is multiparty composed of the pro-democracy and pro-Beijing camps. The former originated from the social and pressure group movements in the 1970s, whereas the latter originated from the pro-CCP force and the business sector in Hong Kong. Both camps became more divided after 1997, resulting in an even more fragmented multiparty system.

2.2.2. *Functions of political parties in Hong Kong*

Political parties in democratic countries perform four main functions in the political system (Hague & Harrop, 2004). First, they form governments and offer policy directions. Second, they aggregate interests by turning specific demands from different interest groups into manageable packages of policy proposals. Third, they recruit and prepare candidates for the legislature and the government. Finally, parties simplify the choices of voters and help them to interpret the complicated political world by serving as a political brand or label (Hague & Harrop, 2004). Hong Kong political parties fail to perform the first function and do not perform the other three well.

First, the semi-democratic political system of Hong Kong prevents political parties from forming government and implementing policies. According to Ghai (1998), the primary concerns of the Chinese central government in the design of the political structure of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Regime (HKSAR) are to ensure its overall control over the politics in Hong Kong, continue the dominance of the business and professional classes, and retard the democratization process and party development. The central government does not want to see the emergence of powerful political

parties in Hong Kong that may potentially challenge its authority (Lam, 1997; Lau & Kuan, 2002; Ma, 2007a, 2007b).

These objectives are reflected in the Basic Law, the mini-constitution of the HKSAR, and other laws and institutional arrangements. In terms of the executive branch, the Basic Law creates a powerful CE who is not popularly elected (at least until the implementation of universal suffrage in, possibly, 2017). The CE is selected by an election committee comprising 1,200 members only. The CE is also prohibited from affiliating with any political party according to the Chief Executive Election Ordinance, effectively preventing any political party from forming a government to govern Hong Kong (Ma, 2007b). Although the CE can appoint political party members to serve as principal officials and unofficial members of the Executive Council (Exco),[9] the number remains small. In 2014, only 1 out of the 15 principal officials and 4 out of the 14 unofficial Exco members are party members, implying that the executive branch of the Hong Kong government remains largely non-partisan.

Aside from the "central" level, political parties also have a limited role in local governance. Municipal affairs have been redirected into the hands of the unelected government departments after the abolition the two elected municipal councils, the Urban and Regional Councils, in 2000, leaving the district councils the only elected local representative bodies in Hong Kong. However, their power in the decision-making process is limited. They mainly have an advisory role in district governance and occasionally undertake minor

[9]According to Article 55 of the Basic Law, the Executive Council is an organ to assist CE in policy-making.

environmental improvement projects (Cheung, 2002; Lam, 2012). All these factors prevent political parties from participating in local governance.

Without the opportunity to govern, political parties in Hong Kong can only perform the function of monitoring, provide advice, and occasionally block government policies and legislation in the legislature (Miners, 1998). However, even this function is severely restricted by the composition and the power of the LegCo. In terms of composition, half of the legislators in the LegCo are from the functional constituencies (FCs), which mainly represent narrow sectoral, business, and occupational interests. Political parties have found them difficult to penetrate because most of their electorates are so small that many candidates choose to run as independents rather than under a party banner (Lam, 1997; Ma, 2009b), thus reducing the party influence in the legislature. The other half of the legislators are from GCs elected through the proportional representation system using the largest remainder formula and the Hare quota.[10] This system produces a fragmented party system as it favors small parties and independents over large parties (Ma, 2007a). A fragmented legislature reduces its strength in monitoring the government.

In terms of the power of the legislature, the Hong Kong LegCo is subject to various constitutional constraints that reduces its policy influence and monitoring ability. For example, Article 74 of the Basic Law states that

[10]Based on the largest remainder formula, the seats are first allocated to the candidate lists the votes of which have reached the electoral quota, which is the minimum number of votes required for a candidate list to win a seat. Remaining seats are allocated to candidate lists with the most number of remaining votes. Electoral quota has two types, namely, the Hare and the Droop quotas. Under the Hare quota system, the minimum number of votes required to win a seat is the number of valid votes divided by the number of seats of a constituency. For example, if the number of valid votes is 100 and the constituency has five seats, then the quota for winning a seat is 20 votes. For details, see Ma (2012).

individual members of the LegCo can only introduce bills not related to public expenditure, political structure, and operation of the government. Members introducing bills related to government policies are required to obtain prior written consent from the CE (Ma, 2007a). Annex II of the Basic Law also states that the passage of motions, bills, or amendments to government bills introduced by individual LegCo members requires a simple majority vote from members of both FCs and GCs. Because of these legal constraints, only 15 private member's bills were tabled in the third term (2004–2008) of the LegCo, accounting for only 10.5% of the total number of bills tabled. This figure is much lower than that of the last term (1995–1997) of the colonial LegCo, which was free from these restrictions. In that LegCo term, 53 private member's bills were tabled, accounting for 23.2% of the total number of bills tabled (Lui, 2012).

Second, Hong Kong parties fail to perform the function of interest aggregation well (Ma, 2007). As mentioned above, the semi-democratic nature of the political system has permanently barred political parties from governing the city. The policy influence of the Hong Kong LegCo is severely restricted by various constitutional constraints, resulting in the pro-democracy parties devoting most of their energies to overseeing and criticizing the government instead of aggregating social interests into feasible policy alternatives (Ma, 2007). The interest aggregation ability of the pro-Beijing parties is also limited by their pro-government position as they have to support government policies whether the public likes them or not (Ma, 2007). The interest aggregation function of Hong Kong parties is further weakened by the FCs in the LegCo as

they mostly represent narrow sectoral interests, which have fragmented the legislature and make aggregating specific interests into manageable proposals more difficult (Ma, 2007).

Third, Hong Kong parties also have a limited role in political recruitment. As previously mentioned, the executive branch of the Hong Kong government is largely non-partisan, and most senior government officials are not recruited from political parties. Most parties, particularly those from the pro-democracy camp, also have limited capacity to recruit and train candidates for the LegCo and district council elections because of their weak resources and mobilization power (Ma, 2007). The only exception is the DAB, which has comparatively abundant resources to recruit and train potential candidates (Lo, 2010; Ma, 2001).

Finally, Hong Kong parties do not serve as political brands and labels for voters well. According to three surveys conducted by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (2011, 2012, 2013), 58% to 62% of the respondents said that they did not support any political party. Research also shows that party candidates in the LegCo elections rely more on their own popularity and local networks than on party electoral platforms to win votes (Li, 2011). This emphasis on personal vote weakens the function of parties as political brands.

In short, unlike their counterparts in full democracies, parties in Hong Kong only perform limited functions in the political system. They not only cannot govern and offer policy direction to the government, their capabilities of aggregating interests, political recruitment, and simplifying voter choices are also limited.

2.2.3. *Party organization in Hong Kong*

This section examines the organizational characteristics of Hong Kong political parties. Political scientists have created many models to classify political parties (Krouwel, 2006; Wolinetz, 2002). One of the most widely cited one is Maurice Duverger's (1964) distinction between cadre and mass parties. According to Duverger (1964), a cadre party is a decentralized and weakly organized organization formed by a small group of elites to prepare for electoral campaigns. Its membership is small and restricted and usually limited to the parliamentary caucus. The party also does not have a formal procedure to enroll members. An example of cadre party is the British Conservative Party before the Second World War. By contrast, a mass party is more centralized and organized and usually has branches. The mass party also appeals to the public by actively enrolling a large number of members. The branches actively engage their party members by providing them with political education and social activities. A classic example of a mass party is the French Socialist Party.

However, social change and the rise of electronic campaign strategies have altered the organization of many European political parties. The mass–cadre distinction is no longer sufficient to capture their characteristics (Choy, 1999; Panebianco, 1988). Other ideal types, such as electoral professional party (Panebianco, 1988) and modern cadre party (Koole, 1994), were developed to describe the new organizational forms of parties. According to Panebianco (1988), an electoral professional party is characterized by the increasing

professionalization of the party organization. Unlike those of a classic mass party, the daily tasks of an electoral professional party are conducted by specialized and professional staff instead of voluntary party members or activists. The aim of the party organization is oriented more toward electoral success than the political education of its members. Its leadership style is less collegial but more personalized. Therefore, the decision-making power within the party tends to be highly concentrated in the hands of a few party leaders.

Similar to an electoral professional party, a modern cadre party, according to Koole (1994), is a small membership organization dominated by a professional leadership group, but party members remain important because the party requires them to serve as candidates and maintain the party apparatus. The organization also maintains a mass party structure to retain a specific image and guarantee a certain level of intra-party democracy.

In the Hong Kong context, Hong Kong political parties are usually classified as cadre parties (Lam, 1997; Lau & Kuan, 2002; Lo, 2004; Yu, 2005) because of their small membership and elitist nature. However, similar to Choy (1999), I argue that Hong Kong parties resemble the electoral professional party and modern cadre party models. First, unlike a classic cadre party that does not formally recruit members, most Hong Kong parties are membership parties (Scarrow, 1996) that formally recruit members.[11] Different from a mass party, their memberships are usually small, and their daily tasks are largely conducted by salaried staff, such as legislator assistants, community officers, or policy researchers (Choy, 1999). Although DAB has successfully recruited an

[11]Probably except People Power.

impressive membership of over 20,000 in recent years,[12] the party still resembles an electoral professional than a mass party because its power is highly concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee, which comprises a small group of party elites (Lam, 2009; Yu, 2004). Many members also only become active during electoral campaigns ("Minjianlian lizheng," 2006).

Although most Hong Kong parties have small memberships, they usually maintain a mass party structure. For example, most parties have established a number of local branches, except the newer parties such as the NPP and People Power. However, different from a classic mass party, the primary aims of these branches are not to provide party members with political education. Rather, they are more like constituency service centers that providing different services, such as legal advice and recreational activities for constituents (Choy, 1999). According to my own observation and interviews with young party activists, many party local branches are managed by career politicians and salaried staff rather than ordinary amateur party members. In short, the organizational structures of Hong Kong parties resemble the ideal types of an electoral professional party and a modern cadre party.

Going beyond the formal organizational structure, the more important aspect in understanding party organization in Hong Kong is its level of institutionalization. According to Mainwaring (1998), a well-institutionalized party should have ample resources, a tight party discipline, and clear and stable procedures for leadership selection and succession. The party should also not be overshadowed by individual leaders. Judging from these yardsticks, the level of

[12]See DAB official website (http://www.dab.org.hk).

institutionalization in most Hong Kong parties is relatively low. These parties, especially those from the pro-democracy camp, usually suffer from weak material and human resources (Ma, 2007a). They also lack mature mechanisms to handle internal disputes. Parties such as the DP, CP, LP, and LSD have suffered from various levels of internal disunity and conflicts in recent years, resulting in party split or resignation of members (Lam, 2010). Moreover, many have no clear plan and procedure for leadership selection and renewal. Parties such as the LP, LSD, and CP are still dominated by leading charismatic figures or party founders.

The only exception is the DAB. Its resource is comparatively abundant[13] because it receives substantial donations from pro-Beijing and Chinese corporations and businessmen (Lo, 1996; Lo, 2001).[14] The ample resources of the donors enable the DAB to offer extensive constituency services to voters, employ many professional staff members, and provide numerous training opportunities to young members to groom a new generation of party leaders (Lo, 2010; Ma, 2001). Ample resources also help the DAB to ease intra-party tensions and maintain the loyalty of its members when internal conflicts arise because it can distribute benefits to dissatisfied members (Choy, 2002).

In short, the organization of Hong Kong political parties has become more professionalized. However, at the same time, they have a low level of

[13]For example, the annual income of the DAB in 2012–2013 was HK$ 107 million, whereas the incomes of DP and CP during the same period were only HK$ 16 and HK$ 8 million, respectively ("Minjianlian nianshouru," 2014).
[14]For example, mainland property developer Shimao Property and pro-Beijing businessman Pansy Ho Chiu-king (managing director of Shun Tak Holdings and a daughter of Stanley Ho) donated HK$ 13.8 and HK$ 5 million, respectively, to the DAB during the party's annual fundraising banquet in 2014 ("Minjianlian wanhui," 2014).

institutionalization, except the flagship pro-Beijing party DAB, which receives enormous resources and support from pro-Beijing corporations and organizations in Hong Kong (Lo, 2001).

2.2.4. *Trends in party membership*

The last aspect of party development in Hong Kong I will review is party membership, which is closely related to my research target of young party activists. First, I briefly examine the membership system of Hong Kong parties. As mentioned above, most Hong Kong parties are modeled on the mass party structure and formally enroll members. Party membership requirements are generally not high. Any adult citizen who identifies with the values of a particular party can apply for membership by filling out an application form and paying the membership fee. Party officials usually interview applicants before accepting them. However, to prevent takeover and infiltration of hostile political forces, many parties divide membership into two types: those who do not have voting rights for party leadership positions and those who have.[15] A new member is usually admitted as an associate member without voting rights. To become voting members, they must be recommended by one to two senior members and approved by the party leadership.[16] The stringent requirements to

[15]The parties that have two types of membership are the CP, DAB, DP, and Labour Party. In 2013, the LSD changed its party constitution, which states that people can only apply for membership after being a member of the Friends of LSD (an auxiliary organization or fan club of the party) for six months. For more information, see the LSD website (http://www.lsd.org.hk).

[16]In the case of the CP, recommendation by two ordinary (voting) members and approval by the Membership Committee are needed for a branch (non-voting) member to become an ordinary (voting) member. For more information, see the CP website (http://www.civicparty.hk). In the

become a voting member vary from party to party.

To determine the membership size and trends of Hong Kong parties, I mainly rely on two sources. First, I gather newspaper reports and party publications, such as books and magazines. Second, I collect figures through personal communication and interviews with party staff and members. These figures are basically reliable and accurate because Hong Kong does not have a political party law, and most parties are registered under the Companies Ordinance (Cullen, 2005). Parties are obliged to disclose their full membership lists to the public upon request and have less incentive to conceal or exaggerate their membership size.[17] The usual way to report the national level of the party membership is to calculate the total party membership as a percentage of the electorate (M/E) of a nation (Mair & Van Biezen, 2001). I use the same method. Table 1 shows that Hong Kong had a total of 25,788 party members in 2013 and its M/E ratio was only 0.74%. This figure shows that the total party membership of Hong Kong is much lower than that of most European countries, although party memberships in many European democracies have declined substantially over the last two decades (Biezen et al., 2011; Mair & Van Biezen, 2001; Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010).

---

case of the DAB, an associate (non-voting) member can become a voting member by invitation of the party Central Committee. For more information, see the DAB website (http://www.dab.org.hk). In the case of the DP, an associate (non-voting) member who wants to be an ordinary (voting) member must undergo a review by his/her local branch's standing committee and be approved by the Central Committee. For more information, see the DP website (http://www.dphk.org). In the case of the Labour Party, an associate (non-voting) individual member can become a full member upon approval by the party Membership Committee. For more information, see the Labour Party website (http://www.labour.org.hk).

[17] I choose not to request the parties to show me their complete membership lists because of limited time and respect for the privacy of individual party members.

Table 1

National Levels of Party Membership

Country/ Society	Year	Total party membership (M)	Total party membership as a percentage of the electorate (M/E)
Austria	2008	1,054,600	17.27
Cyprus (Greek)	2009	81,433	16.25
Thailand	2007	24,947,217	15.00
Finland	2006	347,000	8.08
Greece	2008	560,000	6.59
Slovenia	2008	108,001	6.28
Bulgaria	2008	399,121	5.60
Italy	2007	2,622,044	5.57
Belgium	2008	426,053	5.52
Norway	2008	172,359	5.04
Estonia	2008	43,732	4.87
Switzerland	2008	233,800	4.76
Spain	2008	1,530,803	4.36
Denmark	2008	166,300	4.13
Sweden	2008	266,991	3.87
Portugal	2008	341,721	3.82
Romania	2007	675,474	3.66
Taiwan	2013	545,356	3.02
Lithuania	2008	73,133	2.71
Netherlands	2009	304,469	2.48
Germany	2007	1,423,284	2.30
Japan	2012	2,153,108	2.07
Ireland	2008	63,000	2.03
Slovakia	2007	86,296	2.02
Czech Republic	2008	165,425	1.99
France	2009	813,559	1.85
Hungary	2008	123,932	1.54
Australia	2006		1.30
United Kingdom	2008	534,664	1.21
Poland	2009	304,465	0.99
South Korea	2009	273,000	0.90
Singapore	2010	18,198	0.77
Latvia	2004	10,985	0.74
Hong Kong	2013	25,778	0.74

Note. From Biezen, Mair, and Poguntke, (2011); Cabinet Office Gender Equality Bureau (http://www.gender.go.jp); Chung (2013); Croissant and Chambers (2010); KMT Culture and Communication Committee (2013); Li, Chen, and Wang (2012); Marsh and Miller (2012); Tan (2010); Taiwan figures only included those of Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party members who have full membership rights. I collected the Hong Kong figure from various sources (see Table 2).

However, the trend of party membership shows a more optimistic picture. In terms of total membership, Table 2 shows that the M/E ratio of Hong Kong increased from 0.31% in 2006 to 0.74% in 2013. However, the DAB, the strongest pro-Beijing party in Hong Kong, contributed most to the increase. Its membership increased over 10-fold from 1,800 in 2004 to more than 23,000 in 2013. The rapid increase began in 2003 when Ma Lik was elected chairman of the DAB. He called for an active expansion of membership and set an ambitious recruitment target of enrolling 1% of the electorate as DAB members by 2022 (DAB, 2007). Members were encouraged to recruit newcomers, and a massive publicity campaign was organized to attract people to join the party (DAB, 2007; Ruan, 2012). Local branches were also encouraged to compete with each other on membership recruitment.[18]

By contrast, the LP, another major pro-Beijing party, has experienced a volatile fluctuation in its membership since its establishment. The LP was founded in 1993 with 43 members, and its membership surged to approximately 1,500 only a year later ("Chuangdang 13nian mingdan puguang," 2006). However, its membership substantially declined to only 253 in 1998 because members who had not paid their membership fees were ousted, and a massive resignation of members occurred after the defeat of its chairman in the 1998 LegCo election. In 2003, the party started a new recruitment campaign and successfully tripled its membership to over 900 in 2007 ("Ziyoudang chengyuan biqianren," 2007). However, a party split in late 2008 resulted in the sharp decline of LP membership from almost 1,000 to only 360 members ("Li

[18]Personal interview with a DAB District Councilor, June 22, 2012.

Dazhuang pi Tian Beijun ling dang fenlie," 2008). Since then, its membership has not increased. Conversely, the newly established NPP doubled its membership from 266 in 2011 to 514 in 2013.

Within the pro-democracy camp, the flagship pro-democracy party DP has achieved slow progress in membership recruitment since its foundation. Its membership increased from only 557 in 1996 to 640 in 2007. Although DP had set a target to increase its membership to 1,000 in 2004, the party had not yet managed to reach that number by 2013 (Minzhudanggaigepai, 2006). Nevertheless, its membership continues to grow to over 700, probably because of its merger with a small pro-democracy party, the Frontier, in 2008 ("Qianxian 48 ren jiaru Minzhudang,", 2008). Another major pro-democracy party, the CP, has experienced a steady growth in membership from 130 to approximately 500 since its establishment in 2006. The LSD experienced a boom in membership from 2006 to 2010, particularly after its electoral breakthrough in the 2008 LegCo election ("Sheminlian nianqīngren huiyuan jisheng," 2009). In this period, its membership increased rapidly from merely 200 to approximately 1,100. However, the party was hit hard by a party split in 2011, which led to the resignation of two of its three legislators and approximately 300 members ("317 Ren Tuidang," 2011). Its membership declined further to less than 200 in 2013 after the party decided to charge membership fees and suspended the membership of those who had not paid their fees in 2002 (personal communication with the party secretariat, June 27, 2013).[19] The Labour Party increased its membership from 131 in 2011 to

[19] Before 2012, joining the party was free of charge (League of Social Democrats, 2012).

around 200 in 2013.

Table 2

Membership Figures of Major Political Parties in Hong Kong (1992–2013)

Year	Political party							Total membership (M)	Total membership as percentage of the electorate (M/E)
	Pro-democracy parties				Pro-Beijing parties				
	DP	CP	LSD	Labour	DAB	LP	NPP		
1992	-	-	-	-	235	-	-	*	*
1993	-	-	-	-	551	43	-	*	*
1994	*	-	-	-	628	Circa. 1,500	-	*	*
1995	*	-	-	-	1,086	*	-	*	*
1996	557	-	-	-	1,138	*	-	*	*
1997	*	-	-	-	1,406	453	-	*	*
1998	*	-	-	-	1,366	253		*	*
1999	*	-	-	-	1,800	*		*	*
2000	*	-	-	-	2,021	*		*	*
2001	620	-	-	-	1,956	*	-	*	*
2002	*	-	-	-	2,012	*	-	*	*
2003	*	-	-	-	1,877	Circa. 300	-	*	*
2004	Circa. 600	-	-	-	1,800	763	-	*	*
2005	-	-	-	-	5,486	*	-	*	*
2006	Circa. 600	130	Circa. 200	-	8,207	881	-	9.811	0.31
2007	640	260	*	-	10,403	923	-	*	*
2008	*	Circa. 300	Circa. 700	-	Circa. 12,000	360	-	*	*
2009	*	*	*	-	Circa. 13,000	*	-	*	*
2010	760	Circa. 400	1,110	-	Circa. 15,000	Circa. 300	-	17,460	0.51
2011	*	*	Circa. 800	131	Circa. 20,000	*	266	*	*
2012	769	*	*	*	Circa. 21,000	*	430	*	*
2013	Circa. 800	Circa. 500	157	Circa. 200	23,607	344	514	25,778	0.74

Note. – Party did not exist; *missing data; from Choy (1999); Mainland Affairs Council (1995); Ruan (2012); Yu (2004); “317 Ren Tuidang” (2011); “Baigedang shaileng jieshao xinxue” (2010); “Chuangdang 13 nian mingdan puguang” (2006); “Chengli liangyue” (2011); “Cankao Tai Minjindang jingyan” (2001); “Dangyuan renshu yu sanqian” (2005); “Gongmindang chuzhao”(2006); “Gongdang dansheng” (2011); “Gongmindang ding gongzuozhongdian” (2007); “Guo Jiaqijia ru Gongmindang” (2010); “Gongmindang manyue” (2006); “Gongmindang xin guangdonghua kouhao” (2008); Jiang (2010); “Li Dazhuang pi Tian Beijun ling dang fenlie” (2008); “Minjianlian 19 sui dangyuan po erwan” (2011); “Minzhudang dangyuanmingce” (2007); “Minjianlian dangyuan tupo 1.3 wan” (2009); “Minjianlian que dangwurencai” (2001); “Minjianlian xinbanzi chulu” (2007); “Minzhudang zishe jizhi” (2004); “Sheminlianxian beige xuanwei xuanju” (2006); ”Sheminlian liao dangyuan niandi zengzhi 1000 ren” (2008); “Xinmindang yisui” (2011); Zhang (2010); “Ziyoudangyuan” (2006); “Ziyoudang chengyuan biqianren” (2007); “Ziyoudang guangkaimenhu na xinren” (2003); DAB (2007); Communication from party staff.

In short, the membership of the major Hong Kong parties remains relatively small compared with that of parties in many countries in Europe. However, over the past decade, five major Hong Kong parties increased their membership despite facing various legal and institutional constraints. The DAB achieved impressive success in recruiting new members. Its membership increased over 10-fold from 2003 to 2013. The CP also increased its membership by nearly four times since its establishment. The NPP and the Labour Party almost doubled their membership. However, the oldest pro-democracy party, the DP, only had a slight increase in its membership since its foundation. The two parties whose memberships declined over the past decade are the LP and the LSD. Both had once successfully expanded their membership, but they subsequently lost many members because of unexpected party splits and the re-registering of party members.

To summarize, this section reviewed the development of political parties in Hong Kong and traced the origins and evolution of the multiparty system and the two rival political camps in Hong Kong. It also pointed out that parties in the city could only perform a limited function because of various constitutional and legal constraints. Moreover, the organizational structure of Hong Kong parties has become more professionalized, although most of them have a low level of institutionalization. The trends in party membership were also examined. I find that, although the membership of Hong Kong parties remains relatively small, many have successfully expanded their membership in various degrees. The next section examines whether similar trends also apply to the younger generation.

2.3. Youth Political Participation and Party Membership in Hong Kong

In the past, young people in Hong Kong were generally described as politically alienated and apathetic (Lai, 1998; Leung, 1997). In recent years, youth participation in various non-institutional forms of activism, such as social movements and protests, has increased. However, little is known about whether this trend of rising youth activism has also extended to institutional forms of political participation such as party membership. This section examines youth attitudes toward political parties and the landscape of youth party membership in Hong Kong. A small-scale survey of young District council election candidates provides a glimpse of the background characteristics of some young party activists in Hong Kong. I examine the broader picture by studying the changes in youth political participation in the last two decades.

2.3.1. *Youth political participation*

Hong Kong is an aging society in which the number of young people is steadily decreasing. In 2010, a total of 874,700 young people aged 15 to 24 and 1,663,500 aged 25 to 39 accounted for 12.4% and 23.6% of the entire population in Hong Kong, respectively (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2011). Research on the political attitudes and participation of the young people in Hong Kong is relatively rare and fragmented, and most of this

research consists of quantitative survey studies.[20] The dominant views of the literature in the 1990s indicated that Hong Kong young people were "attentive spectators" (Tsang, 1998) and by and large interested in current and public affairs but seldom translated their attitudes into behavior other than voting. They also avoided confrontational forms of activism such as protests and demonstrations. For example, Kwok (1999) reviewed 11 survey studies conducted in the 1990s (HKYWCA & Central and Western District Council, 1992; Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b, 1995b; Kong & Lee, 1993; Tam et al., 1990; Wong & Shum, 1997, 1998; Yeung Law & Leung, 1992) and claimed that Hong Kong young people were generally interested in current affairs but rarely participated in political activities, such as electoral campaign and demonstration. They also had low political efficacy because they thought that their opinions were not valued and that they could not influence government policy.

Similarly, the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study, which surveyed 4,997 Secondary Three Hong Kong students, found that students possessed comparatively strong citizenship knowledge and liked to follow political issues through the mass media. They also strongly valued their right to vote, but they

[20]e.g., Baptist Oi Kwan Social Service (1985); Breakthrough (2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010); Commission on Youth (2005, 2010); Chiu and Leung (2010); DeGolyer (2010); Hong Kong Council of Social Service (1986); Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1995a, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c); Kong and Lee (1993); Lai (1998); Shatin District Council (2002); Tam and Wong (1990); Tsang (1998); Wong (2000); Wong, (2000); Yeung and Leung (1992); Yip, Wong, Law, and Fu (2011)

were not enthusiastic about other political activities such as participating in peaceful protests and joining political-related organizations. They also tended to avoid confrontational political actions (Lee, 2003). A study conducted in 1999 by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, which surveyed about 2,000 young people aged 15 to 24, also reported similar results. The study found that the youth had become more concerned about current affairs and had a strong desire for universal suffrage and voting, but their political efficacy remained low and they had a strong tendency to avoid protests and demonstrations (Wong, 2000).

The literature and the political events in the post-2000s era offer a more optimistic picture, portraying young people as politically more active than before. In terms of political interest, the literature continues to show that Hong Kong young people do pay attention to public and current affairs. For example, the Shatin District Council (2002) conducted a survey in 2001 and found that 57% of the respondents aged 15 to 24 frequently read or listened to news. Another survey by the New Youth Forum (2004) conducted in 2004 found that 64% of the respondents aged 12 to 19 were interested in social and current issues. A survey conducted by Breakthrough (2004) in the same year reported that 55% of the respondents aged 15 to 29 occasionally and 38% frequently paid attention to social and political news. Similar surveys conducted by Breakthrough (2008, 2009) in 2008 and 2009 found that 65% to 71% of the respondents aged 15 to 29 frequently paid attention to social issues. A SynergyNet (2007) study on youth social engagement on the Internet found that 45% of the respondents read current affairs when browsing the Internet.

The growing trend is particularly evident in terms of non-institutional forms of participation such as protests and social movements. The number of social movements led by young activists, such as the Preservation of the Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier Movements in 2006 and 2007[21], the Anti-Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail Link Movement[22] in 2009 and 2010, and the Anti-National Education Movement in 2012[23] (Lam, 2012), has grown in recent years. Moreover, young people have appeared to accept confrontational forms of activism. For example, direct clashes with the police and the occupation of private and government buildings have been seen frequently in youth-led protests and movements in recent years. Many youth-led civil society organizations and activist groups have also been founded since the mid-2000s, such as the Hong Kong Secondary Students Union (a secondary students' group promoting Hong Kong democratization formed in 2003), the 30s Group (a public affairs concern group founded by an alliance of young professionals in 2003), the Roundtable (a youth-led think tank formed in 2004) (Sham & Shen, 2007), Local Action (an urban planning activist network), the Post-80s Anti-Express Rail Youth, Tertiary 2012 (an activist group fighting for universal suffrage), and Scholarism (a student anti-National Education group

[21]The Preservation of the Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier Movements were two social movements initiated by young activists in 2006 and 2007 to challenge the government's decision to demolish the Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier on Hong Kong Island.
[22]The Anti-Express Rail Movement is a social movement initiated by young activists in late 2009 to early 2010 to stop the LegCo from passing the government's proposal to build the Hong Kong section of the Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail Link. The movement was supported by the pro-democracy parties and lawmakers.
[23]The Anti-National Education Movement was a social movement in 2012. It was led by a group of secondary school students, parents, and teachers to oppose to the government's decision to introduce a compulsory subject of patriotic education in Hong Kong secondary schools. The subject was finally shelved by the government under strong public pressure.

founded in 2011). Some youth-led online media groups, such as FM101 (an online radio station run by a group of social movement activists), Hong Kong Independent Media (a citizen journalism website), and Dash (a commentary website run by a group of secondary school students), have also emerged.

The picture is less clear in terms of institutional forms of participation. Some evidence suggests that young people have become more active. For example, statistics shows that candidates in the LegCo GC elections aged 30 or below gradually increased from 6 (6.8%) in 2000 to 39 (18%) in 2012. A survey conducted by the Hong Kong Transition Project in 2010 (DeGolyer, 2010) also found that younger respondents (18 to 29 years old) were more active in some aspects than the older cohorts. For example, more respondents aged 18 to 29 attended activities of pressure or political groups than other age groups. The younger respondents were also more enthusiastic than the older respondents in expressing concern and seeking help from the mass media and political parties. However, in terms of electoral participation, the picture is not particularly impressive. In terms of the voter registration rate, only 50% of young people aged 18 to 25 registered to vote compared with the overall registration rate of 73% in 2011 (Legislative Council, 2011). In terms of voting, aside from the 18 to 20 age group, which usually had a high turnout, the older age groups always had higher turnouts than the younger ones in the LegCo GC elections from 1995 to 2012 (Table 3) (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2011).

Table 3

Turnout Rates by Age Groups of the LegCo GCs Elections, 1995–2012

Year	Turnout by age group					Hong Kong total
	18–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	
1995	31.5	30.2	30.3	31.8	35.6	35.8
1998	63.5	46.5	47.2	48.8	52.6	53.3
2000	45.0	35.1	35.9	40.1	43.1	43.6
2004	60.8	49.7	48.0	53.4	58.2	55.6
2008	53.1	40.9	35.5	37.9	45.3	45.2
2012	42.3	46.0	50.7	49.2	51.5	53.0

Note. From HKFYG (2013); Census and Statistical Department (2013b).

In short, compared with the dominant views in the 1990s that describe Hong Kong young people as politically alienated (Leung, 1997) and apathetic (Lai, 1998), Hong Kong youth have become more politically active since the 2000s, particularly in non-institutional political activities such as protests and social movements, although the broader picture of institutional political activities is less clear. If young people have really become more active in political activities, have they also become more enthusiastic about party membership and activism? The next section specifically looks into the condition of youth party membership in Hong Kong.

2.3.2. *Youth political party membership*

Before examining the actual figures of youth party membership, I briefly discuss the attitude of the youth toward political parties. Compared with the youth interest in protests and social movements, the attitude of the young people of Hong Kong toward party politics is not particularly enthusiastic. The

International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS 2009) of IEA in 2009, which surveyed more than 140,000 14 year-old students from 38 societies, found that trust in political parties among Hong Kong students was slightly lower than the international mean (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010), and only 15.2% of respondents, ranking from the bottom, claimed they would certainly or probably join a political party when they became an adult.

Furthermore, many politically active young people are skeptical about political parties (Lin, 2010; Ma, 2007a). Since the 1990s, the civil society has gradually become detached from political parties (Ma, 2009a). Many young social and student activists have been disappointed with the performance of the political parties and considered their tactics to be too conservative and outdated as they fail to create policy and social change (Lin, 2010; Ma, 2009a). Similar to their counterparts in Western established democracies, some of these young activists prefer to join smaller, less hierarchical, spontaneous, and single-issue non-government organizations (Choy et al., 1998; Ma, 2007a; Sham & Shen, 2007). Some activists even reject permanent organizations and prefer ad hoc direct action and loose movement networks (Cai, 2010; Ming Pao, 2010b; Tan, 2010).

Hong Kong young people seem not to be enthusiastic about joining political parties, but what are the actual figures? As shown previously, most parties in Hong Kong have a small membership, but how many of them are young people? To track the state of youth party membership in Hong Kong, I rely on two sources of data: previous survey studies and data collected directly from individual parties through personal communications and newspaper

reports. The survey results show that Hong Kong young people are not very interested in joining parties. For example, the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (HKFYG) (2002) surveyed 1,008 young people in 2001 and found that only 0.2% of respondents aged 18 to 24 and 0.3% of respondents aged 25 to 29 were party members. Similar results are found in other survey studies. As shown in Table 4, party members only account for 0.3% to 1.1% of the respondents (Commission on Youth, 2005, 2010; HKFYG, 2008).

The figures collected from individual parties (Table 5) show that the total number of young party members remains small, which is not surprising given the small total party membership. On the basis of the figures, I estimate that the total number of young party members aged 30 or below in Hong Kong did not exceed 3,000 in 2013. Aside from the DAB, which has more than 1,000 young members, most parties have less than 200 young members. Although the absolute numbers are small, young members account for a relatively significant proportion of party memberships. Except the DAB and the LP, which only have 7% and 10% of members aged 18 to 35, respectively, young members account for 17% to 40% of the total party memberships (Table 5). This figure shows that young members are over-represented in the total party membership compared with their representation in the electorate in general. The 18 to 30 and 18 to 35 age groups only comprised 17.2% and 24.3% of the electorate, respectively, in 2012 (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2013). These figures are also relatively high compared with those of many Western established democracies. For example, only 17% of Danish party members are below 40 years old (Pedersen et al., 2004). In Canada, only 13% of party members are below 39

(Cross & Young, 2004). In the three major parties of Israel, party members aged 18 to 30 only account for 9% to 18% of the total membership (Kenig et al., 2013).

Table 4

Percentage of Respondents who are Party Members

Study	Year of the Survey	Respondents' Age	Sample Size	Party Membership
HKFYG (2002)	2001	18–29	1,008	0.2% (15–24); 0.3% (25–29)
HKFYG (2008)	2005	18–34	500	0.4%
HKFYG (2008)	2007	18–34	520	0.3%
Commission on Youth (2005)	2004–2005	15–24	3.446	1.1%
Commission on Youth (2010)	2008	18–27	1,054	1%

Table 5

Youth Party Membership in Hong Kong

	Year	Total party membership	Number of youth member	Youth members as percentage of total membership
Democratic Party	2013	769	200 (18–35)	26.0%
Civic Party	2013	500	100 (18–30)	20.0%
Labour Party	2013	200	67 (18–30)	33.3%
League of Social Democrats	2013	157	63 (18–30)	40.1%
ADPL	2013	97	16 (18–30)	16.5%
DAB	2011	20,000	1,408 (18–35)	7.0%
Liberal Party	2013	344	36 (18–35)	10.5%
New People's Party	2013	514	105 (18–30)	20.4%

Note. From party official websites and personal communication with party staff and officials.

Table 6

Number of Party-affiliated District Council Election Candidates Aged 30 or Below in 2007 and 2011

Party	2007		2011	
	Total number of candidates	Number of candidates aged 30 or below	Total number of candidates	Number of candidates aged 30 or below
ADPL	37	7 (18.9%)	26	8 (30.8%)
Civic Party	41	7 (17.1%)	41	10 (24.4%)
DAB	177	20 (11.3%)	164	34 (20.7%)
Democratic Party	108	20 (18.5%)	132	32 (24.2%)
LSD	30	7 (23.3%)	27	12 (44.4%)
Liberal Party	56	6 (10.1%)	24	5 (20.8%)
Total:	449	67 (14.9%)	414	101 (24.4%)

The trends in youth party membership are less clear as data are insufficient, although the signs of increase are present. Except the DAB, which regularly updates the media on the membership of its youth wing (Young DAB), most parties only sporadically report the number of their young members. Based on the fragmented data I collected from newspaper reports and my personal communication with individual parties, youth membership in many parties has gradually increased over the past few years. For example, the number of DAB members aged 35 or below (Young DAB members) gradually increased from 400 in 2005 to over 1,400 in 2011 ("Dangyuan renshu yu sanqian," 2005). The number of DP members aged 35 or below increased from 75 in 2010 to approximately 200 in 2013. The number of NPP young members (aged 35 or below) increased slightly from 120 in 2011 to 159 in 2013 ("Xinmindang chuang qingweihui," 2011). The LSD was especially successful

in attracting young members before its split in early 2011. After its electoral breakthrough in the 2008 LegCo election, its membership expanded rapidly, with many new members being in their 20s ("Sheminlian ni xiangao dangxiao hou zudang," 2008; "Sheminlian nianqingren huiyuan jisheng," 2009). In mid-2010, approximately 60% of its 1,100 members were under 35 (Zhang, 2010). However, its membership has declined sharply since the party split in 2011. Despite the split, the party has the highest percentage of young members.

*Not*e. From Registration and Electoral Office, HKSAR (www.reo.gov.hk/)

Another more indirect indicator of the trend of youth party membership is the change in the number of young candidates fielded by individual political parties in elections. Table 6 shows the number of candidates aged below 30 fielded by major political parties in the 2007 and 2011 District Council elections. Most parties fielded more young candidates in 2011 than in 2007. In total, young candidates affiliated with the six major parties in Hong Kong increased significantly from 67 (14.9%) in 2007 to 101 (24.4%) in 2011. This figure not only shows that political parties are now more eager to field young candidates, it may also indicate that more young people are willing to join and develop a political career in political parties.

In short, although young people in Hong Kong have seemingly become politically active in recent years, they remain unenthusiastic about party politics and joining political parties. Similar to that of the general public, the absolute number of young people joining political parties remains extremely small. However, when I look at the proportion of young people in Hong Kong parties and the trend of youth party membership, I see some positive signs. Some Hong

Kong parties also have successfully recruited more young members in recent years. Some parties even have a higher proportion of young members than their counterparts in Western established democracies.

2.3.3. *Who are the young party members? A small-scale survey of young election candidates*

Although more young people are joining political parties, being a young party member in Hong Kong today is still exceptional and unusual. So who are these young party members? What are their demographic background and characteristics? This section explores these questions by reporting the results of a small-scale survey of young District council election candidates who have party affiliation. Apart from providing a glimpse of the demographic background of young party members, the survey also serves as a preliminary step to elicit salient themes to be explored in more detail in the main study of this thesis, which is an in-depth qualitative life history study of a sample of young party activists.

2.3.3.1. Method for the preliminary small-scale survey

An effective way to explore the background characteristics of young party members is to conduct a representative survey among them. This method is used by many studies on party members in established Western democracies (e.g., Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008b; Seyd & Whiteley, 1992;

Whiteley, Seyd, & Richardson, 1994). However, conducting a similar kind of survey is difficult in Hong Kong. Although the Company Ordinance requires all political parties registered as limited companies to disclose their membership lists to the public upon request, most are reluctant to do so because the list is politically sensitive and involves the privacy of the party members. Therefore, I chose not to send questionnaires to all young party members and instead sought an alternative method.

One alternative is to survey young district councilors. For example, in their study on the effect of political party youth sections on young politicians in Belgium, Hooghe, Stolle, and Stouthuysen (2004) conducted a survey among city councilors instead of local party activists because of the difficulty of surveying party members. They claimed that the characteristics of city councilors closely resembled those of local party activists. Using this line of reasoning, in this thesis I chose to conduct a small-scale survey among young party-affiliated candidates in the 2011 District Council Election. The survey could also be used as a means to recruit participants for the main study of this thesis (Gillham, 2008).

The preliminary survey was conducted from October 2011 to April 2012. In the 2011 District Council Election, the seven major political parties in Hong Kong (i.e., DAB, DP, LP, CP, LSD, NPP, and ADPL) fielded 106 candidates aged 30 or below. I sent a short web-based questionnaire created using Google Docs (https://drive.google.com) to all of them through the email addresses listed on the website of the Registration and Electoral Office during the election. Follow-up phone calls and emails were sent to the respondents as

reminders to increase the response rate. A total of 53 completed questionnaires were collected, constituting a total response rate of 50%.

Among the respondents, 18 (34.0%) were from the DP, 12 (22.6%) from the DAB, 9 (17.0%) from the LSD, 6 (11.3%) from the CP, 5 (9.4%) from the ADPL, 2 (3.8%) from the LP, and 1 (1.9%) was from the NPP. Although the sample size was small, it was acceptable for a preliminary small-scale study (Denscombe, 2007). The questionnaire comprised 21 questions and was divided into three sections: (1) relationship of respondents with their party, (2) political socialization experiences, and (3) social background (Appendix 1, or Appendix 2 for the English translation). Some questions on social background were based on the opinion polls of the Public Opinion Program of the University of Hong Kong (http://hkupop.hku.hk). The questions on political socialization and the relationship of the respondents with their parties were largely based on two studies on young party members conducted by Cross and Young (2008b) and Bruter and Harrison (2009). I analyzed the data using the statistical analysis software SPSS.

2.3.3.2. Limitations

Before reporting the survey results, I must first acknowledge the limitations. First, as the survey only focuses on candidates, the respondents tend to resemble active party members and those with an ambition to develop a political career more than ordinary and passive members. Second, the analysis is relatively simple because the sample size is small; the data can only be

analyzed as a whole and cannot be subjected to any subdivision (Denscombe, 2007). Third, the results may be biased toward the pro-democracy camp because the response rate of the respondents from pro-Beijing parties is much lower than that of the respondents from pro-democracy parties (only 15 respondents were from pro-Beijing parties). Despite these limitations, the survey provides an invaluable glimpse into the background characteristics of young party activists in Hong Kong. However, the survey results must be read and interpreted with these limitations in mind.

2.3.3.3. Social background of the survey respondents

This section examines the social background of the respondents. In terms of age, more candidates were in their late 20s than in their early 20s. This statistics corresponds to the official information provided by Registration and Electoral Office. In terms of gender, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (49 or 92.5%) were male and only four (7.5%) were female. This result is similar to that in many European democracies (Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010), and it suggests that Hong Kong males are still disproportionately more willing to join political parties and stand for elections than females.

Table 7

Age and Gender of the Survey Respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Age		
21–25	20	37.7
26–30	33	62.3
Gender		
Male	49	92.5
Female	4	7.5

In terms of place of birth, most (50 or 94.3%) respondents were born in Hong Kong, and only three were born in mainland China. In terms of social class, the survey asked about family social class instead of the respondents' own social class because most people in this age group are still unmarried and live with their parents (Census and Statistics Department, 2013a). Moreover, most of the respondents have only been in the labour market for a short period of time. The result shows that over half (29 or 54.7%) of the respondents claimed that they came from grassroots (low social economic status) families. This result differs from that of some studies in Canada and Europe that found that party members generally have higher socio-economic status than the general population (Cross & Young, 2004; Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010).

Table 8

Place of Birth and Social Class of the Survey Respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Place of birth		
Hong Kong	50	94.3
Mainland China	3	5.7
Other	0	0.0
Family social class		
Grassroots	29	54.7
Lower middle	12	22.6
Middle	11	20.8
Upper middle	1	1.9
Upper	0	0

In terms of the educational level, a disproportionately large number of respondents were university graduates or received tertiary education. Eight (15.1%) respondents had master's degrees. This result shows that young party activists in Hong Kong are better educated than the general population. This result is consistent with the findings in many Western democracies in which party members are usually highly educated (Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010). Nevertheless, the respondents in this study are not only party members but also candidates. Political parties may deliberately field better educated candidates in elections. Young party members in general may not be as highly educated.

Table 9

Education and Occupation of the Survey Respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Education		
Primary or below	0	0.0
Secondary	3	5.7
A-level	0	0
University/tertiary	42	79.2
Master's degree or above	8	15.1
Occupation		
Student	7	13.2
Self-employed	2	3.8
Employed in private sector	6	11.3
Employed in non-profit or voluntary organization (e.g., charity)	35	66.0
Employed in public bodies (e.g., Hospital Authority)	0	0.0
Unemployed	3	5.7
Other	0	0.0

In terms of occupation, over half of the respondents (35 or 66%) were employed in the non-profit sector or voluntary organizations, and only six (11.3%) worked in the private sector. Table 9 shows that majority (29) of those employed in the non-profit sector were in fact employed by their respective political parties as legislative or district councilor assistants or community officers.

Table 10

Religion and Organization Membership of the Survey Respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Associational membership		
Trade union	15	28.3
Chamber of commerce	1	1.9
Professional association (e.g., Law Society)	9	17.0
Religious organization (e.g., church)	8	15.1
Social movement organization	14	26.4
Environmental or conservation group	0	0.0
Youth or student organizations	25	47.2
Human rights organization	3	5.7
Women's organization	3	5.7
Other	2	3.8
Religion		
Protestant	14	26.4
Catholic	7	13.2
Buddhism	5	9.4
Taoism	0	0.0
Islam	0	0.0
No	27	50.9
Other	0	0.0

In terms of association membership, it is unsurprising that the type of organization which most respondents had joined was youth and student organizations given their young ages. Nearly half (25 or 27.2%) belonged to this type of organization. The second most common membership was in a trade union. Among the respondents, 15 out of 53 were trade union members. Trade union membership was particularly prevalent among the DAB respondents. In total, 8 out of 12 DAB respondents belonged to a trade union as the party has a close relationship with pro-Beijing unions such as the Hong Kong Federation of

Trade Unions. Many DAB members are also FTU members (Lo, 1996). The remaining 14 respondents belonged to social movement organizations, which rank third, and they came from pro-democracy parties.

In terms of religiosity, nearly half of the respondents (26 or 49.1%) had religious beliefs; this number was slightly higher than that of the general population. According to the Government Yearbook of 2011 (HKSAR Government, 2011), approximately 43% of the Hong Kong population is religious. The most common religion among the respondents was Protestant (14 or 26.4%), followed by Roman Catholic (7 or 13.2%) and Buddhist (5 or 9.4%). Among the 14 Protestant respondents, 8 belonged to the DP. The DAB respondents were more secular, with only two respondents belonging to a religion.

Table 11

Survey Respondents' Relationship with their Parties

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Length of membership		
Less than a year	7	13.2
1–3 years	33	62.3
4 years or above	12	22.6
Missing	1	1.9
How active as a member?		
Very inactive	1	1.9
Inactive	10	18.9
Active	27	50.9
Very active	15	28.3
Holding leadership position within the party		
Yes	24	45.2
No	27	50.9
Missing	2	3.8
Employed in the party		
Yes	27	50.9
No	26	49.1

The second part of the questionnaire pertained to the relationship of the respondents with their respective parties. The first question was about the length of party membership. The results show that the majority (33 or 62.3%) joined the party for one to three years, indicating that most of the respondents were not completely new faces to the party. This result is not surprising because parties normally field candidates with some experience in the party. It is also not surprising to find that an overwhelming majority (42 or 79.2%) of the respondents claimed that they were active or very active in their respective parties, as they were election candidates of their parties. A relatively high number of respondents (24 or 45.2%) had leadership position within the party,

confirming that most of the respondents were active party members. Moreover, half of the respondents (27 or 50.9%) were employed by the party as, in most cases, legislative or district councilor assistants or community officers. This phenomenon is particularly prevalent in the DAB and the ADPL. Seven out of the 12 DAB respondents and all the ADPL respondents were party employees.

The last aspect of this short questionnaire was on the political socialization experiences of the respondents. This section inquired about their exposure to politics at home, school, university, and elsewhere. In terms of familial socialization, some studies in Europe and Canada suggest that parents and family play an important role in influencing young people to join political parties (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008b). However, my survey results show that parents did not provide the respondents with much exposure to politics when they were growing up. For example, only one respondent (1.9%) said that either of his parents belonged to a political party. Only nine (17.0%) said either of their parents had been involved in political activities when they were growing up. Only 14 respondents said their parents occasionally or frequently participated in voluntary activities. The only exception was discussing politics with their parents. Over half (54.7%) of the respondents said they occasionally or frequently discussed politics with their parents during their childhood, and 24 (45.3%) respondents said they seldom or never did.

Table 12

Political Socialization Experiences of the Survey Respondents

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Did you take a politics class in secondary school? (yes)	15	28.3
Did you take a politics class in university? (yes)	34	64.2
When you were growing up, how often did you discuss politics with your parents?		
Never	7	13.2
Seldom	17	32.1
Occasionally	22	41.5
Frequently	7	13.2
When you were growing up, how often did you discuss politics with your friends?		
Never	2	3.8
Seldom	16	30.2
Occasionally	24	45.3
Frequently	11	20.8
When you were growing up, how often did you read news from the media?		
Never	0	0.0
Seldom	0	0.0
Occasionally	17	32.1
Frequently	35	66.0
Missing	1	1.9
When you were growing up, have either of your parents ever belonged to a political party? (yes)	1	1.9
When you were growing up, was either of your parents involved in political activities? (yes)	9	17.0
When you were growing up, how often did your parents participate in voluntary activities?		
Never	16	30.2
Seldom	21	39.6
Occasionally	11	20.8
Frequently	3	5.7
Missing	2	3.8

Civic and political education in education settings are also said to have positive influence on youth political participation (Finkel, 2002; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Print, 2007; Torney-Purta, 2002). In terms of political education in secondary school, only 15 (28.3%) of the respondents said they had a politics class in secondary school. The result was different at the university level. Among the 50 respondents who were university graduates, 34 (68%) took a course in politics in university. This result shows that over half of the respondents had some exposure to political education when they were university students.

Peer groups and friends are also often mentioned in the literature as a significant influence that contributes to the political interest and participation of young people (Dostie-Goulet, 2009; McAdam, 1988a; Navia, 2008; Zhao, 2002). In my sample, 35 (66.1%) respondents said they occasionally or frequently discussed politics with friends when they were growing up. This result shows that majority of the respondents received some exposure to politics by interacting with their friends and peers.

Mass media is also considered one of the factors that promote political awareness and engagement (Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; McLeod, 2000; Pasek, Kenski, & Romer, 2006). The respondents paid much attention to political and public affairs through the media, as two-thirds of the respondents (35 or 66%) frequently read the news from the media. This result is high but not particularly surprising as young people in Hong Kong are generally interested in current issues (Breakthrough, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009; Shatin District Council, 2002).

To summarize, this small-scale survey identified the three aspects of the

backgrounds of a sample of young party-affiliated district council election candidates in Hong Kong. In terms of social background, this survey found that the respondents were disproportionately male, highly educated, and slightly more religious than the general population. Moreover, most respondents were born in Hong Kong and many of them were also members of various social organizations, such as youth organizations, trade unions, and, for pro-democracy respondents, social movement organizations. These characteristics are generally similar to those of party members in established Western democracies. The only social background characteristic that is different from that in the Western literature (Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010) is the finding that more than half of the respondents were from low socio-economic status families, whereas the Western literature shows that party members are disproportionably from the middle class.

Regarding the relationship of the respondents with their parties, the survey found that majority of the respondents had been party members for one to three years. Most of the respondents claimed that they were active or very active members of their respective parties, and nearly half of them held leadership positions within the party. Half of the respondents were also salaried staff of the party.

Unlike the findings of some Western studies on political socialization experience, the survey shows that parents did not provide the respondents with much exposure to politics when the respondents were growing up except discuss politics with them. Only a few of the respondents took a politics class in secondary school. However, among the respondents who attended university,

most of them studied at least one course related to politics. Moreover, most of the respondents occasionally or frequently discussed politics with friends and most of them would frequently read the news when they were growing up.

In short, this small-scale survey on young election candidates provides a glimpse of the basic demographics and background of young party members in Hong Kong, particularly the active ones. However, these demographic profiles only help me to understand *who* the young party activists are, but are inadequate for understanding *how* and *why* some young people were mobilized to join and become active in political parties (Horgan, 2008; Munson, 2008). These are the major questions that will be addressed in the main study. Nevertheless, the survey highlights some salient points relevant to the exploration of the influences at play in the process of mobilization into party activism. Examples include the importance of social organization, religion, peers, mass media, and university, the relative unimportance of family and school education, and the significant number of respondents who also serve as salaried staff of the party. These points will be fully explored in the main study.

Finally, I re-emphasize that this survey involves young party candidates in District Council elections. Therefore, the respondents share characteristics with active party members and are not representative of youth party membership as a whole. The small sample size also requires me to interpret the results with caution.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter provided the necessary background information to explore the central issue of this thesis, which is the individual mobilization process of young people into party activism. This chapter reviewed the origins and development of political parties in Hong Kong and charted the state of Hong Kong youth political participation and youth party membership. It also pointed out that the semi-democratic political system of Hong Kong has severely limited the functions of political parties; they could neither govern nor possess significant constitutional power to oversee the government. The party system is also very fragmented such that no party ever has an overall majority in the legislature. In terms of party organization, most parties have a low level of institutionalization, although their operations have become more professionalized. In terms of party membership, most local parties have a small membership except the DAB. Nevertheless, many have successfully expanded their membership in various degrees over the last decade.

In terms of youth political participation and party membership, this chapter showed that young people in Hong Kong today have become more politically active than their counterparts in the 1990s. However, they tend to be more active in non-institutional than institutional activism such as party membership. The number of young people who join political parties is still very small. However, the number of young members of some parties has increased in recent years. Many parties also have a higher proportion of young members than their European counterparts. It is therefore worthwhile to explore how these young members became involved in their political parties and how some of them later became active members.

To obtain a glimpse of the background of the young party members in Hong Kong, especially the active ones, a small-scale survey was conducted on party affiliated young candidates in the 2011 District Council election. The results showed that, similar to their counterparts in many European democracies, these young candidates were mostly male and highly educated. However, over half of them came from low socio-economic status families and were employed in their parties. In terms of political socialization experience, most of them did not receive much exposure in politics from their parents and schools. The media, their peers, and university seemed to have a more important role in their political socialization.

Although this survey provides a quick look into the basic demographics of young party activists in Hong Kong, it is inadequate to understand how and why they were mobilized into party activism. Therefore, the next chapter critically reviews the relevant literature to explain party membership and activism. Chapters Five to Seven use the life history interview data to explore in detail the individual mobilization processes of a sample of young active party members.

CHAPTER 3

EXPLAINING INDIVIDUAL MOBILIZATION INTO PARTY ACTIVISM

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter showed that only a small number of young people in Hong Kong chose to join and actively participate in political parties. How can the decisions and choices of this small sample of young people be explained? To explore this problem, I introduce and examine a host of literature to expound on individual participation in political party activism. Based on this review of the literature it will also introduce the analytical model which guides this study.

This chapter first examines a range of factors or influences from the literature that may shape individual participation in party activism. The macro-level contextual influences, such as political institutions and political culture, are first examined. Then, the effects of meso-level contexts, such as political party, family, mass media, and education institutions, are explored. Thereafter, the role of individual agency in individual participation in party activism is discussed. Moreover, this chapter presents the reasons why I should move beyond the search for factors and shift the research focus to the entire individual mobilization process. I argue that this approach can provide a more thorough understanding of youth participation in political parties. In closing, the chapter introduces the analytical model based on the literature review to guide the data presentation and analysis of this study.

3.2. Macro-contextual Influences

Why does an individual decide to participate in political party activism? The political science literature suggests a range of factors or influences to explain this phenomenon. The first group of influences is the macro-level structural and situational contexts of a society (Linek & Pecháček, 2007; Morales, 2009; Norris, 2002; Scarrow, 2007; Seyd & Whiteley, 2004). For example, Norris (2002) analyzed the data of the World Value Surveys and found that the national level of party membership is highly correlated with the societal level of modernization, particularly the penetration rate of modern mass communication technology such as television. When the rate of television access of a society is high, the level of party membership tends to be low because political parties can rely more on television campaigns and less on face-to-face canvassing, thus reducing their motivation to recruit members.

Regarding political institutions, Morales (2009) analyzed the cross-national survey data in Europe and argued that certain institutional settings of the political system can encourage people to join political organizations. For example, political organization membership tends to be higher in countries where the government is more decentralized and institutions of direct democracy are available. These institutional features are more transparent to the demands of the citizens and provide them with more participation opportunities. Therefore, people are encouraged to join political organizations.

Arguing from the perspective of political culture or mass political attitudes,

Linek and Pecháček (2007) found that the main reason for the low party membership in Czech Republic is the existence of anti-partyism among its citizens. Most Czech people do not join political parties because they have a bad impression of these parties. They do not trust parties and consider party politicians to be mainly interested in making profits for themselves instead of improving the society.

In Hong Kong, the macro-level context is the primary influence used in the local political science literature to explain the low party membership in Hong Kong (Choy, 1999; Lam, 2010; Lam, 1997; Lau & Kuan, 2000, 2002; Ma, 2007a, 2007b; Sing, 2004). This body of literature mainly focuses on two dimensions of macro-level contexts, namely, the institutional settings of the political system and the mass attitude toward political parties.

In terms of institutional configurations, the local literature usually argues that political institutions in Hong Kong are very unfavorable to party development as they discourage people with political ambition from joining political parties. First, Hong Kong parties are not allowed to govern because the CE is not popularly elected and barred from affiliating with any political party (Ma, 2007b). Second, only slightly over half of the legislators are popularly elected; the remaining legislators are returned from functional constituencies that largely represent narrow sectoral and occupational interests. Parties are difficult to penetrate as most of the functional constituencies only have a small electorate, making party support unnecessary or even harmful (Lam, 1997). This situation also discourages the business elites from forming their own political parties or donating to parties, as their interests have already been well

taken care of by the functional constituencies (Ma, 2007a). Third, the abolition of the two municipal councils in 2000 significantly reduced the number of elected positions for which the parties can compete.

In terms of mass political attitudes, the literature points to the mistrust in or low level of support among Hong Kong people to political parties, which discourages them from joining political parties. For example, Lau and Kuan (2000) suggested that the traditional Chinese political culture emphasizes authority, unity, and harmony, which are unfavorable to party politics. Sing (2004) compared the level of anti-partyism[24] in Hong Kong with that of 32 societies around the world based on data from the Comparative Study of Electoral System in 1998 and 2000. He found that the level of anti-partyism in Hong Kong is slightly higher than the international average because the public views the parties in Hong Kong to have limited power and influence. Citing several survey studies, Lam (2010) pointed out the low public support for political parties in his study on party institutionalization in Hong Kong. As discussed in the previous chapter, a new generation of social activists and young people seems to favor non-institutionalized forms of political activism, such as single-issue movements and direct collective actions, and has become more skeptical about political parties and politicians (Choy et al., 1998; Lau & Kuan, 2002; Ma, 2007a; Sham & Shen, 2007).

In short, the literature shows that macro-level contexts are important influences that affect individual participation in political parties. The local

[24]In his study, anti-partyism is measured by two items: "parties are necessary to make our political system work" and "parties care what ordinary people think."

political science literature that used this perspective has successfully explained the relatively low party membership in Hong Kong by emphasizing the unfavorable macro-level contexts that hinder the expansion of party membership. However, the literature fails to explain why, despite these unfavorable conditions, a small number of young people still choose to join political parties and actively participate in them. Some parties even have successfully recruited many young members in recent years. On the one hand, this situation shows that the macro-level contexts alone are inadequate to explain individual participation in party activism. We also have to consider the meso-level contexts and individual influences, which are examined later in this chapter. On the other hand, this finding shows that the literature, particularly the local ones, has overlooked some aspects of the macro contexts that may in fact be favorable to party activism.

The macro-level contexts in Hong Kong that may be favorable to individual participation in political parties include Hong Kong's regime type, critical socio-political events, and the China factor. First, some aspects of the regime type of Hong Kong may provide favorable conditions for individual participation in political parties. Hong Kong is a liberal authoritarian hybrid regime (Case, 2008; O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986). This type of regime is unique in comparative studies (Fong, 2014) because, on the one hand, Hong Kong people enjoy a wide range of civil liberties, such as freedom of speech and assembly, comparable to people in Western democracies (Ma, 2008). On the other hand, they are not allowed to popularly elect CE and all the LegCo members, as the political system is only semi-democratic.

The literature suggests that this type of regime provides the pro-democracy parties and movements with the momentum and opportunity to mobilize popular support (Case, 2008). On the one hand, the lack of democracy creates a perennial legitimacy problem for the government (Ma, 2008; Sing, 2006). This problem can be used by pro-democracy forces to arouse popular support for democracy. On the other hand, the tolerance of civil liberties increases the demand of the people for democratization and enables pro-democracy forces to organize pro-democracy demonstrations and campaigns (Case, 2008; O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986). According to Case (2008),

> The lack of democratic procedures…itself becomes a basis for societal discontents….In this conditions, advocacy groups, popularly denominated as "pro-democracy" forces, use their civil liberties to mobilize society across a range of grievances. And they draw added strength from precisely the absence of electoral release (p.373).

Mass mobilization events have the potential to inspire and motivate young people to join pro-democracy political parties. A well-known example is the July 1 Rally in 2003 in which half a million Hong Kong people took to the street to protest the national security legislation (Article 23 of the Basic Law) and call for the implementation of universal suffrage.

Critical socio-political events can be considered another aspect of the macro context in Hong Kong that may encourage individual participation in political parties. The literature on political socialization shows that important political events such as election campaigns and wars can act as a powerful socialization force to influence the political beliefs and attitudes of young

people (Gimpel, Lay, & Schukuecht, 2003; Sears & Valentino, 1997). For example, Gimpel, Lay, and Schuknecht (2003) showed that the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 increased the amount of political discussion, knowledge, and efficacy of young people in the United States. Similarly, the social movement literature also points out the importance of critical political events to trigger the participation of individuals in a social movement (Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Bosi, 2012; Linden & Klandermans, 2007; Teske, 1997). For example, Bosi (2012) found that some people in Northern Ireland were influenced by the Bloody Sunday Incident in 1972 to join the Provisional Irish Republican Army. This power of critical events may lie in their ability to arouse the anger, enthusiasm, and fear of the people, motivating them to participate in politics (Brader & Marcus, 2013; Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2013).

Large-scale social and political events are not rare in Hong Kong since its return to China in 1997 partly because of its liberal authoritarian and semi-democratic political system, which grants its people many civil liberties and some democratic rights. I already mentioned the July 1 Rally in 2003, which is considered the largest indigenous social movement in Hong Kong history (Ku, 2009; Ma, 2005). The July 1 Rally and subsequent mass mobilizations rejuvenated the local democracy movement and encouraged the political participation of the youth and the middle class (Ku, 2009; Ma, 2005). Other examples of large-scale socio-political events occurring since the handover include the LegCo and district council elections of various years, the anti-World Trade Organization protest in 2005, the Anti-Express Rail Movement in 2009–2010, the de facto Referendum Movement in 2010, and the Anti-National

Education Movement in 2012. All these events have the potential to motivate and inspire young people to participate in politics and even join political parties.

The third possibly favorable macro-level context that has not received enough attention in the literature is the China factor. Hong Kong is not an independent city-state but a Special Administrative Region of China. As mentioned in the last chapter, the Chinese central government and local pro-Beijing corporations and social organizations provide pro-Beijing political parties, particularly the DAB, with abundant financial resources (Lo, 2004; Loh, 2010; Ma, 2007a), which enable the pro-Beijing parties to invest ample resources to recruit and train new young party members (Choy, 2002; Lo, 2004; Ma, 2001). This factor may constitute another favorable condition for individual participation in political parties in Hong Kong.

In short, the local political science literature heavily emphasizes the macro-level contexts that are unfavorable to individual participation in political parties but has not paid enough attention to the possibly favorable macro-contexts, such as regime type, critical socio-political events, and the China factor.

3.3. Meso-contextual Influences

The previous section shows that macro-level contexts alone are inadequate to explain individual participation in political parties. Considering the influences related to meso-level contexts is also necessary. The literature

suggests a range of meso-level contextual influences that may contribute to individual participation in political parties. These influences include the political parties themselves and a range of political socialization agents, such as mass media, family, educational institutions, voluntary organizations, and peer groups (Quintelier, 2013). The following sub-sections examine these influences.

Before discussing the influences, I briefly introduce the concept of political socialization because it is important for the understanding of the subsequent discussion on agents of political socialization. The concept first appeared in the book of Hyman (1959), who defined political socialization as the "learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society" (p.25). Greenstein (1968) argued that political socialization could be defined both narrowly and broadly. "Narrowly conceived, political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values, and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility" (p.551). Generally, political socialization can also be defined as "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally nonpolitical learning that affects political behavior…" (p.551). Similar to the broad concept of Greenstein, Langton (1969) defined political socialization as "the process, mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behavior patterns" (p.5). Therefore, in essence, political socialization can be conceived as a process through which people learn their political values and behavioral patterns from various social contexts or

agencies (Quintelier, 2011).

3.3.1. *Political party*

The first meso-level influence I examine is political party, which as suggested by the political science literature, is an important meso-level context that encourages individuals to join and actively participate in political parties (Bob-Milliar, 2011; Panebianco, 1988; Seyd & Whiteley, 1992; Whiteley et al., 1994; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002; Whiteley, Seyd, & Billinghurst, 2006). The literature primarily focuses on studying the incentives offered by political parties to attract new members and induce their active participation (Seyd & Whiteley, 1992; Whiteley et al., 1994; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002; Whiteley et al., 2006). This perspective originates from the rational choice tradition (Passy, 2013), particularly the collective action theory of Mancur Olson (1965). This tradition assumes that people are rational and self-interested (Hindmoor, 2010), and that they will not act to achieve common or group interests unless incentives are offered to them.

Clark and Wilson (1961) categorized incentives into three types, namely, material, solidarity, and purposive incentives. Material incentives refer to tangible benefits, such as a job in a party or an opportunity to develop a political career. Solidarity incentives are more intangible and usually refer to party activities and friendship gained from the party. Purposive incentives refer to the appeal of the ideology or policy platforms of the party. Whiteley and Seyd (1992; 2002) grouped material and solidarity incentives into a category

called selective incentives as they can only be enjoyed by those who have joined and actively participated in the party. They also renamed purposive incentives as collective incentives as they could be enjoyed by all citizens if realized (Ware, 1996).

The incentive perspective is used by many studies to explain individual participation in political parties. For example, this perspective was used to study the members of political parties in the United Kingdom (Mitchell, Bennie, & Johns, 2012; Seyd & Whiteley, 1992; Whiteley et al., 1994; Whiteley et al., 2006), Belgium (van Haute, Amjahad, Borriello, Close, & Sandri, 2013), Canada (Young & Cross, 2002), and Ghana (Bob-Milliar, 2011). Although variations exist, most of the studies found that purposive or collective incentives are the most important incentives to motivate people to join a political party. Material and solidarity incentives (selective incentives) only play a secondary role.

3.3.2. *Mass media*

The first agent of political socialization I introduce is the mass media. In general, mass media such as newspapers, television, and the Internet are widely recognized as significant political socialization agents contributing to individual political and civic participation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014; Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; McLeod, 2000; Quintelier, 2013). For example, Pasek, Kenski, and Romer (2006) found that media use, whether online or offline, could facilitate civic engagement and promote political awareness among young people. In terms of television viewing, Hoffman and

Thomson (2009) found that viewing television news has a positive effect on the civic participation of adolescents. Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes (2014) found that reading the newspaper and listening to the radio contribute to the voting behavior of young people by increasing their political knowledge. In terms of the Internet, Bakker and de Breese (2011) found that Internet usage, such as consuming online news and discussing politics online, is positively related to many forms of political participation of young people.

Specifically on political party activism, a study on politically active youth in Canada (Cross & Young, 2008b) found that news exposure through media, such as television, newspapers, and the Internet, slightly increases the likelihood of joining a political party, but those who are more reliant on the Internet than other sources for political information are less likely to be party members. A study on the party activism of young members of the Canadian Liberal Party (Cross & Young, 2008a) found that members who had a newspaper delivered to their homes when they were growing up are more likely to engage in election-related party activities, such as volunteering in an electoral campaign.

3.3.3. *The family*

The second socialization agent that may contribute to individual participation in political parties is the family. In general, the family has long been recognized as an important influence that shapes the political orientation and behavior of young people (Jennings, Laura, & Jacob, 2009; Quintelier,

2013; Youniss et al., 2002). For example, Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) found that, if the parents were politically engaged and frequently discussed politics with their children, then the children would more likely adopt the political orientations of their parents, such as party identification and political interest. Similarly, a study in Taiwan (Chen, 2001) found that the family could have a strong influence on the political attitudes and values of the children if the family members are interested in politics and frequently discuss politics at home. According to another study, young people are more likely to vote and participate in volunteering activities if their parents vote and discuss politics frequently (Kelly, 2006).

Moving specifically to political party activism, the literature also suggests that the family is a significant influence in leading young people into party activism. For example, Recchi (1999) discovered that a crucial factor leading young Italian people to regularly engage in party activities is having a politically active family member or relative. Another study of young party members in Canada (Cross & Young, 2008b) found that having a party member parent is an important factor influencing the decision of politically active youth to join a political party. Another Canadian study (Gidengil, O'Neill, & Young, 2010) found that a politically active mother could encourage her daughter to become politically active and that the effect is particularly strong in party membership. On the basis of in-depth interviews with young party members in six Western and Eastern European countries, Bruter and Harrison (2009) found that they were inspired by their parents, the ideology of their parents, or the party membership of their parents to join a political party. A recent survey on

party-affiliated parliamentary candidates in Belgium (Van Liefferinge, Devos, & Steyvers, 2012) found that over half of the respondents had a least one party member-parent. Moreover, the stronger their parents engaged in party activities, the younger the respondents became candidates. A study on young party members in Morocco (Desrues & Kirhlani, 2013) found that some respondents attributed their party membership to the influence of their parents or relatives who were active in political parties.

3.3.4. *Educational institutions*

Educational institutions, such as schools and universities, are another socialization agent that may be influential in shaping individual participation in political parties. Like the family, educational institutions have long been considered an important socialization agent that shapes the political orientation and behavior of people (Braungart & Braungart, 1994; Finkel, 2002; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Leung, 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, 2002; Youniss et al., 2002). In terms of school education, for example, Torney-Purta (2002) used data from the IEA Civic Education Study and concluded that schools could enhance the civic knowledge and willingness to vote of adolescents if the classroom climate was open and the curriculum content contained voting and elections. Participation in student councils could also enhance civic knowledge and engagement. Similarly, Whiteley (2012a) discovered that the independent subject of civic education in England has a positive and significant impact on the political efficacy, knowledge, and participation of students. Another study

on high school students in South Africa (Finkel & Ernst, 2005) found that a school civic education program could greatly enhance their political knowledge and slightly enhance their democratic values and skills. A study on politically active secondary school students in Hong Kong (Leung, 2006) established that pedagogies, such as issue-based teaching and experiential learning, and knowledgeable and credible teachers who are open- and civic-minded could help students develop active democratic citizenship.

In terms of university, the literature has found that university education is important in shaping the political orientation and behavior of people (Fairbrother, 2003; Hoskins, D'Hombres, & Campbell, 2008; Jennings & Stoker, 2008). On the basis of the European Social Survey, Hoskins, D'Hombres, and Campbell (2008) found that tertiary education generally has a strong positive effect on active citizenship behavior, such as voting, party membership, and lawful demonstration. According to Jennings and Stokers (2008), university education in the United States can lead people to be slightly more politically active, knowledgeable, and interested. In terms of curriculum and professors, a study on US student activists in the 1960s (Braungart & Braungart, 1994) found that professors play a role in stimulating the political interest of some activists. A study on a community-based undergraduate course on social issues (Schamber & Mahoney, 2008) concluded that service learning courses could enhance the political awareness and sense of social justice of students. In terms of student clubs and societies, Braungart and Braungart (1994) found that participation in student clubs, such as the student union and college newspaper, provides many student activists with the skills and training

that contribute to their political activism. Student clubs also serve as a social network platform that lead students to join student movement organizations.

Specifically on political party participation, Cross and Young (2008b) found that taking a course on government or politics in high school or university levels increases the likelihood of young people to join a political party. Bruter and Harrison (2009) discovered that a student union in the university inspired or led a minority of young party members in Europe to join a political party. Desrues and Kirhlani (2013) found that the university facilitates party activism in Morocco because it liberates students from family supervision and provides them with opportunities to be exposed to various political ideas and movements, and to know many political activists. A study on Swedish party membership (Persson, 2012) found that university education could indirectly increase the probability that individuals would join political parties because they would have the chance to gain entry into high-status social networks and increase their likelihood of being recruited by political parties.

In short, the literature shows that educational institutions encourage individual participation in political parties in two major ways. First, they shape the political interest, knowledge, values, and skills of individuals. Second, they shape the social networks of individuals and facilitate their link to participation opportunities.

3.3.5. *Voluntary organizations*

The fourth meso-context that may contribute to individual participation in

political parties is voluntary organizations. Voluntary or civil society organizations, such as religious and youth organizations, have been regarded as an important socialization agent that contributes to individual political participation (Frisco, Muller, & Dodson, 2004; Hanks, 1981; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Quintelier, 2008). For example, a study conducted in the United States (McFarland & Thomas, 2006) found that the participation of young people in politically salient voluntary organizations, such as service and religious organizations, has modest but significant effects on adult political participation, such as voting and political campaigning, as participation in voluntary organizations could help young people develop the skills, interest, and knowledge to facilitate political participation. The positive effect of voluntary organizations was also reported in another survey study in Belgium (Quintelier, 2008), which indicated that participation in cultural (e.g., music), helping (e.g., volunteering), and deliberative (e.g., school council) organizations contributes to acts of political participation. Similarly, a qualitative study conducted in the United States (O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2008) found that participation in community-based youth organizations that aim for civic action or community change could help young people develop competencies for democratic participation, such as collaborative work and knowledge on local issues.

Teorell (2003) and Quintelier (2008) found that, apart from the type of organization, the number of organizations in which an individual participates also matters. The reason is that, as individuals join more voluntary organizations, the more they develop social networks to connect with the

requests and opportunities for political participation.

Specifically on party activism, a few studies highlighted the influence of voluntary organizations on individual participation in political parties. For example, Bruter and Harrison (2009) found that a small number of young European party members attributed their party membership to their experiences in trade unions and pressure groups. Desrues and Kirhlani (2013) found that participation in voluntary organizations, such as scouts and party-affiliated trade unions, helped some young people in Morocco to become party members.

3.3.6. *Peers*

Peers are the fifth meso-level context that may influence individual participation in political parties. Peer groups, such as friends and classmates, are well documented in the literature as an influential agent of socialization that affects the political orientation and behavior of young people (Gordon & Taft, 2010; Quintelier, 2013; Zhao, 2002). For example, the panel studies of Dostie-Goulet (2009) and Quintelier (2013) found that the influence of political discussion among peers is as powerful as that among parents to enhance the political interest and level of political participation of young people. In a seminal study on the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, McAdam (1988a) found that having a friend who was also applying for the project was an important factor that encouraged college students to join the project. Similarly, a study on the 1999 anti-U.S. student protests in China (Zhao, 2002) found that peer pressure in the university dormitory was the primary reason that motivated

the students to participate in the protest. A qualitative study on teenage activists (Gordon & Taft, 2010) found that peer-based political socialization is more effective than adult-led socialization in the development of political knowledge and skills because it is more open and less hierarchical.

A few studies highlighted the influence of peers on political party participation. For example, Bruter and Harrison (2009) found that, in joining a party, some of the European party members they studied were inspired by their friends who already belonged to the party. For some party members, friends helped reinforce the interest they had already developed through family socialization. Desrues and Kirhlani (2013) discovered that friends play a role in inspiring young Moroccan people to join political parties.

In the preceding paragraphs, I briefly examined a range of meso-level contexts that could shape individual participation in political parties. The literature suggests that the meso-contexts mainly have two roles. First, they act as socialization agents to socialize people to become politically interested or active. Second, they serve as social networks to connect people with opportunities for political participation. The role of the political party is slightly different. The literature focuses on how the political party offers incentives to attract new members and induces those who have joined to participate actively.

3.4. The Role of Individual Human Agency

The previous sections discussed a range of macro- and meso-level contextual influences. However, contextual influences offer only limited

explanations on whether the role of individuals is neglected. This section discusses the role of individual choice or human agency. The role of individual agency in shaping individual political orientation and behavior is sometimes downplayed or neglected in the political science literature. For example, influenced by the social system theory of Talcott Parson (1959), early political socialization research tended to view young people as passive recipients of external political messages. Agents of socialization, such as family and the media, were seen to smoothly impart or transmit political values and behavioral patterns to young people in a top–down manner (Easton & Dennis, 1969; Hess & Torney, 1967; Hyman, 1959; Sigel, 1970).

The rational choice perspective also prioritizes contextual influences over the role of human agency as this perspective assumes that people "have the same exogenously given, fixed, and self-interested goals which they pursue in the same rational manner" (Hindmoor, 2010). Therefore, differences in individual political behavior are solely determined by the different incentives offered to people (Hindmoor, 2010).

However, this deterministic view of contextual influences has been challenged by more recent research. For example, many recent political socialization studies have adopted the constructivist theories of cognitive psychology and show that young people are *active agents* who can interact with socialization agents to construct their own political realities. They can reflect, resist, and interpret the political messages they receive from various contexts before forming their own political orientation and taking political action (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr, & Starrin, 2009; Cook, 1985; Fairbrother, 2003; Hahn,

1998; Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Leung, 2006; Sigel, 1995; Torney-Purta, 1995; Yates & Youniss, 1998). According to Youniss et al. (2002), "Political socialization is not something that adults do to adolescents, it is something that youth do for themselves" (p.133). An example of this more recent trend of research is the studies of Fairbrother (2003; 2008) on the attitudes of university students toward their nation. The studies found that student attitudes are not solely determined by socialization agents but also by the critical thinking dispositions of students, such as skepticism, curiosity, and openness to multiple perspectives.

Recently, the literature has also challenged the rational choice perspective view on human agency. For example, Hindmoor (2010) pointed out that people would not act in the same way when they encounter the same situation or incentives because different people have different ideas on which course of action is in their self-interest. In her study on political participation, Han (2009) argued that, different from the rational choice perspective, human goals are neither exogenously given nor fixed but are constantly changing because of the constant interaction between environmental stimuli and individual interpretations. Similarly, in her study on social movement participation, Passy (2001) asserted that the individual calculation of the cost and benefit of participation is shaped by the subjective meanings of actors developed through social interactions.

In short, the more recent literature shows that the influence of context or environmental stimuli (e.g., political system, critical events, incentives, socialization agents, and social networks, among others) is influential but not

deterministic. Young people can exercise their human agency to interpret and negotiate with the contexts they encounter, construct their own understanding of politics, and then make their own decisions to act.

3.5. Shifting the Focus to Individual Mobilization Processes

The previous three sections suggest that individual participation in political party activism is shaped by a broad range of factors. They discuss the macro-level contexts such as political institutions and critical socio-political events, meso-level contexts such as the political party and the family, and the human agency of the individuals. This section discusses why I should go beyond the search for factors and shift the research focus to the *processes* through which individuals are mobilized into party activism if I want to gain a more thorough understanding of youth participation in political parties. This section introduces this process approach and then discusses the reasons why I should shift our focus to individual mobilization processes.

3.5.1. *The process approach*

Process-based or mechanism-centered explanations have become more popular in the social sciences in recent years (George & Bennett, 2005; Gerring, 2007; Hall, 2008; Tilly, 2001). According to Taylor and Horgan (2012, p. 130), a process refers to "a sequence of events, involving steps or operations that are usually ordered and/or interdependent." This approach focuses on

understanding the mechanism, process, pathway, or sequence of steps through which an outcome is produced (Becker, 1991; 1963; Gerring, 2007; Hall, 2008; Pierson, 2000). Therefore, this approach is different from the factor-centered or multivariate approach, which aims to identify a small set of variables that can best predict or explain an outcome (Becker, 1991; 1963; Hall, 2008) and to specify the magnitude of effect of each factor. However, this approach does not mean that the process approach will ignore the importance of individual factors; rather, its focus is on how the factors are temporally ordered and weaved together such that an overall understanding of how the outcome is generated can be portrayed (Hall, 2008; Harley et al., 2009).

A classic example of studies that used the process approach is that of Becker (1963) on marijuana users. He discovered that individuals could use marijuana for pleasure only after they have gone through a learning process that comprises several steps. The process approach has also been used to examine other human behaviors. For example, Månsson and Hedin (1999) and Sanders (2007) examined how women deviate from prostitution. Harley and her colleagues (2009) investigated how women develop the habit of doing physical exercise regularly. Different from the factor-centered approach, which usually relies on multivariate statistical methods, case studies and qualitative in-depth interviews are usually the methods used in studies based on the process approach (Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; George & Bennett, 2005; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a).

In terms of political activism, an increasing number of studies have used the process approach to examine individual involvement in social movements.

Some scholars attempted to develop analytic models to depict the process of how people get involved in or are mobilized into a social movement (Andrews, 1991; 2007; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Munson, 2008; Navia, 2008; Schussman & Soule, 2005; Searle-Chatterjee, 1999).

For example, on the basis of data collected from two social movements in the Netherlands, Klandermans and his colleagues (Klandermans, 1984b, 2003, 2004, 2013;Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987) suggested that individual participation in a social movement is viewed as an outcome of a dynamic and sometimes lengthy mobilization process consisting of two steps (consensus mobilization and action mobilization), and that each step requires a specific explanation. From the perspective of a movement, consensus mobilization refers to the dissemination of the views of the movement and the generation of public support for the movement. From the individual perspective, consensus mobilization means to subscribe to the beliefs and values of the movement and to become its supporter. Action mobilization refers to the conversion of movement sympathizers and supporters into active participants.

These scholars also argued that, at the individual level, action mobilization could be further subdivided into three sub-steps (Klandermans, 2004; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987): to be targeted by the recruitment attempts of the movement through various social networks and communication channels, to be motivated to participate, and to actually participate in the movement by overcoming the barriers to participation, such as work and illness (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987).

Munson (2008) studied the pro-life (anti-abortion) movement activists in the United States and developed a model of participation of pro-life activists based on life history interviews with pro-life (anti-abortion) activists. His model suggests that becoming a pro-life activist is a process that involves four distinct steps. The first step is to associate with the pro-life movement through various social ties, such as church and friends, during a turning point in the life of an individual. The second step is called initial activism. In this step, the individual is invited to participate in some pro-life events and activities. At this stage, he/she does not have a strong understanding or beliefs in anti-abortion. In the third step, the individual gradually learns about and deepens his/her pro-life beliefs and ideology through further participation in pro-life activities. Finally, his/her participation becomes regularized, and the individual becomes a sustained participant in the pro-life movement.

Another example is the study of Aronson (1993) on a group of environmental activists in the United States. He found that the transformation of ordinary people into environmental activists is an eight-step process, which starts with perceiving an environmental problem in their community that could threaten the health of their family and ends with identifying themselves as career environmental activists.

3.5.2. *Reasons for shifting the focus to individual mobilization processes*

This section discusses the reasons why I should shift our research focus from the search for factors to the exploration of individual mobilization

processes into party activism. I mainly have four reasons:

First, some recent social movement studies have found that individual participation in political activities is not only a product of a range of factors but also an outcome of a dynamic and multi-step process (Klandermans, 2004; Munson, 2008). In his study of pro-life movement activists, Munson (2008) asserted that "mobilization into activism is a dynamic process, not a singular event" (p.4). Similarly, a study on extreme right-wing activists in Europe (Team members, 2006) found that "[t]he final step to enter activism usually comes at the end of longer trajectories" (p.62). Another study on young political activists (Quéniart, 2008) highlighted that "one does not become an activist in a day. Social involvement takes place very early on in the life trajectory" (p.210). Therefore, I will not see the entire picture of youth participation in political parties if I solely focus on the factors. By shifting the research focus to individual mobilization processes, this study can capture and explore the dynamic, gradual, and processual nature of political party activism (Horgan, 2008; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Munson, 2008; Quéniart, 2008). By understanding the process of mobilization, I can also develop an analytic model of participation by delineating individual steps to activism similar to the examples examined in the previous section.

The second reason for shifting the focus to exploring individual mobilization processes is the potential for interaction among different contextual and individual influences. Factors can exert their influences on individuals independently, but in some cases they are interrelated or interdependent in one way or another (Bosi & Della Porta, 2012). The section

on macro-level contexts reveals the possible interactions between macro- and meso-contexts in Hong Kong. For example, the macro political context of Hong Kong can shape and constrain the effect of some meso-contexts, such as political party and mass media. The section on individual human agency also highlights the ability of individuals to interact with and reflect on the social contexts they encounter when they decide on which political actions to take.

The political socialization literature has emphasized more on the interaction among different agents of socialization in recent years (Amnå et al., 2009; Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2013; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Quintelier, 2013; Solhaug & Kristensen, 2013). For example, Lee, Shah, and McLead (2013) found that mass media can stimulate youth discussion on politics, which in turn enhances their political engagement. They also found that peer groups could increase youth political participation indirectly by stimulating the use of mass media. By shifting our focus from the factors to examining in detail the entire individual mobilization processes, this study can better grasp and explore how the influences at different levels interact and temporally weave together to lead young people to party activism.

The third reason for shifting the research focus to individual mobilization processes is that there may be more than one process into party activism. As discussed above, the interaction among the influences that belong to the same or different levels is possible. The same set of influences may not shape the activism of every young party member, and not every influence is important at the same time for every party member. These different potential configurations and blends of interactions of the influences may create different processes or

paths to party activism (Viterna, 2007, 2013).

This issue has been explored by a number of studies on social movement activists (Blee, 2011; Blee & Linden, 2012; Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Bosi, 2012; Linden & Klandermans, 2007; O'Brien, 2001; Roth, 2003; Teske, 1997; Viterna, 2007). Their studies found that political activism has multiple paths. For example, to analyze the trajectories to extreme right-wing activism in the Netherlands, Linden and Klandermans (2007) specified three pathways, namely, continuity, conversion, and compliance. For those who take the continuity path, activism is a natural result of previous political and familial socializations during childhood and adolescence. For them, the motivation of activism is to express their long held ideological beliefs. For those who take the conversion path, their decisions to enter the extreme-right are mainly triggered by a critical event in their lives and a break with the past. They usually treat activism as an instrument to change a situation that they consider unjust. Compliance means that joining the extreme-right movement is a result of a situation in which activists are unable to say "no." For example, a wife follows her extreme-right husband to join a racist movement.

The phenomenon of having multiple paths to activism is also found in studies on different social movement activists, such as racist and anti-racist activists in the United States (Blee, 2011; O'Brien, 2001), women guerrillas in El Salvador (Viterna, 2007), and armed group militants in Northern Ireland and Italy (Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Bosi, 2012). By shifting our research focus to individual mobilization processes, this study can examine whether multiple pathways to activism also exist among young party members in Hong Kong and

what configurations of influences are behind these multiple pathways.

The last reason for shifting our focus to individual mobilization processes is that it enables me to understand more deeply the mechanism of how the factors actually work. Previous research on political socialization tends to focus on reporting the correlations among socialization agents or identifying which set of socialization agents can best predict civic outcomes because of reliance on survey and quantitative analysis (Amnå et al., 2009). According to Torney-Purta, Amadeo, and Andolina (2010, p. 12), "[i]n early research, investigators seemed fixated on deciding which socialization agent was the most important….This was usually addressed in a simplistic way that did not consider issues of process." Little is known about the mechanism or process of how socialization agents exert their influences or interact with other factors, a problem that has been recognized by more recent political socialization literature (Amnå et al., 2009; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Sawyer, 2005; Sigel, 1995). Torney-Purta (2000, p. 94) argued that "scholars need to move beyond a narrow view of outcomes and inputs to the political socialization process…" By studying the entire individual mobilization process in detail, the process and mechanism of how the influences work can be examined more thoroughly.

The preceding paragraphs examine several reasons for shifting the research focus from the search for factors to the exploration of individual mobilization process. The most important point of the shift is that it can help me to gain a more thorough understanding of youth participation in political parties. Despite the advantages of examining individual mobilization processes, this approach is rarely used in studying party membership and activism; most studies of this

kind remained focused on social movement activists. Nevertheless, we saw the emergence of a few studies attempting to explore the mobilization process of party members in recent years (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Goodwin, 2010). The studies of Goodwin (2010) on British National Party members and Bruter and Harrison (2009) on young political party members in Europe are two examples.

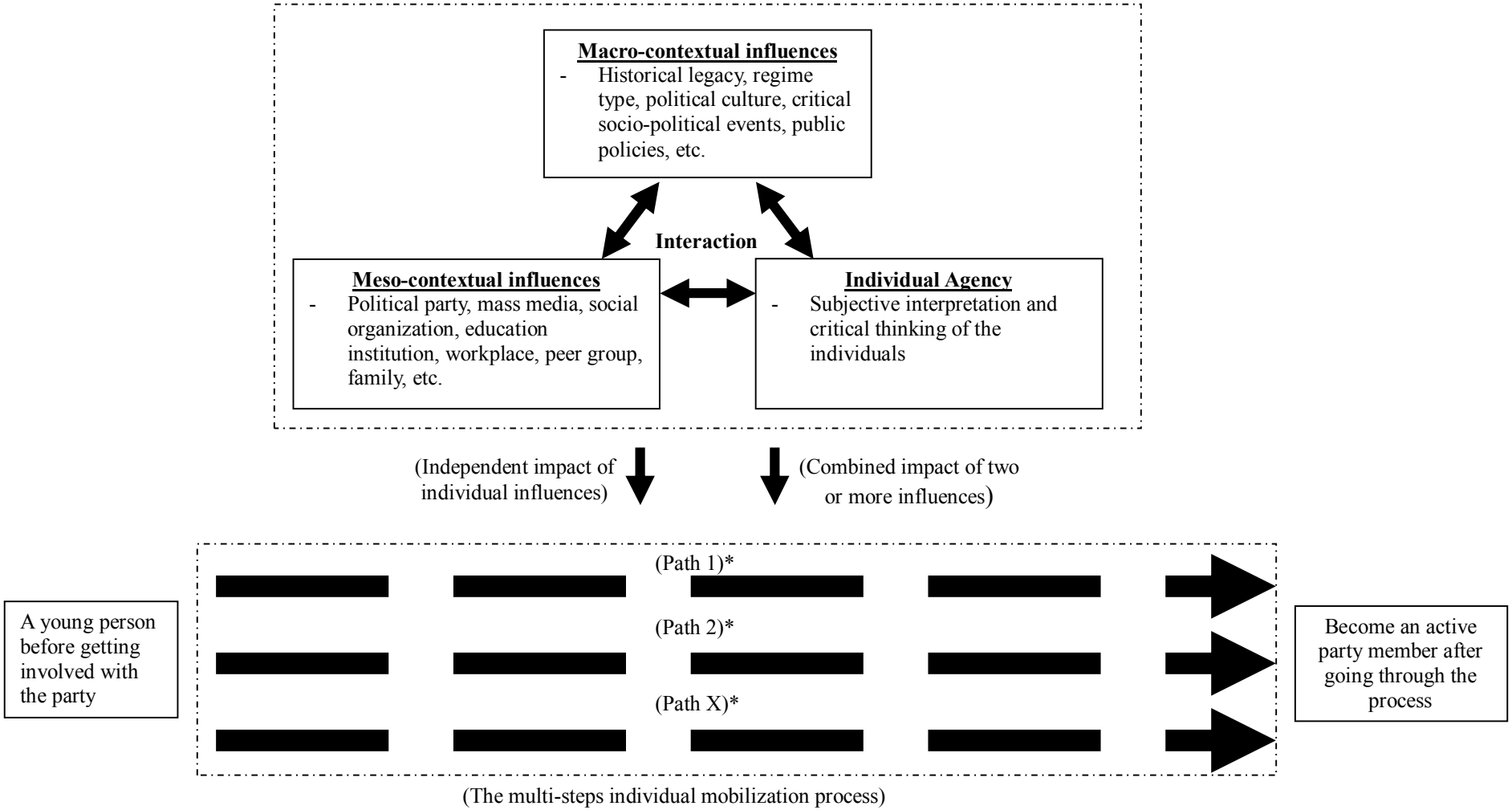
Bruter and Harrison (2009) found that the party membership process can be divided into two steps. In the first step, a young person develops an interest to join a political party through the inspiration of family, friends, or voluntary organizations. The second step is the moment when they actually decide to join, which is usually triggered by a catalyst such as an election or political crisis.

These examples illustrate the potential of studying individual mobilization processes to enhance the understanding of youth political party activism. Therefore, this study focuses on exploring the individual mobilization process of a sample of young party activists in Hong Kong.

3.6. Analytical Model of the Study

The last section of this chapter introduces an analytical model to guide the data presentation and analysis of this thesis. The analytical model, as shown in Figure 1, was developed by synthesizing the insights gained from the literature review presented in previous sections. The lower part of the model shows that individual mobilization into party activism is a process composed of a number of steps. The three long dashed arrow lines illustrate the possibility of multiple paths to party activism because of different configurations of the contextual and

individual influences that the young party members of this study encountered. The upper part of the diagram depicts the influences at play in the individual mobilization process. The influences have three types. The first is macro-contextual influences such as regime type, political culture, and critical socio-political events. The second type is meso-level contextual influences such as political party, mass media, and family. The last type is the individual human agency of the young party members. The double-headed arrows in these three levels of influences denote the potential interactions of influences. The two arrows are located between the upper and the lower parts of the diagram, indicating that the influences may not only exert their effect independently but may also indirectly through other influences or in combination with two or more influences.



*Different configurations of influences and sequences of steps may create more than one path into party activism.

Figure 1. A conceptual diagram showing the individual mobilization process leading young people to become party activists.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature related to individual participation in political parties. The chapter first examined the macro-contextual influences and pointed out that they are the most commonly cited type of influence in the local political science literature to explain the level of party membership in Hong Kong. Moreover, the local literature seems to have neglected some macro-level influences that may be favorable to party activism, such as the regime type in Hong Kong and the China factor. The second section examined a range of meso-level contexts that could contribute to party activism. They include political party, mass media, family, educational institutions, voluntary organizations, and peers. The third section examined the role of individual agency and highlighted that the influence of the social context is not deterministic and that individuals could exercise their human agency to reflect on the contexts when making decisions to act. The fourth section introduced the process approach by using examples and explained why the research focus shifting from the search for factors to the exploration of individual mobilization processes could help me gain a more thorough understanding of youth participation in parties. Based on the insights gained from the literature review, the last section introduced an analytical model for guiding the data presentation and analysis of this study.

After reviewing the literature and introducing the analytical model, the next step is to introduce the research methods of this study. As discussed in this chapter, the studies that examined the individual mobilization processes of

social movement activists commonly used qualitative methods, such as life history and in-depth interviews, to collect data. Given that the focus of this study is on the individual mobilization processes of a sample of young party activists, this study also uses qualitative life history as the primary research method. The next chapter discusses in detail why and how the qualitative life history is used in the current study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the research methodology used in this thesis. First, I restate the purpose and research questions of the current study. The second section describes the research design, the rationale behind the use of a qualitative and life history approach, and how I selected and recruited the research participants. The third section discusses the data collection procedure. For example, this section describes how the life history interview guide is designed and tested, how the interviews are conducted, and how to ensure the accuracy of the interview data. I also describe the additional data I have collected. The fourth section discusses in detail how the data are managed and analyzed. The last two sections present the ethical considerations and limitations of this study.

4.2. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As stated in the introductory chapter, the purpose of this study is to enhance the understanding of the individual mobilization process of a sample of young active political party members in Hong Kong, which is a "liberal authoritarian" hybrid regime in which political parties are relatively

underdeveloped and have low public legitimacy. Specifically, this study aims to explore the perceptions of some young party members on how and why they decide to join and become active in a political party as well as the contextual and individual influences at play. On the basis of this objective, I developed the following research questions:

3. What are the processes that lead a sample of young people in Hong Kong to join a political party and become active party members?
4. What contextual and personal influences shaped their processes to become party activists?

4.3. Research Design

4.3.1. Rationale for qualitative approach

In this study, I use the qualitative life history approach as the primary research method. I adopt a qualitative approach because it is the most appropriate way to address my research objectives and questions. First, a qualitative approach is particularly suitable for exploring social processes and how events unfold over time and connect with each other (Bryman, 2004; Maxwell, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 1) argued that "with qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, see precisely which events led which consequences, and derive fruitful explanations." Moreover, the data produced by qualitative research tend to be

rich and detailed (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, a qualitative method is suitable for exploring the complex process through which some young people are mobilized into party activism. This kind of data is difficult to generate through quantitative survey and experimental research (Maxwell, 1996).

Second, the strength of the qualitative method lies in its emphasis on the perspectives of the participants (Merriam, 2002). The method focuses on how the participants interpret, provide meaning, and make sense of the social world (Berg, 2009; Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 1996). According to Maxwell (1996, p. 17), a qualitative researcher should be "interested not only in the physical events and behavior that is taking place, but also in how the participants in your study make sense of this and how their understandings influence their behavior." From this perspective, a qualitative approach is suitable for my study, which aims to explore the perceptions of some Hong Kong young people on how they become active party members and direct special attention to individual mobilization processes. A qualitative approach enables me to probe into the personal experiences of these young party members.

Third, qualitative research strongly emphasizes context (Bryman, 2004; Maxwell, 1996). Qualitative researchers tend to believe that the beliefs and behavior of people cannot be understood without knowing in detail the specific contexts and circumstances they are facing (Bryman, 2004). The emphasis on context is important for the current study because the socio-political context of Hong Kong is different from that of the Western established democracies. This approach may influence how young people in Hong Kong decide to join a

political party. Therefore, the qualitative approach is suitable.

Finally, a qualitative approach is suitable for exploratory research because it enables flexibility in research design and supports the researcher to modify the research design and data collection methods according to the situation he/she faces in the field (Creswell, 2007). The approach commonly uses an inductive logic of data analysis in which the researcher identifies patterns and themes from the data not bound by a prescribed analytical framework (Creswell, 2007). This approach is suitable for the current study as it is an exploratory study on young party members in Hong Kong, a rarely studied topic in the local political science literature. In short, the characteristics of qualitative approach fit well with the objectives of this study.

4.3.2. Life history method

Qualitative approaches have different kinds, such as ethnography, phenomenology, and case study. This study chose life history as its research approach because it is the most suitable one. Life history is one of the varieties of the biographical method (Denzin, 1989; Roberts, 2002). Roberts (2002, p. 3) defined life history as "the collection, interpretation and report writing of the 'life' in terms of the story told or as the construction of the past experience of the individual to relate to the story." According to Titon (1980, p. 283), life history is the "written account of a person's life based on spoken conversations and interviews." Therefore, life history can be understood as a method that uses conversations and in-depth interviews to collect personal stories and life

narratives that are subsequently interpreted and reported by the researcher. One defining characteristic of life history distinct from other biographical methods, such as life story and narrative, is its emphasis on the researcher's interpretation of the interaction between individuals and social and historical contexts (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Goodson & Sikes, 2001). As Cole and Knowles (2001, p. 20) argued, "We think life history research as taking narrative one step further; that is, life history research goes beyond the individual or the personal and places narrative accounts and interpretations within a broader context."

Next, I briefly discuss the history and basic assumptions of the life history method. The life history method dates back to the Chicago School of sociology and social psychology in the early 20th century (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Denzin, 1989; Merrill & West, 2009; Roberts, 2002). The Chicago School developed the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism, which emphasizes how individuals make sense of the social world (Merrill & West, 2009). The classic life history study of the Chicago School by Clifford R. Shaw (1966), *The Jack Roller*, investigated how a young delinquent in Chicago learned to commit crime (Merrill & West, 2009). The tradition of biographical research was also inspired by the work of C. Wright Mills (2000), *The Sociological Imagination* (Roberts, 2002). In his book, Mills argued that, to know society well, we have to understand the interaction between individuals and social structure. He said, "[n]o social study that does not come back to the problem of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey" (Mills, 2000, p.6). However, from the 1950s to the 1980s, the life history method and biographical research in general were

overshadowed by other research methodologies, such as quantitative survey and experimental methods (Denzin, 1989). Nevertheless, the method has gradually regained its importance since the 1980s, as human subjectivity and agency have been re-emphasized in many social science disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, and education (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009; Roberts, 2002). This trend has also spread to social movement studies and public administration, in which the method is used to study the leadership of political leaders (Blee & Taylor, 2002; della Porta, 1992; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Lambright & Quinn, 2011; Theakston, 1997) and the life trajectories of social movement activists (Blee & Taylor, 2002; della Porta, 1992; Klandermans &Mayer, 2006a).

Although the life history method was used initially by the Chicago School of Sociology and symbolic interactionism, it is relevant to a variety of epistemological perspectives, such as realism, constructivism, and post-modernism (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Roberts, 2002). Despite this variety, users of the life history method generally share two basic theoretical assumptions. First, they consider that the method regards human beings as active agents who possess the ability to interpret, provide subjective meaning, and change society. The lives and thoughts of people are not completely determined by the social structure (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009; Roberts, 2002). Second, people do not interpret the world and act in a decontextualized way. Interpretations and actions are the results of the complex interplay of human agency and the historical and social forces (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009). Therefore, life history method is particularly suitable for the study

of individual "learning and transitional processes," (Merrill & West, 2009, p.88.) such as professional lives (Choi & Tang, 2009) and how people cope with drastic social change (Andrews, 2007). The current study also shares these two basic assumptions because the participants are regarded as active agents interacting with social contexts in deciding their courses of action.

Life history has many forms (Denzin, 1989; Plummer, 2001; Ward, 2003). For example, life history can be long or short. A long life history is "the full-length book account of one person's life in his or her own words" (Plummer, 2001, p.19.), whereas "short life stories take much less time (half an hour to three hours or so), tend to be more focused, and are usually published as one in a series" (Plummer, 2001, pp.19-20.). Plummer (2001) noted that an example of a long life history is the study of Bogdan (1974) on a transsexual. In this study, the researcher interviewed the transsexual several times a week for three months to produce a detailed and complete account of her life, starting from her earliest memories to her involvement in the gay movement. An example of a short life history is the study of Munson (2008) on a group of anti-abortion activists. In this study, the interviews were usually less than three hours long and focused on the political beliefs and involvement of the activists.

A life history can be complete or topical, implying that the approach can cover all aspects of the entire life of a person or focus only on a specific phase or aspect deemed relevant by the researcher on the basis of the research objectives (Denzin, 1989; Dimmock & O'Donoghue, 1997; Plummer, 2001; Ward, 2003). Moreover, a life history can be edited by the researcher by including his/her comments and explanations. An example of a complete life

history is the abovementioned study of a transsexual (Bogdan, 1974) as it touched on almost all aspects of the life of that person. An example of a topical and edited life history is the study of Dimmock and O'Donoghue (1997) on a group of school principals. Instead of producing full biographies of the principals, that study focused only on the aspects of life deemed influential in the attitudes and behaviors of the principles with regard to school restructuring.

In the current study, short, topical, and edited life history is used as the aim of this study is not to produce a complete life history of a particular individual but to explore how and why a sample of young people in Hong Kong were mobilized into party activism.

4.3.3. Rationale for the life history method

I choose life history method in this study primarily because it fits my research objective and research questions. First, one of the major aims of this study is to explore the individual mobilization process into party activism of some young people in Hong Kong. Life history is an ideal method to explore in detail the processes that lead people to become politically active because it can trace the sequence of events that a person has experienced (Blee, 1996; Blee & Taylor, 2002; Bosi, 2012; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Munson, 2008). In a study on racist activists, Blee (2002) argued the following:

> [L]ife histories string together life events in sequences, suggesting how people understand the patterning of their political and personal lives. These patterns help us untangle the causes and effects of political affiliation,

making possible such judgments as whether belonging to a racist group resulted from, or precipitated, particular experiences (p.202).

This kind of analysis is difficult to undertake through a structured questionnaire survey whose main concern is the correlation of variables. By contrast, life history is mainly based on open ended in-depth interviews, providing maximum freedom to the participants to elaborate their stories (Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a).

As discussed in Chapter Three, the life history method is widely used in social movement studies to explore the processes or trajectories leading some people to become movement activists (Andrews, 1991; Aronson, 1993; Braungart & Braungart, 1994; Linden & Klandermans, 2007; Munson, 2008; Sawyer, 2005) . For example, Andrews (1991) conducted life history interviews with lifetime socialist activists in Britain to understand how they became involved in the socialist movement and sustained their political commitment for a long period of time. Klandermans and Mayer (2006a) interviewed extreme right-wing activists in five European countries to explore how and why they entered the extreme-right movement. Munson (2008) conducted short life history interviews with pro-life activists and non-activists in the United States to understand the process through which individuals join the pro-life movement. These examples show that life history is suitable for exploring individual paths to political activism.

Second, determining the perspectives and understanding of participants is important for the current study as it aims to explore how a sample of young people reconstruct their individual mobilization processes into party activism

and what they perceive as the important influences leading them to do so. The life history method, which is based on in-depth interviews, is suitable for uncovering the subjective perceptions and meanings of the research participants (Blee & Taylor, 2002; Denzin, 1989; Hubbard, 1999; Klatch, 1999; Ward, 2003). Moreover, the life history method is also excellent for exploring the complex and dynamic interplay between individual agency and social context (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Corrigall-Brown, 2012; della Porta, 1992; Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Hubbard, 1999; Roberts, 2002; Ward, 2003). When participants disclose their life histories, they can elaborate on how their beliefs, motivations, and actions have been influenced by the contexts surrounding them and how they make sense of and negotiate with these contextual influences.

The last reason for using life history is practical concerns. A large-scale membership survey is now a common method for studying party membership of mainstream political parties in established Western democracies (Goodwin, 2010). However, this method is impractical in Hong Kong because the number of young party members in Hong Kong is small. Moreover, gaining access to the membership lists of political parties is difficult because of their political sensitivity, making the small-scale qualitative life history study an appropriate choice.

4.3.4. Sampling of the participants

In this section, I explain why purposive sampling is used in this study and what criteria I used to select the sample. Sampling refers to the process of

choosing which individuals, places, or cases should be included in a given study (Maxwell, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Sampling methods have different kinds, such as probability, convenience, and purposive sampling (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). Quantitative research frequently relies on probability sampling. Its characteristic is that the sample is chosen randomly and that each participant has a known probability of being selected. This approach enables the research results to be generalized to the wider population (Ritchie et al., 2003). However, probability sampling is seldom used in qualitative research because this type of research does not aim to generate statistically representative results for generalization but rather to generate rich information for in-depth understanding of a particular issue or group of people (Merrill & West, 2009; Patton & Patton, 2002). Qualitative research usually relies on purposive sampling (Patton, 2002), which refers to a deliberate selection of a sample that meets certain criteria (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Maxwell, 1996). This approach enables the researcher to gather the information that can purposefully answer the research questions (Creswell, 2007; Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Maxwell, 1996).

This study is a qualitative study mainly based on the life history method and aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the individual mobilization processes of young party activists in Hong Kong. Therefore, drawing a statistically representative sample is unnecessary and practically almost impossible to do (della Porta, 1992). Therefore, I used a purposive sampling procedure to select the sample for this study. As the target of this study is young party activists in Hong Kong, I selected my participants according to two

criteria. First, they should be young people. The definition of youth has been discussed in the introductory chapter. In this study, young people are defined as those aged between 18 and 29. The second criterion is that the participants must be activists or active members of a political party. As discussed in Chapter One, party activists are defined in terms of three criteria: they must be party members, they must either participate actively in party activities in an enduring way, or they must hold a leadership position in a party. Merely being a member and making a single donation to a party do not qualify an individual as a party activist.

After meeting these basic criteria, I planned to diversify the sample in terms of party affiliation, organizational position, and gender (Blee & Taylor, 2002; della Porta, 1992). This method is called the maximum variation strategy (Patton & Patton, 2002). I used this method because it enabled me to explore whether the mobilization process into party activism and the influences at play varied with party affiliation or other background characteristics of the participants (Blee & Taylor, 2002). The method also let me discern the common themes, which cut across people with different characteristics (Patton & Patton, 2002; Ritchie et al., 2003). This practice is commonly used by life history studies of political activists (della Porta, 1992; Goodwin, 2011; Klandermans & Mayer, 2006a; Klatch, 1999). For example, Klatch (1999) diversified the sample to include people from different cohorts, geographical locations, organizational positions, and ideologies in his study of U.S. student activists. Similarly, Klandermans and Mayer (2006) diversified the sample in terms of background variables, such as gender, age, and region, in their study on

extreme-right activists in Europe.

In terms of party affiliation, I selected the participants from parties with different ideological positions and lengths of history. In terms of ideological position, I intended to include parties from both political camps in Hong Kong, namely, the pro-democracy and the pro-Beijing camps (Ma, 2007b). I also chose parties that reflect the ideological diversity within each camp. In terms of party age, I included both older and younger parties.

Thus, I eventually decided to select the DP, CP, and LSD from the pro-democracy camp. In terms of ideological position, the DP and CP are considered moderate and LSD is considered radical. In terms of party age, the DP is an old, and whereas the CP and LSD are young parties. The Labour Party was not selected because it is too new, only being established in late 2011. People Power was also not chosen because it is not a membership-based party. I also excluded the ADPL because its ideological position is similar to that of the DP and it is an old party.

From the pro-Beijing camp, I chose the DAB and NPP. In terms of ideological position, the DAB is considered conservative and pro-Beijing, whereas the NPP is moderate and leans toward the center. In terms of party age, the DAB is an old party, whereas the NPP is a young party. The Liberal Party was not chosen because it is as old as the DAB and its ideological position is similar to that with the NPP. The Business and Professionals Alliance was also excluded as it was only established in late 2012. Therefore, five political parties, namely, DP, CP, LSD, DAB, and NPP, were selected for this study.

In terms of organizational position, I selected participants from different

levels of the party organization, including members of the central and branch executive, youth wing committee members, legislative assistants, local councilors, local organizers, and active rank-and-file members. I tried my best to recruit at least one female activist from each selected party as females are usually underrepresented in political parties (Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010).

After setting the sampling criteria, the next step is to decide the sample size. Sample size in qualitative research has no strict rules (Patton & Patton, 2002). The sample size for life history research tends to be small because collecting and analyzing information-rich life histories are time consuming and require considerable resources (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009). Goodson and Sikes (2001) considered 25 participants as large. Mason (2010) reviewed 560 qualitative doctoral dissertations from British universities, of which 35 were life history studies. He found that their average sample size was 23.

In my study, I decided to select four to six participants from each selected political party, resulting in a total sample of 23 activists. The sample sizes of large parties, such as the DP and DAB, were slightly larger at five and six, respectively. Four participants each were sampled from the other parties. I will introduce the participants in detail when I discuss the recruitment procedure. Albeit small, my sample is comparable in size with that of many similar life history studies on political activists (Braungart & Braungart, 1994; Goodwin, 2010; Linden & Klandermans, 2007; Sawyer, 2005; Searle-Chatterjee, 1999). Moreover, the sample is also manageable for a single researcher with limited study duration and limited resources.

4.3.5. Recruiting the participants

After setting the sampling criteria and sample size, I recruited the participants for life history interviews. The first step of recruitment is to identify and locate the potential participants. I conducted this step in four ways. First, I sorted the young candidates who have party affiliation from the official website of the 2011 District Council Election (www.elections.gov.hk/dc2011). Second, I searched for some potential participants from the official websites of the five selected political parties. Usually, the names of the party members who hold leadership positions in the party are shown on the party websites. Third, I searched for some potential participants from newspaper articles, magazines, and other relevant journalistic reports. Finally, I located some of the participants according to my own knowledge of the local political landscape.

After identifying a list of potential participants, the next step is to make contact with and recruit them into the study. I conducted this step through four avenues. First, I used the small-scale online survey presented in Chapter Two. As discussed in that chapter, this survey is on young party affiliated candidates in the 2011 District Council Election that aims to chart their basic demographic characteristics. Those who completed the online questionnaire, as well as those who belonged to the five selected political parties, were invited to participate in this study. Invitation letters (Appendix D) were sent to their email or Facebook accounts, and phone calls were made when they did not reply within a week. Using this method, 11 participants were successfully recruited. The second

strategy of recruitment was through social networks. As a former member of the LSD, I have some friends who are LSD activists. I attempted to invite some of them to participate and asked them to send the invitations to some potential participants in the LSD on my behalf. This strategy helped me to recruit three participants. The third strategy was to directly approach some potential participants through telephone, email, or Facebook. Through this strategy, I successfully recruited another three participants. The last strategy was snowballing. I asked some participants if they knew other fellow party activists who might be willing to be interviewed. I recruited six participants through this strategy.

In total, 23 participants were recruited, among which 13 were from pro-democracy parties and 10 were from pro-Beijing parties. The average age of the participants when they were first interviewed was 25.8. Aside from one DAB activist who had just reached the age of 30 when she was first interviewed, all other participants were within the target age range of 18 to 29. I also successfully recruited one female participant from each party except the LSD, which has few female young members. All participants currently or formerly held various leadership positions in their respective parties, such as being members of the party central and local branch leadership and members of the youth and women wings (Table 13). Despite the small size of my sample, I am confident that it is sufficiently broad to include all main types of young political party activists in Hong Kong.

In retrospect, the process of recruiting participants was generally smooth. Most of the potential participants who I wanted to approach accepted the

invitation to be interviewed. However, the process was not without challenges. For example, the recruitment and interview processes were somewhat interrupted by the LegCo election in September 2012. Moreover, activists from the DAB were relatively difficult to recruit. Some of them claimed to be too busy to be interviewed. Some of them declined my invitation because they were suspicious of the study. I attempted to contact those who initially declined my request again several months later, and two of them changed their mind and accepted my invitation. Although activists from pro-democracy parties were more willing to be interviewed, some of them did not respond to the invitation quickly. Sometimes, I had to contact them two to three times before they gave a response. In short, patience, sincerity, and persistence were needed to successfully recruit participants for the study.

Table 13

Information about the Participants

Participant (Pseudonym)	Party	Age	Gender	Position(s) in the party	Occupation
Philip	CP	22	Male	Branch vice-chairperson; district developer	Secondary school teaching assistant
Nick	CP	25	Male	Branch and youth wing Exco member; district developer	Legislator's assistant
Brian	CP	25	Male	Branch vice-chairperson; former youth wing Exco member	Secondary school teaching assistant
Anna	CP	24	Female	Youth wing and policy branch Exco member	Legislator's assistant
Aaron	DAB	26	Male	Branch Exco member; community officer	Legislator's assistant
Henry	DAB	26	Male	Branch Exco member	District councilor
Thomas	DAB	23	Male	Deputy policy spokesperson	Secondary school teacher
Stephen	DAB	28	Male	Deputy policy spokesperson	Assistant coordinator, DAB
Jack	DAB	26	Male	Youth wing Exco member; deputy policy spokesperson	Assistant coordinator, DAB
Cherry	DAB	30	Female	Youth and women wing Exco member	Assistant coordinator, DAB
Keith	DP	24	Male	Branch and youth wing Exco member	Legislator's assistant
James	DP	27	Male	Central committee member; Branch and youth wing Exco member	Staff in a bank
George	DP	26	Male	Youth wing Exco member, community officer	Community officer, DP
David	DP	26	Male	Central committee member, youth wing Exco member	District councilor; Part-time arbitrator
Grace	DP	25	Female	Branch and youth wing Exco member	Legislator's assistant
Daniel	LSD	28	Male	Party deputy secretary-general	Legislator's assistant
Vincent	LSD	27	Male	Party deputy secretary-general (acting secretary-general)	Media editor and executive officer
Peter	LSD	25	Male	Party Exco and branch Exco member	Research assistant
Alex	LSD	24	Male	Ordinary member; former party Exco member	Staff in an advertising company
Charles	NPP	26	Male	Party Exco and Central committee member; policy spokesperson; community officer	Research director in a think tank
Ray	NPP	29	Male	Youth wing chairperson	Public affairs consultant
Patrick	NPP	28	Male	Youth wing Exco member	General manager of a company
Sophia	NPP	24	Female	Head of the external affairs unit of the party's youth committee	Staff in a bank

Note. *Executive committee

4.4. Data Collection Procedure

4.4.1. Interview guide and pilot interview

Given that life history interview is a kind of semi-structured interview, the researcher usually relies on an interview guide when conducting the interviews (Blee & Taylor, 2002). An interview guide is a "written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order" (Bernard, 2011, p.158). The guide not only reminds the researcher of the interview questions during the interview but also increases the comparability between different life histories by ensuring that all interviews cover the same range of topics (della Porta, 1992). This characteristic is particularly important for this study because the similarities and differences between the participants are explored in terms of their process of becoming party activists and the influences they perceive as important. Different from a structured questionnaire that prohibits respondents from expressing opinions outside the pre-set options, interview guides "allow for open-ended responses and are flexible enough for the observer to note and collect data on unexpected dimensions of the topic" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.77).

The interview guide for this study was developed in four steps. First, I produced a draft protocol based on the aims and research questions of the study as well as references to the interview guides of a number of qualitative studies of social and political activists, including Klandermans and Mayer (2006) (extreme-right wing activists), Munson (2008) (anti-abortion activists), Navia

(2008) (anti-racist activists), and Sawyer (2005) (voluntary association activists). All of them addressed the question of how people become activists. The second step was to seek advice from my three dissertation supervisors, who are also specialists in qualitative research, and revised the interview guide accordingly. The third step was a pilot interview. I conducted a pilot interview with a friend who is an activist in the LSD[25] and revised the interview guide on the basis of the experience and result of the interview. Finally, I sought further comments from my supervisors before I finalized the guide.

The finalized interview guide is divided into four sections. The first part of the interview guide addresses the personal background of the respondents, such as living environment during childhood, expectations of parents, upbringing, schooling and education experience, work experience, and political interests and beliefs. The second part directly addresses the topic of how and why the participants became involved in party activism and joined their respective political parties. Questions such as "could you tell me in detail how you joined this party?" and "what motivated you to join" were asked. This section also aims to determine whether any turning points influenced their decisions to become involved. The third section touches on the daily lives and activities of the participants as party members and how and why they choose to actively participate in their respective political parties. Questions such as "what are your activities in the party?" and "what motivated you to become active in the party" were asked. In the last section, I collected their basic demographic data such as

[25]Although this interviewee was interviewed using the draft interview guide, the data collected from him were considered useful that he was included as one of the 23 participants of this study.

place of birth, age, educational level, occupation, and religious belief. A copy of the interview guide is provided in Appendix F.

4.4.2. Ethical review

Before arranging the interviews with the informants, my study underwent an ethical review by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of the institute to ensure its compliance with the institute guidelines on research ethics.[26] After the successful defense of my research proposal in December 2011, I submitted the ethical review application and documents for this study to the HREC for approval in January 2012. These documents included a copy of the research proposal, interview guide, informed consent form, and information sheet on the project, which would be sent to each participant before the interview. A copy of both English and Chinese versions of these documents, except the research proposal, is provided in Appendices C to J. The HREC approved my application in February 2012. Three of the interviews were conducted one to three weeks before approval because of the schedule and availability of the participants.

4.4.3. Conducting the life history interviews

This section discusses how the life history interviews were conducted. The

[26]See the official website of the HKIEd's Human Research Ethics Committee (http://www.ied.edu.hk/rdo/human.html).

interviews were conducted from February 2012 to January 2013. Before I interviewed each of the participants, I engaged in some preparation (Lilleker, 2003; Solinger, 2006). For example, I tried my best to familiarize myself with the background of the participant and the party in which he/she belonged by reading relevant academic literature, the party website, news reports, and other relevant online and printed information. This information helped increase my confidence and made it easier for me to think of follow-up questions during the interview. An information sheet containing the details of the study (aims, research method, topics covered in the interview, rights of the participants, etc.; Appendix H) was sent to each participant before the interview. This information sheet was provided to increase the transparency of the study and enhance the trust of the participants (Knox, 2001).

The interview venues were selected by the participants. Some interviews were conducted in their workplaces, such as the offices of the legislative and district councilors and the LegCo complex, and others in restaurants, cafés, and public spaces on university campuses. To create a more relaxed atmosphere, I dressed casually like a student. Before each interview, I explained to the participant the purpose of the study and how the data would be used to ensure that they knew the details of the project before they signed the consent form. An interview usually began after the participant had signed the consent form. For the first few participants, I attempted to interview them by following the order of questions set in the interview guide. Later, I found that this method of interviewing was somewhat mechanical and did not optimize and generate the rich and long narratives that a life history interview was supposed to produce.

Thus, I modified the strategy and subsequently began the interviews by asking the participants to describe in detail their process of how they became a party member, and I only asked follow-up and other questions in the interview guide after they completed the narration of their experiences. This stimulated them to produce longer and richer narratives.

An issue to which I paid special attention during the interview was how I managed my political identity as the participants in this study straddle the political divide (McEvoy, 2006). The pro-democracy and pro-Beijing camps are hostile to each other. Even parties within the same camp share different opinions on some issues. Therefore, I attempted to remain neutral and non-judgmental during the interviews. However, as a supporter of the pro-democracy camp, I adopted two slightly different strategies to deal with participants from each political camp. When interviewing pro-democracy party activists, I sometimes disclosed my identity as a pro-democracy camp supporter and appeared to be more sympathetic towards them to encourage the respondents to be more candid in sharing their experiences because they know that I was on their side. However, when interviewing participants from the pro-Beijing camp, I pretended to be strictly neutral and avoided disclosing my political identity unless they asked. I also avoided judging and commenting on their views even if I disagreed with them. Being neutral avoided any unnecessary embarrassment that could affect my relationship with the participants.

All the interviews were conducted in Cantonese, the mother tongue of the participants, and tape-recorded with the consent of the participants. Field notes

were also taken during and after each interview. Most interviews lasted for one to two hours, and the average duration was one hour and fifteen minutes. A thank-you email was sent to each participant after the interview. Follow-up interviews were arranged for 12 participants to clarify some unclear points and explore topics that I found interesting after reading the transcripts. These interviews were shorter and lasted for twenty minutes to one hour. I also sought clarifications and supplementary information from three participants through email and telephone. Upon reflection, most of the participants were willing to share with me their life stories and experiences frankly and generously.

4.4.4. Accuracy of the life history interviews

The accuracy of the data collected through life history interviews is a concern among researchers because they are retrospective accounts (Blee & Taylor, 2002). These accounts may be influenced by the present experiences of the participants (Bosi & Della Porta, 2012). They may also have unreliable memories or sometimes even lie to the researcher (Blee & Taylor, 2002; Blee, 2011; della Porta, 1992). Della Porta (1992) reminded us that, compared with other kinds of people, political activists are more likely to distort their personal narratives through uncommon oratorical skills and justify their behaviors by their political beliefs. White (2007) found that some activists might tell lies to gain sympathy for themselves. However, some previous studies showed that narratives of the activities regarding their lives are generally based on historical facts and are consistent over time (Andrews, 1991; White, 2007). For example,

White (2007) interviewed a group of Irish Republican Movement activists twice across a decade and found that their accounts were generally consistent over time. Moreover, one of the major purposes of conducting a life history study is to understand subjective interpretations of the life experiences and social context of the respondents. Therefore, we should pay attention to how respondents understand their lives, interpret important events, and reconstruct their trajectories of activism instead of how factually correct they narrate the past (Andrews, 1991; Braungart & Braungart, 1994; Klatch, 1999; Team members, 2006).

Nevertheless, I used several strategies to enhance the factual accuracy of the interview data. First, during the interview, I helped the interviewee to recall his/her memory by asking questions about particular events, such as schooling and work experience, and their involvement in particular political events (see the interview guide). To prepare for the interview, I familiarized myself with the background of the participants and the political party to which he/she belonged by consulting relevant materials (Andrews, 1991; Klatch, 1999). Second, I cross-checked the interview data with other sources such as news reports, historical events, and interviews with party officials (see the following sections). I also compared the life histories of participants from the same party to determine any factual inaccuracies (Blee & Taylor, 2002; della Porta, 1992; Klatch, 1999; Team members, 2006).

To minimize my misinterpretation of the meanings expressed by the participants, I clarified any uncertain points from them during the follow-up interviews or through email and telephone conversations. I also conducted

member check by sending the transcripts of the interviews to the participants and asking them to spot errors and misinterpretations. Finally, I used a cautious attitude in analyzing and interpreting the interview data to minimize misreading of the data. Although I endeavored to ensure the factual accuracy of the accounts of the respondents, I also acknowledge that many of the accounts are the interpretations, perceptions, and constructions of meanings of the respondents (Team members, 2006).

4.4.5. Additional data

In addition to life history interviews, two kinds of additional data were collected. The first kind was documents. Two kinds of documents were collected. One was materials related to the biographies of the participants, such as personal writings and newspaper and magazine articles. They were not only used to familiarize myself with the backgrounds of the participants before the interviews but also to supplement and triangulate with the life history interviews. The other document was materials directly produced by the political parties, such as brochures, pamphlets, newsletters, official web pages, and press releases. They were mainly used to provide information on the background and organizational structure of the parties and their recruitment strategies and activities organized for young people and members.

The second kind of additional data was interviews with party officials responsible for the affairs of youth and young members. All interviewees were current or former heads of the youth wing of their respective parties, excluding

the LSD, which does not have a youth wing (Table 14). These interviews mainly raised questions about how the party recruited and groomed young members and encouraged them to become active in the party (see Appendix M for the interview guide). The data collected were mainly used to triangulate and cast further light on the life history interviews. I tape-recorded all these interviews but did not transcribe them. I extracted only the main points as these data only served a supplementary purpose.

Table 14

Information about the Party Officials Interviewed

Name of the party official	Party	Position in the party	Date of the interview
Kam Man Fung	NPP	Chairperson, NPP Youth Committee	May 26, 2012
Lam Lap Chi	DP	Former chairperson, Young Democrats	July 2, 2013
Leung Wing Man	CP	Chairperson, Young Civics	July 5, 2013
Chow Ho Ding	DAB	Chairperson, Young DAB	July 10, 2013
To Kwan Hang	LSD	Former chairperson, executive committee member	July 10, 2013

4.5. Data Analysis

No standard or correct procedure for analyzing life history interviews exists as some specialists in biographical research have argued (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Merrill & West, 2009). Some experts suggest a more informal and less systematic way of analysis (Goodson & Choi, 2008; Plummer, 2001). For example, Plummer (2001) suggested that the analysis of life story is a process of reading and re-reading the transcripts, making notes, and pondering.

Goodson (2008, p. 40) called this process "bathing in the data." Some experts suggest a more systematic approach of analysis that involves coding and the development of typologies (Boyatzis, 1998; Dimmock & O'Donoghue, 1997; Team members, 2006). As the aim of this study is to attain a systematic understanding of how and why young people are mobilized into political party activism, I primarily adopted a more systematic approach. My analysis procedure mainly followed the steps proposed by Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor (2003), but this procedure was also partially informed by the procedures and techniques suggested by Boyatzis (1998), Dimmock and Donoghue (1997), Merrill and West (2009), and Klandermans and Mayer (2006a).

Informal analysis, such as reading the transcripts and writing initial thoughts and reflections, was conducted during the data collection process. However, I did not start formal and systematic analysis until I completed all life history interviews. The formal data analysis procedure of this study consisted of the following six steps: (1) transcribing the interview tapes, (2) developing a conceptual framework, (3) labeling (coding) and sorting the interview data, (4) summarizing the main points of the labeled data and writing summaries of the life history of each participant, (5) conducting cross-case analysis, and (6) developing typologies. I discuss these steps in detail as follows.

First, after conducting each interview, I transcribed the interview recording of all but four interviews. This process helped me to familiarize myself with the data and detect emergent themes and patterns (Goodson & Choi, 2008; Goodson & Sikes, 2001). I outsourced four interviews to a professional

transcriber to slightly shorten the time needed to complete the task because transcription is time consuming. Transcribing all the interviews required several months and resulted in several hundred pages of transcripts. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, with "ums," "ars," and pauses also included. I also emailed the transcripts to the participants for member check before they were finalized, but only several of them replied and made amendments or corrections. A portion of a sample transcript is shown in Appendix K.

Second, I developed a "conceptual framework" that was later used to label or code the transcripts. A conceptual framework is like a codebook that lists the important themes and sub-themes that may appear in the data (Spencer et al., 2003). The framework was constructed by reading some of the transcripts and consulting the interview guide. After several refinements, the framework contained 4 main themes and 64 sub-themes. The four main themes were "early life experiences," "entry to the party," "becoming an active member," and "political beliefs of the participants." A copy of the conceptual framework is reproduced in Appendix N.

Once I constructed the conceptual framework, I could start using the themes and sub-themes of the framework to label (code) the interview transcripts. Qualitative data analysis software NVivo was used to facilitate the labeling. NVivo also helped me to automatically sort the data by grouping the data according to the same theme or sub-theme. The labeling process is also a way to refine the conceptual framework. After the labeling, some new themes were discovered and added to the framework, and some were combined into one.

Fourth, I summarized the labeled data to reduce them to a manageable level. The sorted data were summarized in two ways. First, I used my own words to summarize each piece of labeled and sorted data into key points. Second, based on these summaries of key points, I wrote a two-page summary of the life history of each participant. Relevant and important quotes useful to illustrate the life history of the participants were also included in the summaries. These summaries helped me to distil the essence of each life history and facilitate cross-case analysis.

Fifth, I conducted a cross-case analysis. In this step, I compared the summaries of data across cases and compared each two-page summary with one another to determine emerging patterns and themes, as well as other differences and similarities, existing among the participants. For instance, I searched for the major processes and influences that led the participants to join a political party, their major activities as a party member, and the major influences that resulted in their decision to actively participate in their respective parties.

Sixth, I developed a typology to categorize the mobilization processes of the participants. The typology was developed based on three dimensions: (1) whether the participants had developed an attitudinal affinity with the party before they became involved in it, (2) the initial motivation which drove them to get involved in the party, and (3) whether they had become involved with the party before formally joining it as a member. Based on these dimensions, three paths to political party activism were identified from the narratives of the participants. These paths will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

4.6. Ethical Issues

The primary research method of the proposed study is life history interview, and it includes the personal, private, and sensitive matters of the participants, which increase the potential for harm (Goodson & Sikes, 2001). Therefore, the researcher has to maintain a high ethical standard throughout the research process. This section discusses the major ethical issues and the measures I adopted to minimize the potential risks in relation to the participants of the study.

4.6.1. Informed consent

All researchers should respect the rights of the respondents and treat them properly and morally (Goodson & Choi, 2008). Therefore, I obtained the informed consent of the informants before conducting the interviews. Informed consent means that the informants participate in the research voluntarily and that they are well aware of the details of the research, their rights as participants, and the potential risks of the research. They can withdraw at any time without penalty of any kind (Berg, 2009; Merrill & West, 2009; Plummer, 2001). As mentioned above, I used an informed consent form to obtain their informed consent. Each consent form contains a brief introduction of the study and a written statement of the participants' rights and potential risks. I clearly explained the form to my participants before asking them to sign. Each form was dated and signed by both the researcher and the participant (Berg, 2009).

4.6.2. Confidentiality of the participants

In most qualitative research, the researchers ensure the confidentiality of the participants; that is, they would attempt "to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subjects' identities" (Berg, 2009, p.90). Maintaining confidentiality is usually done by changing the real name of the respondent to a pseudonym or case number (Berg, 2009). However, assurance of total confidentiality is not always possible in life history research because it includes the private information of the informants (Goodson & Choi, 2008; Plummer, 2001). In this study, I ensured the confidentiality of each participant by using pseudonyms when reporting data. Nevertheless, the recognition of their identities was possible despite the measures were taken, as the number of young party activists in Hong Kong was small. Some participants said that they did not mind being identified because they considered themselves public figures or politicians. Nevertheless, I clearly and honestly explained the risks to my participants before conducting the interviews.

4.6.3. Psychological risks

Psychological risk is a major concern of life history researchers because respondents are asked to share their private life experiences or events that are sometimes painful and distressing, which may affect their psychological and emotional health (Goodson & Choi, 2008). To minimize such potential risks, I

was not overly intrusive during the interviews on their private lives and allowed them to decide on whether to talk about a particular issue (Goodson & Choi, 2008). As far as I could remember, most of the participants did not feel stressed or uncomfortable during the interviews. However, one of the participants committed suicide three months after his second interview. Although the reason behind this tragedy remains unknown, no evidence suggests that this event was directly or indirectly related to the present study.

4.6.4. Confidentiality of the research data

The informed consent forms and the collected data (including interview transcripts, recordings, field notes, and relevant documents) will be kept strictly confidential through the following measures. First, hard copies of the data are stored in a locked cabinet in my student office. Second, soft copies of the data are stored in my office and home computers with restricted access. Only I have the right to access the data files for analysis purposes. Finally, the soft and hard copies of the data will be kept for a period that is consistent with the policies of the institute. They will continue to be stored in a secure place after that period.

4.7. Limitations of the Study

Aside from the issue of reliability of the data of the life history interviews, I must acknowledge that this study has several limitations, and I have taken certain measures to address them. First, additional data are scarce. Apart from

life history interviews, a more complete picture of the life histories of the participants can be achieved by collecting other forms of data, such as interviews with the significant others of the participants, including their parents, schoolmates, and fellow party members. Direct observation of the activities and daily lives of the participants in the party can also provide additional perspective for understanding their experiences. I was unable to collect these data because of the limitations on the duration and resources of the study. Nevertheless, I attempted to collect some additional data to enrich and triangulate the life histories by interviewing party officials and studying relevant documents.

Second, a possible limitation is my personal bias. My analysis and presentation of the interview data are not completely objective and involve my own interpretation, similar to all other life history studies (Goodson & Sikes, 2001). According to Goodson and Sikes (2001), "Analysis [of life history] is about making sense of, or interpreting, the information and evidence that the researcher as decided to consider as data" (p.43). Moreover, I consider party politics to be beneficial to the good governance of Hong Kong, and I personally support more young people joining political parties as they can provide parties with the new blood that they badly need. My views as a strong supporter of the pro-democracy camp and a former member of the LSD might have influenced my analysis and interpretation of the interview data (McEvoy, 2006). Nevertheless, I tried to minimize the bias through continuous and critical self-reflection. I am confident that the analyses and interpretations are impartial and free from significant bias. Nevertheless, della Porta (1992, p. 185) asserted that

"[a] certain degree of 'subjectivity' seems unavoidable" in life history research.

Finally, the study is limited by its generalizability. The present study is a qualitative study mainly based on life history interviews with young active party members in Hong Kong. The sample size was small (n = 23), and the participants were purposively selected on the basis of certain criteria. Therefore, the study does not aim to draw a statistically representative sample, which is practically impossible to do (della Porta, 1992). Instead, this kind of study aims to "illuminate the complexities of learning and transitional processes" of a particular group of people (Merrill & West, 2009, p. 88). The emphasis is on generating themes, categories, typologies, and explanations through in-depth investigation of a phenomenon. Therefore, the findings of this study could not be generalized to a parent population (i.e., all young active party members in Hong Kong) that was sampled in a strictly statistical sense because the participants were not chosen through probability sampling. Nevertheless, this is not to say that the findings completely cannot be applied to other young party activists because the insights generated by this study are useful for examining other young party activists locally or in other places with similar settings and contexts. Moreover, I interviewed a party official from each of the selected political parties and asked them whether the findings from the life history interviews were prevalent in their respective parties. Many said that some of the phenomena found in the life history interviews, such as the importance of summer internship programs in facilitating young people to participate in party activism, are prevalent in their respective parties. This characteristic enhances the potential of the life history data to be applied to the examination of other

cases.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed a range of methodological issues. First, I justified the use of qualitative method and life history approach because of their strengths in examining the process, context, and perceptions of the participants, which are necessary to address the research questions. Second, I explained why purposive sampling was used to select the participants and discussed the procedure and challenges of recruiting the participants. Third, I described the data collection process in detail. That is, I discussed how I constructed the interview guide and conducted the interviews. Additional data, such as interviews with party officials and relevant documents, were collected to supplement the life history interviews. Moreover, I described the data analysis procedure that involves six steps. I also discussed the ethical issues involved and the measures I took to address them. Finally, I described the limitations of the study and how I dealt with them.

In the next three chapters, I discuss the findings to address the two research questions, which are about the individual mobilization processes into party activism and the contextual and individual influences at play in the processes.

CHAPTER 5

INDIVIDUAL MOBILIZATION PROCESSES INTO PARTY ACTIVISM: HESITANT BELIEVER PATH

5.1. Introduction

This chapter and the subsequent two chapters report and analyze the data that I collected from the life history interviews with the young party activists. Specifically, the chapters describe and examine the individual mobilization processes and the perceptions of the participants on the influences that led them to join and actively participate in a political party. A thorough, critical analysis of the life histories reveals that the process of becoming a party activist can be divided into four steps and that not all participants followed the same sequence of steps into party activism. Three sequences of steps or paths to party activism are identified, namely, the Hesitant Believer Path, the Decisive Believer Path, and the Converted Staff Path. This chapter discusses the participants who follow the Hesitant Believer Path, and the next two chapters are devoted to activists who take the other two paths.

This chapter is divided into four sections, and it commences with a brief explanation on how the steps and paths into party activism are distinguished. The first part of the chapter explains how I break down the process of becoming a party activist into four steps. The second part explains how I distinguish the three paths to party activism on the basis of the three sequences of the steps

identified. The third section is the most important section of this chapter because it examines in detail the narratives of the party activists who follow the Hesitant Believer Path. I describe their background, upbringing, and how they were mobilized into party activism. The last section is devoted to the discussion on the perceptions of the participants on the influences that play a role in their individual mobilization processes.

5.2. Individual Mobilization Processes into Party Activism

As discussed in the literature review chapter, this study mainly focuses on exploring the individual mobilization processes into party activism of a sample of young party activists in Hong Kong. This approach views the participation in a political party or becoming an active member not as a single event or decision but as the result of a process composed of a number of steps. On the basis of a critical analysis of the life histories of the participants, I argue that the processes to become party activists can be broadly classified into four distinct steps: (A) attitudinal affinity, (B) initial involvement, (C) formal enrollment, and (D) active participation. Each step is influenced by a variety of contextual and individual influences. I find that these steps do not fall in this A → B → C → D order for all participants. I will address this point in more detail after providing a brief description of each step.

A. ***Attitudinal Affinity.*** The first step is attitudinal affinity. The term was first used by social movement scholar Doug McAdam (1988a, 1988b) to

describe the development of a supportive attitude toward the goals, values, and ideals of the American civil rights movement. This study adopts this term but uses it more broadly not only to mean the development of an adherence to the ideology and policy goals of the party but also to describe the development of a favorable impression of the party in general or of some party figures in particular. Moreover, the term is also used to describe the development of an interest to join the party or pursue a political career in that party. This step is important because psychological or ideological affinity is found to be an important reason or prerequisite for the decision of the participants to join party activities or formally join a party.

B. ***Initial involvement.*** Initial involvement refers to the time when a participant first became involved in the activities of the party. These activities may include assisting in an electoral campaign, joining a summer internship organized by the party, volunteering with the party, or working for the party as a salaried staff member. This step is important because the moment when the participants joined the party as a member is not necessarily the time when they first became involved in the party. They may have already participated in some party activities before formally joining the party. Some participants only became involved in party activities for a period of time after they had joined the party.

C. ***Formal Enrollment.*** The formal enrollment step refers to the moment when the participant formally applied for membership in the party. They

usually had to complete a membership form and pay membership dues.

D. ***Active Participation.*** Active participation is the final step to become a party activist and is the time when the participants become fully committed to the party, actively participating in the time-consuming and high-intensity activities of the party. According to the experiences of the participants, these activities usually include holding party office, being a full time staff member of the party, or running for public office on behalf of the party. For some participants, this step occurred at the same time or immediately after they joined the party. This step is important as this study aims to examine the processes into party activism. Becoming an active party member should be the final step of the entire process.

5.3. From Steps to Paths

The individual mobilization process to become a young party activist comprises four distinct steps, but the analysis does not end at this point. I found that except for active participation (Step D), which is the final step, other steps did not necessarily proceed in the sequential order presented above. For example, I found that some participants had neither developed a strong attitudinal affinity nor a strong interest to join the party when they first became involved in the party. They only gradually learned about the principles of the party and developed an intention to join after participating in various party activities. For them, initial involvement (Step B) preceded attitudinal affinity

(Step A). Some participants joined the party as members before participating in any party activity. For them, formal enrollment (Step C) preceded initial involvement (Step B). Three sequences of steps toward becoming party activists were revealed in the narratives of the participants. I call them the Hesitant Believer Path (Path One), the Decisive Believer Path (Path Two), and the Converted Staff Path (Path Three). I briefly describe the characteristics of each of these paths as follows.

1. ***Hesitant Believer Path.*** The participants who followed Path One went through the four steps sequentially from Steps A to D. They usually had already developed a supportive attitude toward the principles and values of the party or even an interest to join the party before their first involvement in the party. Their primary motivation for initially participating was a desire to practice their political beliefs, but they were hesitant or reluctant to enroll immediately in the party as a member. Instead, they chose to first participate in various party activities before finally deciding to join the party (Figure 2).

2. ***Decisive Believer Path.*** The participants who followed Path Two went through the steps in the order of A → C → B → D. similar to the Hesitant Believers, most of them had already become adherents to the principles and ideology of the party before they decided to join. However, they were more decisive than the Hesitant Believers because they decided to join the party before participating in any kind of party activity (Figure 3). Their first

involvement in the party occurred after they joined the party.

3. ***Converted Staff Path.*** The participants who followed this path went through the process in the order of B → A → C → D. The participants who followed this path have two defining characteristics. First, they neither developed a solid adherence to the party principles nor an interest to join the party when they first became involved in the party. Their initial involvement in the party was mainly motivated by non-political reasons, such as occupational considerations, curriculum requirements, or mere curiosity. They were only socialized or converted to identify with the party principles and developed an intention to join after spending a period of time with the party (Figure 4). Second, their initial involvement in the party was usually in the form of being a party employee such as a legislator's assistant or a summer intern.

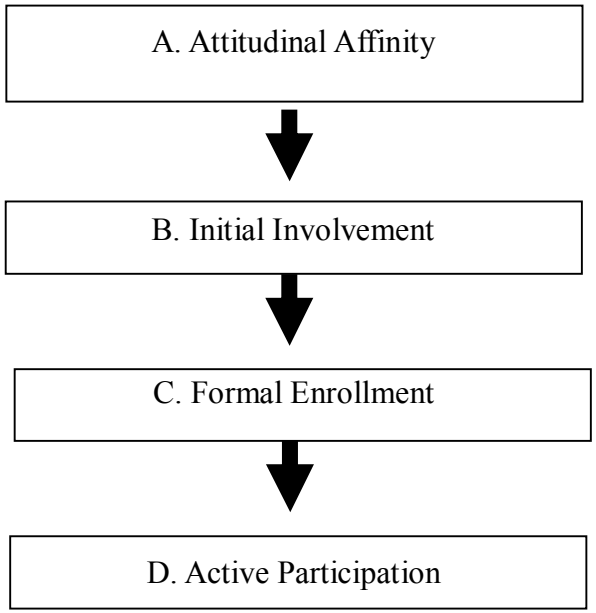


Figure 2. Hesitant Believer Path (Path One).

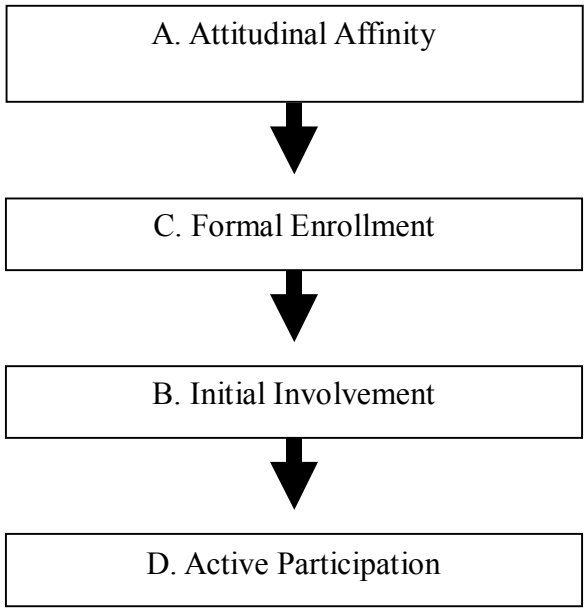


Figure 3. Decisive Believer Path (Path Two).

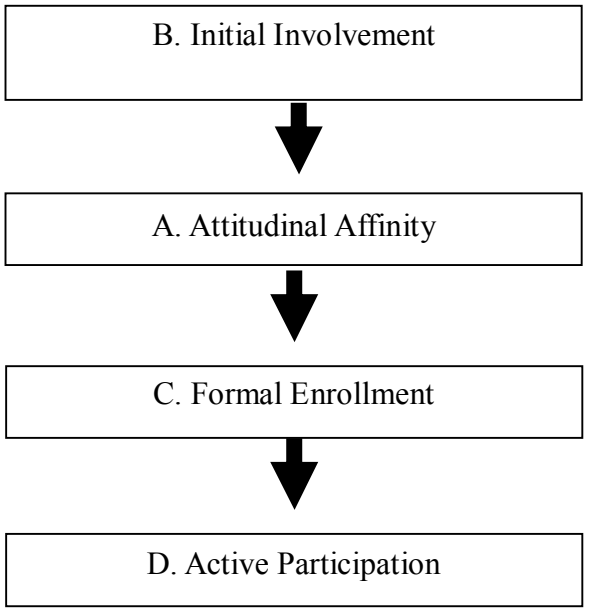


Figure 4. Converted Staff Path (Path Three).

Table 15 summarizes the key differences among the three paths. Among the participants, six participants followed the Hesitant Believer Path, eleven followed the Decisive Believer Path, and six followed the Converted Staff Path. The distribution of paths does not vary significantly with the political camp. It should be noted that the three paths into party activism are only ideal types. The experiences of the participants are usually more complex than what each path describes. They sometimes share elements of more than one path, although the characteristics of a single path usually dominate. Moreover, additional paths could be identified if more participants were interviewed. Nevertheless, this classification helps me to better understand how the individual mobilization process into party activism unfolds and varies.

Table 15

Key Differences among the Three Paths

Path	Already developed an attitudinal affinity to the party before participating in the party	Initial motivation for participating in the party	Participated in the party before formally joining as a member
Hesitant Believers	Yes	Political/ideological	Yes
Decisive Believers	Yes	Political/ideological	No
Converted Staff	No	Non-political/ideological	Yes

5.4. Narratives of the Participants Who Followed the Hesitant Believer Path

In this main part of the chapter, I illustrate the Hesitant Believer Path (Path One) using the narratives of the participants who followed that path. Six participants followed the Hesitant Believer Path, with four from the pro-democracy parties and two from the DAB. Their basic demographics are presented in Table 16. The narratives of the participants from the CP and DP are discussed first, followed by those from the DAB.

Table 16

Basic Demographics of the Participants Following the Hesitant Believer Path

Participant	Party affiliation	Gender	Age	Education level	Occupation
Brian	CP	Male	25	University	Secondary school teaching assistant
Anna	CP	Female	24	University	Legislator's assistant
David	DP	Male	26	University	District councilor
Vincent	LSD	Male	27	University	Media editor and executive officer
Thomas	DAB	Male	23	University	Secondary school teacher
Stephen	DAB	Male	28	University	Assistant coordinator of DAB

5.4.1. *Anna (CP)*

Anna joined CP in 2010, and she is currently a committee member of a party policy branch and the party's youth wing (Young Civics). Moreover, she is a legislative assistant of a CP LegCo member.

5.4.1.1. *Personal background*

Anna was born in a public housing family in Kowloon. Her father is a taxi driver and her mother is a domestic helper. Both her parents came from mainland China to Hong Kong when they were young. Her parents did not have any special expectation for her. They only wanted her to be an honest and upright person. She also said her parents were not interested in current affairs and would not discuss them with her. "I didn't have such kind of upbringing." Although her parents have voted in elections, they do not have a strong political orientation. "Even though they have voted, they don't have strong political orientation. When I asked them who they had voted for during previous elections, they couldn't remember." Anna also has an older sister, but she is also uninterested in politics. Overall, she felt that her family did not have much influence on her political interest, except to contribute to her habit of reading the newspaper, which her parents bought every day. "They would buy newspapers probably only because they wanted the coupons. Nevertheless, I did read them."

Although without strong influence from her family, she developed a strong awareness of current affairs when she was very young. For example, she was interested in social studies and paid attention to news about Tung Chee Hwa when she was a primary student. She aspired to become a lawyer when she was young and considered a career that upholds justice and helps others probably because of the influence of TV legal drama series such as Justice Bao (包青

天)[27] and File of Justice (壹號皇庭)[28]. Anna has also been a Christian since primary school. She considers justice as the most important value that Christianity has taught her.

Anna attended a Catholic girls' secondary school and chose the arts and commence stream at the senior level. Her school did not have much social awareness or civic education. "My school does not have much contact with the larger society. From the day I came to this school, I felt that the teachers really wanted to nurture well-behaved students who would listen to what their teachers told them." Her classmates were docile and did not pay much attention to current affairs. The teachers also did not talk about current issues in class. In history class, the teacher would only teach what was printed in the textbook and would not attempt to link history to current affairs, but Anna herself had such awareness. She said she learned the importance of checks and balances from her history curriculum. "Take Hitler, for example. Horrible things can happen if power is not locked in a cage. Whether in world or Chinese history, you could see that people with too much power were untrustworthy."

5.4.1.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

Although Anna learned some democratic ideas from the school curriculum,

[27]This is a television drama series about Bao Zheng (AD 999-1062), a senior government official in the Song Dynasty of China (AD 960–1279). According the legend, Bao was an extremely upright and righteous official who dared to punish and impeach high-level government officials and powerful social elites who were corrupt or violated the law.
[28]This is a television drama series about the personal lives and court cases of a group of lawyers produced by the Television Broadcasts Limited of Hong Kong from 1992 to 1997.

the Basic Law Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003 made her a true supporter of the principles and leaders of the CP. The event occurred when she was in senior secondary school. Although she did not participate in any demonstration, she paid close attention to the issue. She paid special attention to the opinions on the issue expressed by barristers, such as Alan Leong and Audrey Eu, who later became leaders of the CP, because she aspired to become a lawyer. She was impressed with their opinions and actions opposing the legislation. “I was very impressed with their actions in defending the rule of law and fighting against the ‘evil legislation.’” She considered joining the CP when it was founded in 2006, but she gave up on this idea because she thought she was too young at that time.

5.4.1.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

Anna originally planned to read law in university, but because of the admissions system for Hong Kong universities, she was assigned to study translation at the City University of Hong Kong, an alternative choice of study. She was active at the university. For example, she frequently organized visits to the elderly and served as the team leader of the university Chinese debate team. Her first personal contact with the CP occurred during the summer holiday following her second year. During that time, she discovered from the CP website that the party was recruiting summer interns for its 2008 LegCo election campaign. She applied and was assigned to the campaign team of Alan Leong. During her internship, she handled different tasks, such as distributing

leaflets, talking to residents, and handling phone calls. Leong invited her to stay and work part-time in his office because of her good performance. After she graduated, Leong again invited her to become his full-time assistant and she accepted the invitation.

5.4.1.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Although Anna was working full time for CP, she did not join the party immediately because she was struggling with the question of whether she would share the same views as the party in the future. "When I initially became involved in politics, my concern was not knowing what to do if I would have a disagreement with the party in the future." Gradually, this worry disappeared because she felt that, as long as she subscribed to the core principles of the party, she would not regret joining the party. Eventually, she joined the CP in 2010.

5.4.1.5. *Step D: Active Participation*

Anna became actively engaged in various kinds of activities shortly after she joined the CP. Currently, she is the secretary of the Young Civics as well as an executive committee member of a policy branch[29]. She said,

> Apart from my job [as a legislator's assistant], I continue [to handle party affairs] after work. Except for my sleeping time, I spend all my time on

[29] CP has two kinds of branches, namely, local and policy branches.

> party affairs. Yes, I have little time for my private life. The CP is viewed by others to be running in a very good condition, but in reality we have a serious shortage of personnel.

She said that some people in the party suggested that she run for the party office, but it was mainly her personal interest that motivated her to run. "If I want to enter politics…initially I should learn more and learn different things so that I could find my own direction." She also ran for these positions because of her attachment to the party. She wanted to help the party by improving some its weaknesses, such as its internal structure and policy research capability.

5.4.2. *Brian (CP)*

The second case from the CP is Brian who joined the party in 2007. Currently, he is the deputy chairperson of a local branch and a former committee member of the Young Civics.

5.4.2.1. *Personal background*

Brian was born in a lower-middle-class family and lived in a private housing estate in the New Territories. His father is a taxi driver and his mother is an office assistant. His parents are not interested in current affairs and seldom participate in political activities. He did not receive much exposure to politics from his family. He described himself as an ordinary student in primary school and junior secondary school who did not pay much attention to current affairs.

Brian studied in a government secondary school. He was not very active in school and seldom discussed current issues with his teachers and fellow classmates. “Probably because we all spent most of our time preparing for public exams, we did not have much time to discuss current affairs.”

5.4.2.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

Similar to Anna, the most important event that triggered the political awakening of Brian was the 2003 Article 23 legislation controversy. When the controversy broke out, he was a senior secondary student and coincidentally studying the history of totalitarianism in inter-war Europe. He found that the comments of some government officials to promote the legislation were similar to that of European dictators, and they stimulated his interest in the issue. He even participated in the July 1 protest in the same year. “If I hadn’t joined the protest at that time, I might not have had another chance in the future.” Since then, Brian became interested in politics and a strong supporter of democracy. In 2004, he participated in the activities of the Hong Kong Secondary Students Union, a pro-democracy student organization.

5.4.2.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

Brian chose to study politics in university and eventually joined the politics department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) because of his interest in politics. Brian first became involved in the activities of the CP

during a mentorship program organized by his department. This program provided the participants an opportunity to meet a social leader or a famous alumnus once or twice a year. Brian joined this program in his second year (2007) and chose CP legislator Alan Leong, who was also a pro-democracy barrister, as his mentor because he admired Leong's courage in opposing the Article 23 legislation. At that time, Leong was running for CE. When Brian met the barrister, Leong asked him if he was interested to join his campaign team. Brian said yes and was assigned to provide logistics and clerical support to the team. He was even invited to give advice on campaign strategies.

5.4.2.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Near the end of the campaign, an assistant of Leong asked Brian if he would stay after the campaign and join the CP. He thought about it for a while because he doubted if he was capable enough to help. Nevertheless, he joined the party three months after the election because he thought that the professional and rational image of the CP suited him. He also wanted to put his political ideas into practice. "Instead of sharing my ideas only with my friends, I felt that I should grasp this opportunity to put them into practice."

5.4.2.5. *Step D: Active Participation*

After joining the CP, Brian spent his leisure time on party activities such as forums and seminars. People in his local party branch asked him to join the

branch meetings, and it gave him the opportunity to know more party members. The person who influenced Brian the most in the party was then Young Civics chairperson Thomas Yu. He not only gave Brian advice but also invited him to join the executive committee of the Young Civics. According to Brian, "He (Mr. Yu) was then the chairman of Young Civics. He invited me to join Young Civics so that I could bring my ideas to the committee and we could organize activities together." In Young Civics, Brian helped organized a photo exhibit of the 1989 June Fourth Incident and the summer internship program for university students. He even became an intern himself after organizing the program.

The time when Brian graduated from college was also the campaign period for the 2008 LegCo election. At that time, the CP headquarters needed a full-time staff to handle all affairs related to the electoral campaign and they hired Brian. After the election, Brian became an assistant of the newly elected CP legislator Tanya Chan. "I can't remember who invited who. We just felt that we hit it off during the election, and I went to work in her office afterwards."

5.4.3. *Vincent (LSD)*

Vincent is a participant from LSD. He is currently the deputy secretary general of the LSD. He used to be the organizing officer of the party secretariat and an assistant of an LSD district councilor.

5.4.3.1. *Personal background*

Vincent was also born to a family that lived in public housing in the New Territories. His father is a ferry coxswain and his mother is a housewife; both received primary education only. Vincent said his parents are not politically active and that they do not participate in any political activities except to vote and make a few comments about current affairs. "They would not discuss current affairs seriously. However, they would say a few words when watching TV news or newspaper but would not go deep into it." The only way he felt that his parents influenced him was in encouraging his habit of reading the newspaper, similar to Anna. Vincent's father purchased *Apple Daily* every day, and thus Vincent started reading *Apple Daily* in secondary school.

Vincent attended a secondary school near his housing estate. The school atmosphere was quite open and the school rules were not too strict. He did not consider himself as a well-behaved student, similar to most of his classmates. He and his classmates resisted some "unreasonable" school rules. Vincent was elected vice-chairperson of the student union in Secondary Six. Although the union was only concerned with trivial issues, it trained him to become more vocal in expressing his opinions.

5.4.3.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

The Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003 greatly affected Vincent politically, similar to Anna. He was studying his A-Levels when the controversy occurred. It was a hot topic at that time, and many of his classmates paid close attention to it. Vincent not only followed the news and read many books about

Hong Kong politics, but he also participated in the July 1 protest with his classmates. The protest shocked him, but it also empowered him politically. "I discovered that when people come together, they could achieve something." The controversy stimulated his interest in many political issues that he chose to study politics in university.

After high school, Vincent went to CUHK to study politics. He joined the university student press and became its committee member because he liked to read the newspaper. He said his experience in the press had a significant effect on his thoughts and actions. In terms of political beliefs, he made many new friends in the press. Most of them were left-wing (anti-capitalist/socialist) and social movement activists. Interacting with them influenced Vincent to become more left-wing ideologically. In terms of political participation, the press provided him with many opportunities to participate in various kinds of social movement activities because it strongly emphasized social and political issues. The event that influenced him the most was the anti-World Trade Organization (WTO) protest in Hong Kong.[30] He and his colleagues in the press planned to publish a special issue contradicting the government's views because they disagreed with the content of the government publicity on WTO. They gradually participated in the anti-WTO protests. He described this event as a turning point for him because it was the first time that he personally encountered the "violent acts" of the police, such as the use of water cannon

[30]This refers to a series of anti-WTO protests and demonstrations that occurred in Hong Kong in December 2005 during the Sixth Ministerial Conference of the WTO. At that time, many Hong Kong activists united with foreign protesters, particularly those from South Korea, to protest against the conference.

and tear gas. This experience led him to seriously rethink his career goal. He said,

> This time, I physically faced the violence of the police. In the past, I had only wanted to enrich my knowledge in politics, but at that time I assessed what I could really do. The experience made me rethink about the career I should pursue after graduation.

After this event, Vincent wanted to pursue a career in non-government organizations (NGOs), media, or social movement organizations instead of finding a job in the government or the business sector.

5.4.3.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

Vincent started to look for a job when he was close to graduating. He discovered that LSD was looking for an organizing officer. He applied because he personally agreed with the social democratic principles of the party and supported its legislator "Long Hair" Leung Kwok Hung. He successfully got the job, which began his involvement in party activities. He was responsible for many duties, such as drafting the party constitution, organizing social action, coordinating electoral campaigns, and performing other administrative tasks. Despite his deep involvement in party affairs, he had not considered joining the party at that time because he thought that joining a party was a serious decision and he did not have the determination to do so yet.

5.4.3.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment and Step D: Active Participation*

Vincent left the party secretariat two years later and became an assistant of an LSD district councilor, but left again one year later. At that time, he had somewhat lost his direction. After briefly working in a trade union, he finally settled down in a job with an independent media website. At that time, he was invited by some party senior members to join the party and run for a party executive position. “Some people [in the party] asked me to join the executive committee.” He accepted the invitation mainly because of his emotional attachment to the party. “I had been here for several years and I got along well with many fellow members. I also supported the party’s principles so I hoped I could make some contribution [to the party].” He also wanted to strengthen the policy research capacity of the party and promote the left-wing policy goals of the party in the pro-democracy camp.

5.4.4. *David (DP)*

The first case from the DP is David. He is currently a DP district councilor and a member of the party’s central committee.

5.4.4.1. *Personal background*

David is an only child from a middle class family. His father was a former nightclub musician and now teaches music in secondary schools. His mother is an accountant in a private company. Although his parents are long-time DP

supporters, they seldom participate in political activities, except voting for DP. Nevertheless, his parents nurtured his interest in current affairs by encouraging him to pay attention to the news. "My parents frequently told me to watch more TV news. My father sometimes even watched TV news with me….especially during the Gulf War in 1991."

5.4.4.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

David went to three different schools during his secondary school years. He remembered that these schools did not have much civic education, but he recalled that he was particularly interested in history. By studying the history of Hong Kong, he understood that Hong Kong has a close relationship with mainland China. He considered that Hong Kong should be concerned with events in China, the beliefs of which are similar to those of the DP.

The most significant event that transformed David into a determined supporter of democracy and universal suffrage, a core principle of the DP, was the Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003. David is a Christian. When the controversy broke out, a tutor in his church urged him to join the July 1 rally. "The tutor in my church played a dominant role in my participation in the July 1 rally…. He is a civil servant, and he said this legislation has a far-reaching impact. If it were passed, the freedom of the Hong Kong people would be stripped from them." When he attended the rally, he was touched by the large crowd. "(Because the crowd was so large) I couldn't get out of Victoria Park (the starting point of the rally). I was shocked by the unity and beauty of the

Hong Kong people."

5.4.4.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

The July 1 Rally not only initiated his determination to fight for democracy but also made him think that social change could be achieved if everyone exerted some effort. Thus, he founded a youth volunteer group in his housing estate to organize volunteering activities. However, he later found that many social problems could not be solved by merely volunteering because they involved public policies. This understanding, together with his experience in campaigning for a District Council candidate in his constituency in 2003, inspired him to consider entering politics.

As he was thinking about how he could enter politics, he met Mark Li, chairman of the DP Hong Kong Island branch, in a volunteering activity. David got his business card and began to consider joining the DP, but at that time he thought that participating in some party activities would be best before making the final decision. Thus, he became a volunteer for DP LegCo member Martin Lee. During the 2004 LegCo election, David provided assistance to Lee's campaign. "I became a part-time volunteer for the DP during the whole campaign period. At that time, I followed wherever Martin went. For example, we held the canvassing in the Peak and even in Shek O."

5.4.4.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Soon after the election, Lee invited David to join the DP. "The most important part to me was the invitation by Martin, and Mark Li helped me to deal with the enrollment procedure. I became a member after that."

5.4.4.5. *Step D: Active Participation*

The time he joined the DP was also the time he entered university. Shortly after he joined the party, David joined the youth committee of the party because, at that time, he wanted to participate in more youth-related activities. He thought that parties in Hong Kong paid too little attention to young people. In 2005, he was invited by the party to join its "district developer scheme," which was a scheme aimed to prepare members to run for District Councilor. From then on, he spent considerable time performing constituency work that he frequently missed his university classes. To learn more about how to conduct constituency work, he later went to assist in the office of a DP district councilor as a part-time staff. The councilor taught him useful skills and knowledge. "[He] gave me many opportunities to handle different tasks such as setting up street stalls…organizing a signature campaign, liaising with residents….This let me fully understand the operation of a councilor's office." In 2007, he was successfully elected as a district councilor in the constituency where he lived.

Later, he ran for committee member of the local party branch to which he belonged because he wanted to consolidate his status in the party. However, he lost because of the opposition of a rival faction in the party. He then ran to be a member of the central committee, the decision-making body of the party. This

time he succeeded because he received support from members of other local branches.

5.4.5. *Thomas (DAB)*

The first case from the DAB is Thomas, who joined the party when he was 20. He currently serves as a deputy policy spokesman for the party in a specific policy area.

5.4.5.1. *Personal background*

Thomas was born to a lower-middle class family in Hong Kong and lived in a Home Ownership Scheme flat[31] in the New Territories. He is the oldest among three siblings. He said, "Although we own a home, our life is not affluent, sometimes even quite hard." His father was the sole breadwinner in the family. His father is an immigrant from mainland China. After coming to Hong Kong, he once served as a cook and is now an interior decoration sub-contractor. His mother is a housewife. Both his parents received middle school education only.

Thomas's parents and siblings are not enthusiastic toward local politics and seldom discussed current affairs with him during his childhood: "There was not much [discussion about current affairs] in the past; my father would only

[31]The Home Ownership Scheme flats (居屋) are subsidized homes sold by the Hong Kong Housing Authority under the Home Ownership Scheme (居者有其屋計劃).

watch TV news occasionally and say a few words like 'it is what it is'…and I wouldn't continue discussing it with him." Until now, his father has still not registered to vote. Although his mother is a registered voter, Thomas is the one who reminds her to vote and advises her whom to vote.

5.4.5.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

Despite their unenthusiastic attitudes toward local affairs and politics, Thomas's parents did have a significant influence on the formation of his Chinese national identity and patriotism. He described his father as patriotic. "He is quite a patriotic person and to some extent supports the rule of the Communist Party. This has some influence on me." Thomas's father would sometimes praise the ideas and policies of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Thomas considered his mother to have a strong sense of national identity.

> My mother repeatedly told us that she didn't want to be British and wanted to be Chinese… She told us this story when she had to travel abroad. She wrote Chinese as her nationality [on the arrival card] but was told [by an immigration officer] that she should write British instead. She questioned why she had to be British instead of Chinese. I think she meant that she identified herself as a Chinese citizen. This story influenced me.

Books and media also contributed to the formation of his national identity. He developed an interest in history when he was young. During childhood, Thomas read numerous books and watched many documentaries about Chinese history.

> Interviewer: How was your national identity developed?

> Thomas: I feel strongly about Chinese history, and I am proud of the historical tradition of China. How it was developed? Through reading, reading books about Chinese history of different periods and dynasties. I also watched some documentaries.

His strong national identity has made his political beliefs similar to those of the DAB.

Thomas attended an elite secondary school in Kowloon. He developed an interest in current and political affairs at that time, but he described this interest as more or less like instinct, something unrelated to his school experience. He said his school did not have a strong position on any political issues and allowed students to express different views. He seldom discussed current issues with his classmates because most of them were uninterested. Even the student union, in which he once served as an executive committee member, also seldom touched on political issues. The only school experience that influenced Thomas's political interest was the subject Integrated Humanities, which he studied from Secondary Four to Five. As the curriculum of this subject was closely linked to the events that occur in society, it reinforced his interest in current affairs.

His interest in current affairs, combined with his patriotism that developed in childhood, triggered his interest to join the DAB in his senior secondary years. According to Thomas, after the July 1 Rally in 2003, the strength of the pro-democracy parties increased substantially, but the parties exceeded their boundaries with the way they often made baseless criticisms about the government. The situation made him feel indignant.

> Some parties in Hong Kong (pro-democracy parties) pick out problems [of the government] every day. They attack everything on the basis of trivialities. As the saying goes, 'they are more destructive than constructive.' I felt disaffected.

By contrast, he found that the DAB was moderate and "rational" as it would not oppose for the sake of opposing. Given his strong national identity, Thomas was also attracted by the patriotic position of DAB.

> Hong Kong became part of China after the handover. Hong Kong people are undeniably Chinese citizens. Among the many political parties in Hong Kong, the DAB is a genuine patriotic party. It is not the kind of party that has turned patriotic suddenly.

Thus, he developed the intention to join the DAB in his late teens. "This party is close to my political beliefs, so I wanted to join."

5.4.5.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

After leaving secondary school, Thomas went to CUHK to study political science because of his interest in current affairs. Every year, the student society of his department offers different summer internship opportunities to students, and the DAB is one of the choices. He joined the DAB internship during the summer holiday after his second year because he felt that his beliefs were similar to those of the DAB. Moreover, he had already developed an interest in joining the party. During the internship, he assisted a district councilor to conduct a survey of residents and observed many district council meetings.

5.4.5.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Thomas joined the DAB as a member shortly after because his internship experience was remarkable. “As I could get along well with Mr. Chung (the district councilor), I requested him to recommend me to join the party.”

5.4.5.5. *Step D: Active Participation*

After joining the party, Thomas mainly participated in the activities organized by the Young DAB (the DAB youth section), such as talks and seminars. He became acquainted with his fellow young members through those activities. He volunteered in various activities of the party and assisted in the 2011 District council election. In 2012, he decided to join the deputy policy spokesman selection program of the party because he found the publicity capability of the party to be weak. “The publicity capability of the party was relatively weak. The party’s ideas were not unreasonable, but the party couldn’t express them properly….So I wanted to become one of the party’s deputy policy spokesmen and speak out for the party.” Consistent with his wishes, he was successfully selected by the party as one of its deputy policy spokesmen.

5.4.6. *Stephen (DAB)*

The second DAB case is Stephen. Similar to Thomas, he is currently a

DAB deputy spokesman for a specific policy area. He is also employed by the party as an assistant coordinator who handles party affairs and constituency work at the district level.

5.4.6.1. *Personal background*

Stephen was born in mainland China and grew up in a grassroots family. He migrated to Hong Kong to reunite with his family when he was 10. His father came to Hong Kong from the mainland many years ago under the "touch base policy" (抵壘政策) of the colonial government.[32] His father began as an employee and now operates a small business. His mother is a housewife. His parents are not highly educated; in fact, his mother is illiterate. Unlike Thomas, Stephen claimed that his parents did not have any influence on his patriotic political beliefs because Stephen lived apart from his parents until he was 10. "They (his parents) didn't have a great influence on me. I seldom talked with them, probably because we were separated during my childhood." Another reason is that his parents are not interested in discussing current affairs.

Interviewer: Did you discuss current affairs with your family member…?

Stephen: No, I didn't…my mother is illiterate. She doesn't even know a single word and didn't receive any education.

Interviewer: I see. I see…

Stephen: That's why I don't discuss current affairs and politics with her…

[32] According to this policy, anyone from mainland China who was able to stow away to the urban area of Hong Kong without being intercepted at the border could be granted right of abode in Hong Kong. This policy was implemented from 1974 to 1980.

Stephen has one brother and two sisters, but they are not enthusiastic about current issues or politics. They focus their energy on the family than on other things like politics.

5.4.6.2. *Step A: Attitudinal Affinity*

Stephen claimed that education played an important role in developing his patriotism and his interest in public service. He received most of his primary education in mainland China, where he had to study Marxist thought and the history of Mao Zedong. "As a child, I already knew about how Mao Zedong founded the Chinese Community Party and led the Long March." Stephen was a member of the Young Pioneers and learned the spirit of Lei Feng.[33] "I remember the spirit of Lei Feng and the Young Pioneers. It's normal. All primary students had to wear red scarves just like students had to wear ties [in Hong Kong]." He felt positive about this education.

When Stephen moved to Hong Kong, he was coincidentally allocated to a primary school affiliated with a famous patriotic (leftist) secondary school. After graduation, he continued his education in that patriotic secondary school, where he had many opportunities to learn things about China and patriotic ideas. For example, the school organized numerous mainland study tours for students and held exhibitions about the achievements of China. The school also offered Liberal Studies long before the subject was made compulsory by the

[33] Lei Feng (1940- 1962) was a soldier in the People's Liberation Army of China. He is commemorated as a selfless hero who was devoted to the Chinese Communist Party.

government. Stephen had the opportunity to study the development of contemporary China through the module "China Today." Teachers in that school were also willing to discuss different issues about China with students. He said, "Teachers would analyze what is happening in mainland China for us. Studying in this school makes you not only pay attention to Hong Kong but also learn about the changes in China and its latest development." All these factors strengthened his patriotism and made him more receptive to the ideas of the DAB.

> My secondary education gave me an opportunity to understand the development of my country. When you see your country is becoming more and more advanced and prosperous, you come to believe that your country is good and reliable. You come to love your country.

Stephen developed an interest in social service during his secondary school years by participating in various volunteering activities. His school encouraged students to volunteer actively. The school social worker in his school organized visits to homes for the elderly and organized different activities for new immigrants, such as visits to Ocean Park.

After secondary school, Stephen went to Lingnan University to study business administration (BBA). He chose BBA because of its popularity. In Lingnan, Stephen continued his volunteering activities by joining the Social Service Association of the student union. Through this organization, he visited elderly people who lived alone and helped organized activities for ethnic minority children. These activities further enhanced his interest in developing a career in social service. "I participated in many social service activities in

university, and I discovered that I was interested in community service. Although my family runs a small business, I found that doing business did not suit me….. I am more interested in a career in community service."

5.4.6.3. *Step B: Initial Involvement*

After graduation, Stephen became a legislator's assistant of DAB legislator Jasper Tsang. Apart from his interest in community service, he applied for this position because of his patriotism that developed in primary and secondary education. "Probably because of the gradual influence of the patriotic education I gained from my school and my living experience in the mainland, I became more receptive to the principles and ideas of the DAB as I grew up." His major tasks as a legislator's assistant were to liaise with residents and handle the complaints and requests of residents.

5.4.6.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Stephen was not yet a DAB member when was hired as an assistant. A year later, he decided to join the party as an ordinary member. He described this process as a natural and typical step to take.

> It was nothing special [to join the party]. You have been a legislator's assistant for about a year, and you have become familiarized with the party, right? And then I joined, as simple as that. I persuaded some interested residents to join too. Being a member doesn't require any

special commitment. Party membership enables you to join the party activities and get more information. Therefore, it's nothing special.

Stephen attributed his decision to join the party to his satisfaction with his job as a legislator's assistant. "You feel gratified…That is, you feel great when you can help the residents."

5.4.6.5. *Step D: Active Participation*

Upon the invitation of another DAB legislator Ip Kwok Him in 2011, Stephen changed his position to become an assistant coordinator of the Hong Kong Island Branch of the party, a position directly paid by the party and usually filled by potential candidates for the district council election. "I came here to help Mr. Ip since February as one of the staff had resigned. As the workload here is quite heavy….he wanted a more experienced staff to fill the vacancy. So I came here." Stephen accepted the invitation because this position gave him greater job security and he had gradually developed the interest to run for public office. After Stephen moved to this new position, Mr. Ip taught him and brought him into contact with many reporters and community leaders.

Like Thomas, Stephen participated in the deputy policy spokesman selection of the party in 2012. He joined the selection because he thought this position could give him opportunities to learn more about public policy and increase his public visibility, which are crucial to him if he decided to run for election in the future.

In the DAB, you don't have a clear career path like working in a private

company. If you have the heart to serve the community, you either play a frontline role (run for public office) or a supporting role, like being a branch coordinator…If I want to play a frontline role, or if there is such possibility in the future, I have to face the public. So being a deputy policy spokesman is a good opportunity for you to increase your public visibility and knowledge of public policy.

5.5. Influences Shaping the Individual Mobilization Process

Based on the narratives discussed above, the last section of this chapter discerns the influences at play in the individual mobilization process from the point of view of the participants following the Hesitant Believer Path. From the narratives, I can see that many macro- and meso-contextual influences shape the participants' mobilization process into party activism. These influences include critical socio-political events, political party, school education, university education, media and books, family, and voluntary organizations. Aside from these contextual influences, elements of individual agency also have a role in shaping the process. In the subsequent paragraphs, I examine the contextual influences in each step of the mobilization process and how individual agency also helps shape the process.

5.5.1. *Contextual influences at play in the attitudinal affinity step*

The first step of Hesitant Believers is to develop an attitudinal affinity to

the party. My analysis of the narratives show that three contextual influences are widely perceived by the Hesitant Believers as significant in shaping their attitudinal affinity: critical socio-political events, school education, and university education. Some Hesitant Believers also perceived three contextual influences, namely, mass media, family, and voluntary organizations. I examine these influences one by one as follows.

Critical socio-political events are widely perceived by the Hesitant Believers as significant to help them develop an attitudinal affinity to the party. All pro-democracy participants who are Hesitant Believers said they were influenced by at least one socio-political event. They frequently mentioned the 2003 Basic Law Article 23 (national security) legislation controversy. For example, Brian (CP) said that the similarities between what was described in his history textbook on totalitarianism in inter-war Europe and the Article 23 legislation in Hong Kong inspired him to pay close attention to the controversy. Thus, he participated in the July 1 rally. This experience made him recognize the importance of democracy for Hong Kong and triggered his enthusiasm for political participation. The experience also developed his favorable impression on pro-democracy barristers who strongly opposed the legislation. Many of these barristers formed the CP in 2006.

Anna, another CP member, had a similar experience. She closely followed the Article 23 controversy when she was in high school. Although she did not join the July 1 rally, she regarded it as a catalyst for her political consciousness. More importantly, she became so impressed by the pro-democracy barristers who strongly opposed the legislation to safeguard the freedom and rule of law

of Hong Kong that she wanted to become a lawyer. This experience also developed her intention to join the CP when this group of barristers formed the CP in 2006.

The Article 23 controversy also influenced Vincent (LSD) and made him interested in politics. However, he was more directly influenced by the 2005 Anti-WTO protest in Hong Kong in which he participated. This protest developed his aspiration for a career in a social movement-related setting such as NGOs, social movement organizations, or political parties.

Thomas (DAB), a pro-Beijing participant, said that his attitudinal affinity to the party was influenced by the 2003 Article 23 controversy. However, unlike his pro-democracy counterparts, the controversy drove him further away from the pro-democracy camp because he already favored a pro-Beijing position when he was young. After the July 1 rally, the pro-democracy camp had exceeded its boundaries and made too many baseless criticisms of the government. This incident developed Thomas's distaste for the camp.

School education was also widely viewed by the Hesitant Believers as a significant influence in shaping their attitudinal affinity. Two aspects of school education were mentioned by the participants. The first aspect is school curriculum. For Brian (CP), the history curriculum on the rise of totalitarianism in inter-war Europe helped him understand the importance of freedom and democracy. He was greatly influenced because it so happened that the curriculum was taught at the time when the Article 23 controversy occurred. Therefore he was able to connect history to the current situation. This is an example showing how the effects of different influences can sometimes

interact. Brian (CP) also mentioned that his English newspaper cutting assignments also encouraged him to follow the current issues. For Stephen (DAB), the pro-Beijing secondary school he attended offered him many opportunities to learn about the latest developments in mainland China. This information helped strengthen his favorable impression of China and his national identity. For Thomas, another DAB participant, studying Chinese history and literature in secondary school reinforced his national identity.

The second aspect of the influence of school education is extra-curricular activities. For example, Stephen (DAB) developed an interest in community service by participating in the voluntary activities organized by his school. Vincent (LSD) also participated in extra-curricular activities, but their influence on him was less direct. His participation in the student union only made him more critical and willing to express his opinions.

Another educational setting, the university, was also perceived by many Hesitant Believers as a significant influence in the development of their attitudinal affinity. According to the experiences of the participants, university experiences can be divided into two aspects, namely, the influence of student society and the influence of the curriculum and professors.

In terms of student society, Vincent (LSD) joined the student press of his university in which he learned left-wing (socialist) ideas and met many social movement activists. Anna (CP) served as the leader of the Chinese debate team of her university. She said that participating in debates enabled her to study many political and policy issues and helped her to understand more clearly her own political beliefs. Stephen (DAB) joined the social service association of his

university. His participation in the volunteering activities of this association further enhanced his interest in a career in community service, and it later contributed to his decision to apply for the post of legislator's assistant.

In terms of curriculum and professors, Vincent (LSD) said that the courses and professors of his political science program provided him with many opportunities to learn socialist, liberal, and other political thoughts. Brian (CP) and Thomas (DAB), who were from the same political science program, learned many new political ideas from their professors and courses, although they felt that these did not directly contribute to their intention to join their respective parties.

Some Hesitant Believers perceived the mass media as a significant influence in the attitudinal affinity step. Anna (CP), Brian (CP), and David (DP) developed the habit of reading newspapers in their teenage years. This practice helped them to become more socially and politically aware. A few participants who were influenced by the 2003 Article 23 controversy mainly received information about the event through mass media such as newspapers. This situation shows that the media and critical events are in some ways interrelated.

Some participants mentioned books and television programs. For Anna (CP), watching television drama series, such as Justice Bao and File of Justice, strengthened her sense of social justice. For Thomas (DAB), reading books and watching documentaries about Chinese history helped develop his national identity. However, mass media did not directly lead the participants to develop an attitudinal affinity to the party or the intention to join the party. Its influence seems to be more indirect.

Some Hesitant Believers perceived family to be significant in their development of attitudinal affinity. However, its influence is mostly indirect and latent because most of the parents of the participants are politically inactive. The parents seldom explicitly taught the participants about politics and seldom brought them to any political activity. The notable actions that their parents had done were to purchase newspapers or encourage their children to watch television news reports. Some participants, like Anna (CP) and David (DP), developed the habit of reading the newspaper or watching television news, which increased their political and social awareness. Thomas (DAB) is the exception because his parents are patriotic and always emphasize their Chinese identity. This influence helped socialize him to become more patriotic.

Although the influence of parents is less direct and significant, most participants said their parents did not constitute a barrier to their political participation. Most of them said that their parents were open-minded enough that they did not oppose the decisions of their children to join a political party.

Finally, some Hesitant Believers viewed voluntary organizations, such as volunteer groups and church, as an influence that shaped their attitudinal affinity to the party. David (DP) learned the value of willingness to serve by the volunteering in church activities. He was also persuaded by a tutor in his church to join the July 1 Rally in 2003, which was significant to his later political development. By organizing a student volunteer group, he learned the limitations of volunteering, which stimulated his intention to enter politics. He also came into contact with a DP district councilor through a volunteering activity. David developed his intention to join DP after talking with the

councilor several times.

However, for other Hesitant Believers, voluntary organizations have a relatively indirect influence. According to Anna (CP), who has gone to church since her childhood, justice and sacrifice are prominent themes in Christianity. Although this influence had some effect on her values, it did not directly lead her to develop the intention to join a political party. Brian, another CP member, joined a pro-democracy secondary student organization after the 2004 July 1 rally, where he met numerous politically active friends. However, this event did not have a strong effect on his intention to join the CP.

5.5.2. *Contextual influences at play in the initial involvement step*

The second step that the Hesitant Believers went through is initial involvement, in which they became involved in party activities for the first time. The most important contextual influence that helped them to participate in the party is the political parties themselves, particularly the recruitment efforts. For some participants, recruitment into the party as salaried staff is their first involvement in the party. Vincent (LSD) was recruited by the party as an organizing officer. Stephen (DAB) became involved in the party as an assistant of a party legislator. The summer internship program is another way to be involved in the party. Both Anna (CP) and Thomas (DAB) initially became involved in their parties through the summer internship program. Persuasion by a party figure, usually a charismatic one, is another way to be involved. Brian (CP) was directly invited by a famous legislator of the party, Alan Leong, to

participate in his electoral campaign. David (DP) was recommended by party district councilor Mark Li to volunteer in the party.

Nevertheless, these Hesitant Believers sought out or were willing to accept the recruitment efforts of these parties because they had already developed an attitudinal affinity to these parties in the previous step. For instance, Vincent (LSD) responded to the job opening of the party because he had already identified with the social democratic principles of the party and decided to stay in the social movement sector after graduation. Anna (CP) and Thomas (DAB) were attracted to the internship programs of their respective parties because they had already developed the intention to join the party and adherence to the party ideology. The case is similar for the two participants who were directly persuaded to participate by party figures. Brian (CP) accepted the invitation of Alan Leong, a CP legislator, to campaign for him in the 2007 CE election because he had already developed a favorable impression of him a few years before.

Apart from party recruitment efforts, university education was also perceived by some Hesitant Believers as influential in their participation in a party. Brian (CP) met a CP legislator through a mentorship scheme organized by his academic department. That legislator later invited Brian to assist in his electoral campaign. Thomas (DAB) had a similar experience. His DAB internship was co-organized by the DAB and the student society of his department. This case shows the interrelationship between the influence of university and that of political party.

5.5.3. *Contextual influences at play in the formal enrollment step*

The third step that the Hesitant Believers took is Formal Enrolment, in which they formally made the decision to join the party as members. Two contextual influences were found to be important in facilitating their decisions: political parties and critical socio-political events. The more important one is political party.

In this step, the political party mainly manifests its influence in two ways. The first is through recruitment efforts. Brian (CP) was persuaded to join the CP by a party official that he assisted during the electoral campaign. Similarly, David (DP) was invited to join the party by a party legislator he assisted during an election. Like the Initial Involvement step, the participants accepted the invitation or persuasion of the party because they already developed an attitudinal affinity to the ideology or an intention to join the party.

The second is through the experience offered by the political party to the participants after they became involved in the party. For Vincent (LSD), his affective attachment with the party, which was developed through his interaction with other party members in the previous few years, led him to accept the invitation to join the party. For Stephen (DAB), the atmosphere or norm within the party mattered the most. His decision to join the party was a natural step to take partly because he, as a party staff himself, was also encouraged to invite other people to join. Thus, it would have been strange if he was not a member himself.

Some Hesitant Believers perceived critical socio-political events as an

influence that shaped their decision to join the party. For example, although Anna (CP) shared the core political values of the party, she only decided to join the CP after the Five Constituencies Referendum Movement and the passage of the 2010 constitutional reform package.

5.5.4. *Contextual influences in the active participation step*

The final step to party activism is active participation, in which the Hesitant Believers decided to actively participate in their respective parties. The Hesitant believers considered the political party as the sole influence in this step. The recruitment efforts of the party have a crucial role in assisting Hesitant Believers to become active party members. Vincent (LSD) was directly invited by a party figure by phone to run for a party office. Brian (CP) became an executive committee member of the youth wing of the party through the invitation of its chairperson.

Some participants accepted the invitation of the party partly because of their experience within the party. Vincent (LSD) accepted the invitation to run for party office because of his emotional attachment to the party. Thomas (DAB) joined the deputy policy spokesman selection scheme of the party because of his dissatisfaction with the way his party presented its policies and ideas and his desire to improve it. Stephen, another DAB member, decided to join the deputy policy spokesman selection scheme because of his ambition to run for public office, which was strengthened by his work experience in the party.

In short, the narratives of these participants show that the individual mobilization process of the Hesitant Believers is mainly shaped by seven contextual influences: political party, critical socio-political events, school education, university education, media and books, family, and voluntary organizations. Overall, the first four are widely perceived as more important than the other three influences (Table 17). Moreover, the effect of the influences varies with steps. The political party is mainly important in shaping the initial involvement, formal enrollment, and active participation steps, whereas the other influences are mainly important in shaping the attitudinal affinity step. Some influences show strong interrelationships. For example, a critical event (Article 23 controversy) interacted with school education (history curriculum) to shape the political beliefs of Brian. University education interacted with the recruitment effort of the party, as the party internship program he joined was co-organized by the DAB and his departmental student society. For some participants, their habit of following the news was directly or indirectly encouraged by their parents.

Table 17

Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Hesitant Believers

Participants	Critical events	Political party	School education	University education	Family	Mass media	Voluntary organizations
Vincent (LSD)	+	1/2	1/2	+	1/2	1/2	
David (DP)	+	+	1/2		1/2		+
Brian (CP)	+	+	+			1/2	1/2
Anna (CP)	+	+	+	+	1/2	1/2	1/2
Thomas (DAB)	+	+	1/2		+	1/2	
Stephen (DAB)		1/2	+	+			

Note. + Influential; 1/2 partly influential

5.5.5. *Influence of individual agency*

Apart from contextual influences, the influence of human agency in the mobilization process into party activism should not be overlooked. The interview data showed that the effect of the contextual influences was not deterministic and that the participants were not passive recipients of contextual influences. The participants used their individual agency to negotiate with and reflect on the contextual influences before deciding to act. Sometimes, they even acted without much external influence. I found that, for the Hesitant Believers, individual agency mainly manifested in five ways: ability to make connections, critical evaluation, curiosity, self-reflection, and skepticism (Fairbrother, 2003).

First, the ability to make connections refers to the ability to connect ideas from different contexts. Brian (CP) exhibited this ability. His politicization was partly due to his ability to draw parallels between what he was taught in his history classes and the Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003.

Second, critical evaluation refers to the ability to evaluate critically the performance and values of political actors, such as political parties and politicians. Thomas (DAB) demonstrated critical evaluation capability. His decision to join the deputy policy spokesman selection scheme was partly due to his critical evaluation of the party performance. His evaluation made him realize that the party was not effective in presenting its ideas to the public, and he wanted to improve it by becoming a deputy policy spokesman. Anna (CP) decided to run for a leadership position in her party partly because she found

that some aspects of the party needed improvement.

Third, curiosity refers to an intrinsic desire or motivation to learn new knowledge and explore new environments (Fairbrother, 2003; Silvia, 2012). Anna (CP) displayed this curiosity. Her decision to assume a leadership position in her party was partly motivated by her desire to learn more about different aspects of politics.

Fourth, self-reflection refers to the ability to critically examine one's goals, values, and actions. Vincent (LSD) demonstrated this self-reflection. The anti-WTO Protest in 2005 might not have directly led him to apply for a job in LSD, but it stimulated him to reflect on his career goal after graduation. This self-reflection eventually motivated him to find a job that would allow him to remain in the social movement sector. Anna (CP) demonstrated another example of self-reflection. She spent two years pondering whether she should join the party because she was afraid that the party would not exactly share her beliefs in the future. She only decided to join when she concluded that her principles were consistent with those of the party. Stephen (DAB) decided to join the deputy policy spokesman selection scheme of the party because he thought that he needed to increase his public visibility and knowledge on public policy should he decide to run for public office in the future.

Fifth, skepticism generally refers to the ability to question and critically evaluate and judge the credibility and reliability of information received (Fairbrother, 2003). David (DP) demonstrated skepticism. Although he largely attributed his participation in the July 1, 2003 rally to the persuasion of a tutor in his church, he also critically reflected on the issue before deciding to act. He

said,

> Yes, the tutor in my church played an important role in my participation in the July 1 rally…. But, of course, I made my own critical thinking. The tutor's persuasion stimulated me to find more information about the issue and seek more opinions from other people. Later, I realized that I should join [the rally] and I should ask more people to join as well. My way of thinking is not to believe what other people say blindly. I verify the information first before taking any action.

In short, the interview data show that individual agency has an important role in shaping the process of Hesitant Believers to become party activists. Individual agency also helps explain why only a small number of young people are mobilized into party activism, although many share the same macro- and meso-contexts with those who already became party activists. The reason is that people interpret the contexts in different ways because of the specific manifestations of their agency.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter achieved three objectives. First, the mobilization process into party activism of the participants was examined. It found that the process can be divided into four distinct steps, namely, (A) attitudinal affinity, (B) initial involvement, (C) formal enrollment, and (D) active participation. It also found that not all participants followed these four steps in the same order. I identified three different sequences of steps that I call the paths of Hesitant Believer,

Decisive Believer, and Converted Staff. Participants who followed the Hesitant Believer Path went through the four steps in alphabetical order. Those who followed the Decisive Believer Path joined the party first before participating in any party activities. Those who followed the Converted Staff Path became involved in the party before developing an adherence to the party's principles or the intention to join the party.

Second, the Hesitant Believer Path was illustrated by examining the narratives of the participants who followed this path. They are Anna and Brian from CP, David from DP, and Thomas and Stephen from DAB. I examined their personal backgrounds and how they went through the four steps to become party activists.

Third, this chapter examined the perception of the participants on the influences that shaped their mobilization process. Seven contextual influences were found, namely political party, critical socio-political events, school education, university education, media and books, family, and voluntary organizations. The first four were more important according to the views of the participants, but not all influences were important in all steps. Political party was influential in the initial involvement, formal enrollment, and active participation steps, whereas the other influences were mainly influential in the attitudinal affinity step. Moreover, the agency of the participants also played an important role in the mobilization process. The effect of contexts was not deterministic, and the participants were able to negotiate and reflect on the contextual influences before deciding on their courses of action.

The next two chapters will continue to examine the narratives of the

participants. Chapter Six is devoted to the participants who followed the Decisive Believer Path and Chapter Seven to the participants who followed the Converted Staff Path.

CHAPTER 6

INDIVIDUAL MOBILIZATION PROCESSES INTO PARTY ACTIVISM: DECISIVE BELIEVER PATH

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the narratives of the participants who followed the Hesitant Believer Path. This chapter illustrates the Decisive Believer Path to party activism by examining the narratives of the participants who took this path. Moreover, the perception of the participants on the contextual and individual influences that have shaped their mobilization process is examined. This chapter consists of two sections, one on the narratives of the Decisive Believers and one the major influences at play.

6.2. Narratives of the Participants who Followed the Decisive Believer Path

This section examines in detail the narratives of the participants who took the Decisive Believer Path. Similar to the previous chapter, I discuss the personal background and mobilization process into party activism of each participant. First, I provide a brief review of the characteristics of the Decisive Believer Path. The steps of the Decisive Believer Path follow the order of (A) attitudinal affinity → (C) formal enrollment → (B) initial involvement → (D) active participation. The first step is to develop an attitudinal affinity to or the

interest to join the party. The second step is to join the party as a member. The Decisive Believers decide to join the party before participating in any party activity. Their decision to join the party is usually based on the ideology and values that they developed earlier, motivating them to join the party. The third step is getting involved with the party and the last step is to become an active member of the party.

Eleven participants followed the Decisive Believer Path, and their basic demographics are shown in Table 18. Interestingly, the distribution is not skewed toward any political camp, but the participants from small parties, such as LSD and NPP, tend to follow this path. The cases of the two NPP participants are slightly complicated because the organization they first joined was not NPP but its predecessor, the Savantas Policy Institute.[34] They only became NPP members when the party was formed in early 2011. I classified them as Decisive Believers because I considered the Savantas Policy Institute as a party-like organization or a quasi-political party because it fielded candidates in the district council and LegCo elections.

[34] Savantas Policy Institute was a think tank and a quasi-political party formed in 2006 by former HKSAR Secretary for Security Regina Ip. It was later transformed into the New People's Party in 2011. For details, visit its official website (http://www.savantas.org/en_index.php).

Table 18

Participants Who Followed the Decisive Believer Path

Participant	Party affiliation	Gender	Age	Education level	Occupation
Philip	CP	Male	22	University	Teaching assistant
James	DP	Male	27	University	Bank staff
George	DP	Male	26	University	Community Officer of DP
Alex	LSD	Male	24	Secondary	Advertising company staff
Peter	LSD	Male	25	University	Research assistant
Daniel	LSD	Male	28	University	Legislator's assistant
Henry	DAB	Male	26	University	District councilor
Ray	NPP	Male	29	University	Public affairs consultant
Charles	NPP	Male	26	University	Research director
Sophia	NPP	Female	24	Secondary	Bank staff
Patrick	NPP	Male	28	University	General manager

6.2.1. *Philip (CP)*

The first case of the Decisive Believer Path is Philip, who joined the CP when he was 19. He is now the deputy chairman of a party local branch and a district development officer.

6.2.1.1. *Personal background*

Philip was raised in a public housing family. His father is a security guard and his mother is a private tutor. His parents are open-minded and allow him to make his own choices on many issues. However, his parents are not politically

active. They seldom discuss current affairs at home and do not take part in any political activities except voting. Although they vote, they do not have a strong political preference. Nevertheless, his parents helped him to develop the habit of reading the newspaper by purchasing *Apply Daily* every day. Given that *Apple Daily* is a pro-democracy newspaper, it helped Philip to be aware of some political ideas such as democracy. However, during most of his teen years, he did not have a strong interest in politics because he was more into sports.

The first secondary school that Philip attended was a Catholic school. He remembered liberal atmosphere of this school, and he had relatively more opportunities to discuss social issues. For example, his school had a compulsory course on religious studies, which taught students to care about the underprivileged and fight against injustice. This course affected his future political participation but not substantially. In Form 6, Philip went to another school, which he described as more conservative and eager to promote national education than the last one. However, the school did not have a significant effect on him probably because he spent most of his time preparing for the A-Level exam.

6.2.1.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

The event that triggered Philip's interest in politics and joining a party was the LegCo election in 2008 when he was in Form 7. The election made him aware of Hong Kong political parties. When he watched the television election debates and read about the platforms of different parties, he discovered that he

had a strong leaning toward the pro-democracy camp. He also found the CP especially appealing because of its fresh image. Moreover, the party's New Territories West candidate Fernando Cheung showed a strong image of caring for the underprivileged.

6.2.1.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Philip wanted to join the CP to help develop the organization because the CP did not have a strong presence in New Territories West where he lived. He joined the party soon after the election.

6.2.1.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Philip had to focus on his A-Level examination after he joined the CP. He was unable to participate in any party activities until he was invited by his local party branch to organize a summer course for children during the summer holiday. Through this activity, he met more fellow CP members, including his mentor, who later taught him how to conduct constituency work.

6.2.1.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Initially, Philip was not very active in the party. He only served as a volunteer and used his leisure time to meet residents and manage street stalls. Later, he met his senior university classmate Michael, who was also a CP

member in his local branch. Michael introduced him to many friends in the CP. According to Philip,

> He was my senior classmate [in university]; when I was in my first year, he was in his third. As he worked as a part-time staff in the CP, he was able to get me involved more deeply in the party.

At the end of 2009, a re-election was held for the leadership of the New Territories West local branch. Michael and his mentor asked Philip to run for a position with them. At that time, he was not familiar with the operation of the branch, but he accepted the invitation to run because he believed in learning by doing. Moreover, he considered that joining the leadership could help his work in the party.

> In November 2009, our local branch held an election to renew the leadership. The friend I mentioned (Michael) and some other friends in the party…suggested that I run for the branch executive committee. Similar to what I thought when I decided to join the party, I believed in the mentality of leaning by doing. Although I know nothing right now, I will learn afterwards.

He had no other competitor in the election because the number of active members was small. Thus, he was successfully elected deputy secretary-general of his branch. He was also re-elected in the subsequent two elections.

6.2.2. *James (DP)*

The second case from the DP is James. He is a central committee member of the DP and an executive committee member of a local party branch.

6.2.2.1. *Personal background*

James is an only child born in mainland China. He migrated to Hong Kong with his parents when he was two. His family is not wealthy. Both his parents are workers in garment factories and live with James in a public housing estate. He seldom discusses current affairs with his parents because of their long working hours. His parents also do not want him to engage in politics. "[They wanted me] to find a job and start a family, preferably not to engage in politics." Nevertheless, his grandmother, who lives with them, encourages him to read the newspaper, which has made him familiar with the events in society. The effect of reading the news on him was not substantial. He considers the church he attends to have a stronger influence on him politically than the news media. "My church frequently asks us to help all kinds of people and spread universal and Christian values, such as justice to society. My church has influenced me."

James attended a Catholic secondary school. He was already a vocal person in junior secondary school. In Form 3, he organized a forum in school to request the school cooperative shop to reduce the prices of its goods. He also ran for president of the student union but lost. In senior secondary, he chose the arts stream. He recalled that the curriculum did not offer anything related to politics and that the history curriculum did inspire him. "I was merely interested in studying history. It did not inspire me to develop any aspiration [about politics]."

6.2.2.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

After secondary school, James's parents sent him to the United States to attend college. He first attended a community college and then majored in history at a university in New York. He lived with his aunt in the United States where he could read Hong Kong newspapers. His experience living abroad made him pay more attention to the events in Hong Kong, which he frequently read about in Hong Kong newspapers. James was particularly drawn to the commentaries of DP legislator Martin Lee and agreed with most of his ideas. His admiration for Lee later became his reason for joining the DP. The most important event that triggered his interest, as well as that of the other participants, to join politics was the 2003 Article 23 legislation controversy. He was in the United States when the controversy broke out. On July 1, half a million people joined the mass protest against the legislation. The pictures of the protest shocked James and stimulated his political interest. He wanted to do something for Hong Kong.

> I was so shocked. I kept thinking what Hong Kong would look like in the near future. I also saw that the people in Hong Kong had a high expectation of their hometown, government, and livelihood…they had something to safeguard. So as a citizen of Hong Kong, I should do something for the city.

Influenced by the events in Hong Kong, he changed his major from history to political science in his second year and took some courses about electoral systems. This course stimulated his interest in elections. He wanted to do

something for Hong Kong by applying what he learned to the city. His direct observation of elections in the United States enhanced his belief in democracy. "You can see that many American believe that their votes can change the fate of the country, but you can't see that emotion in Hong Kong." Thus, he started to search the Internet for political parties or organizations he could join.

6.2.2.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Eventually, he decided to join the DP in 2005 at 19 years old. He had three reasons why he chose DP. First, he admired Martin Lee. "If you want to know why I chose this party, then the most important reason was Martin, no other person. Actually I didn't know other DP figures at that time." His second reason was his emotional attachment to China. At the university, James met a group of Chinese academics who fled to the United States after the Tiananmen Incident in 1989. James not only audited their courses but also discussed the political conditions of China with them. This interaction enhanced his national identity and made him more receptive to the values of the DP, which has a close relationship with the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China and supports the idea that the democratization of Hong Kong and mainland China is closely linked. Moreover, James thought he could achieve more in the DP because it was the first and the largest party to promote values such as human rights and democracy.

6.2.2.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Although James joined the party in 2005, he did not participate in any party activity until he graduated and returned to Hong Kong in 2007. At that time, he did not know any DP member so he asked the DP headquarters on how he could help. Later, he obtained an internship in the office of Martin Lee. His first task was to campaign for former Chief Secretary for Administration Anson Chan in the 2007 Hong Kong Island LegCo by-election.

6.2.2.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Later, he found a job in a community center. Since then, he was able to spend more time on party activities in the local branches and offices because the workload was not heavy. Moreover, he met more party members. In 2008, he ran for central committee member with another friend in the party and was successfully elected.

> It was my own decision to run. I would not have run if I were asked to do so. I think both external and internal elections are fair. If you think you are capable, then you can prepare a platform and compete with others.

Aside from the central committee, James also assumed leadership positions in other party units, such as the local branch and youth wing. “As long as the party needs my assistance, I will be there, regardless of whether the unit is a local branch, a unit in the party headquarters, or a social movement in which the DP is involved.” He became active in the party for several reasons. First, the DP was willing to listen to the views of its young members. “They [party seniors]

frequently consult you on various issues. As young members, we are usually critical. We speak up if we disagree with something during meetings…and the seniors are willing to listen to you." Second, he attributed his active participation to his personality. He is the kind of person who commits to any organization he joins. Third, he is emotionally attached to his fellow members. He considers his fellow members as brothers and sisters, and he has integrated his life in the party into his private life. Fourth, he identifies with the party's ideology. He wants to fight for democracy for Hong Kong and the official rehabilitation of those involved in the 1989 pro-democracy student movement in Beijing. Finally, he wants to help the DP. Many senior party leaders will retire soon and new blood is badly needed to rejuvenate the party.

6.2.3. *George (DP)*

George is a community officer of the DP and an executive committee member of the youth wing of the party. A special feature of his case is that his path to joining the party is less straightforward because he worked for another political organization, the FTU, before joining the DP.

6.2.3.1. *Personal background*

George is an only child from a public housing family. His father is a minibus driver and his mother is a housewife. Like most other participants, his parents are not politically active. Nevertheless, they encouraged George as a

child to read newspapers and watch current affairs television programs. Despite the encouragement, George was not particularly interested in current issues during his childhood. His parents' greatest influence on him was his habit of helping the poor. Following his parents, George became a Catholic when he was very young. His parents often brought George to various voluntary service activities organized by the Catholic Church, and they gradually influenced him to enjoy helping others. "They created an atmosphere…which helped me discover that I like helping others, particularly through this kind of work (voluntary services)." Going to church also brought him into contact with a former DP district councilor who persuaded him to join the DP many years later. "I have known him since I was a primary student. At that time, he was the conductor of the church choir."

George went to a Catholic secondary school. Different from Philip's school, his school seldom touched on politics. "In fact, [politically related activities] were few. The school only held a talk about the June Fourth Incident once." His classmates were also "politically apathetic."

6.2.3.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Like other pro-democracy participants, the most important event that triggered George's support for democracy was the Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003. However, the influence of this event was partly linked to his private life. In 2002, George had a series of unhappy experiences. For example, he could not study his favorite subject after secondary school because

his public exam results were not good enough. He could only attend the Vocational Training Council (VTC), which he did not like. One of his best friends unfortunately passed away. These unhappy moments, combined with the political controversies at the time, stimulated him to join the July 1 rally. The rally made him feel that democracy was important for Hong Kong and that he had the power to change society. “It made me feel the importance of democracy for Hong Kong and the relevance of universal suffrage.” However, at that time, he did not have any intention to enter politics.

George went to the Hong Kong Baptist University for an associate degree after graduating from VTC. At that time, he also worked as a part-time telebet service assistant at the Hong Kong Jockey Club. He founded a union to uphold the interests of the staff because of poor work conditions. During the organization process, he mainly sought assistance from the pro-Beijing FTU, although he also sought some advice from the former DP district councilor he had met in church. George explained that they chose the FTU because it provided them with better support. Through this avenue, he became acquainted with some people from FTU. After George graduated, they asked him if he was interested to work for FTU. George accepted because he supported the FTU principle of fighting for the interests of the working class. In the FTU, he was responsible for organizing community and employment-related activities for residents in New Territories West. However, he only stayed for three months because of the disagreements he had with the federation. Politically, he disagreed with the idea of placing FTU candidates under the DAB banner for the district council elections. He also disagreed with his supervisor in terms of

the methods for handling problems. Nevertheless, the experience of working in the FTU stimulated his interest to enter politics.

6.2.3.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

After leaving the FTU, George took on several jobs, such as reporter, salesperson, and clerk. Later, the former DP district councilor he knew from church called him and asked if he would like to participate in constituency work for the DP in Tai Po and run for district councilor in the future. According to George,

> I knew him since I was small, but we would only meet occasionally. We would just say "hi" to each other when we meet…He knew I had some interest in politics probably because I sought advice from him when I was forming the Jockey Club Staff Union. He also knew that I participated in the July 1 Rally and probably thought that my political beliefs were not different from those of the DP, so [he invited me].

Eventually he accepted the invitation after a week of consideration because the political principles of the DP were similar to his and he wanted to give himself the opportunity to pursue what he wanted to do. "I thought I was capable in this aspect, and I felt that this career would suit me after changing jobs so many times." He joined the DP soon after he accepted the invitation.

6.2.3.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Immediately after he joined DP, George began to participate in constituency work. “I began to collaborate with them (fellow DP members in the same district). They taught me some skills to investigate community issues and how to observe meetings of the District Council.”

6.2.3.5. *Step D: Active participation*

George had a full time job when he joined the party. He could only use his leisure time to conduct constituency work. Initially, he spent most of his time on the constituency and seldom participated in the internal activities of the party. Later, he participated in the internal affairs of the party when he was invited to join the youth wing of the party. At the end of 2010, a group of DP members from the New Territories East branch resigned from the party because they disagreed with the position of the party on the 2010 constitutional reform. To consolidate the confidence of the members who chose to stay, the party established a district office in Tai Po and employed him as a part-time staff to enable him to devote more time to the party.

6.2.4. *Peter (LSD)*

The second LSD case is Peter. He joined the LSD in 2009. Currently, he is an executive council member of both the party center and a local party branch.

6.2.4.1. *Personal background*

Peter was raised in a middle-class family. His father is a drafter in a construction company, and his mother is an IT technician in the Hong Kong Jockey Club. He has a younger sister who is now in university. His parents and sister are not politically active. "My family is not very political, although they are not at the level of 'parochial.' They do pay some attention to current affairs, but they do not talk about them…let alone participate in any [political] activity." Nevertheless, his parents would vote in elections and usually vote for the pro-democracy camp. "[They] tend to vote for the DP. I think the generation that witnessed the 1989 Beijing Student Movement tends to support the pro-democracy camp if they have conscience and are aware of the events in Beijing at that time through television news." Nevertheless, his parents do not have any significant influence on his political awareness.

After primary school, Peter went to a Catholic secondary school for boys on Hong Kong Island and chose the science stream at the senior secondary level. At that time, he did not have much political awareness and strong feelings about significant political events, such as the July 1 Rally in 2003. "I did not pay attention to it. I just knew there would be a big rally on July 1… At that time, I even did not know what the DAB was. How ignorant I was back then." Peter spent most of his time and energy on various extra-curricular activities during his secondary school years.

> In Form Six, I was the leader of the school Chinese orchestra, house leader, executive committee member of the student union, leader of the school choir, and leader of another Chinese orchestra outside the school. I also founded a

school hiking club and joined the swimming team…so many things. Although these activities were not directly related to politics, they trained his teamwork and leadership skills, which would be useful for his later participation in political activities.

6.2.4.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Peter failed to enter university after two attempts at the A-Level exams because he spent considerable time in extra-curricular activities. He went to HKU School of Professional and Continuing Education to obtain an associate degree in legal studies. Given his good academic performance, he applied for bachelor's degree programs in various universities, with law as his first choice, and was ultimately admitted to the public and social administration program at the City University of Hong Kong. This admission began his interaction with politics. At the time he was admitted to the program, he did not have any intention to join a political party or enter politics. All he wanted was to graduate as soon as possible and then go to law school or become a civil servant. "At that time, I naively told my father that I would earn first class honor and then become administrative officer in the government." However, he soon found that he had difficulty in managing the curriculum. He spent considerable time enhancing his knowledge in politics and public policy by watching and listening to different current affairs programs on television and radio. "I wanted to quickly enhance my knowledge on public policy, so I watched many RTHK[35]

[35]Radio Television Hong Kong is a public broadcasting organization in Hong Kong.

and other current affairs programs, such as LegCo Review, Headliner, and News Magazine." Most importantly, he was drawn to the online radio program of then LSD chairman and legislator Raymond Wong. "I became more and more addicted to his program because his analysis was excellent and I could apply it to my studies." This habit also triggered his interest to participate in politics. According to Peter,

> What he (Raymond) said was not only interesting but also very persuasive because he cited many facts. He also gave you passion, energy, and a vision because he himself was already very passionate. He could also point out many social problems and tell you that all these problems could be solved as long as we worked together.

The radio program of Raymond Wong also introduced Peter to the ideology of social democracy. Thus, he not only continued to study social democracy but also started to consider joining the LSD.

6.2.4.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Although Peter developed the intention to join the LSD, he did not join the organization until two years later because he was struggling over the question of whether his attraction to the LSD was merely because of his admiration for Raymond Wong or of his belief in the social democratic principles of the party.

I thought very carefully [before joining the party]. For example, I asked myself if I would stay if one day Raymond left the party....Ultimately, I thought the answer would be "yes" because I firmly believe in the idea of social democracy.

His other concern was if joining the LSD would negatively affect his future career. However, after careful consideration, he considered moving out of his comfort zone and doing what he wanted to do. After resolving all these doubts and concerns, he decided to join the LSD in October 2009.

6.2.4.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Peter did not immediately participate in party activities after joining the LSD because he was busy with his honors thesis. Soon after he completed his thesis, he began to participate in party activities. The first activity he joined was to open street stalls to promote the "Five Constituencies Referendum Movement" in 2010.

6.2.4.5. *Step D: Active participation*

When Peter graduated from university, LSD legislator and Chairman Raymond Wong, through his chief assistant, invited Peter to become one of the assistants of the legislator. Peter accepted the invitation. His major tasks then were to conduct policy research and prepare LegCo speeches for Mr. Wong. At the end of 2010, the Hong Kong Island branch of the party was established. As the branch had few active members and Peter was already well acquainted with the other members, they all ran for the branch executive committee together. Actually, the Hong Kong Island branch had few active members, and I knew the core members well…so there was no special reason why I joined the branch

executive committee. It is just that we worked side by side with each other. When the party split in 2011, Raymond Wong resigned from the party. Peter chose to stay; he even resigned from his job as the assistant of the legislator. He also ran for district councilor in the same year but lost. Soon after the election, the party was about to elect a new leadership and some party leaders persuaded Peter to join the party election. [36] Initially, he did not want to join the election because he was unemployed at that time and thought that the workload and responsibility would be heavy. Nevertheless, the party leaders urged him to persevere because manpower was insufficient. Eventually, he accepted the request because he later found a job that eased his financial stress. He was elected a member of the executive committee during the party conference in early 2012.

6.2.5. *Alex (LSD)*

The third case of the LSD is Alex, who is currently an active party member and a former member of the party executive committee.

6.2.5.1. *Personal background*

Alex was born to a middle-class family and originally lived in a private

[36]According to the party constitution of the LSD, the party executive committee is elected through a block voting system. Party members cannot run for elective office individually but have to form a cabinet with other members in order to run. Members also cannot vote for individual candidates but have to vote for the entire cabinet. See http://www.lsd.org.hk.

apartment in Tsuen Wan. His father used to run an ironware factory, and his mother is a housewife. His parents and older brother are uninterested in politics and current affairs. They do not even vote.

6.2.5.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Alex has been politically aware since he was young because of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998, which disrupted his comfortable childhood. The crisis not only caused serious cash flow problems for his father's factory, which later closed down, but also made the properties of his parents negative equity assets. This condition plunged his family into serious financial difficulty. "I cannot remember the exact date, but I remember that, one night, we had to relocate to my uncle's public housing flat." His parents divorced later. These experiences triggered his interest in social affairs.

> My family and my life underwent a very significant change, so it was very natural for me to ask why it happened. I wanted an answer. What is the "85,000" housing policy? What is negative equity asset? So, I started reading newspapers and wrote some short notes.

Influenced by his father, Alex read the *Apple Daily*, which is a pro-democracy paper. He began to pay attention to Article 23 legislation and the "anti-Chief Executive C.H. Tung movement."

Alex joined the July 1 Rally in 2003 with his classmates from secondary school because he was dissatisfied with the performance of C.H. Tung in improving the livelihood of the people and his plan to implement national

security legislation. Similar to other participants, he was shocked by the rally, not only by the many people who shared his views but also by the power of the people to initiate political change.

> In the MTR[37] compartment, I saw all the passengers were wearing black. Then I knew that all of them would be attending the rally… At that time, I felt that I had done something for Hong Kong. For example, I contributed to the downfall of Tung.

The poor governance of Tung also triggered Alex's support for democracy and left-wing ideology.

> Why do I fight for democracy? C.H. Tung gave me the strongest inspiration… As you know, in the Tung era, his policies favored the tycoon Li Ka Shing…but he did not implement a minimum wage for the workers… I thought an elected government should help the workers by redistributing the wealth.

Although he had already developed a strong political awareness, he did not actively engage in political activities during secondary school because he had to work part-time for his family. Nevertheless, he often discussed current affairs in online discussion forums.

6.2.5.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Alex decided to work after secondary school and discontinue his studies. In 2005, a group of social activists, including some LSD members, founded

[37]Mass Transit Railway

Citizens' Radio,[38] a radio station that used to broadcast illegally to challenge the strict and "outdated" broadcasting licensing system. Several were arrested and prosecuted because of their actions. Alex joined the radio station as a volunteer in 2007 because he thought that the licensing system and the arrests were unjust. He became acquainted with some LSD members, such as former legislator Tsang Kin Shing, and became interested in joining the LSD. His interest was further enhanced by listening to the online radio program of the then LSD chairman Raymond Wong. He joined the party in the same year because he agreed with the social democratic position and confrontational tactics of the party.

> I became a volunteer for Citizens' Radio. The director of the radio station, Tsang Kin Shing, was a LSD member. Actually, at that time, I already knew something about the party and agreed with its social democratic and center-left positions. What attracted me to the party were its various resistance actions….So, I decided to join the LSD in 2007.

6.2.5.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Soon after joining the LSD, Alex started to actively participate in various party activities, such as demonstrations, street stalls, and reading club.

[38]Citizens' Radio was an illegal and non-profit radio station established by a group of social activists, including LSD member and former lawmaker Tsang Kin Shing. Illegal broadcasting was used by the radio as a civil disobedience tactic to challenge the Telecommunications Ordinance of Hong Kong, which they saw as too strict and limiting the freedom of speech.

6.2.5.5. *Step D: Active participation*

About half a year later, a member of the party executive committee resigned and a by-election was called. Alex decided to run because he wanted to bring some issues that had not been discussed before, such as monetary policy, to the attention of the party leadership. He also wanted to make party affairs more liberal and transparent.

> I have opinions on some economic issues such as monetary policy. But they [the party leadership] did not discuss them before, and I wanted to bring them into the discussion. As I said, I wanted to make party affairs more transparent to members. I wanted to join [the leadership] to see if I could make any changes.

6.2.6. *Daniel (LSD)*

The last case of the LSD is Daniel, who joined the party in 2009 and became a member of the party executive council a year later.

6.2.6.1. *Personal background*

Daniel was raised in a public housing family with a younger sister. His parents divorced when he was in Primary Four. Henceforth, he lived with his mother, who was a taxi driver. His mother and sister were not interested in politics and discussed current affairs only occasionally while he was growing

up. His family did not influence him politically.

> My family did not have a great influence on me. For example, my mother is talkative. She would discuss the laws that affect her. But her discussion was only at a 'housewife's level,' some chitchat… It had no significant effect on me.

He developed an interest in current issues during his Lower Secondary Three when Hong Kong was returned to China. Although he occasionally discussed current affairs with his schoolmates, the discussion did not have a significant effect on him as it was shallow and he was preoccupied with studying. School education also did not play an important role in his politicization because the teachers and curriculum were focused on examinations.

6.2.6.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

By contrast, university life played an important role in Daniel's political awareness. When he entered university, he joined the China Study Society, a student society concerned with the socio-political development of China. In this organization, he met a group of friends who frequently discussed politics with him and introduced him to new ideas. According to Daniel, "Whenever we came together, we discussed this (politics). My progress was fast." Participating in the student society made him more politically informed and aware. Moreover, Daniel developed his life goal during this time, which is to enlighten the minds of people. He studied biotechnology in university, where he learned

how biotechnology could improve the lives of people. However, the September 11, 2001 attack triggered him to question the effectiveness of technology. Daniel discovered that the United States was monopolizing many agricultural and medical technologies, causing many people to suffer. He began to think that technology alone was inadequate and that the people's thoughts were fundamental. To find ways to change the minds of the people, he began reading Chinese Classics, such as the Analects and the Records of the Grand Historian, which later formed his core moral and political beliefs.

He aspired to become a teacher because he wanted to enlighten people. After graduation, he went to study education and became a teacher in a secondary school. In one instance, he wanted to show a video clip of the Israel–Palestinian conflict to his students during a form teacher period. He searched YouTube and found a relevant LegCo debate speech delivered by LSD legislator Leung Kwok Hung. He discovered more online publicity materials of the LSD, and he was impressed by the sound arguments of LSD legislators. "I listened to the [online radio] programs of Raymond Wong and found that he was doing a great job. His critique of the government was sharp, and I started paying attention to it."

6.2.6.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

At this time, his relationship with his school began to deteriorate. Daniel not only accused his school of intervening in his pedagogy, but he was also dissatisfied with the way his school discussed the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. In

a school assembly commemorating the earthquake, a senior teacher informed the students that no "tofu-dreg projects" (poorly constructed buildings) were constructed in the disaster area.[39] This announcement infuriated him because he thought that the teacher lied to the students. This incident also made him feel that school education was not an effective way to enlighten people and that action to change the political structure was needed. Thus, he decided to join the LSD two months later.

> Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Originally I did not plan to enter politics, but the environment [of the school] turned out to be "anti-educational"… living in such an environment I had no choice but to participate in politics.

6.2.6.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Initially, Daniel seldom participated in party activities until the summer of 2009. The school eventually chose not to renew his contract at the end of the school year because his relationship with the school further deteriorated. He did not have much to do in the summer because he lost his job. Coincidentally, the LSD was running a fundraising campaign for the victims of a typhoon in Taiwan. Daniel participated in the campaign as a volunteer, marking his initial foray into party activism.

6.2.6.5. *Step D: Active participation*

[39]Many news reports said that there were in fact many "tofu-dreg projects" in the area.

Soon after he started volunteering for the party, an assistant of the LSD legislator Leung Kwok Hung resigned. As Daniel met Mr. Leung almost every day during the fundraising campaign for the Taiwan typhoon victims, Leung hired him to fill the vacancy.

> Just when I lost my job (as a school teacher), Taiwan was hit by a typhoon. I volunteered for the fund raising activity [organized by the LSD] every day. So [Leung Kwok Hung] saw me every day. Coincidentally, Leung needed an assistant so I was hired.

Several months after he became an assistant to Mr. Leung, the party was about to re-elect its leadership. Then, party chairman Raymond Wong preferred Andrew To[40] succeed him, but this move was opposed by a group of senior members. They planned to form another cabinet to compete with that of Mr. To. Some senior members invited Daniel to join the anti-To cabinet because of his good academic qualifications. "I was only a small potato that they recruited. They asked, 'Daniel, aren't you interested [in running]? Let's meet and have a chat.' I started to participate at that time." Later, to avoid possible damage to party unity, the two rival factions compromised and decided to form a unified cabinet that included members from both sides. Eventually, Daniel was assigned to the post of deputy secretary-general.

6.2.7. *Henry (DAB)*

[40] Andrew To Kwan Hang is a founding member and the second chairperson of the LSD.

The following case is Henry, who joined the DAB when he was only 18. Currently, he is a district councilor and an executive committee member of a local party branch.

6.2.7.1. *Personal background*

Henry was raised in a lower-middle class family with two younger sisters. Originally, they lived in a temporary housing area. Later, when their economic condition improved, they moved to a public housing estate and eventually to a Home Ownership Scheme flat. His mother is a housewife. His father used to be a manager in a hotel in the mainland but returned to Hong Kong to become a driver because he lost his job during the 2008 financial crisis. His parents do not have any special expectation from him and are willing to support the career choices of their children. "When you've grown up…they think they have already accomplished their mission of raising their children. So, they allow their children to choose their own career direction." His parents and sisters are not politically active and seldom discuss current affairs at home.

6.2.7.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Despite the apolitical nature of his family, he felt that his family background had a significant role in developing his positive attitude toward China, which is one of the core values of the DAB. Henry has many relatives living in the mainland, and he frequently visited his hometown in China during

his childhood and teenage years. Thus, he witnessed the considerable progress in China. “In the past, no highway passed through my hometown, but today my hometown has one. In the past, my hometown did not have tap water, but now they have…Why did these changes happen?” The lives of his relatives improved significantly because of state subsidies to their farms. These positive changes greatly improved his attitude toward China.

Henry went to a Catholic vocational secondary school. The school did not have many courses related to civic education or politics because it was a vocational school. He chose the science and vocational stream at the senior secondary level. Unfortunately, he failed English Language in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination[41]. Although Henry had the opportunity to study A-levels, he chose not to because his family was not affluent, and he wanted to find a job first before considering any further study.

His participation in voluntary activities during his teenage years was most important for him politically. His participation not only developed his interest in community service but also brought him into contact with the DAB. During his teenage years, Henry liked to spend his free time after school playing in the Boys and Girls Club near his home. He also became a volunteer for the club. Later, he participated in more voluntary service activities organized by various organizations, such as the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, and his interest to pursue a career in community service increased. More importantly, his volunteer work got him closer to the DAB. Henry was assigned as the

[41] It is a public exam that determines whether a student can be promoted to A-level studies. All senior secondary school students have to take this examination.

master of ceremony in one voluntary service activity. As it was the first time he assumed such role, he was so nervous that he stammered. Former DAB district councilor for the North District Liu Chiu Wa was at the event as a guest. He gave Henry encouragement and advice. Henry was impressed with the kindness and leadership of Liu. “At least, he was sincere and attentive…for instance, when I was the master of ceremony and he was only a guest, he still gave me some advice.”

6.2.7.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Henry considered the DAB to be an excellent political party because of Liu’s charisma. He decided to join the DAB immediately after he turned 18 because of his interest in community service. “[I] intend to serve the community in a different way (political party).”

6.2.7.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Henry’s parents did not have any strong reaction toward his decision. He did not participate in any DAB activity until he was 19 because he had to work. At 19, Liu recommended him to the position of a community officer, a position that prepares party members for candidacy in the district council election. “Liu said the party needed some new blood in the North District. I gave it a try and joined the team.”

6.2.7.5. *Step D: Active participation*

At the time he was appointed community officer, Henry worked full time in a private company. He could use his leisure time only to conduct constituency work. When he first engaged in constituency work, he relied heavily on the mentorship of the party seniors.

> When I first became a community officer, I had to learn from them (party seniors) because one did not know how to do the work…You learn from the experiences of the seniors. I did what the seniors did. I organized the kind of activities that they organized.

Henry decided to run for district councilor in 2007 at the age of 21 because he thought he could win the election. He already served the community for two years and he wanted to understand society from a different perspective. But he lost. Despite that, he still chose to stay in the political circle because he thought he was still young.

> At that time, I was a little bit upset. Nevertheless, at 21, I thought that I already had such a great experience. I decided to stay for another four years because I could remain open to more new experiences.

After he lost in the 2007 election, DAB legislator Gary Chan hired him as his assistant, and eventually Henry was successfully elected district councilor in 2011. Later, he was also elected as one of the executive committee members of his local party branch. Running for this post was his obligation to the party. According to Henry, "When you are a district councilor for the party, running for the post of branch executive committee member is your responsibility."

Running for a post was also his way to show his commitment to the party and to channel his opinions to the branch executive.

6.2.8. *Patrick (NPP)*

The first NPP case is Patrick. He is a founding member of NPP and a member of the youth committee of the party.

6.2.8.1. *Personal background*

Patrick was raised in a middle-class family and lived in a private housing estate with his parents and sister. Both his parents were managers in private companies, but they did not have high expectations of Patrick. "[They] did not have much expectation of me. They just wanted me to graduate from university." His parents are not politically active. They seldom discuss current affairs with Patrick and do not even vote. Patrick was politically apathetic during his teenage years. "I did not pay much attention to current affairs. If you asked me at that time, I would say that I was politically apathetic like most people." His family did not influence him in his later political activities.

Patrick went to a Catholic secondary school in Wan Chai. He was active in extra-curricular activities. He was once a leader of the Union of Wan Chai Students and helped organize the annual inter-school singing contest and the Wan Chai Festival. He learned considerable leadership and management skills from these experiences. In terms of his school curriculum, his school had a

subject on civic education, but its content was focused more on social issues, such as abortion and premarital sex, than on political issues. Overall, his school experience did not have any effect on him politically.

6.2.8.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Studying abroad was more important to Patrick's political development. He studied management at a university in Australia. After graduation, he pursued a master's degree in finance. His experience of studying abroad greatly enhanced his Hong Kong identity because he personally felt that people in Australia were kinder to Hong Kong people than to mainland Chinese.

After studying abroad, I realized that some Hong Kong people say they were from China when asked where they were from. I think they are looking down on themselves…At least, I appreciate my identity as a Hong Konger.

His overseas experience also made his ideology closer to that of the center-right position of the NPP. The economy was poor when he was in Australia. The unemployment rate was high, and many elderly people could not afford the medicine they needed. Patrick attributed this problem to the policy failure of the minimum wage and the universal pension scheme. While in Australia, he followed the news about Regina Ip, the former Secretary for Security. He found her political career legendary and was impressed by her capability and commitment to serve Hong Kong. "What most impressed me was not Article 23…it was her LegCo speech on the Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau Bridge…I remember she was the only LegCo member who questioned the economic value

of that bridge." This incident triggered his intention to help Ip.

6.2.8.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment and Step B: Initial involvement*

Patrick returned to Hong Kong and founded a fashion design company one year after he obtained his master's degree. He also considered how he could contribute to Hong Kong. As he admired Regina Ip, he sent her an email and asked if he could join the Savantas Policy Institute, a think tank Ip founded and a predecessor of the NPP. He was surprised that Ip replied to him and suggested that he enroll in the liberal studies course[42] offered by the Institute. Patrick agreed and took the course. He said Ip came to observe every class. During the last class, Ip told the students that she was forming the NPP and that they were welcome to join. As he admired Ip and wanted to join her team, Patrick accepted the invitation and became a founding member of the party. He did not know the manifesto of the party when he joined. He only knew that it would be a middle class-oriented political party.

6.2.8.4. *Step D: Active participation*

Patrick was mainly responsible for liaising and managing young members in the party. He also handled the publicity and recruitment of new members. Sometimes, he also helped prepare policy papers and attended LegCo public

[42]According to Patrick, this course mainly covers issues on Hong Kong, such as the development of Hong Kong economy, high-tech industry, and arts. However, not much of the contents was directly related to politics.

hearings on behalf of the party. He also assisted in the 2011 District Council Election. The party leadership then prepared to establish a youth committee and invited 30 young members to a retreat camp. Patrick was one of them. In the camp, these young members brainstormed and designed the structure of the youth committee. Later, Patrick decided to run for the executive committee member of the youth committee because he thought that this position could help him to obtain good reference for the future development of his business.

Interviewer: You mentioned the term "good reference." What does it mean?

Patrick: Simply put, if you want to achieve something and you want to find a referee, you can ask them to be your referees.

Interviewer: Yes…

Patrick: I'm talking about the fashion design industry. We need to approach different schools [of design]. If we want to expand our business, we need a good referee.

He thought that winning in the first election of the committee would be the easiest. "A political party is a kind of organization in which people will stack. The more that you are 'on the surface,' the lesser the chance that you remain 'on the surface.'"

6.2.9. *Ray (NPP)*

Ray is the second NPP case. He was also a founding member of the NPP and the chairperson of the youth committee of the party.

6.2.9.1. *Personal background*

Ray and his younger brother were born in a temporary housing area. They moved to a public housing estate with their parents when Ray was in Primary Four. His father was a former factory technician and is now retired. His mother was a school janitor. His parents are supporters of the Chinese central government and the pro-Beijing camp, but they do not participate in any political activity except voting. They did not influence his political awakening.

> My dad and mom are not enthusiastic about politics. Of course, when they read the newspaper they say a few words to criticize the pro-democracy camp…But they did not have great influence on me…Otherwise, I would have joined the DAB or FTU instead of the NPP.

Nevertheless, his parents influenced him to develop the habit of reading newspapers and books. "Of course, I read *Ta Kung Pao*[43] when I was young….I read everything." Occasionally, he would discuss current affairs with his younger brother, who was more oriented toward the pro-democracy camp.

Ray attended a Catholic secondary school in Kowloon. His entire secondary school life was unrelated to politics. His school did not have any civic education, and he did not discuss politics with his classmates. Ray chose the science stream at the senior secondary level. After his Certificate of Education Examination, he joined a student exchange program and went to Brazil for an entire year. The student exchange program was an eye-opening experience for him. This experience not only made him reflect on the

[43] *Ta Kung Pao* is a strong pro-Beijing newspaper in Hong Kong.

characteristics of Hong Kong but also made him more open-minded and willing to express his views. “The year in Brazil broadened my horizon…It also changed my personality. I used to be very shy. In Brazil, I learned how to express my opinions and open myself to new ideas.” A year later, Ray returned to Hong Kong to study A-levels. He spent most of his A-level years playing with his classmates.

6.2.9.2. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Ray chose to study linguistics at CUHK because he developed an interest in language while he was in Brazil. He joined different student societies because he wanted to expand his social network. He did not join the leadership of the student union because he considered the union too radical and he did not have the enthusiasm at that time.

> I think during my undergraduate years my social awareness was not strong to a level that would lead me to participate in the student union. Similar to the view of most students at that time, I thought the student union was too political and radical.

Nevertheless, Ray was not entirely absent from student activism and politics. During his second year, he became the spokesman for a campaign against the merger of his department with the Department of Religious Studies. He also took some courses related to politics.

> I learned a little bit about power relations because I took some courses in cultural studies. I also took some philosophy courses and developed some

thoughts on political philosophy, although my understanding at that time was shallow.

Ray began to seriously consider politics when he pursued his master's degree at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. As he had more free time, he formed a book club with some friends to study the Marxist classics and some literature on political economy. He gradually paid more attention to social issues in Hong Kong. He even participated in the anti-Hong Kong–Shenzhen–Guangzhou Express Rail Movement, but he soon found that many ideas of the pro-democracy camp were unrealistic. He then distanced himself from that camp.

More importantly, he joined the Roundtable, a youth social science think tank. He was invited by one of his undergraduate classmates to set up a current affairs magazine that would be published by that think tank. Participating in the activities and events of the Roundtable brought him into contact with many political figures, and it triggered his interest to enter politics.

> I participated in the Roundtable. Initially, I did not pay much attention to social affairs and did not think of entering politics. After joining the Roundtable and founding the magazine, I had many opportunities to interact with political figures…If I had not joined the Roundtable, then I would not have had such development in the political arena today.

6.2.9.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

After obtaining his master's degree, Ray decided to find a job instead of

pursue a doctorate. Later, he helped the Roundtable to organize an activity for secondary school students. This event introduced him to Charles, the director of research of the Savantas Policy Institute (the predecessor of NPP). A year later, Charles informed Ray that he and former Secretary for Security Regina Ip were founding the NPP. He asked Ray if he was interested to join as a founding member. Ray accepted the invitation because he agreed with most of the principles of the party after studying its proposed manifesto. He also considered that the NPP could offer him more development opportunities as the party was new and had capable leaders like Regina Ip and Michael Tien.

6.2.9.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

The 2011 District Council Election was approaching when Ray joined NPP. His initial involvement in the party was to help party candidates such as Charles to prepare for the electoral campaign.

6.2.9.5. *Step D: Active participation*

When Ray joined the party, he did not expect that he would actively participate in its activities. He merely wanted to provide the party some advice and make more friends. Later, Charles convinced and encouraged him to achieve more in the party. Therefore, when the youth committee of the party was established, he chose to run for its leadership. Then he was elected chairperson of the committee. Currently, Ray is developing the future plan of

the youth committee and is enjoying his role.

6.2.10. *Charles (NPP)*

The third NPP case is Charles, who is a founding member of NPP and a member of the executive committee of the party.

6.2.10.1.*Personal background*

Charles grew up in a middle-class family with a younger sister. His father runs a trading business and his mother works in a bank. Both of his parents have very long working hours and are uninterested in politics. They seldom discussed current affairs with Charles while he was growing up. “You know, they are very busy…have long working hours. They just have some chitchat [on current affairs] at dinner.” Nevertheless, his parents gave him considerable freedom to choose what he wanted to do. As a child, he was not particularly concerned with current affairs. He described himself as a quiet and introverted person, and he liked mathematics the most.

He had difficulty adapting to an English environment when he went to an elite secondary school in Kowloon because he studied in a primary school that used Chinese as the medium of instruction. Nevertheless, his English improved considerably in Secondary Three because a passionate teacher devoted more time to teach him English, stimulating his interest in education. “I greatly appreciated his spirit of teaching everyone without discrimination.” His interest

was further enhanced by the education reform. “The education reform was implemented during my teenage years, and the discussions on education policies were substantial. As a student, it was natural for me to pay more attention to them.” Charles received excellent results in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination and went to Stanford University after completing Secondary Six.

6.2.10.2.*Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Charles majored in mathematics in Stanford, and he was an active student who participated in many student clubs and societies. One of them was the Hong Kong Student Association, where he served as the chairperson. He met former Secretary for Security Regina Ip at an event of that association. At that time, Ip was studying her master’s degree in Stanford. “Coincidentally, we both studied in Stanford, and students from Hong Kong were few.” Charles talked with Ip during that event. They discussed many issues related to Hong Kong, and he mainly shared his views on education policy with her. He was impressed by Ip’s charisma. “Actually, Regina likes to laugh and is very funny.”

6.2.10.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment and Step B: Initial involvement*

Later, Ip planned to form the Savantas Policy Institute, a think tank and the predecessor of NPP. She invited Charles to help her during the summer of 2006 because she discovered he had insights into certain policy issues. “We started

everything from scratch when we returned to Hong Kong. Initially, we used the living room of her apartment as our office." Eventually, they established the Institute in mid-July. Afterwards, Charles returned to the United States to complete his bachelor's and master's degrees, although he kept in touch with Ip.

6.2.10.4. *Step D: Active participation*

He returned to Hong Kong and became a liberal studies teacher in a secondary school after graduation because of his interest in education. Two years later, Ip wanted to transform the Savantas Policy Institute into a political party. She asked Charles if he was interested to help her as the institute's director of research. Originally, he had planned to spend several more years teaching to gain more teaching experience, but Regina told him that he could conduct education-related studies in the institute. He eventually accepted the offer. He assisted Ip to form the NPP and engaged in various policy research while he was with Savantas. When the NPP was established in late 2010, he was recruited as one of its founding members. He was also elected as a member of the party leadership during the first party congress. He did not hesitate to join the party because he wanted to take all opportunities to do what he wanted while he was still free from financial and family constraints.

Charles became actively engaged in different party activities after the party was formed. For example, as an executive committee member, he attended executive committee meetings regularly to discuss the development of the party. He also assisted in conducting policy analyses. He led a policy discussion group

on educational affairs.

6.2.11. *Sophia (NPP)*

The last case from the NPP is Sophia, who only joined the party for half a year. She currently leads a sub-committee of the youth wing of the party.

6.2.11.1.*Personal background*

Sophia was raised in a lower-middle class family with a younger sister. Her family lived in a public housing estate and later relocated to a Home Ownership Scheme flat. Her father is a bus driver and her mother is a housewife. Her family is ordinary, and her parents do not have any special expectations from her. Her parents are also not interested in politics and seldom discuss current affairs with her. "To be frank, not much [discussion]. I think that families do not usually discuss this (current affairs). They may say a few words…But they do not discuss it seriously." Nevertheless, her parents voted for pro-democracy candidates because her father belonged to a labour union affiliated with the pro-democracy camp and he thought that it could fight for his welfare. Influenced by her parents, Sophia started to read newspapers when she was young. Her parents read *Apple Daily*, a pro-democracy paper, but the paper did not influence her.

Although disinterested in politics, her mother was an active volunteer in an anti-child abuse NGO. Sophia sometimes accompanied her mother to volunteer

for that organization when she was small. Nevertheless, this experience did not affect her later decision to join the NPP because she considered volunteering and party activism to be two different kinds of activities.

6.2.11.2.*Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Sophia attended a new secondary school in Tuen Mun. She was not active in school activities. Although she participated in the debate team, she did not learn much from it. In senior secondary school, she chose the arts and commerce stream, the curriculum of which was almost completely unrelated to politics. She participated in the July 1 Rally in 2003 because of the influence of her peers and the media. Unlike in the cases of the other participants from the pro-democracy camp, the rally did not leave a lasting effect on her because she was still young at that time. She even gradually developed an aversion to the pro-democracy camp because of the "rude" and "unconstructive" behavior of some pro-democracy lawmakers such as Leung Kwok Hung.

Sophia: You saw some people like Long Hair (Leung Kwok Hung) being elected to the LegCo. Initially, I felt it was okay, but it turned out to be a farce.

Interviewer: Mmhmm…

Sophia: A farce. I know that we can disagree with some things, but isn't there a better way to do so?

Interviewer: Mmhmm…

Sophia: Yes, I developed a strong distaste for their behavior…their

uncivilized behaviors.[44] I think their behavior was shameful.

Interviewer: Mmhmm…

Sophia: We are not children fighting with each other in school. We are talking about policy.

Interviewer: Mmhmm…

Sophia: Therefore I developed distaste for the pro-democracy camp.

She chose to work instead of furthering her studies after secondary school because the result of her Certificate of Education Examination did not qualify her for A-levels. Her first job was a sales assistant in a computer shop. Later, she continued her education. She enrolled in a higher diploma course in business administration and became a part-time student. She did not have much time for leisure because of her work. However, the situation changed in 2011 when she completed her diploma course and changed jobs to become a clerk in a bank, which gave her more free time. At that time she also ended a relationship and felt a little bit bored. On one occasion, she visited a friend and discovered that her friend was a member of the DAB. She asked her friend about the kinds of party activities that she could join. Her friend told her that joining a political party was a good way to meet more friends and expand social networks.

6.2.11.3. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

[44]Some radical pro-democracy lawmakers, such as Leung Kwok Hung, Raymond Wong, and Albert Chan Wai Yip, would sometimes shout loudly and throw objects to the LegCo chamber to express their views.

Inspired by her friend, Sophia attempted to search for a party to join by browsing the websites of different political parties. Eventually, she found that the NPP suited her because its ideological position leaned more toward the center. She joined the party in late 2011. “I think I agree with the values of the party (NPP) because I am neither a strong pro-democracy nor a pro-Beijing person. I hate things that go to extremes.”

6.2.11.4. *Step B: Initial involvement*

NPP always sends its young members to participate in various policy forums and seminars to educate them about public policies. Sophia’s initial involvement in the party was marked by her participation in these forums, which she was invited to attend by some more senior members. Later, she was even invited to speak on behalf of the party in these forums.

6.2.11.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Later, Sophia also participated in studying some government policy consultation documents for the youth committee of the party. She also joined the education policy discussion group of the party and wrote some policy papers. She considered herself an active party member and attended 90% of the party activities. She considered the party like a family that gave her many learning opportunities. She felt that she progressed in many ways since she joined the party half a year ago. For example, she did not think that she would

be able to publish an article in the newspaper, but she successfully did so with the guidance of some senior members. The party leaders were willing to spend time and provide guidance to young members.

Since the party had given her so much, she wanted to better demonstrate her commitment to it. So she later decided to run for the executive committee member of the youth committee. Although she lost, she was appointed by the committee as head of the external relations unit. During the 2012 LegCo election, she assisted in the campaign of Michael Tien, the party candidate for New Territories West. During this time, she discovered that she was interested in constituency work because she felt that it could help the residents. After the election, Tien, then a district councilor, asked if she was interested to become his assistant. She accepted his offer and quit her job in the bank.

6.3. Influences that Shape the Individual Mobilization Process

This section uses the interview data to examine the influences that the Decisive Believers perceived to play a role in shaping their mobilization processes into party activism. I found that the Decisive Believers considered political party, critical socio-political events, mass media, university education, and voluntary organizations as important contextual influences that shaped their paths to party activism. By contrast, workplace, family, school education, and peer groups were only perceived by a few as significant. In the subsequent paragraphs, I examine how these influences worked in each step of the mobilization process. Similar to the last chapter, I also found that their

mobilization processes into party activism were not only shaped by the contextual influences but also by their individual agency. Therefore, the last part of this section examines how their individual agency influenced their mobilization processes.

6.3.1. *Contextual influences in the attitudinal affinity step*

The first step taken by Decisive Believers was attitudinal affinity (Step A), in which the participants developed an ideological affinity to the party and the intention to join the party. My analysis of the narratives shows that five contextual influences, namely political party, critical socio-political events, university education, the mass media, and voluntary organizations, were widely considered by the Decisive Believers as significant in shaping their attitudinal affinity. Others considered the four contextual influences of school education, family, workplace, and peer groups as significant. I examine each one in the subsequent paragraphs.

In terms of critical socio-political events, their influence was disproportionately strong among pro-democracy participants. Among these critical events, the most frequently mentioned was the Article 23 Controversy in 2003. After participating in the July 1 rally, George (DP) realized the importance of democracy and universal suffrage for Hong Kong. The event also surprised James (DP), stimulating his interest in politics and his intention to do something for Hong Kong by entering politics. The other critical events were elections and economic crises. For example, Philip (CP) began to be interested

in political parties because of the 2008 LegCo election. By watching the television debates and reading the platforms of the candidates, he found that he admired the ideas of the pro-democracy camp. He was also impressed by the righteous image of then CP candidate Fernando Cheung. All these factors triggered his intention to join CP. For Alex (LSD), the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis played an important role in his politicization. The crisis drew his family into serious financial difficulty. To determine the root cause of the crisis, he began paying close attention to the current issues. His support for universal suffrage and social democracy was partly because of his discovery of the poor and unfair governance of the former CE Tung Chee Hwa.

Patrick (NPP) was the only pro-Beijing Decisive Believer who considered a critical event as significant in shaping his attitudinal affinity to the party. When he was studying in Australia, the country was in an economic recession. Many people could not find jobs, and elderly people with chronic illnesses could not afford medication. He attributed this problem to the failure of the minimum wage policy and the universal pension scheme. This made his values closer to the centre-right position of the NPP.

In terms of political parties, they exerted their influence mainly through their charismatic figures. For example, Philip (CP) was attracted by the caring and righteous image of CP LegCo candidate Fernando Cheung during the 2008 LegCo election. When he was studying in the United States, James (DP) was influenced by the newspaper articles written by DP legislator and former chairman Martin Lee. Daniel and Peter (LSD) both mentioned how the online radio programs and videos of LSD legislator Raymond Wong and Leung Kwok

Hung contributed to their interest to join the LSD.

Both NPP members Patrick and Charles were drawn by the charisma of former Security Secretary Regina Ip. Patrick came across news about Ip when he was in Australia. He found Ip to be a legendary and visionary political leader, and she influences him to help her and join the Savantas Policy Institute. Charles met Ip personally when he was studying in the United States. Through his conversations with Ip, he found that she was a charismatic person and had strong views on many Hong Kong issues. Charles agreed with most of her views, and Regina also agreed with his ideas on Hong Kong education policy. This good impression of Ip influenced him to accept her invitation to join the Savantas Institute. For DAB member Henry, the charismatic leader who influenced him was a DAB district councilor he met in a volunteering activity. In that event, the councilor gave him advice on how to become a good master of ceremony. Henry developed a good impression of the DAB and triggered his interest to join the party.

However, charismatic party figures were not always viewed in a positive way. For Sophia (NPP), the rude and uncivilized behavior of LSD lawmakers in the LegCo alienated her from the pro-democracy camp. This situation highlights the importance of individual agency in the mobilization process, which will be discussed later.

In terms of mass media, both offline and online media and books were widely mentioned by the Decisive Believers as important influences. Charles (LSD) spent considerable time listening to various radio and television current affairs programs to deepen his understanding of the public policy curriculum.

By listening to the online radio program of then LSD chairman Raymond Wong, he learned much about social democracy and developed the intention to join the LSD. Another example is James (DP). His support for democracy was inspired by reading about the Article 23 Controversy in 2003 in Hong Kong newspapers when he was studying in the United States. His favorable impression of the DP was largely developed by reading the newspaper column of Martin Lee, the former DP chairperson. Peter and James also discovered the connection between mass media and political party. That is, the influence of charismatic party figures could be conveyed through media, such as newspapers and online radio. Alex (LSD) and Philip (CP) also mentioned the influence of mass media. Reading *Apple Daily*, a pro-democracy paper, contributed to their support for democracy and anti-government attitude.

The influence of media and books was not evident among the pro-Beijing participants. Only Ray (NPP) was somehow influenced by them. During his postgraduate years, he formed a book club with some friends to study Marxist and political economy classics, but the influence of this literature was indirect and did not stimulate his interest to join a party. The club only made him pay more attention to the social and political issues of Hong Kong. Sophia (NPP) also had a habit of reading the *Apple Daily*, but it did not have a great effect on her.

In terms of university education, its influence can be divided into two aspects, namely, student clubs and societies and the curriculum and professors. First, I will discuss the student clubs and societies. According to some respondents, their participation in student clubs enhanced their interest and

knowledge on politics. For example, Daniel (LSD) joined the China Study Society at HKU, where he discussed current affairs with other members. This participation greatly enhanced his knowledge on politics and provided him with a new perspective to view various political issues. When he was a graduate student at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Ray (NPP) became more aware of local social and political issues after participating in a book club on Marxist and political economy classics.

Some respondents indicated that student clubs and societies had a networking role as these organizations connected them to the party (Passy, 2001). Thus, joining these clubs indirectly led them to develop the intention to join a party. For example, Charles (NPP) met Regina Ip in an activity of the Stanford Hong Kong Students Association, which he chaired. Charles developed a favorable impression of Ip through their conversations. Later, he was invited by Ip to establish the Savantas Policy Institute with her.

Curriculum and professors also influenced the participants. The public policy curriculum motivated Peter (LSD) to listen to and watch current affairs radio and television programs, which introduced him to the online radio program of Raymond Wong and taught him about social democracy. James (DP) changed his college major from history to political science after the July 1, 2003 rally. Through the new curriculum, he learned much about elections and campaigns. This knowledge contributed to his intention to join the DP because he wanted to apply what he learned to help Hong Kong.

Some Decisive Believers considered voluntary organizations as an important influence that helped them to develop an interest in joining political

parties. For Ray (NPP) and Henry (DAB), participating in voluntary organizations developed their interest in entering politics. For Ray (NPP), the Roundtable provided him with many opportunities to meet politicians. For Henry (DAB), volunteering in various youth organizations in secondary school enhanced his interest in having a career in community service. In a volunteering activity organized by a youth organization, Henry (DAB) met a DAB district councilor whose charisma inspired him to join the party. Alex (LSD) met some LSD members when he volunteered at Citizens' Radio, and these members ignited his interest to join the LSD. However, participating in voluntary organizations is not necessarily influential. For Sophia (NPP), her active volunteering for an anti-child abuse NGO did not contribute to her party activism because, in her mind, volunteering and party activism are two different things.

Some Decisive Believers from the pro-democracy camp regarded work experience as an important influence in the attitudinal affinity step. For example, Alex's (LSD) experience as a low-wage worker in the exhibition industry shifted his beliefs closer to those of the LSD because he felt that the rights of Hong Kong workers were not well protected and that many industries were monopolized. Daniel's (LSD) intention to enter politics was partly triggered by his unhappy work experience as a secondary school teacher. He felt that political action was needed to address structural problems in the educational system.

Only a few Decisive Believers considered family as a significant influence. Its influence was also mainly latent and indirect. None of the participant came

from a politically active family. Their parents seldom taught them about politics. The most frequently mentioned family influence was developing the habit of reading the newspaper. For example, Philip (CP) obtained the habit of reading the *Apple Daily* from his parents. This habit enhanced his social awareness and gave him a clear sense of politics.

Some also mentioned other kinds of familial influence. For example, The volunteering experience of George (DP) with his parents during his childhood helped develop his willingness to serve, but it did not directly lead to his interest in politics. Henry's (DAB) childhood experience of returning to his hometown in the mainland to visit his relatives helped developed his patriotism and national identity because he witnessed the continuous improvement in the lives of his relatives.

Although most participants did not consider family as an important influence, most of them did not regard it as a barrier to their political participation, as most of their parents were open minded and allowed them to decide on their own future.

School education was rarely viewed by the Decisive Believers as influential in the attitudinal affinity step. Most of the participants indicated that political or civic education in the curriculum was scarce, and teachers seldom discussed current affairs and politics in class. Those who considered education to be influential viewed the influence to be weak and indirect. For Philip (CP), the religious studies he took in school did teach them about social justice and inspired him to defend the underprivileged, but he did not consider this influence as the main reason behind his intention to join the CP.

The Decisive Believers rarely directly mentioned peers as an important influence. Sophia from NPP was the exception. Her interest to join a party was triggered by her visit to a friend, who was a DAB member and who informed her of the potential benefits of joining a party. Thus, her interest to search for a party to join was triggered.

5.6.1. *Contextual influences in the formal enrollment step*

The second step was formal enrollment, in which the Decisive Believers formally decided to join the party as a member. Many Decisive Believers joined their respective parties on their own because of the political beliefs and intentions they developed in the previous step (attitudinal affinity). Nevertheless, a few participants required the recruitment efforts of the party to motivate them to join. For example, George (DP) was persuaded to join the party by a DP activist he met in the past. This activist invited him to join the party and become a community officer as he could be fielded in the coming district council election. George accepted the invitation because he and the DP shared the same core beliefs, and he had already the interest to develop his political career. Ray (NPP) was directly invited by Charles (NPP) to join the NPP. He accepted the invitation because he agreed with the NPP manifesto and was attracted by the potential development opportunities in the party. Charles (NPP) was persuaded by Regina Ip to collaborate with her to establish the Savantas Policy Institute, the predecessor of NPP, after meeting her in a student activity in university.

For some Decisive Believers, voluntary organizations also influenced the formal enrollment step, as they played a networking role of connecting them with a party activist, who later recruited them to the party. For example, George (DP) met a DP member in church who later recruited him to the party. Ray (NPP), who was an active member of Roundtable, met Charles (NPP) in a Roundtable event. Charles later persuaded Ray to join the NPP.

5.6.2. *Contextual influences in the initial involvement step*

The third step was initial involvement, in which the Decisive Believers became involved in the activities of the party for the first time. Many Decisive Believers actually took their own initiative to get involved with the party after joining, but some also needed external influences. The most important contextual influence that facilitated their involvement in the party was the recruitment efforts of the political parties. For example, Philip (CP) was invited by somebody from his local party branch to participate in party activities for the first time after he joined the party. Similarly, the initial participation of Sophia (NPP) in policy forums and seminars was due to the invitation from some senior party members.

Some participants also regarded critical socio-political events as influential on their first involvement in the party. For example, the first party activity in which Daniel was involved in the LSD was a fund raising campaign for the victims of a typhoon in Taiwan in August 2009. Peter's (LSD) first involvement with the party was helping out in the "Five Constituencies Referendum

Movement" in 2010, of which LSD was one of the initiators. Similarly, James' (DP) first task in the party was to campaign for former Chief Secretary for Administration Anson Chan in the 2007 Hong Kong Island LegCo by-election. Ray (NPP) also had a similar experience. His initial involvement in the party was mainly to campaign for NPP candidates as the 2011 District Council election was approaching when he joined the party.

5.6.3. *Contextual influences in the active participation step*

Similar to other participants following other paths, active participation was the final step for the Decisive Believers, in which they decided to actively participate in their respective parties. Similar to the Hesitant Believer Path, the political party was considered the sole significant contextual influence in this step. Most of the participants considered the recruitment efforts of the party as important in influencing them to become active party members. Many Decisive Believers were invited or persuaded to run for party offices instead of pursuing their own initiatives to run for office. For instance, both Daniel and Peter from LSD were persuaded to run in the executive committee election of the party. Peter was initially reluctant to run for office. George (DP) was invited to join the youth wing of the party through a phone call from a party senior. Ray (NPP) was persuaded by another party member Charles (NPP) to actively participate in the party, which contributed to his later decision to run for the leadership of the youth committee of the party. Another example that shows the importance of party recruitment is becoming a member of the party staff. For instance, both

Daniel and Peter from LSD were directly invited by party legislators to become their assistants. Charles (NPP) was also directly persuaded by Regina Ip to become the research director of the Savantas Policy Institute. George (DP) and Sophia (NPP) had similar stories.

Experience within the party organization is also an aspect of party influence that many participants perceived to be important. For example, James (DP) partly attributed his active participation in the party to his pleasant experiences within the party. For instance, the party leaders were willing to listen to the views of young members. He also developed a close relationship with fellow party members. He knew that many senior party leaders would retire soon and new blood was necessary to rejuvenate the party.

Alex (LSD) learned that the decision making of the party was not transparent and some issues were not sufficiently and thoroughly discussed by the party. This experience stimulated his intention to enter the party leadership.

Sophia (NPP) developed an interest in conducting constituency work during her participation in the electoral campaign of the 2012 LegCo election. She accepted the offer to be an assistant of a district councilor after the election. The case of Henry (DAB) is somewhat different. His decision to run for the leadership of his local party branch was related to the norm of the party, as joining the branch leadership was seen as an obligation of a district councilor.

In short, the narratives of the participants showed that the individual mobilization process of the Decisive Believers was mainly shaped by nine contextual influences. Among them, political party, critical socio-political events, media and books, university education, and voluntary organizations

were widely perceived as important influences, whereas family, school education, and peers were regarded as less significant (Table 19). Except for political party, which was important in all four steps, the effect of other contextual influences was concentrated on the attitudinal affinity step. Similar to the findings in the previous chapter, the narratives of the participants showed that some influences could be interrelated. For example, the influence of charismatic party figures and critical events on some participants was conveyed through mass media, such as newspapers, TV programs, and online media. Peter's (LSD) interest in news media was triggered by his public policy degree program (university education + media). Charles (NPP) met Regina Ip in a university student society activity (charismatic party figure + university education). Similarly, George (DP) met the DP activist in his church who later recruited him (voluntary organization + party recruitment efforts).

Table 19

Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Decisive Believers

Participant	Political party	Critical event	Mass media	University education	Voluntary organization	Work experience	Family	Peers	School education
Daniel (LSD)	+	+	+	+		+			
Peter (LSD)	+	1/2	+	+					
Alex (LSD)	+	+	+		+	+			
James (DP)	+	+	+	+	1/2		1/2		1/2
George (DP)	+	+	1/2		+	+	1/2		
Philip (CP)	+	+	+						
Charles (NPP)	+			+					
Ray (NPP)	+		1/2	1/2	+		1/2		
Patrick (NPP)	+	+	1/2						
Sophia (NPP)	+							+	
Henry (DAB)	+				+		+		

Note. + influential; 1/2 partly influential

6.3.2. *Influence of individual agency*

Similar to the Hesitant Believers, the mobilization process of the Decisive Believers was not solely shaped by contextual influences. The participants exercised their individual agency to negotiate and reflect on the contextual influences when they decided to act. The individual agency of these participants was mainly exemplified in five ways: self-initiative, critical evaluation, self-reflection, skepticism, and curiosity.

The first manifestation of individual agency is self-initiative, which refers to the ability to act without much explicit external influence. James (DP) exhibited his self-initiative when he participated in the party for the first time after he returned to Hong Kong from the United States and when he intended to run in the central committee election of his party. No one in the party explicitly invited him to do so.

Henry's (DAB) self-initiative motivated him to run for the 2007 District Council Election on behalf of his party as he thought that he had already accumulated adequate support from the constituents. Self-initiative had a hand in motivating Philip (CP), Alex (LSD), and Patrick (NPP) to join their respective parties, although their decision to join was also motivated by the attitudinal affinity they developed earlier.

The second manifestation is critical evaluation, which is the ability to critically evaluate the performance and values of political actors, such as political parties and politicians. Philip (CP) did not blindly become a CP supporter during the 2008 LegCo election. Rather, he critically evaluated the

candidates and platforms of various parties by watching television debates and observing their campaign activities in his constituency. In this sense, the election itself did not directly motivate Philip to join CP but only stimulated his interest in politics and parties. He decided to join the CP because of his favorable evaluation of CP candidate Fernando Cheung and his desire to expand the presence of the CP at the district level.

Ray (NPP) originally had a positive attitude toward the pro-democracy camp, particularly when he participated in the Anti-Express Rail Movement in 2009–2010. However, he soon distanced himself from the pro-democracy camp after he found many of their suggestions to be impractical.

Sophia (NPP) also demonstrated critical evaluation. Although a DAB member informed her of the benefits of joining the party, she did not join the DAB. Instead, she visited the websites of various parties to examine their features and principles. Eventually, she chose the NPP because its principles were compatible with her beliefs.

The third manifestation is skepticism, which is the ability to critically judge the credibility and reliability of information one receives. Although Sophia (NPP) had a habit of reading the *Apple Daily*, a pro-democracy paper, she was not influenced by the paper because she considered the views of the paper to be extreme and the reports were sometimes exaggerated. The second secondary school Philip (CP) attended had comparatively more patriotic education activities than the previous one, but he was not influenced by them.

The fourth manifestation is self-reflection, which is the ability to critically examine individual goals, values, and actions. Although Peter (LSD) was

deeply drawn to the LSD because of the charisma of then LSD chairman Raymond Wong, he did not join the party immediately. He joined the party after two years of consideration and self-reflection. He struggled to determine whether he merely worshipped a charismatic politician or actually believed in the ideology of the party. He did not join the party until he was certain that the latter was the reason why he should join LSD. Daniel's (LSD) self-reflection on the interference of the school management on his teaching revealed that political change was necessary if he wanted to freely practice his educational vision. This self-reflection contributed to his decision to join the party.

The last manifestation is curiosity, which is the intrinsic desire to learn new knowledge. Although Alex's (LSD) difficult experience in the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis triggered his interest in current affairs, his narrative also pointed out the importance of his own curiosity. "My family and my life underwent a significant change [after the financial crisis]. To ask why the crisis occurred was natural for me. I wanted answers to the questions…What is negative equity? What is financial crisis?"

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the participants who followed the Decisive Believer Path. The first section illustrated how this path unfolded by examining the narratives of Philip (CP); James (DP); Daniel, Peter, and Alex (LSD); Henry (DAB); and Charles, Ray, Patrick, and Sophia (NPP), who followed this path. I examined in detail their personal backgrounds and how they experienced the

four steps of the individual mobilization process.

The second section examined the influences that the participants considered to play a role in shaping their mobilization process. Nine contextual influences, namely political party, critical socio-political events, media and books, university education, voluntary organizations, work experience, family, school education, and peer groups, were found in this group. The first five were more widely viewed as important than the remaining four. Some influences were important in all steps, whereas some were only significant in one or two steps. The individual agency of the participants exemplified by self-initiative, critical evaluation, skepticism, self-reflection, and curiosity also contributed to the process. The next chapter examines the narratives of the participants who followed the Converted Staff Path.

CHAPTER 7

INDIVIDUAL MOBILIZATION PROCESSES INTO PARTY ACTIVISM: CONVERTED STAFF PATH

7.1. Introduction

The last path of individual mobilization into party activism is the Converted Staff Path. The participants who followed this path became involved in the party as staff or interns before they developed an attitudinal affinity and interest to join the party. Similar to the previous two chapters, this chapter first illustrates how the Converted Staff Path develops by examining the narratives of the participants. Thereafter, the major contextual influences considered by the participants to have a role in shaping their path to party activism, as well as the influence of individual agency on the mobilization process, are examined. The findings presented in this and the previous two chapters lay a solid foundation for the next chapter, which is a critical discussion on the implications of the research findings.

7.2. Narratives of the Participants Who Followed the Converted Staff Path

This section uses the narratives of the participants to illustrate how the Converted Staff Path develops. As with the previous two chapters, I examine the personal backgrounds and the four steps to become an active party member

of each participant. I briefly review the characteristics of the Converted Staff Path. Participants who followed the Converted Staff Path went through the four steps into party activism in the order of initial involvement (Step B) → attitudinal affinity (Step A) → formal enrollment (Step C) → active Participation (Step D).

The first step is initial involvement. The initial involvement of the participants was usually through a party internship or salaried employment in the party. The second step is developing an attitudinal affinity to the party or an interest to join the party (attitudinal affinity), which usually occurs within the party organization. The third step is to formally join the party as a member (formal enrollment). The last step is to become an active member in the party (active participation).

Six participants followed the Converted Staff Path. The distribution was not skewed toward any political camp. Participants from small parties, such as the LSD and NPP, were absent from this path, and all pro-Beijing participants were from the DAB. Table 20 shows the basic demographics of the Converted Staff. Next, I examine the narratives of individual participants. Participants from pro-democracy parties are discussed first, followed by the pro-Beijing participants.

Table 20

Participants Who Followed the Converted Staff Path

Participant	Party affiliation	Gender	Age	Education level	Occupation
Nick	CP	Male	25	University	Legislator's assistant
Keith	DP	Male	24	University	Legislator's assistant
Grace	DP	Female	25	Secondary	Legislator's assistant
Cherry	DAB	Female	30	University	Assistant coordinator, DAB
Aaron	DAB	Male	26	University	Legislator's assistant
Jack	DAB	Male	26	University	Assistant coordinator, DAB

7.2.1. *Nick (CP)*

Nick is from the CP. He joined the party in 2009. Currently, he is the executive council member of both a local party branch and the youth wing of the party. He was a former assistant of a CP legislator.

7.2.1.1. *Personal background*

Nick was raised in a public housing family with his older sister. His father was a construction worker but is now retired. His mother is a hospital assistant. He was in the care of his grandmother until Primary Four because both his parents had to work during the day. He seldom discussed current affairs with his family members. His father even considered politics dirty. "My dad always thought that a political career was shady and that the political arena was dirty. He did not associate with anything related to politics, including voting, because of his negative view on politics." His sister was also disinterested in politics.

Thus, Nick had little exposure to politics and current affairs during his childhood. “When I was in primary and secondary school, I mostly played video games and did my assignments after school. I did not discuss current affairs with my dad until I attended university.” Therefore, he said his family had almost no influence on his later decision to enter politics.

Nick went to an aided secondary school in Shatin. He seldom paid attention to current affairs at that time because he chose the science stream at the senior secondary level and spent considerable time on his studies. “The curriculum did not have it (current issues). We had Liberal Studies, but it was only an elective subject. You were not required to take it. My own curriculum only had physics, chemistry, and biology.” He also seldom discussed current affairs with his classmates. Nevertheless, he was active in school. He not only served as head prefect in Form 6 but also participated actively in different volunteer services.

Although his school life was largely unrelated to politics, it did not mean that he did not develop any political awareness during his teenage years. Similar to other participants, he was also drawn to the Article 23 controversy in 2003. He originally planned to join the July 1 Rally but his father forbade him. He could only wear black all day to show his support. The controversy made him understand the importance of freedom of speech. “If the legislation was passed, we would have been charged for what we have said. I couldn’t accept it.” Nevertheless, his belief at that time was still weak.

7.2.1.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

He chose to find a job instead of pursuing further studies because the result of his A-level exam did not qualify him to enter university. He first worked in the Salvation Army, followed by the Boys and Girls Clubs Association. He wanted to return to school because of his unpleasant work experience and low salary. He applied for an associate degree program at the City University of Hong Kong. Originally, he wanted to study social work, but the quota was full. Instead, he chose public administration, which enhanced his understanding of the Hong Kong political environment and the operation of the government.

Most importantly, the course established his connection with the CP. The associate degree program had a compulsory internship program that required each student to serve as intern in either an NGO or a political party during the summer holiday after the first year of study. Nick chose to serve as an intern in the office of CP legislator Ronny Tong not because he favored CP but because the office was near his home. “The reason was simple: the office was near my home.” Nick became an intern in 2008, which was an election year for the LegCo. He was engaged in various campaign activities for the CP, such as leafleting. Nick even assumed the role of master of ceremonies for some activities, and together with other interns, he participated in organizing a performance for an election rally. He learned much from the internship and enjoyed it very much. He also met many CP members.

7.2.1.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Soon after the end of his internship, CP New Territories Branch invited Nick to remain as a volunteer for the party. He accepted because he had some volunteering experience and also wanted to serve the community. “I had become friends with many CP members after the 2008 election. They asked me for help so I said okay.” When Nick graduated from university, an assistant of Ronny Tong had resigned. The office of Mr. Tong invited Nick to substitute for the assistant who resigned, an opportunity of which he took advantage. However, at that time, he was not a CP member. His intention to join the party was stimulated by a senior CP member who was also an assistant of Tong. This member informed him about the Hong Kong democratic movement and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement. Nick was instantly drawn to his charisma.

> A senior CP member, who was also my good friend, told me many things about the 1989 Beijing Student Movement and the entire process of the Hong Kong democratic movement. He shared his own experience, and I was drawn to it. He also said that the movement needed new blood to sustain itself.

7.2.1.4. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Because of his persuasion, Nick eventually decided to join the CP in 2009. “I thought I was still young and had time, and I also did not oppose this kind of activity. I joined the party to see in which areas I could help.” His decision was also partly due to his admiration for his employer Ronny Tong, who taught him many things and gave him considerable freedom in handling his work.

Nevertheless, he did have some hesitation before making the decision because he wanted to keep his options open in case he became a civil servant in the future. However, after a thorough consideration, he decided to take the position, which would allow him to freely pursue his dream rather than being a cog in the government machinery.

7.2.1.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Nick soon became active after joining the party. His major task after was to assist in the constituency work of the party in the New Territories East. This task included meeting residents and participating in the meetings of owners' corporations. Later, he was also appointed as district developer, a position that prepares party members to run for district councilor. Apart from constituency work, Nick also actively participated in demonstrations and other protest actions organized by the party headquarters. He spoke on behalf of the party in the City Forum and various public hearings of the LegCo. "Basically, if there were ten activities, I attended seven to eight of them. It is because…my style is to commit to an organization after I joined it." He partly attributed his active participation to the teachings of his father. "My father always tells me, you should think about how you can contribute to the organization instead of what you can get from it before you take the action to join."

As Nick was a district developer in the New Territories East, he was also elected as an executive committee member of the New Territories East party branch. He said running for this position was normal.

> Because I am a district developer in New Territories East, it was a must for me to join the branch executive committee. This is because the committee will decide on the future development and resource allocation of the branch. For example, you want to organize a trip for residents, you have to raise it in the committee.

Nick was also invited to join the executive committee of the youth wing because he was a good friend of the chairman of that committee.

7.2.2. *Keith (DP)*

The second case is Keith (DP), who joined the party in 2010. Currently, he is an executive committee member in both the local party branch and the youth wing of the party. He is also an assistant of a DP legislator.

7.2.2.1. *Personal background*

Keith was born to a middle-class family and lived in a private housing estate. The educational level of his parent is low, but they operate a small printing shop. His parents were disinterested in politics and did not discuss current affairs with him when he was growing up. “They did not discuss current affairs with me, completely did not. Even when I was in secondary school and in university studying public administration, they did not discuss current affairs with me.” He seldom paid attention to current affairs in his childhood and teenage years. He read newspapers only when he needed to complete

assignments using newspaper cut-outs.

Keith went to a Catholic school for his secondary education. He described himself as an active student. He was particularly interested in sports that he joined many sports teams, such as basketball and badminton. At that time, he spent most of his time playing sports and had never thought of participating in politics. “When I was young, I did not think of this (entering politics). I did think of joining the police or other disciplined services. I once even thought of becoming a career athlete.” Nevertheless, Keith was not completely naive about politics at that time because his school offered a subject called government and public affairs, which he studied from Forms 1 to 5. Through this subject, he learned about “One-Country, Two Systems” and the structure of the Hong Kong government. But he said this subject was technical, and he studied it only for examination purposes and not because he was interested in it.

7.2.2.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

He had to retake the Certificate of Education Examination a year later after he failed in his first attempt. Although his result improved considerably, he chose not to study A-Levels and went directly for an associate degree at the City University of Hong Kong because he did not like to learn by rote. He chose public administration and management as his majors. Keith described his decision as a coincidental instead of a deliberate choice based on interest. His lecturers in the program were enlightening, and he learned much about political ideas and concepts. Moreover, he was active in student organizations. He was

the vice-president of his departmental student society, and because of that he became an ex-officio member of the student union council. This activity gave him many opportunities to organize politics-related student activities, such as the commemoration for the 1989 Tiananmen Crackdown, and to mobilize students to participate in the annual July 1 rally, increasing his interest and knowledge in politics.

Similar to Nick (CP), the internship program was the most important for Keith politically during his university years. The public administration associate degree program of the City University required students to join a summer internship in either an NGO or a political party. Keith chose the DP because the party offered an allowance to interns. He was assigned to the office of DP legislator Lee Wing Tat. He provided assistance to Lee's campaign because his summer internship was during the campaign period of the 2008 LegCo election.

7.2.2.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

The internship was a great experience for Keith because he had opportunities to participate in different campaign activities, such as designing campaign strategies, leafleting, organizing residents meetings, and canvassing. The internship also helped him understand the plight of the poor because he had to conduct house visits to residents living in poor environments such as subdivided flats. As the experience was eye-opening and enjoyable, Keith developed an interest in political work after the internship.

7.2.2.4. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

Later, Keith was elected vice-president of the student union council. He had to apply for study leave for a year because his tenure exceeded the normal period of study. During that time, he did not have much to do except the union council activities. So he asked the DP if the party could offer him a part-time job. He was then hired as a part-time staff in the Tsuen Wan party caucus, in which some senior party members attempted to recruit him into the party. However, he declined because he thought he was not ready to fully commit to the party. Moreover, he considered some practices of the Tsuen Wan caucus too rigid and outdated: "I was furious that these guys (senior members) were rigid, and you had to follow a fixed process for every task."

After the internship, Keith remained in contact with DP legislator Lee Wing Tat. Before Keith graduated, Lee invited him for a meal and asked him about his work experience in the Tsuen Wan party caucus. Keith frankly told him all his grievances. Lee made an offer to Keith: he could move to Lee's office as an assistant if he was unhappy with the Tsuen Wan party caucus and if he was interested. Keith accepted the offer because he already developed an interest in community work. However, he had not made up his mind to join the party. He decided to join the party because the DP supported the 2010 constitutional reform package, although the more radical pro-democracy parties and activists criticized the reform for betraying democracy and the people of Hong Kong. Keith was greatly impressed by the courage of the DP in supporting the package and helping the democratization of Hong Kong to move

a step forward. He considered committing to the party worthwhile. Thus, he joined the party shortly afterwards.

> At that time, I fairly agreed with the "super seat" proposal (the 2010 constitutional reform package)…because it brought us to a new stage…I thought if you did not try, then you would not know the result, right? ....The turning point was the moment the DP committed to support the reform package…I felt that the moment was right for me to join the party.

7.2.2.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Keith did not initially consider becoming an active party member. He changed his mind a year later because he discovered that the party had many shortcomings that he wanted to improve.

> Especially since 2011 I felt that the DP had its shortcomings. The party is very old…..there were times when my advice was accepted by some fellow members, and this encouraged me to have a more active role in the party…apart from working at the community level…I wanted to bring some changes to the party organization. In fact, the time was right for its young members to participate more…The party can no longer remain conservative, regardless of its publicity strategy or whatever…What I wanted to do for the party was to initiate some changes to its image and mindset.

As Keith wanted to improve and bring changes to the party, he actively

participated in its activities. For example, he was elected to the executive committees of both his local party branch and youth wing. He joined many policy groups of the party because he wanted to introduce more new ideas. He also became part of the newly established creative media unit.

7.2.3. *Grace (DP)*

Similar to Keith (DP), Grace is currently an executive committee member of a local branch and the youth wing of the party. She is also an assistant of a DP legislator.

7.2.3.1. *Personal background*

Grace was raised in a low-income public housing family. Her parents divorced when she was in Primary Five because of the extra-marital affairs of her father. Since then, she lived with her mother and three sisters. The divorce left her family in financial difficulty because her father had been the breadwinner of the family. This situation forced them to live on social security until she graduated from secondary school and could join the labour force.

Her mother brought Grace to volunteer with her in the office of then DP regional councilor Wong Sing Chi when she was only in Primary Four. At that time, the office of the councilor was located in her housing estate. Grace's mother volunteered because she was attracted to Wong's handsome face and did not want Grace to stay at home idle during the summer holiday. As a child

volunteer, Grace was responsible for simple tasks, such as folding papers. She stopped volunteering when she was promoted to secondary school because she had moved to another housing estate since Primary Six and wanted to spend more time on her studies. Although she had volunteered in the office of Wong for a period of time, she did not learn much about politics at that time.

Grace described her secondary school life as ordinary and even dull. She did not actively participate in student society activities and did not discuss current affairs with her classmates. Originally, she wanted to choose the science stream in her senior secondary level but she was assigned to the arts stream because of her poor academic results. She said her curriculum was completely unrelated to politics, and the teachers also did not discuss politics in class. "Before that (becoming a DP staff), I knew nothing about politics. You could say that in my secondary school years, neither the teachers nor the textbooks mentioned politics."

Grace chose to work instead of pursuing her studies because of her poor results in the public exams. She worked different jobs, such as clerk and shop assistant. After realizing that her knowledge and academic qualifications were inadequate, she returned to school by applying for the "Yi Jin" project.[45]

7.2.3.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Grace graduated from the program in July 2008. When Grace could not

[45]A vocational-oriented program for secondary school leavers who did not obtain five passes in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination.

find employment right away, her mother asked Wong Sing Chi, who was running for the LegCo election, if he required an assistant to help in his campaign. Wong agreed to hire Grace as his campaign assistant. She subsequently became his legislative assistant after his successful reelection. Her main tasks were to handle case work and office administration as well as organize activities for residents.

7.2.3.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity and Step C: Formal enrollment*

When Grace became a legislative assistant, she was not a DP member yet. She learned more about the ideology and policy positions of the party through her work, and she found no substantial differences between her ideas and the positions of the party. Therefore she joined the party in around 2009. She decided to join because explaining the party positions to the public would be more credible if she was a member.

> We have to explain policies to the residents. But we don't use our own stance; we use the party's stance. But I am not a party member, why do I need to speak on behalf of the party?....So I thought, wouldn't my explanation be more convincing if I had joined the party?

7.2.3.4. *Step D: Active participation*

Initially, she did not actively participate in the internal affairs of the party apart from her duties as an assistant of a legislator. Eventually, she decided to

run for the executive committee elections in both her local branch and the youth wing of the party in 2010, and she was successfully elected. Her decision to run was mainly for two reasons. First, she felt that participating in decision making for the party was difficult. If she were a committee member, she could more effectively channel her views to the party leadership. She explained, "I felt that many decisions were made without listening to my opinions. So I thought that, if I was capable and had time, why should I not participate in these positions?" The second reason was the encouragement of some fellow members, who urged her to participate more because the party lacked female voice. "Female members are underrepresented in some party positions, so there were some people in the party who began encouraging me to run for a party position. After contemplating for some time, I decided to take the first step."

7.2.4. *Aaron (DAB)*

The fourth case is Aaron from DAB, who joined the party in 2009. Currently, he is an executive committee member of a local party branch.

7.2.4.1. *Personal background*

Aaron was born in Hong Kong and raised in a low-income public housing family with two brothers and a sister. Both of his parents fled from mainland China to Hong Kong in the 1960s. His father was once an interior decorator but is now deceased. His mother was once a hawker and security guard but is now

retired. His parents did not exert any political influence on him because of their long working hours and disinterest in politics.

> During my growing up years, my parents did not join any organization, did not have any religious belief, and did not have any political sense. They were busy with their work…They had views on society, but they did not teach me anything. So they had no political influence on me.

His siblings were also uninterested in politics and current affairs. Overall, his family did not have any influence on his later decision to join the DAB.

Aaron attended a Protestant secondary school in Fanling. He seldom discussed current affairs with his classmates.

> In fact, my classmates around me did not discuss politics with me. They just go 'hehehaha'…Sometimes, I mentioned some current issues to them, but I quickly realized that they didn't know what I was talking about.

The principal of his school would sometimes discuss current issues during morning assemblies. For example, his principal discussed the Article 23 legislation after the July 1, 2003 rally, but Aaron was not affected by the issue. He attributed this attitude to his pragmatic personality. He began to pay attention to current affairs because of his Chinese language assignments during his A-level studies that required him to write commentaries on current issues. "What triggered my awareness of current affairs in my secondary school years were probably my Chinese language commentary assignments, which required me to read more newspapers."

The A-level exam results did not qualify Aaron to pursue a university degree program. He opted to pursue a higher diploma course in the Hong Kong

Polytechnic University because he did not want to retake the exam. As the choices were limited, he chose to study social policy and administration because he had some interest in the discipline. Later, he was promoted to the degree program of the same discipline and university. He joined the university student press and became one of its reporters. However, he still did not develop political awareness because most of the stories he wrote were about social instead of political issues.

What really made him start paying attention to politics was the 2007 District Council Election, during which he closely followed closely the latest developments.

> When I was still a student in 2007, I closely followed the news about the election and I found it quite interesting…I used the Internet to read about the constituencies that interested me.

Nevertheless, thoughts of entering politics or running for election were still far from his mind at that time.

7.2.4.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Aaron graduated in 2008. He wanted to find a job related to social service, such as a legislative assistant or a project officer in NGOs because of his degree in social policy. He applied for positions in various organizations and political parties, including the DP and FTU. Finally, a DAB district councilor hired him as his assistant. His major tasks at the time were to handle case work and provide various constituency services to residents.

7.2.4.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

In the first year of his work, he developed the interest to enter politics because he thought that being a district councilor could help the residents and that he was qualified.

> I think the first year [of work] is the most important. I personally felt the party (DAB) did take constituency work very seriously. You assisted the residents and handled their cases in person. This ability makes you feel that a party or a district councilor is capable of helping the residents…After a year or so, I thought why couldn't I be a councilor too?

Thus, he expressed his interest to become a community officer and run for district councilor to his branch coordinator. He also began to learn and accept the core beliefs of the party, such as "being practical and pragmatic" (實事求是) and "being a constructive critic" (是其是、非其非).

7.2.4.4. *Step C: Formal enrollment*

A year later, the coordinator of the party branch hired Aaron as an assistant coordinator. He then became a staff member directly employed by the party. At that time, he was not yet a party member and no one had asked him to join, but several months later he eventually decided to join the party because he agreed with the beliefs of the party and planned to run for election under the DAB banner.

7.2.4.5. *Step D: Active participation*

The local party branch that Aaron wanted to represent as district councilor could not offer him an opportunity. So he resigned a year later and pursued a master's degree in social work because he thought that the course could increase his employability in case he had to leave the political circle. Several months after his resignation, he discovered that the DAB was collaborating with the Hong Kong College of Technology to run a part-time diploma program in political leadership, and that some DAB legislators would serve as guest lecturers. He applied and enrolled in the program because he thought that it was an opportunity for him to meet the party leaders, who might be able to help his political career. At the graduation ceremony, he met the party deputy chairperson Lau Kong Wah. Aaron directly told Lau that he wanted to enter politics. Lau recommended him to the North District party branch. Later, the coordinator of the North District branch informed him that the party could field him in a district council seat in the 2011 election because a candidate had suddenly withdrawn. He accepted the offer but lost the election because he had limited time to prepare for it. Thereafter, he was hired by DAB legislator Gary Chan as his assistant to enable him to continue preparing for the next election. Some senior members in his local branch asked him if he was interested to stand for the branch executive committee election. He agreed because he wanted to run for district councilor again in the future and knowing more about the affairs of the branch was necessary. He said almost all district councilors

and potential candidates joined the committee.

7.2.5. *Cherry (DAB)*

The fifth case of the DAB is Cherry, who joined the party in 2009. Currently, she is an executive committee member of both the youth and women's wings of the party.

7.2.5.1. *Personal background*

Cherry was born in mainland China and has a younger brother. She came to Hong Kong for family reunion when she was nine. Her father was originally a primary school teacher in the mainland but became a factory worker after he migrated to Hong Kong. Her mother also worked full time as Cherry was growing up. She moved to a private housing estate two years after she arrived in Hong Kong because of the diligence of her parents. Her parents did not frequently discuss current affairs with her except for a few chats. "My father would just say a few words when he watched the TV news." Moreover, her parents did not participate in any political activities, including voting. It was Cherry who asked them to vote when she reached the age of 18. Overall she felt her family did not influence her in her later political participation.

Cherry completed part of her primary schooling in the mainland as she was already nine years old when she came to Hong Kong. She said that compared with the Hong Kong curriculum, the curriculum in the mainland was

disconnected with society and thus not very useful. She also said her mainland experience did not exert any influence on her politically.

Cherry attended a secondary school run by a local charity. Her school did not offer civic and political education. The only exception was that, every year, a history teacher would discuss the 1989 Tiananmen Crackdown during a morning assembly and show them a documentary after school. She attended once but was not inspired by it. Her classmates did not discuss current affairs with her.

After secondary school, Cherry went to the City University of Hong Kong to earn a degree in Chinese language. Her life inside the university was simple, and she did not participate in any student society inside the university. The only student activity that she participated in was a sit-in campaign against the discontinuation of some sub-degree programs of the university. However, this event did not influence her later participation in the DAB.

7.2.5.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Her participation in the activities of the Causeway Bay Association, a community organization closely linked to the pro-Beijing camp, had an important role in guiding her entry into the political circle. First, together with her classmate, she joined a mainland exchange tour organized by the association. She met a group of friends from the Shue Yan University who were active in volunteering and organizing activities for community organizations. After the tour, they joined the Causeway Bay Association and started to

organize youth activities. The activity that impressed her the most was a youth camp that she and her friends organized. Thereafter, they founded a youth organization because they wanted to organize more exchange tours and youth camps for more young people.

She met a community activist through an activity of her youth organization. He informed her that an assistant of a Civic Force (a pro-Beijing district-level political group that has a close relationship with the DAB) district councilor had just resigned. He asked Cherry if she was interested to fill the vacancy. She accepted and first worked part time. She became a full-time assistant after graduating from university. Although she became an assistant of a councilor, she only treated her job as an ordinary one and did not have any political awareness or thought of entering politics.

Two years later, Cherry wanted to change jobs and learn something new. Thus, she worked in a community organization. However, she soon discovered that she was not suitable for that job. Having heard her story, her former employer recommended her to DAB legislator Lau Kwong Wah, who hired her as his assistant after the 2008 LegCo election. Her major task at that time was to provide constituency services to the residents in Ma On Shan.

7.2.5.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

In the beginning, Cherry did not intend to enter politics or run for election. Later, some party officials encouraged her to run for district councilor. She also realized that her personality could be suitable for a political career. “I

discovered that this profession was suitable for me probably because it fits my personality. I like to work in an environment that is full of changes and challenges." To prepare for the coming election, the DAB assigned her to conduct constituency work in a new District council constituency in Sha Tin.

7.2.5.4. *Step C: Formal Enrollment*

Cherry had not yet joined the DAB by the time she was assigned to a constituency. She only decided to join the party when the party fielded her as a candidate in the 2011 District Council Election. She joined the party late because she had some doubts. She finally joined because it was the only way she could run under the DAB banner, and she realized that if she wanted to stay in the political circle, then she had to choose a political camp albeit reluctantly.

> When I decided to run, I had to join the party. At that time, I doubted if it was necessary. However, the rule is that if you want to run under the DAB banner you have to first become a member. This decision is like the point of no return. At that time, I wanted to run for election, and joining a party was inevitable. The commitment may not be a lifelong one… [But] in terms of politics, you cannot be neutral all the time. You have to take a side anyway. At that time, I thought the DAB was very good at constituency work…Choosing the DAB was natural for me because I wanted to conduct good constituency work.

7.2.5.5. *Step D: Active participation*

Chery became active in the party soon after she joined. She decided to run for its executive committee because she wanted to learn more about the Young DAB. “I wanted to know more about the Young DAB, so I hoped I could join [its executive committee]. So I informed the Young DAB of my desire to join [the executive committee].” In the committee, she worked with other committee members to design and organize activities such as opinion surveys on young people. Cherry also joined the leadership of the women’s affairs committee of the party. Her decision to join was also due to her curiosity.

> It is because I am…a woman. I wanted to know more about this area….I am still at the stage of exploration. [I wanted to] explore more about this place (the DAB) so that I could know which role is most suitable for me.

7.2.6. *Jack (DAB)*

Jack is the last DAB case. He joined DAB in 2009, and he is currently an executive committee member of the youth wing and one of the deputy policy spokesmen of the party. Moreover, he is employed by the party as an assistant coordinator of a local branch.

7.2.6.1. *Personal background*

Jack was raised in a middle-class family with a younger brother. His father runs a printing house and his mother is a housewife. Similar to other

participants, his parents are not politically active and do not participate in any political activities except voting. Nevertheless, his dad sometimes would discuss current affairs with him when he watches TV news in during evening meal, although it is just small talk. His father would also vote for the DAB in every election because he considered that the party could produce concrete achievements. Thus, Jack's curiosity to know more about the DAB was stimulated. Influenced by his father, Jack developed the habit of reading newspapers when he was young, but he was not interested in politics at that time.

Jack attended a government secondary school in the New Territories. His school did not have civic education, and he spent most of his free time playing basketball and other sports activities. Although he liked the arts stream more, his mother forced him to choose the science stream at the senior secondary level because it would ease his entry into university. However, he failed his first attempt in the Certificate of Education Exam and had to retake it a year later because science was not his strength. Jack moved to another school in Secondary Six, and he began to develop some interest in politics. At the beginning of Secondary Six, Jack attempted to form a cabinet with some classmates to run for the executive committee of the student union. Although he withdrew from the race eventually because of his concern over his academic result, the experience of preparing for the election triggered his interest in politics. His interest was enhanced by the 2004 LegCo election, during which he compared the platforms of the candidates with those of the student union.

7.2.6.2. *Step B: Initial involvement*

Jack failed his first attempt in the A-level exam and had to retake it a year later to be accepted into university. He studied electronic engineering at the City University of Hong Kong. Originally, he wanted to run for the editorial committee of the student union because he wanted to write commentaries, but he ultimately withdrew because he disagreed with the other proposed committee members. Nevertheless, he met a group of senior students who were concerned about current affairs during the preparation process. They taught him how to think independently and the importance of social awareness in every university student. This experience stimulated his motivation to seek a current affairs or socially related internship during summer vacation after his first year.

Originally, he wanted to find a media internship but none was available. Then, he discovered from the Internet that the DAB was recruiting summer interns. He submitted his application as he was already curious about the party and found the internship program organized. His initial involvement in the party began when he was successfully admitted to the program and assigned to the office of a district councilor in Tuen Mun.

7.2.6.3. *Step A: Attitudinal affinity*

Jack enjoyed the internship program very much because he was given many opportunities to participate in a variety of activities, such as opening street stalls, handling case work, and organizing recreational activities for

residents. The internship left Jack with a good impression of the DAB.

7.2.6.4. *Step C: Formal enrollment and Step D: Active participation*

In the graduation ceremony of the internship program, then chairperson of the Young DAB Cheung Kwok Kwan asked Jack if he was interested to join the executive committee of the Young DAB. Jack was interested, but he did not accept immediately because he worried that the workload would be heavy. However, Cheung later explained to him that the committee was supported by a secretariat; thus, he finally decided to give it a try. He joined the DAB in mid-2009 as only party members were allowed to join the Young DAB.

In the Young DAB, Jack was mainly responsible for tertiary student affairs, such as recruiting young members and organizing the student internship program. At that time, he spent considerable time discussing the development direction of the Young DAB with other committee members. Shortly before graduating from university, Jack contacted the district councilor who served as his internship supervisor. He asked if she could help him find a job in the DAB, and she recommended him to work for DAB legislator Cheung Hok Ming. He accepted the offer because he thought that he could learn more by serving a legislator, but he moved to the Tuen Mun branch of the party as an assistant coordinator half a year later. His main tasks were to provide administrative and research support to district councilors in the local branch. He also conducted constituency work under the title of community officer beyond his normal working hours.

In 2011, Jack decided to run in the district council election because he thought that the performance of the councilors of the rival DP was unsatisfactory and that he was capable of performing better than them. However, he lost in the election. In 2012, he decided to participate in the party deputy policy spokesman selection scheme because he did not want to limit his experiences to the community level only.

> You can conduct constituency work without paying any attention to public policy…because you can just focus on the issues in the constituency or estate in your responsibility…But I think many things in the society are interrelated….For example….housing problem, why don't you build more housing? The question seems simple. But should I build Home Ownership Scheme flats, public housing flats, or Sandwich Class Housing Scheme flats[46]? This issue is related to policy. If you don't jump out of the box…the scope of your service will be limited. I wanted to break the constraints.

He was successfully selected as the deputy policy spokesman for environmental hygiene and public health.

7.3. Influences that Shape the Individual Mobilization Process

This section discerns the contextual influences that the participants considered important in shaping their individual mobilization processes. The

[46]Sandwich Class Housing Scheme flats (夾屋) are subsidized homes built by the Hong Kong Housing Society for lower-middle class families whose incomes exceed the Home Ownership Scheme requirements but still cannot not afford private housing.

analysis revealed five contextual influences, namely, political party, university experience, family, work experience, and critical socio-political events. The first two were widely considered as influential, whereas the last three were considered relatively less important. In the subsequent paragraphs, I examine how these influences worked in each step of the mobilization process. Similar to the last two chapters, I also found that the mobilization processes into party activism were not only shaped by the contextual influences but also by the individual agency of the participants. The last part of this section examines how individual agency of the participants influenced their mobilization processes.

7.3.1. *Contextual influences in the initial involvement step*

The first step of the Converted Staff into party activism is initial involvement. The personal background of the Converted Staff shows that all failed to develop a strong ideological affinity to the party or an interest in a career in politics during their childhood and adolescence but were nonetheless mobilized into the party. What drove them to do so? The narratives of the participants showed that four contextual influences, namely, political party, university experience, the family, and work experience, were considered important.

In terms of political party, the recruitment efforts of the party were widely perceived as an important influence. All Converted Staff first became involved in the party through some form of party recruitment effort. Some participants became involved in their respective parties through the university student

summer internship programs of their parties. Keith (DP) and Nick (CP) first became involved in their respective parties through the summer internship programs co-organized by their university's program of study and political parties. Another example of getting involved with the party through an internship is Jack (DAB). He discovered the DAB internship program through its official website.

Aside from internship, staff recruitment was also a party recruitment effort used to attract the participants into the party. Aaron (DAB), Cherry (DAB), and Grace (DP) first became involved in the party this way. Aaron was recruited to the office of a DAB district councilor as an assistant after he graduated from university. Cherry was recruited by a DAB legislator through the recommendation of her former employer, who was a district councilor. This councilor belonged to a district political group, which has a close relationship with the DAB. Grace was initially recruited by a DP legislator as his electoral campaign assistant after she graduated from Project Yi Jin.

How and why the Converted Staff were successfully reached by or attracted to the recruitment efforts of these parties? The interview data show that they were recruited successfully because of the influences of university experience, family, and previous work experience.

Many Converted Staff considered university experience as an important influence that linked them to the recruitment efforts of the party. For example, Both Keith (DP) and Nick (CP) were students of the associate degree program in public administration and management at the City University of Hong Kong. This program requires all students to serve as an intern in a political party or an

NGO in the summer vacation following their first year. The university cooperated with a number of political parties, such as the CP and the DP, to offer internships to students. Thus, Nick and Keith became interns at the CP and the DP, respectively. Keith chose to serve as an intern in the DP because the party provided interns with allowance. Nick chose the CP because the workplace was close to his home. In these two cases, the university curriculum directly linked the participants to the recruitment efforts of the parties.

In the case of Aaron (DAB), the influence of the university curriculum was less direct. Aaron studied social policy and administration at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. This program limited his career choices to the social and community services sector. When he graduated, he mainly searched for jobs in NGOs, trade unions, and political parties. Eventually, a DAB district councilor hired Aaron as his assistant. In this case, the university curriculum shaped the expected career destinations of the participant, and it led him to seek out the recruitment effort of the party.

In the case of Jack (DAB), the student society he joined inspired him to seek and apply for the party internship program. He participated in the student union editorial committee of his university. In this committee, he met some politically active senior students who informed him about the importance of social awareness for university students. This awareness stimulated him to search for an internship related to current affairs during summer vacation after his second year of study. Failing to find a place in the mass media, he eventually chose the DAB internship after learning about it from the party website.

Some Converted Staff considered their families and workplaces as important. For example, Grace's (DP) mother played a significant role in linking her to the recruitment effort. As Grace could not find a job immediately after her graduation from Project Yi Jin, her mother sought help from DP lawmaker Wong Sing Chi, who hired Grace as his electoral campaign assistant during the 2008 LegCo election. The voting choice of Jack's (DAB) father contributed to his curiosity about the DAB, and this choice partly explained why he chose the DAB internship program after failing to obtain an internship in the mass media.

The previous work experience of Cherry (DAB) linked her to the recruitment effort of the party. Cherry originally worked for a district councilor affiliated with a district level political group. Two years later, this district councilor recommended her to DAB legislator Lau Kong Wah, who later hired her as his assistant.

7.3.2. *Contextual influences in the attitudinal affinity step*

The second step is attitudinal affinity. Political party also has an important role in this step. Many participants in the Converted Staff path developed a supportive attitude toward the party and the intention to join through their experiences within the party organization after they became involved in it. Nick (CP) gained a favorable impression of the CP after joining the internship because he enjoyed the activities. Keith's (DP) internship in the DP exposed him to different kinds of party activities that he enjoyed, which enhanced his

interest in a political career. Similarly, Jack (DAB) developed a favorable impression of the DAB after joining its internship program.

Grace (DP) gradually learned the principles and policy positions of the party after she was hired as a legislator's assistant. Her work experience increased her intention to join the party. She considered that being a party member would make her credible when she explained party positions to the public. Aaron (DAB) developed his interest in having a political career and joining the DAB because of his work experience as an assistant to the district councilor. By handling case work, he realized that being a district councilor could help the residents and he considered himself capable of serving in such a role. He also learned the principles of pragmatism of the party through his job. Cherry's (DAB) case is similar. She did not think of becoming a politician and joining the DAB when she became a legislative assistant of a DAB legislator. Through her constituency work, she realized that politics was a career that suited her personality because she liked a challenging career.

7.3.3. *Contextual influences in the formal enrollment step*

The third step is formal enrollment, in which the Converted Staff formally decided to join the party as a member. Some of the Converted Staff joined the party by themselves because of the attitudinal affinity they developed in the previous step, but others joined because of the recruitment efforts of the parties. For example, Nick's decision to join the CP was strongly influenced by the persuasion of a senior CP member, who informed him that the democratic

movement of Hong Kong needed new blood to sustain itself. Jack (DAB) was directly persuaded by the chairperson of the youth wing to join the DAB and serve on the executive committee of the youth wing during the graduation ceremony of the internship program.

For Keith (DP), a critical socio-political event was needed to trigger his decision to join. This event was the decision of the DP to support the 2010 constitutional reform package. He was impressed by the courage of the DP to vote for the reform package in the LegCo because he believed it could help Hong Kong's democracy to move a step forward. He joined the party shortly afterwards as he felt that committing to the party was worth it.

7.3.4. *Contextual influences in the active participation step*

The last step is active participation, in which the Converted Staff decided to actively participate in their respective parties. Similar to the two other paths, political party was considered a significant influence in this step. In terms of the influence of the recruitment efforts of the party, Grace (DP) decided to run for the leadership of a local branch and the youth wing of the party because of the encouragement of some fellow party members. Jack (DAB) was directly persuaded by the youth wing chairman of the party to run for the youth wing executive committee membership. Aaron (DAB) was invited by the people in his local party branch to stand for the branch executive committee election.

In terms of experiences within the party organization, both Keith (DP) and Grace (DP) claimed that their dissatisfaction with the DP was a reason why they

decided to run for leadership positions in the party. For instance, Keith said he wanted to take active part in the party because he had discovered many shortcomings of the party after joining and he wanted to improve them by bringing some new ideas into the party leadership. Similarly, Grace decided to run for leadership positions in the party partly because she felt that she was excluded from many decisions in the party. Holding a leadership position was a way to channel her views to the party center. Jack's (DAB) experience in conducting constituency work for the party at the grassroots level made him feel that many local issues were related to public policy. This realization triggered his intention to join the deputy policy spokesman selection scheme of the party that would allow him to learn more about public policy. Party norms mattered to Nick (CP) and Aaron (DAB). Both claimed that running for branch executive committee member was a common practice in their respective parties among community officers or district developers (a title carried by potential district council election candidates) because being a member of the branch leadership could help them in their constituency work.

Family was regarded by one participant as significant in this step. Nick (CP) partly attributed his active participation in CP to his father, who taught him to fully commit to any organization he joined.

To summarize, this section discussed the major contextual influences that the Converted Staff considered to play a role in their mobilization process into party activism. These influences were political party, university experience, family, work experience, and critical socio-political events. The first two influences were considered more important than the latter three (Table 21). The

importance of the influences varied with each step, except political party, which was important in all four steps. Lastly, as was found in the cases of the last two paths, the participants' narratives show that some influences were closely interrelated. For example, some participants became involved in party internship programs co-organized by the political party and the university's study program (political party + university experience). Some participants were linked to the party's recruitment efforts through their family members or workplace (political party + family/work experience).

Table 21

Contextual Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Process of the Converted Staff

Participant	Political Party	University experiences	Family	Critical event	Work experience (outside the party)
Keith (DP)	+	+		+	
Grace (DP)	+		+		
Nick (CP)	+	+	+		
Aaron (DAB)	+	+			
Jack (DAB)	+	+	1/2		
Cherry (DAB)	+				+

7.3.5. *Influence of individual agency*

Similar to the last two chapters, I found that contextual influences alone were insufficient to explain how the Path Three participants became party activists. It is also needed to take individual agency into account, as the narratives show that the participants were able to negotiate and reflect on them before taking the decision to act. Some even acted out of their self-initiative without much explicit external influence. From the narratives of the participants, I found that their individual agency was mainly expressed in six ways, namely, self-initiative, self-reflection, curiosity, critical evaluation, and ability to make connections.

The first manifestation is self-initiative. Some participants were able to act without much explicit external influence. An example is Aaron (DAB). He decided on his own to join the DAB political leadership diploma program, and he took the initiative to approach a DAB leader during the program's graduation ceremony and request the party leader to recommend him to run for district councilor. Grace's (DP) self-initiative played an important part in motivating her to join the party. The party's recruitment effort did not have a strong impact on her. As she said, "Actually, the DP recruits members every year….but I didn't respond to that. It was my own decision [to join]."

The second manifestation is self-reflection, which refers to the ability to critically examine one's goals and actions. An example of this is Nick (CP). When he was invited to join the party by a senior member, he had some reservations because he worried that this decision may prevent him from

becoming a civil servant, but he later changed his mind after reflecting more deeply on the matter. He thought that what he really wanted was a career that could give him freedom to practice his own ideas instead of becoming an official in the bureaucracy.

Similarly, Cherry (DAB) initially hesitated to join the party when she was invited to stand for election on behalf the party because she was reluctant to take sides with any political camp. However, upon deeper reflection, she found that she could not remain neutral forever in the political arena and must choose a side.

The third manifestation is curiosity, which is the intrinsic desire to learn new knowledge. Although I argued above that Jack's (DAB) experience in participating in the university's student press contributed to his decision to apply for the DAB's summer internship program, his curiosity about the party also played a role. Another example is Cherry (DAB). She decided to join the leadership of party's youth and women wing because she wanted to know more about them.

The fourth manifestation is critical evaluation, which refers to the ability to evaluate critically the performance and values of political actors. For example, when Keith (DP) was working part-time for the DP's Tsuen Wan caucus, some people tried to recruit him to the party. However, he declined the invitation at that time because he considered the mindset of the people in that caucus obsolete and rigid, and he was not ready to make a full commitment. Thus, his decision to join was delayed. His decision to take active part in the party was due to his critical evaluation of the performance of his party. He found that the

DP had many shortcomings, so he wanted to improve the situation by taking active part in it.

The fifth manifestation is the ability to make connections among ideas from different contexts. An example is Jack (DAB). I argued above that Jack's constituency work experience in the party played a role in his decision to join the party's deputy policy spokesman scheme, but his own agency also contributed to it because it was he himself who recognized the close relationship between district issues and public policy. This recognition motivated him to join the scheme.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the participants following the path of Converted Staff. Similar to the last two chapters, the first section illustrated how the path unfolds by examining the narratives of the participants who took the path. They were Nick (CP); Keith and Grace (DP); and Aaron, Jack, and Cherry (DAB). I examined in detail their personal background and how they went through the four steps of the individual mobilization process.

The second section of this chapter examined the influences that shaped their paths to party activism. For this group of participants, five contextual influences were at play: political party, university experiences, family, work experience, and critical socio-political events. The first two were considered more important than the latter three. Similar to the findings of the previous two chapters, the importance of the influences varied with the steps except political

party, which was significant in all steps. The individual agency of the participants, which was manifested as self-initiative, self-reflection, critical evaluation, curiosity, and the ability to make connections, also contributed to the mobilization process.

This and the last two chapters examined how the participants were mobilized into party activism and the influences at play from the participants' point of view. The next chapter will critically discuss the implications of these findings for relevant theories and the socio-political context of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

8.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a critical discussion of the findings that I examined in the previous three chapters and to construct an overall understanding of the party activism of the young adults who participated in this study. First, the purpose and the research questions of this thesis are restated. Second, the findings related to the processes of individual mobilization into party activism are summarized, and their implications for theory, literature, and understanding of the Hong Kong political context are discussed. Third, the findings on the contextual and individual influences at play in the individual mobilization processes are summarized and discussed. Lastly, with the help of the insights gained from the discussion of the findings, an overall understanding of the mobilization process of young people into political party activism in Hong Kong is constructed.

8.2. Restatement of the Purpose and the Research Questions of the Study

Before summarizing and discussing the major findings presented in the previous three chapters, let us revisit the purpose of the study and the research questions. The main goal of this study is to explore and conceptualize the

individual mobilization processes of a sample of young active political party members in Hong Kong, which is a post-industrial, semi-autonomous liberal authoritarian hybrid regime under Chinese sovereignty. It does so by examining the processes leading a sample of young people in Hong Kong to come to the decision to join and become active in political parties as well as the major macro-, meso-, and individual-level influences at play in the processes. Two research questions were developed on the basis of this purpose:

1. What are the processes that lead a sample of young people in Hong Kong to join a political party and become active party members?
2. What contextual and personal influences shaped their processes to become party activists?

Life history interviews with young party activists were the primary method of data collection. In total, 23 young active party members from five political parties across the political spectrum of Hong Kong were interviewed. Having briefly reviewed the study aim, research questions, and the research method, the following two sections summarize and discuss the key research findings.

8.3. Summary and Discussion of the Findings Related to the First Research Question

The first research question aims to explore the individual mobilization processes leading the participants of this study to become active party members.

Four major findings were found.

First, after a close examination of the narratives of the participants, this study found that the individual mobilization process could be divided into four distinct steps: (A) attitudinal affinity, (B) initial involvement, (C) formal enrollment, and (D) active participation. In the attitudinal affinity step, the participants developed a psychological affinity to the party, including developing an adherence to the party's ideology, a favorable impression of the party, or an interest in joining the party. In the initial involvement step, the participants became involved in the activities of the party for the first time. The activities could be helping out in an electoral campaign, joining a summer internship program in the party, volunteering with the party, or working for the party as a paid staff member. In the formal enrollment step, the participants formally joined the party as a member by filling in a membership form and paying membership dues. Lastly, in the active participation step, the participants became active and fully committed members of the party by taking part in party activities or serving as party officials, party staff, or election candidates for the party.

Second, this study found that not all participants took the four steps in alphabetical order. Except for step D, which is always at the end of the sequence, the order of other steps varied among participants. In total three sequences of steps were identified: the Hesitant Believer Path, the Decisive Believer Path, and the Converted Staff Path. The participants who took the Hesitant Believer Path went through the four steps alphabetically from A to D. They first developed an ideological affinity to the party, but instead of joining

the party immediately, they chose to explore the party by getting involved in some party activities. After some time, they eventually decided to join the party as full members.

For the Decisive Believers, they went through the four steps in the order of A → C → B → D. Similar to those who followed the Decisive Believer Path, they also developed an ideological adherence to the party before they decided to join. However, they were more decisive in that they chose to join the party as a member before taking part in any party activity.

The participants who took the Converted Staff Path went through the process in the order of B → A → C → D. They usually became involved in the party before developing a solid adherence to the party's ideology or a strong interest in joining it. Their initial involvement was largely motivated by non-political reasons, and they only learned about the party's ideology and developed an interest in joining after spending some time within the party organization. Chapters Five to Seven present the narratives of the participants to illustrate how these three paths unfolded.

Third, this study found that slightly over half of the participants experienced an "exploratory period" between the time they first became involved in the party and the time they formally joined the party. Among the 23 young party activists of this study, 6 followed the Hesitant Believer Path, 11 took the Decisive Believer Path, and 6 followed the Converted Staff Path. This distribution shows that slightly over half of the participants (Hesitant Believers + Converted Staff) joined the party as members only after taking part in some party activities.

Lastly, the study found that the distribution of the paths did not vary greatly with the political camps. Each path has a similar number of pro-democracy and pro-Beijing participants. However, the participants from smaller parties, such as the LSD and the NPP, were more likely to take the Decisive Believer Path and were completely absent from the Converted Staff Path, which is more likely to be followed by participants from larger parties such as the DAB and the DP. Half (3) of the DAB participants were actually Converted Staff. However, as the sample of this study was small and purposively chosen, concluding that the distribution reflects the general situation was not possible.

Having summarized the key findings, I now discuss their implications for the relevant theories, the literature, and the local political context. First, the findings provide further evidence to show that the process approach and the study of individual mobilization processes can be extended from the study on social movement activists to the study on young party members. Currently, the literature on individual mobilization processes focuses on social movement activists (Blee, 2011; Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Linden & Klandermans, 2007; Teske, 1997) and rarely on political party members (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Goodwin, 2010; 2011). The findings also provide more evidence to show that the mobilization of young people into party activism in Hong Kong can be conceptualized as a multi-step process, as Munson (2008) and Aronson (1993) found among the social movement activists they studied.

Second, the findings show that, similar to many studies on social movement activists, there is more than one individual mobilization process into activism (Viterna, 2007; 2013). In total three paths into party activism based on

the three different sequences of steps were identified from the participants.

Moreover, the findings provide support for some of the paths identified in some studies of social movement activists. The literature on social movement activists identifies two types of individual mobilization processes into activism. The first type describes a process of beliefs preceding actions. Activists following this process become an adherent of the movement ideology before they take action to join the movement. Participation in the movement is a way to express or put into practice their long-held political beliefs (Klandermans, 1984a; 2003; 2004; 2013; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Klatch, 1999; Searle-Chatterjee, 1999). By contrast, the second model describes a mobilization process of actions preceding beliefs. Activists following this process get involved in the movement before they learn the movement's ideology. They initially become involved in the movement for reasons largely unrelated to ideology and politics (Aronson, 1993; Blee, 2002; Munson, 2008).

These two types of paths into activism are also present in the findings of this study. Participants who took the Hesitant and Decisive Believer Paths followed a process of beliefs preceding actions. Before getting involved in or joining their respective parties, they had already become supporters of the party's ideology or developed an interest in joining the party. This attitudinal affinity was what pushed them to be involved in or join the party, although sometimes the recruitment efforts of the party also played a role. By contrast, participants who took the Converted Staff Path followed a process of actions preceding beliefs. They initially became involved in the party as a staff member or intern for non-political reasons, such as the desire to find a job or to fulfill

the curriculum requirement of a program of study. They only gradually learned about the party's ideology and developed an interest in joining the party and entering politics after spending some time in it. These findings show that some parallels exist between the individual mobilization processes of social movement activists and those of political party members, although the former is considered a non-institutionalized form of political participation and the latter is a kind of institutionalized participation.

Third, although the findings of this study show some parallels between the paths suggested by some social movement studies, they also show that the paths to political party activism can be more complex than those to social movements. Most studies on social movement activists have not distinguished the steps of initial involvement and formal enrollment[47]. The reason may be that social movements usually have loose membership and a fluid procedure for joining. Therefore, initial involvement and joining are indistinguishable and can be conceptually treated as a single step. However, this reasoning cannot be applied to political parties because they usually have a formal membership. Therefore, initial involvement in the party and joining the party as a member are conceptually two separate steps, although sometimes, but not necessarily, they can happen almost at the same time.

This study shows that some of the participants did not join the party directly when they first came into contact with it. They did so only after spending some time in the party. Participants who followed the Hesitant

[47]An exception is Blee and Linden's (2012) study on women extreme-right activists in the United States and the Netherlands.

Believer Path are examples. Although they had already developed an attitudinal affinity to the party before their first contact with it, they did not join it immediately. Instead, they chose to get involved in it first as volunteers, interns, or salaried staff. They only made up their minds to join the party after a period of time. The existence of this "exploratory stage" before joining is the main difference between Hesitant Believers and Decisive Believers.

As mentioned above, this "exploratory stage" also existed among participants who followed the Converted Staff Path, who also spent some time in the party as staff or interns before making the decision to join. This "exploratory stage" is seldom mentioned in studies on social movement activists. Even Bruter and Harrison's (2009) study on young party members in Europe did not reach this conclusion. It only discerned two steps in the process of becoming party members: being inspired and making the decision to join.

Combining the participants who followed the Hesitant Believers and those who followed the Converted Staff Path, this "exploratory stage" actually exists in the cases of slightly more than half (12) of the participants. This finding shows that most participants of this study held a cautious attitude toward joining a party and were reluctant to join a party directly. As a LSD participant indicated the following when he was employed by the party as a staff:

> [I] didn't have the determination to join the party. I just thought it was worthwhile to give a helping hand. The reason is that, at that time, I held a more serious attitude toward a party, and it seems that it would require some commitment.

According to a DAB participant, although she served as a staff of the party

for a period of time, she did not join it until she decided to run for district councilor on behalf of the party. She was reluctant to relinquish her political neutrality and take a side.

The prevalence of this observation is partially confirmed by my interviews with the youth wing heads of the CP, DP, and DAB. The youth wing heads of the CP and DP revealed that many young members did not join the party directly. Their membership into the party usually started with participating in some party activities. According to the chairwoman of Young Civics, some interns of the CP who supported the party's principles were hesitant to join because they were worried that they would be stigmatized as anti-government activists, which could affect their career prospects. Similarly, the chairman of the Young DAB revealed that many young people were hesitant to join the DAB because they wanted to maintain political neutrality or they held a negative view of political parties. This cautious attitude toward joining a party reflects the two macro-level contexts frequently cited by the local literature as obstacles to party activism. They are the political institutions unfavorable to party development and the unenthusiastic or skeptical attitude of the general public toward political parties. They may partly account for the cautious attitude of the participants and why they were reluctant to join the party directly.

Lastly, the findings show that participants from larger and more resource-rich parties were more likely to be Converted Staff, whereas participants from smaller and less resource-rich parties were more likely to be Decisive Believers. Although the result is not generalizable, it hints that the resources a party has

may affect which path a young party member takes, as more resource-rich parties are more capable of providing initial involvement opportunities, such as internship and employment, to potential young members than the less resource-rich ones. Therefore, potential members have more opportunities to explore the party before making a decision join. Therefore, they are more likely to take the paths with an exploratory stage (Hesitant Believers and Converted Staff). On the contrary, less resource-rich parties are less capable of providing opportunities for initial involvement than the more resource-rich ones. Therefore, potential members of these parties are more likely to join the party directly and take the Decisive Believer Path. The impact of the political party on the participants is discussed in more detail in the following section.

8.4. Summary and Discussion of the Findings of the Second Research Question

The second research question of this study aims to identify and explore the contextual and personal influences that shaped the participants' mobilization processes of becoming party activists. This section summarizes the key findings with regard to this research question and discusses their implications for the literature and the understanding of the local political context. The meso-contextual influences are examined first, followed by the macro-contextual influences. Then, the interrelatedness and interactions of the contextual influences are presented. Afterwards, it will discuss the influence of personal agency. Lastly, the temporal and individual variations in the impact of the

influences are examined.

8.4.1.1. *Meso-level influences*

The previous three chapters identified eight meso-level contextual influences from the narratives of the participants, namely, political party, university experience, media and books, voluntary organizations, school education, family, work experience, and peers. The findings show that the impact of these influences to some extent varied among the paths that the participants followed. Participants who took the Hesitant Believer Path widely considered political party, university, and school as significant in shaping their path to party activism. Participants who followed the Decisive Believer Path widely considered political parties, university, media, and voluntary organizations as important. The Converted Staff considered parties and university as important. When all participants are considered, political party and university experience are more important than other influences in the participants' point of view (Table 22). Next, I summarize the impact of each influence and discuss its implication for theory and the understanding of the Hong Kong political context.

8.4.1.1.1. *Influence of political party*

Political party was considered by the participants as an important influence that shaped their processes into party activism. It was influential in all four

steps to party activism for the Decisive Believers and Converted Staff. It was also influential in three steps (initial involvement, formal enrollment, and active participation) for the Hesitant Believers. Regardless of the paths taken, political party was almost the sole influence at play in the active participation step. The influence of political party was mainly manifested in three ways: the party's recruitment efforts, participants' experiences within the party organization, and charisma of party figures.

In terms of party recruitment efforts, three major efforts were found. The first recruitment effort was the recruitment of salaried staff, such as legislator's assistant, district councilor's assistant, and staff directly employed by the party. For the Converted Staff, this effort was particularly important in leading them to get involved in the party (initial involvement). The second recruitment effort was summer internship programs. The three parties selected for this study organize summer internship programs for university students. Some parties even cooperate with university study programs to make the internship a compulsory component of the curriculum. The internship usually gave the participants the opportunity to explore the daily operation of a legislator's or district councilor's office. For the Hesitant Believers and Converted Staff, the internship was an important influence leading them to get involved in the party for the first time (initial involvement). The last recruitment effort was direct persuasion by party members, usually party leaders or senior party members. For the Hesitant and Decisive Believers, persuasion in person by party figures was important for their decision to get involved in the party (initial involvement), join the party (formal enrollment), and become active in the party

(active participation). For the Converted Staff, persuasion was particularly important in the formal enrollment and active participation steps. Note that, for many participants, the recruitment efforts of the party were effective because they had already developed an attitudinal affinity or affective attachment to the party.

In terms of the participants' experiences within the party organization after they became involved in it, the study identified four kinds of significant experiences. These experiences were the affective or emotional attachment to the party developed through interaction with fellow party members, the dissatisfaction with the party developed through the discovery of the party's shortcomings, and accepting and conforming to party norms. These three experiences particularly contributed to the participants' decision to take active part in the party (active participation), regardless of the paths they took. The last experience referred to the participants' experience in working for the party after they were hired as party staff. For the Converted Staff, this experience helped shape the steps of attitudinal affinity and formal enrollment.

The third form of party influence was charismatic party figures. The charisma of party figures, as manifested through mass media or personal contact, was important for the Decisive Believers to develop their ideological adherence to the party and the interest in joining (attitudinal affinity). However, for some participants, it was also important in the formal enrollment step because some were directly persuaded by charismatic party figures to join the party. Thus, the influence of charismatic party figures and party persuasion could overlap.

Having summarized the findings on the influence of political party, the following paragraphs discuss the theoretical implications. First, the findings of this study lend support to the importance of incentives in shaping individual involvement in political parties. As shown in Chapter Three, the literature on the influence of the party focuses on the incentives political parties offer to attract new members and induce the members to become active. Three kinds of incentives can be used by parties, namely, material, solidarity, and purposive incentives (Clark & Wilson, 1961; Seyd & Whiteley, 1992; Whiteley et al., 1994; Whiteley et al., 2006; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002; Young & Cross, 2002). The findings of this study support the importance of incentives. In terms of material incentives, many participants who followed the Hesitant Believers Path and Converted Staff first became involved in the party (initial involvement) in response to the material incentives, such as summer intern slots and job opportunities. In terms of purposive or collective incentives, many participants who followed the Decisive Believer Path joined the party (formal enrollment) in response to the party's purposive incentives, such as political ideologies and policy goals.

Second, the findings also suggest some insights to refine and extend the perspective on party incentives. For example, the literature on the influence of incentives seldom explains how and why certain incentives are so valued by some individuals (Granik, 2005). However, explaining this aspect is important because not all people give the same value to a given incentive (Deckers, 2010; Slavin, 2012). By conceptualizing the involvement in political parties as a process, this study examined the personal experiences of the participants prior

to their initial involvement in the party. Therefore, we can trace how the participants came to be attracted by the incentives of the party in the first place and come to a deeper understanding of how incentives exert their influence. For instance, some Decisive Believers joined the party in response to the purposive incentives of the party, such as ideology and policy goals. The findings show that these participants were attracted by these incentives because they had already developed an adherence to the party's ideology through earlier political socialization and the impact of other contextual influences. Some Hesitant Believers became involved in the party in response to the material incentives of the party, such as internships and job opportunities. Similarly, they were attracted by these incentives only because they had already developed an adherence to the party's ideology or an interest in joining the party at an earlier time.

The findings of this study also help specify how political parties purposively create incentives as a recruitment strategy to recruit potential members. Previous studies based on the incentive perspective usually relied on questionnaire surveys of party members. They usually asked the respondents to list the incentives they considered important or to choose from a list of predetermined incentives they considered influential on the questionnaire (Seyd & Whiteley, 1992; Whiteley et al., 1994; Whiteley et al., 2006; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002; Young & Cross, 2002). Only a few studies have been conducted on how political parties purposively create incentives as a recruitment strategy from the perspective of the party (Lees-Marshment & Pettitt, 2014). Through in-depth interviews with both young party activists and party officials

responsible for managing young members, the current study found that political parties in Hong Kong purposively create incentives, especially material ones, as a recruitment effort to recruit new members. For example, some parties organize summer internship programs with allowances to attract university students to be involved in them and let them experience the daily operation of the party. Some party officials also admitted to hiring salaried staff as a way to bring new blood into their parties.

This study also unveils some strategies or logistics that political parties use to deliver their incentives to potential members, a point frequently neglected by previous studies. In terms of purposive incentives, the findings show that some parties, such as the LSD and the DP, use online radio programs and newspaper columns to disseminate their ideologies and policy goals to the public. In terms of material incentives, some parties, such as the CP and the DAB, use official websites to promote their summer internship programs. Some even cooperated with universities' programs of study and student societies to recruit students to their internship programs.

Moreover, the findings show that the material incentives offered by the parties may vary with the resources they have. For example, most of the participants who first became involved in the party through job openings and summer internships were from larger and relatively well-resourced parties such, as the CP, the DP, and particularly the DAB. Participants from smaller and less well-resourced parties, such as the LSD and the NPP, seldom mentioned that they were attracted by the material incentives to get involved in or join the party. This finding shows that more resource-rich parties have stronger

capability and willingness to use material incentives to attract new young members.

In addition, the findings show that we should focus more on recruitment strategies other than incentives because offering incentives is not the only important strategy (Liow, 2011; Mjelde, 2013). For example, direct persuasion by people in the party is another important recruitment strategy used by the parties of this study to recruit new young members and encourage existing young members to take active part in the party. This finding is similar to that of Goodwin (2011)'s study on the British National Party members. The study found that many members were persuaded to remain active in the party by a set of carefully constructed rationales and discourses.

Third, the findings show that, aside from offering incentives, the political party can exert its influence by acting as an agent of political socialization. The existing political socialization studies on youth party members pay little attention to the socialization function of the political party (Hooghe et al., 2004). The only exceptions are a few studies that discuss the role of the party's youth wing in recruiting and socializing young members(Hooghe et al., 2004) and in encouraging young members to become active in the party (Cross & Young, 2008a). In contrast to previous studies, the findings of this study show that political party was an important agent of socialization for the participants, regardless of the paths they followed. In this study, political parties played a political socialization role in two major ways. The first one is through charismatic figures in the party. These charismatic figures, through their political actions, speeches, or publications, helped some participants to develop

an ideological adherence to the party or an interest to join (attitudinal affinity). The second one is through experience within the party organization. For some participants, political socialization took place within the party organization after they became involved in the party as an intern or salaried staff, or joined it as a member. This socialization experience helped them learn about the political ideology of the party and develop an interest to join or become active in the party (attitudinal affinity).

Lastly, the findings show that the importance of the influence of certain elements of the political party may reflect the characteristics of Hong Kong parties. For example, the significance of charismatic party figures may indicate the fact that many parties in Hong Kong remain non-institutionalized and very much overshadowed by individual leaders. As discussed in Chapter Two, many parties were founded by famous public figures and politicians, and many are still led by these charismatic founders because of their short history and slow leadership renewal process. This fact partly explains why charismatic party figures remain influential on the participants of this study. Another example is the prevalence of getting involved with the party through the party's material incentives such as summer internship and job opportunities among the participants from more resource-rich parties. This fact may reflect the emergence of a trend toward the professionalization of party activism in Hong Kong (Cai, 2011). That is, political party activism is seen more as a job or an occupation carried out by salaried professionals than a pastime or voluntary activity carried out by amateurs (Borchert, 2003; Rogers, 2005). Furthermore, the importance of party persuasion and recruitment efforts in inducing the

participants to take active part in the party implies that intra-party participation of young party members in Hong Kong parties is still largely conducted in a top–down manner. This implication is in accordance with the centralized organizational structure of most Hong Kong parties.

8.4.1.1.2. *Influence of university education*

Most participants of this study attended university, and most of them considered university experience as a significant influence in their paths to party activism. For the participants following the Hesitant and Decisive Believer Paths, the influence of university experience was mainly important in the attitudinal affinity step, in which they developed an attitudinal affinity to the party and an interest to join. For a few Hesitant Believers, the university also contributed to their initial involvement in the party (initial involvement). For participants taking the Converted Staff Path, the university mainly played a role in the initial involvement step.

This study also found that the influence of university experience could be divided into two aspects: student clubs and societies, and curriculum and professors. Both of these aspects have two main functions. First, they acted as socialization agents that shaped the political interests, knowledge, and beliefs of the participants. Some Decisive Believers who participated in politically related student clubs and took politically related classes enhanced their political interest and knowledge and shaped their own political values, which indirectly contributed to their party activism. Second, they played the role of social

networks by connecting the participants with the political party. For example, for some Converted Staff, their program of study required them to intern in a political party in summer. For one Hesitant Believer, his departmental student society linked him to the party internship program. One Decisive Believer met a charismatic party figure in a student association he joined.

The importance of university experience for the participants is generally in accordance with the literature on political socialization and youth activism, which frequently suggests that the university is a place that can facilitate young people's political awareness and participation (Braungart & Braungart, 1994; Desrues & Kirhlani, 2013; McAdam, 1988a; Munson, 2008; Navia, 2008). The findings also confirm the political socialization role of university education in shaping the political knowledge, interest, values, and behaviors of young people. More importantly, however, the findings provide further evidence on the social networking role of university education in facilitating individual participation in political parties, which has received relatively little attention in the literature (Persson, 2012).

8.4.1.1.3. *Influence of school education*

School education was also perceived by some participants as influential, and its influence varies with the path. For the Hesitant Believers, school education was considered a significant influence in helping them to develop an attitudinal affinity to the party (attitudinal affinity). According to their experiences, school influence can be categorized into two aspects: civic-related

school curriculum (e.g., history, religious studies, and newspaper-cutting assignments) and extra-curricular activities (e.g., volunteering and participating in a student union). However, for the Decisive Believers and Converted Staff, school was rarely viewed as influential. Although some considered that it had some influence, it was seen as weak and indirect.

These results partially confirm the literature. As presented in Chapter Three, the literature suggests that a politically and civic-related curriculum can enhance students' civic knowledge and skills, political efficacy, and democratic values (Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Torney-Purta, 2002; Whiteley, 2012a). It also suggests that participation in student councils can enhance civic knowledge and engagement (Torney-Purta, 2002).

However, overall, school education was not widely perceived as an important influence by the participants. This finding is different from many previous studies claiming that school education is an important political socialization agent that fosters young people's civic awareness and political engagement (Finkel, 2002; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Hoskins et al., 2008; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Klatch, 1999; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, 2002; Youniss et al., 2002). The relative lack of importance of school education may be related to the characteristics of school education in Hong Kong. First, all the participants study attended secondary school in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This period was when Liberal Studies,[48] a subject containing many civic and

[48]Liberal Studies is a compulsory subject in the new senior secondary school curriculum that has been implemented since 2009. This subject contains political knowledge and content and is the first mandatory school subject in Hong Kong with a civic education mission (Leung & Yuen, 2009). For details on the subject, see http://ls.edb.hkedcity.net/Home/Index.aspx.

political contents, had not yet been made a compulsory subject in the Senior Secondary curriculum. Thus, most schools that the participants attended did not have a school subject containing substantial content about politics. Second, the official civic education curriculum was depoliticized. Its content was mainly about moral and value education and contained only some elements of public affairs (Fairbrother, 2003; Leung & Yuen, 2009; Leung & Ng, 2004). Moreover, research also shows that teaching political literacy is not a major concern of Hong Kong school teachers, who put more emphasis on moral, value, and personal growth education (Grossman, 2004; Lee, 2005; Lo, 2009; Ng, 2011). These characteristics may explain why most participants said they did not receive much civic or political education in their secondary school years and why school education was not considered an important influence in shaping their paths to party activism.

8.4.1.1.4. *Influence of voluntary organizations*

Voluntary organizations were considered by some participants as influential and their influence varied with the path. Some participants who followed the Hesitant and Decisive Believer Paths perceived voluntary organizations as an important influence in contributing to the development of their attitudinal affinity and interest in joining (attitudinal affinity). Some Decisive Believers also considered voluntary organizations as important in shaping their decision to join the party (formal enrollment). However, some participants who had participated in voluntary organizations did not consider it

influential. For the Converted Staff, voluntary organizations were rarely perceived as important in shaping their mobilization process into party activism probably because most of them did not join any voluntary organizations when they were growing up.

The participants who considered voluntary organizations as important mainly perceived three types of organizations as influential. They were church, volunteering groups, and politically related organizations such as policy think tanks and social movement organizations. Similar to the findings on university education, the findings show that voluntary organizations play two roles, namely, political socialization and social networking. In terms of political socialization, some participants claimed that participating in voluntary organizations enhanced their political awareness and their interest in politics and a political career. In terms of social networking, some participants came into contact with people in the party through the voluntary organizations they had joined.

These findings are largely in accordance with those suggested in the literature. As indicated in Chapter Three, participation in social service, religious, and politically and civic-related organizations can enhance people's political knowledge, skills, and interest, which in turn contribute to political participation (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2008; Quintelier, 2008). Voluntary organizations can also serve as a social network by linking young people to opportunities for political participation, including political parties (Desrues & Kirhlani, 2013; Quintelier, 2008; Teorell, 2003).

However, interestingly, note that some participants who were active in

volunteering or religious organizations claimed that these organizations had little to do with their party activism. One the one hand, this finding may reflect the characteristics of voluntary organizations in Hong Kong. Research shows that, although voluntary organizations in Hong Kong are numerous and vibrant, many have a depoliticized value orientation (Lam & Tong, 2007). Many social service and religious organizations receive government sponsorship and are content to be service providers and not keen on advocacy work and political participation (Chan, 2012). Therefore, their effectiveness in promoting individual political participation may be reduced. On the other hand, this finding may show that volunteering and religious activities do not exactly share the same function and nature with political activism. Therefore, participation in volunteering and religious activity does not necessarily contribute to political participation and party activism (Neufeind, Jiranek, & Wehner, 2013).

8.4.1.1.5. *Influence of mass media*

Similar to voluntary organizations, mass media such as newspapers, television, and the Internet were perceived by some participants as influential, with influence varying with the path. The Hesitant and Decisive Believers, especially those from the pro-democracy camp, considered it as a significant influence in shaping the attitudinal affinity step. However, for most Hesitant Believers, the influence of mass media tended to be moderate and indirect. It merely helped them to become more politically aware but did not directly contribute to their attitudinal affinity to the party or intention of joining. For the

Converted Staff, the influence of mass media was not evident in any step of their mobilization process probably because most of them did not pay much attention to news media when they were growing up.

These findings are generally in accordance with the literature. As examined briefly in Chapter Three, many political socialization studies have found that mass media could promote political knowledge, awareness, and participation of young people (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014; Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; McLeod, 2000; Pasek et al., 2006).

Nevertheless, the findings also raise some interesting points that have received relatively little scholarly attention. First, the findings show that mass media can be a carrier of other contextual influences. For example, the findings show that some charismatic party leaders used media, such as newspapers and online radio programs, to spread their influence and messages. The influence of critical socio-political events may also be transmitted through the mass media. Second, the current literature focuses on studying the influence of news media, such as newspapers and TV news. However, the findings show that media content not directly related to news and politics, such as television drama series and historical documentaries, can also affect young people's political awareness and beliefs. Third, most research commonly focuses on the *types* of news media (e.g., TV news and the Internet) but rarely on the influence of *individual media* (e.g., New York Times and CNN). However, the current study shows that the differences between media groups do matter. For example, many participants from pro-democracy parties claimed that they were influenced by the *Apple Daily*, a popular pro-democracy newspaper in Hong Kong, in varying degrees.

8.4.1.1.6. *Influence of the family*

Family members, particularly parents, were widely perceived by the participants as an influence that shaped their mobilization process into party activism. However, their influence was usually latent and indirect. Most parents of the participants were not politically active. They seldom discussed politics with their children or taught their children about politics. Thus, they rarely inspired their children to join political parties directly. For the Hesitant and Decisive Believers, the parents' major function was to expose them to current affairs by purchasing newspapers and watching television news. This manner had a moderate impact on their attitudinal affinity to the party (attitudinal affinity). Some participants also mentioned other actions, such as bringing them to conduct volunteer work or to their hometown in mainland China. Nevertheless, some Converted Staff indicated that their parents did have a direct influence on them by introducing them to a party (initial involvement) or encouraging them to take active part in the party (active participation). Despite the lack of direct influence, most participants in this study claimed that their parents were generally open-minded. They allowed their children to choose their own paths and did not interfere or strongly oppose their political activities.

The moderate and indirect influence of the family is contrary to the results of many previous studies on youth civic engagement and political party activism in established Western democracies, which have repeatedly found that parents or the family is an important influence contributing to youth

participation in political parties (Bruter & Harrison, 2009; Cross & Young, 2008b; Desrues & Kirhlani, 2013; Gidengil et al., 2010; Recchi, 1999; Van Liefferinge & Steyvers, 2009; Van Liefferinge, Devos, & Steyvers, 2012). However, this finding does not necessarily mean that the literature is invalid, as most of the previous studies on familial political socialization and youth party activism have found that parents are influential because they are politically engaged or are themselves party members. Neither of these two features is prevalent among the parents of the research participants.

Therefore, rather than invalidating the literature, the findings actually reflect the characteristics of the participants' parents. As mentioned previously, most of the participants' parents were neither politically engaged nor were themselves party members. The present study is not intended to provide a full explanation to this, but it can present some background that may shed light on the issues. First, most of the participants' parents were baby boomers born in Hong Kong or who arrived from mainland China during the post-war years, when the colonial government was authoritarian and indigenous political parties were still non-existent. Second, a culture of depoliticization (Lam, 2004) existed in Hong Kong during the post-war years because of the sensitive political situation of the time (Lam, 2004)[49] and the indifference of the colonial government to civic education (Fairbrother, 2003). Third, many of the participants' parents were working-class people and had to work very long hours to support their family (Salaff, 1995; 1981). All these factors could

[49]It refers to the intense conflicts between the Pro-Chinese Communist Party (People's Republic of China/Mainland) force and the Pro-Nationalist Party (Republic of China/Taiwan) forces in Hong Kong during the 1950s and the 1960s (see Lam, 2004).

explain why most parents of the participants were politically inactive and seldom discussed politics with their children and, in turn, why the participants did not receive much exposure to politics directly from their parents. This finding points to the importance of the local context when we study the role of family in political socialization.

8.4.1.1.7. *Influence of the workplace other than the party*

Work experience outside the party was not widely considered by the participants as an important influence. Some Decisive Believers perceived it as significant, but it was rarely considered important by participants from the other two paths. This result was produced because the participants of this study were all young people. For most of them, a job in the party was their first and only job after graduation and they had not worked elsewhere before.

For the participants who considered the workplace as significant, the workplace was influential because it gave them unpleasant or unhappy experiences. These bad experiences helped or triggered them to develop an attitudinal affinity to the party or an intention to join a political party (attitudinal affinity). However, for one Converted Staff, the workplace also played a role in the initial involvement step by introducing her to work in the party that she later joined.

Studies on the influence of the workplace on political engagement and attitudes are relatively few (Mutz & Mondak, 2006). They mainly focus on whether and how the workplace can enhance people's political participation

capabilities, such as civic skills and political efficacy (Mutz & Mondak, 2006; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995), and encourage the exchange of different political ideas (Mutz & Mondak, 2006). The present study shows that the workplace can also shape people's political values and motivation to participate and act as a social network connecting people with political participation opportunities such as with a political party.

8.4.1.1.8. *Influence of peers*

Peer groups, such as friends and classmates, were rarely directly mentioned by the participants as an important influence on their path to party activism. Only one participant following the Converted Staff Path directly mentioned the influence of peers. She said that one of her friends motivated her to join a party (attitudinal affinity). However, this finding does not mean that peers did not play an important role in their processes into party activism. The reason is that a number of participants considered university student groups and voluntary organizations as important influences, and these settings provided the participants with many opportunities to interact with friends and fellow members. Therefore, the results only show that the participants seldom perceived friends or classmates as influential outside of an associational setting. Peers tended to be more influential when the participants met and interacted with them in certain associations, such as student groups and voluntary organizations. Therefore, the findings generally support the literature that argues that the peer group is an important socialization agent (Gordon & Taft,

2010; McAdam, 1988a; Quintelier, 2013; Zhao, 2002). However, it also highlights the point that the setting where peers meet and interact may also affect the impact of peers.

Table 22

Meso-level Influences at Play in the Individual Mobilization Processes

Step into party activism	Political party		University education		Voluntary organization	Mass media	School education		Family	Work experience outside the party	Peers (Out of associational setting)
	Recruitment efforts	Experience within the party	Curriculum and professor	Student society			Curriculum and teacher	Extra-curricular activities			
Hesitant Believer											
A			1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	+	+	1/2		
B	+		1/2								
C	+	+									
D	+	+									
Decisive Believer											
A	+		+	+	+	+	1/2		1/2	1/2	1/2
B	+										
C	+	+			+						
D	+	+									
Converted Staff											
A	+	+									
B	+		+	+					1/2	1/2	
C	+										
D	+	+							1/2		

Note. + More widely viewed as important; 1/2 Less widely viewed as important

8.4.1.2. *Macro-level contexts*

Aside from meso-level influences, macro-level contexts also played a role in the individual mobilization processes into political party activism. However, the interview data show that the participants only perceived one macro-level influence as important, that is critical socio-political events. However, this result does not mean that critical socio-political events were the only macro-level context at play in the mobilization processes. The findings also show that other influential macro-contexts, such as regime type and the China factor, are also important, but that they are deduced from the interview data and other contextual influences, such as mass media and political party. In the following paragraphs, socio-political events are discussed first as they are the macro-level influence directly mentioned by the participants, followed by other macro-level influences.

8.4.1.2.1. *Critical socio-political events*

Except for the Converted Staff, the participants considered critical socio-political events as an important macro-level influence in the process into party activism. The critical events mentioned mainly include political crises, large-scale demonstrations or social movements, elections, and economic crises. The Basic Law Article 23 legislation controversy in 2003 was the most widely mentioned event, particularly by those from the pro-democracy camp. For the Hesitant Believers, critical events mainly contributed to their development of

attitudinal affinity and interest to join (attitudinal affinity), and their decision to join the party (formal enrollment). For the Decisive Believers, critical events were particularly important in the attitudinal affinity and initial involvement steps. However, for the Converted Staff, only one participant mentioned a critical event as important and that served to trigger him to join the party (formal involvement).

The importance of critical socio-political events is generally in accordance with the findings of some political socialization and social movement studies, which suggest that critical socio-political events can be an important influence that shape people's political orientation and inspire people to join social movements (Blee, 2011; Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Bosi, 2012; Gimpel et al., 2003; Klatch, 1999; Linden & Klandermans, 2007). However, they have received relatively little attention in studies on party members. One of the few exceptions is the study of Bruter and Harrison (2009), which found that some special incidents or events could serve as "catalyst moments" that trigger young people to finally decide on whether to join a political party. These incidents or events include elections and shocking events, such as demonstrations and political crises. This study found similar findings, but unlike those in Bruter and Harrison (2009), the findings of the current study indicate that critical events not only exerted their influence at the final moment right before a person joined a party, they also helped the participants to develop an attitudinal affinity or ideological adherence to the party long or some time before they decided to join.

Moreover, the findings highlight a point about critical events rarely seen in

the literature. That is, whether a person is influenced by a critical event may depend on the effect of other contextual influences. For example, one participant said he joined the July 1 Rally in 2003 partly because he was persuaded by a tutor in his church. Another participant closely followed the same event because he found the Article 23 controversy to have some parallels with what he learned from his history classes. This finding partly explains why not all participants were equally influenced by the critical socio-political events mentioned in this study.

8.4.1.2.2. *Regime type*

The second macro-level context that had influence on the individual mobilization processes is the regime type of Hong Kong. As examined in Chapters One and Three, Hong Kong is a "liberal authoritarian" hybrid regime (Case, 2008; Fong, 2013). People in this kind of regime do not enjoy full political rights, as the government and the legislature are not fully democratically elected, but civil liberties such as freedom of speech and assembly are largely protected. The participants did not mention the influence of regime type directly in the interviews, as its impact is mainly indirect and exerted by shaping other influences and contexts.

First, the hybrid regime in Hong Kong plays a role as manifested in a number of critical political events that inspired some participants of this study to join political parties. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the "liberal authoritarian" type of regime is favorable to popular mobilization. The reason is

that, on the one hand, the lack of full democracy creates perennial legitimacy problems for the government. On the other hand, the tolerance of civil liberties allows the pro-democracy camp and other opposition forces to mobilize people to challenge the government (Case, 2008; O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986). This situation has facilitated the emergence of a number of large-scale protest events and social movements since 1997. The most significant one was the July 1 Rally in 2003. As discussed above, this event played an important role in inspiring many pro-democracy participants to join political parties. Other significant mass mobilization events mentioned by the participants were the Anti-WTO protest in 2005 and the Five Constituency Referendum Movement in 2010.

Second, aside from facilitating mass mobilization events, the "liberal authoritarian" regime of Hong Kong also enables a relatively free and vibrant mass media to exist. The existence of press freedom has given rise to many traditional and online media with different opinions (Chan & Lee, 2007a; 2007b; 2012; Ip, 2009). Young people can be exposed to political information and knowledge of different viewpoints from the mass media. This condition indirectly explains why some participants in this study regarded mass media as an important influence in their path to party activism. For example, some pro-democracy participants mentioned *Apple Daily* and *Ming Pao* as among their sources of insights into democratic values that helped inspire them to join political parties. Moreover, a few mentioned politically related online radio programs and videos as sources of inspiration.

8.4.1.2.3. *The China factor*

The third macro-level influence is the China factor. Its influence was mainly indirect and was mainly relevant for the participants from the pro-Beijing parties, especially the DAB. As examined in Chapter Three, Hong Kong is not a sovereign state but a Special Administrative Region of China. In this context, pro-Beijing parties, especially the DAB, have the advantage over pro-democracy parties in terms of the financial resources they have because of the substantial donations and support from Chinese corporations and pro-Beijing businessmen (Lo, 1996; 2001; Ma, 2001). These donations enable them to create more material incentives, such as internship places and job vacancies, to recruit new young members (Lo, 2010; Ma, 2001). They may help explain why five out of six participants from the DAB became involved in the party (initial involvement) through the party's internship program or staff recruitment initiatives. Although the sample size of this study is small and not statistically representative, the number implies that the China factor may enhance the capability of some pro-Beijing parties to offer material incentives to recruit young members.

These three macro-level influences provide evidence to support the critique that I raised in Chapter Three. In Chapter Three, I examined a body of local political science literature that claims that many elements of the macro political context of Hong Kong, such as political structure and mass political attitudes, are unfavorable to party development and party membership. I argue that this body of literature overlooks some aspects of the macro political context that

may be favorable to party membership. Critical events, regime type, and the China factor support my critique because they show that some elements of the macro context may facilitate and inspire young people to join and take active part in local political parties.

8.4.1.3. *Interrelation among the contextual influences*

The current study not only identifies a range of meso- and macro-level influences at play in the individual mobilization processes into party activism but also shows that many contextual influences are strongly interrelated. Their impact sometimes depends on the presence of other influences. The following are some examples.

First, in terms of meso-level influences, the findings show that most meso-level influences are strongly interrelated or interdependent. An example is the close relationship between the university curriculum and the party recruitment efforts. As mentioned above, university degree programs may cooperate with political parties to organize internship programs for their students. Some participants first became involved in their respective parties (initial involvement) through these internship programs. Another example is the close relationship between family and mass media. For some participants, their habit of reading the newspaper and watching television news was directly or indirectly inspired by their parents, who purchased a newspaper every day or watched television news with them. One more example is the close relationship between the influence of charismatic party leaders and mass media. Sometimes

charismatic party leaders use the mass media or the Internet to spread their messages and influence to the public.

Second, interactions exist among macro-level influences. A number of critical socio-political events were partly due to the nature of the hybrid regime in Hong Kong. Third, some meso-level influences are shaped by or interact with some macro-level influences. For some participants, the impact of critical events was transmitted through the mass media. Moreover, the China factor helps enhance the capability of pro-Beijing parties to offer material incentives to attract potential young members. Table 23 presents a complete list of the interplays and interrelatedness of the contextual influences.

The examples examined above highlight the point that remains to receive relatively little attention from the political socialization and political participation literature. That is, the interplay among the influences in the individual mobilization process is complex. Contextual influences or socialization agents of the same and different levels not only exert their influences independently but also indirectly through other influences (Amnå et al., 2009; Bosi & Della Porta, 2012; Lee et al., 2013; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Quintelier, 2013; Solhaug & Kristensen, 2013; Torney-Purta et al., 2010).

Table 23.

Different Types of Interactions Among Contextual Influences

Hesitant Believer Path:		
Critical socio-political events	+	School education Family Mass media Voluntary organizations
Political party	+	University education Various influences*
Mass media	+	School education Family
Decisive Believer Path:		
Political party	+	Critical socio-political events Mass media University education Voluntary organizations Various influences*
Critical socio-political events	+	Mass media University education
University education	+	Mass media
Mass media	+	Family
Converted Staff Path:		
Political party	+	University education Work experience outside the party Family

Note. *This means that the recruitment efforts of the party were effective mainly because the participants already developed an attitudinal affinity to the party through various meso- and macro-level influences.

8.4.1.4. *Influence of individual agency*

This section examines personal influence. The findings show that the impact of contextual influences is not deterministic in shaping the participants' paths to party activism. The participants, as conscious individuals, used their individual agency or independent critical thinking to interact with and reflect on the contextual influences before making the decision to join and take active part

in political parties.

In this study, individual agency was mainly manifested in six ways: ability to make connections, critical evaluation, curiosity, self-reflection, self-initiative, and skepticism. The ability to make connections refers to that of making connections among ideas from different contexts. Critical evaluation is the ability and tendency to critically evaluate the performance and values of political actors, such as political parties and politicians. Curiosity is the intrinsic desire or motivation to learn new knowledge and explore new environments. Self-reflection is the ability and tendency to critically examine one's goals, values, and actions. Self-initiative is the ability and tendency to take action without much explicit external influence. Skepticism is the ability and tendency to question and critically evaluate and judge the credibility and reliability of the information one receives. Except self-initiative, which exerts its influence almost independently, the other five manifestations of individual agency played a role in shaping the individual mobilization processes of the participants by interacting with the contextual influences discussed above.

These findings provide further evidence to support the importance of individual agency in the process of political socialization and youth political participation, which is emphasized by recent literature (Amnå et al., 2009; Fairbrother, 2003; Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Leung, 2006). Individual agency is also important in shaping the individual mobilization processes into party activism of young people, who are not passively and exclusively influenced by the contextual influences surrounding them. Moreover, the study also specifies how individual agency is manifested. Six manifestations of

personal agency are identified. The manifestations of curiosity and skepticism are the same as those Fairbrother (2003) found in his study on university students' attitudes toward the nation. However, the current study identifies four more manifestations, namely, ability to make connections, self-initiative, self-reflection, and critical evaluation. Therefore, agency can manifest itself in different ways.

8.4.1.5. *Temporal and individual variations in the impact of the influences*

Aside from discerning the contextual and individual influences at play in the individual mobilization processes into party activism, the study finds that not all influences operate at the same time in a person's life or are important for all the participants of this study. Let us take mass media for example. I found that the influence of mass media only affects the attitudinal affinity step for the Hesitant and Decisive Believers. Other steps are free from its influence. Mass media is also not perceived as a significant influence by the Converted Staff. These temporal and individual variations in the impact of the influences help explain why three different paths to political party activism are identified.

These nuances are usually neglected in studies on political socialization and party membership based on cross-sectional survey data and quantitative multivariate analysis (Owen, 2008; Sigel, 1995; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Whiteley & Seyd, 2002), which usually assume that all factors operate at the same time and every person is affected by the same set of factors. However, in recent years, some qualitative studies on social movement activists have argued

that not all factors operate simultaneously and not all people's political activism is caused by the same sets of factors (Munson, 2008; Viterna, 2007; 2013). By focusing on individual mobilization processes and adopting the qualitative life history method, this study provides more evidence to support this argument and show that similar findings can also be found among young party members.

8.3. Overall Understanding of Individual Mobilization into Party Activism

Based on the findings and insights gained from the above discussion, this section provides an overall conceptualization of the process of mobilization of young people into political party activism in Hong Kong. In general, this study finds that the individual mobilization of young people into party activism can be conceptualized as a four-step process shaped by a variety of macro- and meso-level contextual influences and the personal agency of the young people.

In terms of the macro-level context, in contrast to what the local literature frequently argues, this study shows that the macro political context of Hong Kong is not completely unfavorable to young people's participation in political parties. The liberal authoritarian type of hybrid regime of Hong Kong has given rise to many dramatic political events, such as large-scale demonstrations, social movements, and election campaigns, of which the pro-democracy parties take advantage to inspire young people and mobilize their support. Moreover, Hong Kong's status as a dependent polity of China (Kuan, 1991) enables pro-Beijing parties to receive abundant resources from pro-Beijing organizations and corporations to fund their recruitment and training efforts.

In terms of the meso-level contexts, the study finds that Hong Kong political parties are not completely at the mercy of unfavorable political institutions. Rather, they are still able and willing to use different strategies and create various incentives to recruit new blood and encourage those who have joined to take active part in the party. Other meso contexts, particularly the university, mass media, and voluntary organizations, also serve as important agents of political socialization and social networks that directly and indirectly draw some young people into party activism.

This study has also found that contextual influences at different and the same levels interact. Not all influences operate at the same time in a person's life or are important for all young people. Furthermore, the impact of these contextual influences is not deterministic. Young people are conscious individuals who can assert their individual agency to interact with and critically reflect on contextual influences when deciding their course of action.

These different configurations and ways of interaction of the contextual and individual influences lead young people to go through different sequences of steps into party activism, which in turn create different mobilization processes. For some young people, their political beliefs and interest developed through previous political socialization are what motivates them to get involved in party activism. For others, their initial involvement in the party is due to non-political reasons. For example, they only learn about the party's beliefs and develop an interest in politics after getting involved in its activities. Some young people join the party before getting involved in any party activity, but others are less decisive, spending some time in the party before making the

decision to join.

8.4. Conclusion

This chapter summarized the key findings of this study and critically discussed their implications for the literature and the understanding of the Hong Kong political context. It summarized and discussed the findings on the processes leading young people to become involved in political party activism and on the contextual and personal influences shaping the individual mobilization processes of the participants. Moreover, the chapter integrated the findings and insights from the discussion to provide an overall conceptualization of the individual mobilization process into party activism of young people in Hong Kong. The next chapter concludes the thesis and discusses the contributions of the study and avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1. Review of the Study

The study aimed to offer an explanation for the problem of how and why some young people are mobilized into political party activism in Hong Kong, a semi-democratic hybrid regime under the sovereignty of China where political parties are relatively underdeveloped and have low public legitimacy. The study did so by examining the individual mobilization processes leading a sample of young people in Hong Kong to join and become active in political parties and by exploring the influences at play in the processes. The findings show that the individual mobilization of young people into party activism can be conceptualized as a four-step process shaped by a variety of macro- and meso-contexts as well as the individual agency of the young people. Moreover, there is more than one individual mobilization process because different configurations and interactions between contextual and individual influences have led young people to go through different sequences of steps, which in turn create different paths to party activism.

Each chapter contributes to this explanation. The introduction stated the rationales for the study. It argued that explaining the political party activism of young people is a topic which deserves scholarly attention because low youth party membership is a phenomenon shared by many democratic and semi-

democratic countries in the world. It then argued that Hong Kong is an interesting case study for international comparison because of its distinctive political context of semi-autonomous political status and hybrid "liberal authoritarian" regime type. However, the local political party literature has largely failed to address this as it has focused on explaining the underdevelopment of political parties and paid little attention to explaining why some young people still choose to join and take active part in political parties.

The second chapter introduced the background necessary to explain youth party activism in Hong Kong. First, the development of political parties in Hong Kong was introduced. It reviewed how the two major political party camps developed and evolved and described how the semi-democratic political system of Hong Kong has constrained the functions and development of political parties. It also pointed out that most parties still have a low level of institutionalization but their daily operation has become more professionalized. It also found that many parties have expanded their memberships in recent years, although most still have a small membership.

Secondly, it reviewed the landscape of youth political participation and party activism in Hong Kong. It found that young people have become more politically active in recent years, and some parties have successfully recruited more young members, though the absolute number is still very small. Finally, the chapter reported on a small-scale survey of young party activists. This survey gave me a snapshot of the background of young party members in Hong Kong and brought out a number of points to be further explored in the coming chapters.

Chapter Three reviewed a host of literature related to individual participation in political parties. First, the literature on the influence of macro-level contexts on party membership and activism was addressed. It argued that the local political science literature focuses too heavily on macro-contexts such as political institutions and mass political attitudes, which are unfavorable to party activism, while neglecting some aspects that may be favorable, such as the China factor and the regime type of Hong Kong. Second, the chapter examined a range of meso-level contexts that could shape individual party activism, such as political party, mass media, family, educational institutions, voluntary organizations, and peers. Third, it examined the literature on the influence of individual agency on political participation. Furthermore, it introduced the process approach. Moreover, the chapter explained why going beyond the search for factors and shifting my research focus to the individual mobilization process into party activism could give me a more thorough understanding of youth party activism. Finally, the analytical model that guided the study by integrating the literature reviewed was presented.

Chapters Five to Seven described and analyzed the processes through which the 23 young people of this study became active party members and the influences at play in these processes. Chapter Five presented two overall findings on the individual mobilization processes. First, it showed that the process of becoming young party activists could be divided into four distinct steps, namely, (A) attitudinal affinity, (B) initial involvement, (C) formal enrollment, and (D) active participation. Second, it showed that not all participants of this study followed the same sequence of steps into party

activism. The three different sequences of steps were identified as the (1) Hesitant Believer Path, (2) Decisive Believer Path, and (3) Converted Staff Path. Chapter Five also presented the participants' narratives to illustrate in detail how the Hesitant Believer Path unfolded and to examine the contextual and individual influences at play in each step of the mobilization process. Chapters Six and Seven continued the task to illustrate the Decisive Believer Path and the Converted Staff Path and examined the influences that shaped these paths.

Chapter Eight summarized the findings presented in the previous three chapters and critically discussed their implications for the relevant literature and the context of Hong Kong. It argued that some findings of the study lend support to existing literature and theories on youth party membership, party activism, and political socialization. More importantly, the findings reveal the inadequacies of the existing literature and provide insights into how theory can be refined. They also reflect and enrich the understanding of the specific historical, social, and political context of Hong Kong. This chapter integrated the findings and insights gained from the discussion to offer an overall conceptualization of the process of mobilization of Hong Kong young people into party activism.

9.2. Contributions of the Study

This study makes several contributions to the literature on Hong Kong political parties, party membership and activism, youth political participation,

and political socialization. In terms of Hong Kong political parties, the study enhances the understanding of the efforts and strategies that local parties use to attract new young members and encourage those who have joined to take active part in the party. The study gives us a picture of a group of new party recruits who have the potential to become election candidates and leaders in the near future. Moreover, the study challenges the local political party literature and shows that the political context of Hong Kong is not necessarily unfavorable to party membership, with some aspects of the context even favorable for some parties. The study also enhances our understanding of the organization of local political parties. For example, the importance of internships and job opportunities in membership recruitment reflects the trend of professionalization of party organization. The importance of charismatic party leaders also supports the argument of the low level of institutionalization of many local parties.

In terms of the party membership and activism literature, this study enhances our understanding of two areas that have received relatively little attention in the literature: party membership and activism in an East Asian, Chinese, and hybrid regime context and the process of becoming party activists. Moreover, by conceptualizing individual involvement in political party as a process, this study helps refine and extend the incentive perspective, which is frequently used to examine party membership and activism. For example, the study suggests that examining the personal experiences of the participants prior to their initial involvement in the party shows us why certain party incentives are so valued by some individuals. The study also enriches our knowledge of

the logistics that parties have used to deliver their incentives to potential members.

In addition, the study contributes to the study on youth political participation. First, it enhances our understanding of young people's participation in political parties in Hong Kong by presenting the landscape and background of young party members. It also deepens our knowledge of the process of how young people are mobilized into party activism and the contextual and individual influences at play. Second, the study shows that institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of political participation are not necessarily mutually exclusive for young people, as participation in large-scale demonstrations and social movement organizations are shown to inspire or facilitate some young people to join political parties.

Lastly, the study contributes to the study on political socialization. First, the study examines the influences of some agents of socialization that have received relatively little attention in the literature, such as political party, critical socio-political events, and workplace. Second, this study responds to the call for more studies on the interactions among socialization agents. Many socialization agents are interrelated and subject to the influences of the macro socio-political context. Moreover, the study goes beyond the correlations among socialization agents and outcomes and looks into the process of how individual socialization agents actually work. Finally, this study provides further evidence to support the importance of the young people themselves in the socialization process. It also reveals some new manifestations of individual human agency.

9.3. Avenues for Future Research

The findings of this study inspire a number of avenues for future research. First, this study presents a number of characteristics of young party members in Hong Kong, such as their mobilization processes into party activism and the influences at play. However, how prevalent these characteristics are remains unknown, as the current study is an exploratory one mainly based on qualitative methods and purposive sampling. Future studies could conduct a representative survey to test whether the characteristics found in this study are prevalent among all young party members in Hong Kong.

Second, future studies could examine different groups for comparison. For example, most of the participants of this study joined their respective political parties in the late 2000s. Future studies could study the party members who joined the party in an earlier or later period or explore the individual mobilization processes of party members belonging to an older or younger generation. The mobilization processes of young party members in other types of hybrid regimes in Asia, such as Singapore and Malaysia, which are both illiberal democracies dominated by a single party for a long period of time, could also be investigated. Future studies could use the same methods to examine the experiences of young activists who are active in social movement organizations or advocacy NGOs. This strategy would allow us to identify the differences between the young people who prefer institutionalized forms of political participation, like party membership, and those who prefer non-institutionalized forms of activism.

Third, future studies could be conducted on the young party activists of this study a few years later to track the developments and changes in their lives in the party. We could gain a deeper understanding of the political careers and trajectory of these young adults in contemporary Hong Kong.

Lastly, some participants of this study already resigned from their parties or even completely withdrew from politics. Therefore, future studies could be conducted to investigate how some young party members in Hong Kong come to disengage from party activism and what their reasons are for disengaging.

References

317 Ren Tuidang, Sheminlian jianyuan 3 cheng. (2011, February 13). *Ta Kung Pao*, P.A07.

Abjorensen, N. (2010, February 10). The parties' democratic deficit. *Inside Story*. Retrieved from http://www.inside.org.au/the-parties-democratic-deficit/

Alwin, D. F., & Krosnick, J. A. (1991). Aging, cohorts, and the stability of sociopolitical orientations over the life span. *The American Journal of Sociology, 97*(1), 169-195.

Amnå, E., Ekström, M., Kerr, M., & Starrin, H. (2009). Political socialization and human agency: The development of civic engagement from adolescence to adulthood. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, 111*(1), 27-40.

Andrews, M. (1991). *Lifetimes of commitment: Aging, politics, psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andrews, M. (2007). *Shaping history: Narratives of political change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aronson, H. (1993). Becoming an environmental activist: The process of transformation from everyday life into making history in the hazardous waste movement. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 21*(1), 63-80.

Baigedang shaileng jieshao xinxue. (2010, August 29). *The Sun*. p.A17.

Bakker, T. P., & de Vreese, C. H. (2011). Good news for the future? Young people, internet use, and political participation. *Communication Research, 38*(4), 451-470. doi:10.1177/0093650210381738

Baptist Oi Kwan Social Service Centre. (1985). *Report on civic awareness and civic education*. Hong Kong: Baptist Oi Kwan Social Service Centre.

Becker, H. S. (1953). Becoming a marihuana user. *American Journal of Sociology, 59*(3), 235-242.

Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance* (New ed.). New York: Free Press.

Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (7th ed.). Boston, Mass.; Hong Kong: Allyn & Bacon. Retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ ecip0825/2008035856.html

Bernard, H. R. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology* (5th ed.). Lanham, Md.: AltaMira. Retrieved from http://www.lib.ied.edu.hk/cgi-bin/myilibrary?307182

Bickers, R. A., & Yep, R. (2009). *May days in Hong Kong: Riot and emergency in 1967*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Biezen, I. v., Mair, P., & Poguntke, T. (2011). Going, going,... gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe. *European Journal of Political Research,* (50), 1-33.

Blee, K. M. (1996). Becoming a racist: Women in contemporary Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazi groups. *Gender and Society, 10*(6), pp. 680-702. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/190195

Blee, K. M. (2002). *Inside organized racism: Women in the hate movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Blee, K. M. (2011). Trajectories of ideologies and action in US organized racism. In A. E. Azzi, X. Chryssochoou, B. Klandermans & B. Simon (Eds.), *Identity and participation in culturally diverse societies: A multidisciplinary perspective* (pp. 239-255). Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Blee, K. M., & Linden, A. (2012). Women in Europe right parties and movements: A comparison of the Netherlands and the United States. In K. M. Blee, & S. M. Deutsch (Eds.), *Women of the right: Comparisons and interplay across borders* (pp. 98-114). Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Blee, K. M., & Taylor, V. (2002). Semi-structured interviewing in social movement research. In B. Klandermans, & S. Staggenborg (Eds.), *Methods of social movement research* (pp. 92-117). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2011). Political party activism in Ghana: Factors influencing the decision of the politically active to join a political party. *Democratization, 19*(4), 668-689.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn-Bacon.

Bogdan, R. (1974). *Being different: The autobiography of Jane Fry*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Borchert, J. (2003). Professional politicians: Towards a comparative perspective. In J. Borchert, & J. Zeiss (Eds.), *The political class in advanced democracies* (pp. 1-25). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bosi, L. (2012). Explaining pathways to armed activism in the Provisional Irish Republican Army, 1969-1972. *Social Science History, 36*(3), 347-390.

Bosi, L., & Della Porta, D. (2012). Micro-mobilization into armed groups: Ideological, instrumental and solidaristic paths. *Qualitative Sociology, 35*(4), 361-383.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Brader, T., & Marcus, G. E. (2013). Emotion and political psychology. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears & J. S. Levy (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 165-204). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Braungart, R. G., & Braungart, M. M. (1994). Childhood and youth experiences of former political activist leaders from the 1960s. *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research, 2*(4), 2-16.

Breakthrough. (2004). *A study on youth social and political participation*. Hong Kong: Breakthrough.

Breakthrough. (2007). *A study on youth civic participation*. Hong Kong: Breakthrough.

Breakthrough. (2008). *A study on education context and civic participation*. Hong Kong: Breakthrough.

Breakthrough. (2009). *A study on youth career development and civic participation*. Hong Kong: Breakthrough.

Breakthrough. (2010). *A study on Hong Kong youth's attitudes towards and participation in conservation actions*. Hong Kong: Breakthrough.

Bruter, M., & Harrison, S. (2009). *The future of our democracies: Young party members in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cai, Z. (2011, October 27). Quyihui chengle zhuanzhirenshi de tianxia. *Mingpao*, p.A31.

Cai, Z. Q. (2010). Xinshehuiyundong zhong di boyi. *Southern People Weekly,* (199)

Cammaerts, B., Bruter, M., Banaji, S., Harrison, S., & Anstead, N. (2013). The myth of youth apathy: Young Europeans' critical attitudes toward democratic life. *American Behavioral Scientist,* doi:10.1177/0002764213515992

Cankao Tai Minjindang jingyan, Minzhudang xiayue daxue zhaolan xinxue. (2001, April 16). *Mingpao*. p.A06.

Carroll, J. M. (2010). Ten years later: 1997-2007 as history. In K. Louie (Ed.), *Hong Kong culture: Word and image* (pp. 9-24). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Case, W. (2008). Hybrid politics and new competitiveness: Hong Kong's 2007 Chief Executive election. *East Asia: An International Quarterly, 25*(4), 365-388.

Census and Statistics Department. (2013a). *2011 population census: Thematic reports: Youths*. Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department.

Census and Statistics Department. (2013b). *Women and men in Hong Kong key statistics: 2013 edition*. Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department.

Chan, E. Y. M. (2012). Civil society. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics: Expanded second edition* (pp. 179-197). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Chan, J. M., & Lee, F. L. F. (2007a). Media and politics in Hong Kong: A decade after the handover. *China Perspectives,* (2), 49-57.

Chan, J. M., & Lee, F. L. F. (2007b). Media and politics in post-handover Hong Kong: An introduction. *Asian Journal of Communication, 17*(2), 127-133.

Chan, J. M., & Lee, F. L. F. (2012). Mass media and public opinion. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics: Expanded second edition* (pp. 223-246). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Chen, W. (2001). The role of the family in political learning of elementary school students in Taiwan. *Issues & Studies, 37*(4), 38-68.

Cheng, J. Y. S. (2005). Introduction: Causes and implications of the July 1 protest rally in Hong Kong. In J. Y. S. Cheng (Ed.), *The July 1 protest rally: Interpreting a historic event* (pp. 1-26). Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Chengli liangyue, Xinmindang zengbing yicheng. (2011, February 15). *Sing Pao*, p.A08.

Cheung, A. B. L. (2002). The changing political system: Executive-led government or "disabled" governance? In S. Lau (Ed.), *The first Tung Chee-hwa Administration: The first five years of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region* (pp. 41-68). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Chiu, S. W., & Leung, Y. (2010). *Social attitudes of the youth population in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Choi, P. L., & Tang, S. Y. F. (2009). Teacher commitment trends: Cases of Hong Kong teachers from 1997 to 2007. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*(5), 767-777.

Chong, T., & So, P. (2011, October, 25). Baby steps. *South China Morning Post*, p.A4.

Choy, C. K. I., Wong, Y. Y. P., Tsoi, Y. C. R., & Chong, Y. K. (1998). *From identity to indifference: Hong Kong student movement since 1981*. Hong Kong: Xianggang renwenkexue chubanshe.

Choy, C. (2002). The decisive effect of the proportional representation system: From inter-party competition to intra-party competition. In H. Kuan, S. Lau & T. K. Wong (Eds.), *Out of the shadow of 1997? The 2000 Legislative Council election in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (pp. 99-123). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Choy, I. C. (1999). Political parties and political participation in Hong Kong. In J. Y. S. Cheng (Ed.), *Political participation in Hong Kong* (pp. 121-173). Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Chuangdang 13 nian mingdan puguang, Ziyoudang duo dichanjie dangyuan. (2006, May 31). *Mingpao*, p.A06.

Chung, J. M. (2013). The impact of electoral environment and political institutions on post-democratization party change in South Korea and Taiwan. *Korea Observer, 44*(1), 1-30.

Clark, P. B., & Wilson, J. Q. (1961). Incentive systems: A theory of organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 6*(2), 129-166.

Clark, A. (2012). *Political parties in the UK*. Basingstoke England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cole, A. L., & Knowles, J. G. (2001). *Lives in context: The art of life history research*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Commission on Youth. (2005). *Benchmark study on civic engagement and Social networks of youths in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Commission on Youth.

Commission on Youth. (2010). *Longitudinal study on civic engagement and Social networks of youth in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Commission on Youth.

Cook, T. E. (1985). The bear market in political socialization and the costs of misunderstood psychological theories. *American Political Science Review, 79*(4), 1079-1093.

Corrigall-Brown, C. (2012). *Patterns of protest: Trajectories of participation in social movement*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Corrigall-Brown, C., & Wilkes, R. (2014). Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation. *Social Science Journal,* doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2014.03.009

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Croissant, A., & Chambers, P. (2010). Unravelling intra-party democracy in Thailand. *Asian Journal of Political Science, 18*(2), 195-223.

Cross, W., & Young, L. (2004). The contours of political party membership in Canada. *Party Politics, 10*(4), 427-444.

Cross, W., & Young, L. (2008a). Activism among young party members: The case of the Canadian Liberal Party. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 18*(3), 257-281.

Cross, W., & Young, L. (2008b). Factors influencing the decision of the young politically engaged to join a political party. *Party Politics, 14*(3), 345-269.

Cullen, R. (2005). Renovating the political party regulatory infrastructure in Hong Kong. In L. Harris, & J. S. C. Chan (Eds.), *Hong Kong's constitutional debates* (pp. 85-103). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Law Journal Limited.

DAB. (2007). *Soar with us to new heights: DAB 15th anniversary commemorative publication*. Hong Kong: DAB.

Dalton, R. J., & Wattenberg, M. P. (2002). Unthinkable democracy: Political change in advanced industrial democracies. In R. J. Dalton, & M. P. Wattenberg (Eds.), *Parties without partisans: Political change in advanced industrial democracies* (pp. 3-18). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dangyuan renshu yu sanqian, haoda tuandui zhiliangjianbei, Minjianlian "tuojun," zhongchan xinxing dengchang. (2005, September 28). *Weiweipo*, p.A23.

Deckers, L. (2010). *Motivation: Biological, psychological, and environmental* (3rd ed.). Boston, Mass.; Hong Kong: Allyn & Bacon.

DeGolyer, M. E. (2010). *Protest and post 80s youth: A special report on the post-1980 generation in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Transition Project.

della Porta, D. (1992). Life histories in the analysis of social movement activists. In M. Diani, & R. Eyerman (Eds.), *Studying collective action* (pp. 168-193). London: SAGE Publication.

Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects*. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park: SAGE.

Desrues, T., & Kirhlani, S. (2013). Activism under authoritarianism: Young political militants in Meknes. *Journal of North African Studies, 18*(5), 753-767.

Diamond, L. (2002). Thinking about hybrid regimes. *Journal of Democracy, 13*(2), 21-35.

Dimmock, C., & O'Donoghue, T. (1997). The edited topical life history approach: A new methodology to inform the study of school leadership. *Leading & Managing, 3*(1), 48-70.

Dostie-Goulet, E. (2009). Social networks and the development of political interest. *Journal of Youth Studies, 12*(4), 405-421.

Duverger, M. (1964). *Political parties: Their organization and activity in the modern state*. London: University Paperbacks.

Easton, D., & Dennis, J. (1969). *Children in the political system*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Fairbrother, G. P. (2008). Rethinking hegemony and resistance to political education in mainland China and Hong Kong. *Comparative Education Review, 52*(3), 381-421.

Fairbrother, G. P. (2003). *Toward critical patriotism: Student resistance to political education in Hong Kong and China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Fang, Zhiheng. (2012, September, 14). Yihui xinxingshi zhengzhi da luanju, *Ming Pao*, p.A31.

Finkel, S. E. (2002). Civic education and the mobilization of political participation in developing democracies. *The Journal of Politics, 64*(4), 994-1020.

Finkel, S. E., & Ernst, H. R. (2005). Civic education in post-apartheid South Africa: Alternative paths to the development of political knowledge and democratic values. *Political Psychology, 26*(3), 333-364.

Finlay, A., Wray-Lake, L., & Flanagan, C. (2010). Civic engagement during the transition to adulthood: Development opportunities and social policies at a critical juncture. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth* (pp. 277-305). Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Flanagan, C. A., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2006). Youth as a social construct and social actor. In L. Sherrod, C. A. Flanagan, R. Kassimir & A. K. Syvertsen (Eds.), *Youth activism: An international encyclopedia* (pp. 11-19). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing.

Flanagan, C. (2009). Young people's civic engagement and political development. In A. Furlong (Ed.), *Handbook of youth and young adulthood: New perspectives and agendas* (pp. 293-300). London and New York: Routledge.

Flanagan, C., & Levine, P. (2010). Civic engagement and the transition to adulthood. *The Future of Children, 20*(1), 159-179.

Fong, B. C. H. (2013). State-society conflicts under Hong Kong's hybrid regime: Governing coalition building and civil society challenges. *Asian Survey, 53*(5), 854-882.

Frisco, M. L., Muller, C., & Dodson, K. (2004). Participation in voluntary youth-serving associations and early adult voting behavior. *Social Science Quarterly, 85*(3), 660-676.

Fyfe, I. (2009). Researching youth political participation in Australia: Arguments for an expanded focus. *Youth Studies Australia, 28*(1), 37-45.

George, A. L., & Bennett, A. (2005). *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences* MIT Press.

Gerring, J. (2007). Review article: The mechanistic worldview: Thinking inside the box. *British Journal of Political Science, 38*(1), 161-179.

Ghai, Y. (1998). *Hong Kong's new constitutional order: The resumption of Chinese sovereignty and the Basic Law*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Gidengil, E., O'Neill, B., & Young, L. (2010). Her mother's daughter? The influence of childhood socialization on women's political engagement. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 31*(4), 334-355.

Gillham, B. (2008). *Small-scale social survey methods*. London: Continuum.

Gimpel, J. G., Lay, J. C., & Schukuecht, J. E. (2003). *Cultivating democracy: Civic environments and political socialization in America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Gongdang dansheng, zou zhongjianpianzuolu xian. (2011, December 19). *Hong Kong Economic Times*, p.A14.

Gongmindang chuzhao, Minzhudang toutong. (2006, May 26). *Mingpao*. p.A06.

Gongmindang ding gongzuozhongdian tuo diquwangluo zhaogu gejieceng. (2007, April 23). *Mingpao*. p.A09.

Gongmindang manyue, yi choukuan 180 wan. (2006, April 20). *Singpao*. p.A05.

Gongmindang xin guangdonghua kouhao, pan gai xingxiang. (2008, March 20). *Mingpao*. p.A13.

Goodson, I., & Choi, P. L. (2008). Life history and collective memory as methodological strategies: Studying teacher professionalism. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 35*(2), 5-28.

Goodson, I. F., & Sikes, P. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Goodwin, M. J. (2010). Activism in contemporary extreme right parties: The case of the British National Party (BNP). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, 20*(1), 31-54.

Goodwin, M. J. (2011). *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*. London: Routledge.

Gordon, H. R., & Taft, J. K. (2010). Rethinking youth political socialization: Teenage activists talk back. *Youth & Society, 20*(10), 1-29.

Granik, S. (2005). A reconceptualisation of the antecedents of party activism: A multidisciplinary approach. *Political Studies, 53*(3), 598-620.

Greenstein, F. I. (1968). Political socialization. In D. L. Sills (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* (pp. 551-555). New York: Macmillan.

Grossman, D. L. (2004). Teachers' perceptions of future citizens in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. In W. O. Lee, D. L. Grossman, J. K. Kennedy & G. P. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 215-238). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.

Guo Jiaqijia ru Gongmindang, yujiaozhu Quhu Llihui yixi. (2010, July 20). *Mingpao*. p.A09.

Hahn, C. L. (1998). *Becoming political: Comparative perspectives on citizenship education*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Hahn, C. L., & Alviar-Martin, T. (2008). International political socialization research. In L. S. Levstik, & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social studies education* (pp. 81-108). New York: Routledge.

Hahrie, H. (2009). *Moved to action: Motivation, participation, and inequality in American politics*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Hall, P. A. (2008). Systematic process analysis: When and how to use it. *European Management Review, 7*(3), 24-31.

Hanks, M. (1981). Youth, voluntary associations and political socialization. *Social Forces, 60*(1), 211-233.

Harley, A. E., Buckworth, J., Latz, M. L., Willis, S. K., Odoms-Young, A., & Heaney, C. A. (2009). Developing long-term physical activity participation: A grounded theory study with African American women. *Health Education & Behavior, 36*(1), 97-112.

Heidar, K. (2006). Party membership and participation. In R. S. Katz, & W. J. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of party politics* (pp. 301-315). London: SAGE Publications.

Henn, M., & Foard, N. (2012). Young people, political participation and trust in Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs, 65*(1), 47-67.

Hess, R. D., & Torney, J. V. (1967). *The development of political attitudes in children*. Chicago: Aldine.

Hindmoor, A. (2010). Rational choice. In D. Marsh, & G. Stoker (Eds.), *Theory and methods in political science* (pp. 42-59). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

HKSAR Government. (2011). *Hong Kong 2011*. Hong Kong: Government Printer. Retrieved from http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/

HKYWCA & Central and Western District Council. (1992). *Report on youth popular culture and sense of social responsibility 1992*. Hong Kong: HKYWCA & Central and Western District Council.

Hoffman, L. H., & Thomson, T. L. (2009). The effect of television viewing on adolescents' civic participation: Political efficacy as a mediating mechanism. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53*(1), 3-21.

Hong Kong Council of Social Service. (1986). *Opinion survey on young peoples' political participation - A report*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Council of Social Service.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1993a). *Youth attitudes under Sino British conflicts*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1993b). *Youth opinions on political groups*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1994a). *Youth attitudes towards voting*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1994b). *Youth habit on newspaper reading*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1995a). *Beijing-Guangzhou-Hong Hong comparative youth study series - topic 4: Government and politics*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1995b). *Youth opinions on 1995 Legislative Council election*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (1998). *Youth and the 1998 Legislative Council election*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2000). *A study on the participation of Hong Kong youth in Legislative Council elections*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federations of Youth Groups. (2002). *A study on social capital with regard to giving, volunteering and participating*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federations of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2006). *Youth poll series no.153: Young people's views on political talent*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2007a). *A study on young people's participation in the community and the 2007 district council elections*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2007b). *Youth poll series no.149: Young people's views on their community*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2007c). *Youth poll series no.165: Young people's views on the green paper on constitutional development*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federations of Youth Groups. (2008). *Views of youth on the Fifth Report of the Constitutional Development Task Force*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federations of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2011). *Youth trends in Hong Kong 2011*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. (2013). *Youth trends in Hong Kong 2013*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. (2011). Zhongda Xianggang yatai yanjiusuo gongbu shimin dui zhengdang biaoxian pingjia yijian diaocha jieguo zhaiyao [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/pdf/telepress/11/Press_Release_20111205.pdf

Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. (2012). Xianggang yatai yanjiusuo min diao: shimin dui zhengdang pingjia qianjia [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/pdf/telepress/12/Press_Release_20121128.pdf

Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. (2013). Survey Findings on Evaluation of Political Parties in Hong Kong Released by Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at CUHK [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/pdf/telepress/13/Press_Release_20130731.pdf

Hooghe, M., Stolle, D., & Stouthuysen, P. (2004). Head start in politics: The recruitment function of youth organizations of political parties in Belgium (Flanders). *Party Politics, 10*(2), 193-212.

Horgan, J. (2008). From profiles to pathways and roots to routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalization into terrorism. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* (618), 80-94.

Hoskins, B., D'Hombres, B., & Campbell, J. (2008). Does formal education have an impact on active citizenship behaviour? *European Educational Research Journal, 7*(3), 386-402.

Hsin-chi, K. (1991). Power dependence and democratic transition: The case of Hong Kong. *The China Quarterly, 128*, 774-793. doi:10.1017/S0305741000004343

Hubbard, G. (1999). The usefulness of indepth life history interviews for exploring the role of social structure and human agency in youth transitions. *Sociological Research Online, 4*(4), 1-16.

Hyman, H. H. (1959). *Political socialization: A study in the psychology of political behavior*. New York: The Free Press.

Ip, I. (2009). New political power: The development of Hong Kong independent media. *Mass Communication Research, 99*, 221-239.

Jennings, M. K. (2002). Generation units and the student protest movement in the United States: An intra- and intergenerational analysis. *Political Psychology, 23*(2), 303-324.

Jennings, M. K., & Niemi, R. G. (1978). The persistence of political orientations: An over-time analysis of two generations. *British Journal of Political Science, 8*(3), 333-363.

Jennings, M. K., Laura, S., & Jacob, B. (2009). Politics across generations: Family transmission reexamined. *Journal of Politics, 71*(3), 782-799.

Jennings, M. K., & Stoker, L. (2008). Another and longer look at the impact of higher education on political involvement and attitudes. *MPSA Annual National Conference,* Palmer House Hotel, Hilton, Chicago, IL.

Jiang, L. (2010, December 14). Shi gao tiyu, bushi gao "yundong." *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, p.14.

Kahne, J. E., & Sporte, S. E. (2008). Developing citizens: The impact of civic learning opportunities on students' commitment to civic participation. *American Educational Research Journal, 45*(3), 738-766.

Kelly, D. C. (2006). Parents' influence on youths' civic behaviors: The civic context of the caregiving environment. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services, 87*(3), 447-455.

Kenig, O., Philipov, M., & Rahat, G. (2013). Party membership in Israel: An overview. *Israel Studies Review, 28*(1), 8-32.

Klandermans, B. (1984a). Mobilization and participation: Social-psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review, 49*(5), 583-600.

Klandermans, B. (1984b). Mobilization and participation: Social-psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review, 49*(5), 583-600.

Klandermans, B. (2003). Collective political action. In D. O. Sears, L. Huddy & R. Jervis (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 670-709). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klandermans, B. (2004). The demand and supply of participation: Social-psychological correlates of participation in social movements. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 360-379). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Klandermans, B. (2013). Extreme right activists: Recruitment and experiences. In S. von Mering, & T. W. McCarty (Eds.), *Right-wing radicalism today: Perspectives from Europe and the US* (pp. 60-84). Florence, KY: Taylor and Francis.

Klandermans, B., & Mayer, N. (Eds.). (2006a). *Extreme right activists in Europe: Through the magnifying glass*. London: Routledge.

Klandermans, B., & Mayer, N. (2006b). Right-wing extremism as a social movement. In B. Klandermans, & N. Mayer (Eds.), *Extreme right activists in Europe: Through the magnifying glass* (pp. 3-15). London: Routledge.

Klandermans, B., & Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, networks, motivations, and barriers: Steps towards participation in social movements. *American Sociological Review, 52*(4), 519-531.

Klandermans, B., & Van Stekelenburg, J. (2013). Social movements and the dynamics of collective action. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears & J. S. Levy (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 774-811). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Klatch, R. E. (1999). *A generation divided: The new left, the new right, and the 1960s*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

KMT Culture and Communication Committee. (2013). Zhongguoguomindang 102 nian dangzhuxi xuanju jeiguo gonggao [Press release]. Retrieved from http:// http://www.kmt.org.tw/page.aspx?id=32&aid=13537

Knox, C. (2001). Establishing research legitimacy in the contested political ground of contemporary Northern Ireland. *Qualitative Research, 1*(2), 205-222.

Kong, S. L., & Lee, H. W. (1993). *Youth and Hong Kong in transition*. Hong Kong: Centre for Asian Pacific Studies, Lingnan College.

Koole, R. (1994). The vulnerability of the modern cadre party in the Netherlands. In R. S. Katz, & P. Mair (Eds.), *How parties organize: Change and adaptation in party organizations in Western democracies* (pp. 278-303). London: Sage.

Krouwel, A. (2006). Party models. In R. S. Katz, & W. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of party politics* (pp. 249-290). London: Sage.

Ku, A. S. (2009). Civil society's dual impetus: Mobilizations, representations and contestations over the first of July march in 2003. In M. Sing (Ed.), *Government and politics in Hong Kong: Crises under Chinese sovereignty* (pp. 38-57). London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Kuan, H., & Lau, S. (2002). Between liberal autocracy and democracy: Democratic legitimacy in Hong Kong. *Democratization, 9*(4), 58-76.

Kwok, R. Y. F. (1999). Hong Kong youth's political orientation and participation. *Journal of Youth Studies, 2*(1), 13-20.

Lai, K. H. (1998). A new direction for civic education in Hong Kong SAR. *Journal of Youth Studies, 1*(1), 151-158.

Lai, L. (2012). *Chuanmei zhongwen xiezuo*. Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book.

Lam, C. Y. (2009). *The impact of intra-party democracy on the level of party political efficacy of grass-roots councilors: The cases of DAB and DP.* (Unpublished The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Lam, J. (1997). Party politics in Hong Kong during the political transition. *American Asian Review, 15*(4), 71-95.

Lam, J. T. M. (2010). Party institutionalization in Hong Kong. *Asian Perspective, 34*(2), 53-82.

Lam, J. T. M. (2012). District councils, advisory bodies, and statutory bodies. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong*

government and politics: Expanded second edition (pp. 111-131). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lam, W. (2012). Political identity, culture, and participation. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics: Expanded second edition* (pp. 199-221). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lam, W., & Tong, I. L. K. (2007). Civil society and NGOs. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui, W. Wong & I. Holiday (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong politics: Governance in the post-1997 era* (pp. 135-154). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lam, W. (2004). *Understanding the political culture of Hong Kong: The paradox of activism and depoliticization*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Lambright, W. H., & Quinn, M. M. (2011). Understanding leadership in public administration: The biographical approach. *Public Administration Review, 71*(5), 782-790.

Langton, K. (1969). *Political socialization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lau, S., & Kuan, H. (2000). Partial democratization, "foundation moment" and political parties in Hong Kong. *The China Quarterly, 163*, 705-720.

Lau, S., & Kuan, H. (2002). Hong Kong's stunted political party system. *The China Quarterly, 172*, 1010-1028.

League of Social Democrats. (2012, March 8). Youguan zhengshou huifei. Retrieved from http://www.lsd.org.hk/index.php/doc/detail/3477

Lee, N., Shah, D. V., & McLeod, J. M. (2013). Processes of political socialization: A communication mediation approach to youth civic engagement. *Communication Research, 40*(5), 669-697. doi:10.1177/0093650212436712

Lee, W. O. (2005). Teachers' perceptions of citizenship in China. In T. F. Jeffery, & W. O. Lee (Eds.), *Education for social citizenship: Perceptions of teachers in USA, Australia, England, Russia and China* (pp. 209-248). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lee, W. O. (2003). Students' concepts and attitudes toward citizenship: The case of Hong Kong. *International Journal of Educational Research, 39*(6), 591-607.

Lees-Marshment, J., & Pettitt, R. T. (2014). Mobilising volunteer activists in political parties: The view from central office. *Contemporary Politics, 20*(2), 246-260. doi:10.1080/13569775.2014.907991

Legislative Council. (2011). *Panel on constitutional affairs minutes of meeting held on Friday, 18 march 2011, at 4:15 pm in the chamber of the Legislative Council building*. Hong Kong: Legislative Council.

Leung, S. (1997). *The making of an alienated generation: The political socialization of secondary school students in transitional Hong Kong*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Leung, Y. W. (2006). How do they become socially/politically active? Case studies of Hong Kong secondary students' political socialization. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning, 2*(2), 51-66.

Leung, Y. W., & Yuen, W. W. (2009). A critical reflection of the evolution of civic education in Hong Kong schools. *Pacific-Asian Education, 21*(1), 35-50.

Leung, Y., & Ng, S. (2004). Back to square one: The "re-depoliticizing" of civic education in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 24*(1), 43-60.

Li Dazhuang pi Tian Beijun ling dang fenlie, (2008, October 21). *Metro Daily*, p.P06.

Li, X., Chen, H., & Wang, Y. (2012, May 28). Depiao guoban Su Zhenchang dangxuan. *The Liberty Times*, p.A01.

Lilleker, D. G. (2003). Interviewing the political elite: Navigating a potential minefield. *Politics, 23*(3), 207-214. doi:10.1111/1467-9256.00198

Lin, C. (2013). A primary study on party membership of the Kuomintang in Taiwan: From the party workers' perspectives. *Taiwan Journal of Political Science, 17*(2), 71-114.

Lin, K. (2010). *Bashihou yundong: Xianggang xin qingnian geming*. Hong Kong: Subculture.

Linden, A., & Klandermans, B. (2007). Revolutionaries, wanderers, converts, and compliants: Life histories of extreme right activists. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 36*(2), 184-201.

Liow, J. C. (2011). Creating cadres: Mobilization, activism and the youth wing of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, PAS. *Pacific Affairs, 84*(4), 665-686.

Lipset, M. S. (2000). The indispensability of political parties. *Journal of Democracy, 11*(1), 48-55.

Lo, S. H. (1996). Political parties in Hong Kong: The role of 'Pro-china' Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of Political Science, 4*(1), 98-129.

Lo, S. H. (1998). Political parties, elite-mass gap and political instability in Hong Kong. *Contemporary Southeast Asia, 20*(1), 67-87.

Lo, S. H. (2001). *Governing Hong Kong: Legitimacy, communication and political decay*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Lo, S. H. (2004). Party penetration of society: Political parties and mutual aid committees in Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of Political Science, 12*(1), 31-64.

Lo, W. Y. (2009). Understanding and attitudes towards moral and civic education among primary school teachers in Hong Kong. *Asian Social Science, 5*(7), 3-17.

Lo, S. H. (2010). *Competing Chinese political visions: Hong Kong vs. Beijing on democracy*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger Security International.

Loh, C. (2010). *Underground front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lui, P. L. (2012). The legislature. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics: Expanded second edition* (pp. 45-65). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lukás, L., & Stepán, P. (2007). Low membership in Czech political parties: Party strategy or structural determinants? *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 23*(2), 259-275.

Ma, N. (2001). The decline of the Democratic Party in Hong Kong. *Asian Survey, 41*(4), 564-583.

Ma, N. (2002). Changing political cleavages in post-1997 Hong Kong: A study of the changes through the electoral arena. In M. K. Chan, & A. Y. So (Eds.), *Crisis and transformation in china's Hong Kong* (pp. 111-138). New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Ma, N. (2005). Civil society in self-defense: The struggle against national security legislation in Hong Kong. *Journal of Contemporary China, 14*(44), 465-482.

Ma, N. (2007a). *Political development in Hong Kong: State, political society, and civil society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Ma, N. (2007b). Political parties and elections. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui, W. Wong & I. Holliday (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong politics: Governance in the post-1997 era* (pp. 117-134). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Ma, N. (2008). Civil society and democratization in Hong Kong: Paradox and duality. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 4*(2), 155-175.

Ma, N. (2009a). Social movement and state-society relationship in Hong Kong. In E. K. P. Khun, & G. Guiheux (Eds.), *Social movements in China and Hong Kong: The expansion of protest space* (pp. 45-64). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Ma, N. (2009b). Twenty years of functional elections in Hong Kong: Exclusive corporatism or alternative democratic form? *Democratization, 45*(4), 421-433.

Ma, N. (2010). *Hong Kong politics: Development process and key issues*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Ma, N. (2011). Hong Kong's democrats divide. *Journal of Democracy, 22*(1), 54-67.

Ma, N. (2012). Political parties and elections. In W. Lam, P. L. Lui & W. Wong (Eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong government and politics* (2nd ed., pp. 159-177). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Mainland Affairs Council. (1995). *Xianggang zhengdang bijiaoyanjiu*. Taipei: Mainland Affairs Council.

Mainwaring, S. (1998). Party systems in the third wave. *Journal of Democracy, 9*(3), 67-81.

Mair, P., & Van Biezen, I. (2001). Party membership in twenty European democracies, 1980-2000. *Party Politics, 7*(1), 5-21.

Månsson, S. A., & Hedin, U. C. (1999). Breaking the Matthew effect – on women leaving prostitution. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 8*(1), 67-77.

Marsh, I., & Miller, R. (2012). *Democratic decline and democratic renewal: Political change in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 11*(3)

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

McAdam, D. (1988a). *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McAdam, D. (1988b). Micromobilization contexts and recruitment to activism. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *From structure to action: Comparing social movement research across cultures* (pp. 125-154). Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

McEvoy, J. (2006). Elite interviewing in a divided society: Lessons from Northern Ireland. *Politics, 26*(3), 184-191.

McFarland, D. A., & Thomas, R. J. (2006). Bowling young: How youth voluntary associations influence adult political participation. *American Sociological Review, 71*(3), 401-425.

McLeod, J. M. (2000). Media and civic socialization of youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health,* (27S), 45-51.

McLeod, J. M., & Shah, D. V. (2009). Communication and political socialization: Challenges and opportunities for research. *Political Communication, 26*(1), 1-10.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass. Retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ wiley022/2001008201.html; http://www.loc.gov/catdir/ description/wiley037/2001008201.html

Merrill, B., & West, L. (2009). *Using biographical methods in social research*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Mills, C. W. (2000). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miners, N. (1998). *The government and politics of Hong Kong*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ming Pao. (2010a). Canzheng xinyidai jiancheng zhengdang zhuli nianqing dangyuan bili sheminlian zuigao. *Ming Pao*, pp. A04.

Ming Pao. (2010b). Sheyun xin qingnian: Wo meiyou dalao. *Ming Pao*, pp. A10.

Minjianlian 19 sui dangyuan po erwan. (2011, July 6). *Singtao Daily*, p.A19.

Minjianlian dangyuan tupo 1.3 wan. (2009, December 13). *Mingpao*, p.A08.

Minjianlian lizheng 07nian dangyuan powan. (2006, January 2). *Oriental Daily*, p.A19.

Minjianlian nianshouru poyi. (2014, April 17). *Ming Pao*, p.A06.

Minjianlian que dangwurencai, kuochong you yinyou. (2001, December 26). *Singpao*, p.A12.

Minjianlian wanhui Zhang Xiaoming zhuchou 2480 wan. (2014, April 16). *Ming Pao*, p.A03.

Minjianlian xinbanzi chulu. (2007, April 25). *Appledaily*, p.A08.

Minzhudang dangyuanmingce sifafuhe baisu. (2007, May 22). *Hong Kong Economic Journal*. p.P13.

Minzhudang zishe jizhi, fang yiyuan lanyong gongtang. (2004, December 15). *Appledaily*. p.A12.

Minzhudanggaigepai. (2006). *Minzhudanggaigepai: Xuanyan, gangling ji dangwu gaige zhuzhang*. Hong Kong: Minzhudang gaigepai.

Mitchell, J., Bennie, L., & Johns, B. (2012). *The Scottish National Party: Transition to power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mjelde, H. L. (2013). How and why parties respond to membership decline: The case of the SPD and the CDU. *German Politics, 22*(3), 253-269. doi:10.1080/09644008.2013.831837

Morales, L. (2009). *Joining political organisations: Institutions, mobilization, and participation in Western democracies*. Colchester, UK: European Consortium for Political Research.

Munson, Z. W. (2008). *The making of pro-life activists: How social movement mobilization works*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mutz, D. C., & Mondak, J. J. (2006). The workplace as a context for cross-cutting political discourse. *Journal of Politics, 68*(1), 140-155. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00376.x

Navia, C. N. (2008). *The path to activism: A qualitative study of how six undergraduates of color became activists while attending the University of Michigan.* The University of Michigan).

Neufeind, M., Jiranek, P., & Wehner, T. (2013). Beyond skills and structure: Justice dispositions as antecedents of young citizens' volunteering and political participation. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, doi:10.1002/casp.2166

New Youth Forum. (2004). *A questionnaire survey on youth attitudes towards current affairs*. Hong Kong: New Youth Forum.

Ng, H. Y. (2011). Hong Kong secondary school teachers' perceptions of civic education. *Comparative Education Bulletin, 13*, 29-37.

Ng, S. W. (2009). Transformation of students into active and participatory citizens: An exploratory study in Hong Kong. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice, 8*(3), 181-196.

Nie, N. H., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996). *Education and democratic citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Niemi, R. G., & Hepburn, M. A. (1995). The rebirth of political socialization. *Perspectives on Political Science, 24*(1), 7-16.

Niemi, R. G., & Junn, J. (1998). *Civic education: What makes students learn*? New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2003). Young people & political activism: From the politics of loyalties to the politics of choice? *Council of Europe Symposium: Young People and Democratic Institutions: From Disillusionment to Participation,* Strasbourg.

O'Brien, E. (2001). *Whites confront racism: Antiracists and their paths to action*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishings, INC.

O'Donnell, G., & Schmitter, P. C. (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donoghue, J. L., & Kirshner, B. (2008). Engaging urban youth in civic practice: Community-based youth organizations as alternative sites for democratic education. In J. S. Bixby, & J. L. Pace (Eds.), *Educating*

democratic citizens in troubled times: Qualitative studies of current efforts (pp. 227-251). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Olson, M. (1965). *The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

O'Neill, B. (2007). *Indifferent or just different? The political and civic engagement of young people in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Owen, D. (2008). Political socialization in the Twenty-first Century: Recommendations for researchers. *The Future of Civic Education in the 21st Century,* Center for Civic Education and the Bundeszentrale fur politische Bildiung, James Madison's Montpelier.

Panebianco, A. (1988). *Political parties: Organization and power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pasek, J., Kenski, K., & Romer, D. (2006). America's youth and community engagement: How use of mass media is related to civic activity and political awareness in 14- to 22-year-olds. *Communication Research, 33*(3), 115-135.

Passy, F. (2001). Socialization, connection, and the Structure/Agency gap: A specification of the impact of networks on participation in social movements. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly, 6*(2), 173-192.

Passy, F. (2013). Social and solidarity incentives. In D. A. Snow, D. Della Porta & D. McAdam (Eds.), *The wiley-blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements* (pp. 1224-1227). Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Patton, M. Q., & Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Pedersen, K., Bille, L., Buch, R., Elklit, J., Hansen, B., & Jørgen Nielsen, H. (2004). Sleeping or active partners? Danish party members at the turn of the millennium. *Party Politics, 10*(4), 367-383.

Persson, M. (2012). Social network position mediates the effect of education on active political party membership. *Party Politics,* doi:10.1177/1354068812453368

Pierson, P. (2000). Not just what, but when: Timing and sequence in political processes. *Studies in American Political Development, 14*(1), 72-92.

Plummer, K. (2001). *Documents of life 2: An invitation to a critical humanism*. London: SAGE.

Plutzer, E. (2002). Becoming a habitual voter: Inertia, resources, and growth in young adulthood. *American Political Science Review, 96*(1), 41-56.

Print, M. (2007). Citizenship education and youth participation in democracy. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 55*(3), 325-345.

Prior, M. (2010). You've either got it or you don't? The stability of political interest over the life cycle. *The Journal of Politics, 72*(3), 747-766.

Qingnianminjianlian tupo 1300 ren, (2011, January 5). *Ta Kung Pao*, pp. A11.

Qianxian 48 ren jiaru Minzhudang. (2008, November 26). *Singtao Daily*, p.A14.

Quéniart, A. (2008). The form and meaning of young people's involvement in community and political work. *Youth and Society, 40*(2), 203-223.

Quintelier, E. (2007). Differences in political participation between young and old people. *Contemporary Politics, 13*(2), 165-180.

Quintelier, E. (2008). Who is politically active: The athlete, the scout member or the environmental activist? *Acta Sociologica, 51*(4), 355-370.

Quintelier, E. (2011). Political socialization among young people: Evidence from a two-year panel study. *Paper Presented at the PIDOP Conference 'Engaged Citizens? Political Participation and Civic Engagement among Youth, Women, Minorities and Migrants'.* Bologna, Italy.

Quintelier, E. (2013). Engaging adolescents in politics: The longitudinal effect of political socialization agents. *Youth & Society,* doi:10.1177/0044118X13507295

Recchi, E. (1999). Politics as occupational choice: Youth self-selection for party careers in Italy. *European Sociological Review, 15*(1), 107-124.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and selecting samples. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 77-108). London: SAGE Publications.

Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Rogers, B. (2005). From membership to management? The future of political parties as democratic organizations. *Parliamentary Affairs, 58*(3), 600-610.

Roskin, M. (2012). *Political science: An introduction* (12th ed.). Boston, Mass.; Hong Kong: Pearson Longman.

Roth, S. (2003). *Building movement bridges: The coalition of labor union women*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Ruan, J. (2012). *Minjianlian 20 nian shi*. Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book.

Salaff, J. W. (1995; 1981). *Working daughters of Hong Kong: Filial piety or power in the family?* (Morningside ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Sanders, T. (2007). Becoming an ex-sex worker: Making transition out of a deviant career. *Feminist Criminology, 2*(1), 74-95.

Sapiro, V. (2004). Not your parents' political socialization: Introduction for a new generation. *Annual Review of Political Science,* (7), 1-23.

Sartori, G. (1976). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sawyer, P. R. (2005). *Socialization to civil society: A life-history study of community leaders*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Scarrow, S. E. (1996). *Parties and their members*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scarrow, S. E. (2007). Political activism and party members. In R. J. Dalton, & H. Klingemann (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of political behavior* (pp. 636-654). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scarrow, S. E., & Gezgor, B. (2010). Declining memberships, changing members? European political party members in a new era. *Party Politics, 16*(6), 823-843.

Schamber, J. F., & Mahoney, S. L. (2008). The development of political awareness and social justice citizenship through community-based learning in a first-year general education seminar. *Journal of General Education, 57*(2), 75-99.

Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., & Losito, B. (2010). *Initial findings from the IEA international civic and citizenship study*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Schussman, A., & Soule, S. A. (2005). Process and protest: Accounting for individual protest participation. *Social Forces, 84*(2), 1083-1108.

Searle-Chatterjee, M. (1999). Occupation, biography and new social movements. *Sociological Review, 47*(2), 258-279.

Sears, D. O., & Valentino, N. A. (1997). Politics matters: Political events as catalysts for preadult socialization. *American Political Science Review, 91*(1), 45-65.

Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (1992). *Labour's grass roots: The politics of party membership*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2004). British party members: An overview. *Party Politics, 10*(4), 355-366.

Sham, L., & Shen, S. (2007). The emergence of youth organizations: Another means of social participation. *Journal of Youth Studies, 10*(2), 39-50.

Shatin District Council. (2002). *Youth civic consciousness survey and research report 2011*. Hong Kong: Shatin District Council.

Shaw, C. R. (1966). *The jack-roller: A delinquent boy's own story*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sheminlian liao dangyuan niandi zengzhi 1000 ren. (2008, October 1). *Mingpao*. p.A13.

Sheminlian ni xiangao dangxiao hou zudang. (2008, November 16). *The Sun*, p.A04

Sheminlian nianqingren huiyuan jisheng. (2009, January 18). *Singtao Daily*, p.A12.

Sheminlianxian beige xuanwei xuanju. (2006, October 30). *Hong Kong Daily News*. p.A09.

Sigel, R. S. (1970). *Learning about politics: A reader in political socialization*. New York: Random House.

Sigel, R. S. (1995). New directions for political socialization research. *Perspectives on Political Science, 24*(1), 17-22.

Silvia, P. J. (2012). Curiosity and motivation. In R. M. Ryan (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of human motivation* (pp. 157-166). New York: Oxford University Press.

Sing, M. (2000). Mobilization for political change: The pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong (1980s-1994). In W. K. S. Chiu, & T. L. Lui (Eds.), *The dynamics of social movement in Hong Kong* (pp. 21-53). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Sing, M. (2004). Origins of anti-partyism in Hong Kong. *East Asia: An International Quarterly, 21*(3), 37-57.

Sing, M. (2006). The legitimacy problem and democratic reform in Hong Kong. *Journal of Contemporary China, 15*(48), 517-532.

Sing, M. (2004). *Hong Kong's tortuous democratization: A comparative analysis*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Sing, M. (2009). Hong Kong's democrats hold their own. *Journal of Democracy, 20*(1), 98-112.

Slavin, R. E. (2012). *Educational psychology: Theory and practice* (10th ed.). Boston, Mass.; Hong Kong: Pearson.

So, A. Y. (2000). Hong Kong's problematic democratic transition: Power dependency or business hegemony? *Journal of Asian Studies, 59*(2), 359-381.

Solhaug, T., & Kristensen, N. N. (2013). Political learning among youth: Exploring patterns of students' first political awakening. *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education, 12*(3), 174-185.

Solinger, D. J. (2006). Interviewing Chinese people: From high-level officials to the unemployed. In M. Heimer, & S. Thøgersen (Eds.), *Doing fieldwork in China* (pp. 153-167). Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., & O'Connor, W. (2003). Analysis: Practices, principles and processes. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 199-218). London: SAGE Publications.

Stoker, L., & Jennings, M. K. (2008). Of time and the development of partisan polarization. *American Journal of Political Science, 52*(3), 619-635.

SynergyNet, & Powersoft Consultancy Limited. (2007). *Youth social engagement via internet survey report*. Hong Kong: SynergyNet and Powersoft Consultancy Limited.

Talcott, P. (1959). The school class as a social system: Some of its functions in American society. *Harvard Educational Review, 29*(4), 297-318.

Tam, F. C., Wong, D. S., Hong Kong, & Hong Kong. (1990). *A study of political participation of youth leaders in Shatin*. Hong Kong: Working Group on Youth Affairs, Community Development Committee, Shatin District Board.

Tan, C. (2010, January 22). Sheyun xinqingnian: Wo meiyou dalao. *Ming Pao*, p.A22.

Tan, N. C. (2010). *Access to power: Hegemonic party rule in Singapore and Taiwan.* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver).

Taylor Max, & Horgan, J. (2012). A conceptual framework for addressing psychological process in the development of the terrorist. In J. Horgan, & K. Braddock (Eds.), *Terrorism studies: A reader* (pp. 130-144). London and New York: Routledge.

Team members. (2006). Writing life-histories: Interviewing extreme right-wing activists. In B. Klandermans, & N. Mayer (Eds.), *Extreme right activists in Europe: Through the magnifying glass* (pp. 51-63). London: Routledge.

Teorell, J. (2003). Linking social capital to political participation: Voluntary associations and networks of recruitment in Sweden. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 26*(1), 49-66.

Teske, N. (1997). *Political activists in America: The identity construction model of political participation*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Theakston, K. (1997). Comparative biography and leadership in Whitehall. *Public Administration: An International Quarterly, 75*(4), 651-667.

Theocharis, Y. (2009). Young people, postmaterialism and online political activism: The Greek case. *PSA Annual Conference 2009,* Manchester, UK.

Tilly, C. (2001). Mechanisms in political processes. *Annual Review of Political Science, 4*, 21-41.

Titon, J. T. (1980). The life story. *Journal of American Folklore, 93*(276), 292.

Torney-Purta, J. (1995). Psychological theory as a basis for political socialization research. *Perspectives on Political Science, 24*(1), 23-33.

Torney-Purta, J. (2000). Comparative perspectives on political socialization and civic education. *Comparative Education Review, 44*(1), 88-95.

Torney-Purta, J. (2002). The school's role in developing civic engagement: A study of adolescents in twenty-eight countries. *Applied Developmental Science, 6*(4), 203-212.

Torney-Purta, J., Amadeo, J., & Andolina, M. W. (2010). A conceptual framework and multimethod approach for research on political socialization

and civic engagement. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth* (pp. 497-523). Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Tsang, W. (1998). A study on Hong Kong election culture and youth participation. *Hong Kong youth research forum* (pp. 113-127). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federations of Youth Groups.

Tsang, W. (1998). Patronage, domestication or empowerment? Citizenship development and citizenship education in Hong Kong. In O. Ichilov (Ed.), *Citizenship and citizenship education in a changing world* (pp. 221-252). London and Portland, OR: Woburn Press.

Van Aelst, P., Van Holsteyn, J., & Koole, R. (2012). Party members as part-time marketers: Using relationship marketing to demonstrate the importance of rank-and-file party members in election campaigns. In J. Lees-Marshment (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of political marketing* (pp. 151-163). London and New York: Routledge.

Van Biezen, I., & Poguntke, T. (2014). The decline of membership-based politics. *Party Politics,* doi:10.1177/1354068813519969

Van Haute, E., Amjahad, A., Borriello, A., Close, C., & Sandri, G. (2013). Party members in a pillarised partitocracy: An empirical overview of party membership figures and profiles in Belgium. *Acta Politica, 48*, 68-91.

Van Liefferinge, H., Devos, C., & Steyvers, K. (2012). What's in a name? Current effects of family politicization on legislative candidates' career start in Belgium. *The Social Science Journal, 49*(2), 219-228.

Van Liefferinge, H., & Steyvers, K. (2009). Family matters? Degree of family politicization in political recruitment and career start of mayors in Belgium. *Acta Politica, 44*(2), 125-149.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Viterna, J. (2013). *Women in war: The micro-processes of mobilization in El Salvador*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Viterna, J. S. (2007). Pulled, pushed, and persuaded: Explaining women's mobilization into the Salvadoran guerrilla army. *American Journal of Sociology, 112*(1), 1-45.

Ward, B. (2003). Reflecting on the value and use of the edited topical life history: A research approach. In T. O'Donoghue, & K. Punch (Eds.),

Qualitative educational research in action: Doing and reflecting (pp. 26-41). London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Ware, A. (1996). *Political parties and party systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wattenberg, M. P., & Dalton, R. J. (Eds.). (2002). *Parties without partisans, political change in advanced industrial democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

White, J. K. (2006). What is a political party? In R. S. Katz, & W. J. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of party politics* (pp. 5-15). London: SAGE Publications.

White, R. W. (2007). "I'm not too sure what I told you the last time": Methological notes on accounts from high-risk activists in the Irish Republican Movement. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly, 12*(3), 287-305.

Whiteley, P. (2007). Are groups replacing parties? A multi-level analysis of party and group membership in the European democracies. *Paper Presented at the Conference on "Britain After Blair", Sponsored by the British Politics Group of the American Political Science Association,* University of Chicago.

Whiteley, P. (2012a). Does citizenship education work? Evidence from a decade of citizenship education in secondary schools in England. *Parliamentary Affairs,* doi:10.1093/pa/gss083

Whiteley, P. (2012b). *Political participation in Britain: The decline and revival of civic culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Whiteley, P. (2011). Is the party over? The decline of party activism and membership across the democratic world. *Party Politics, 17*(1), 21-44.

Whiteley, P., & Seyd, P. (2002). *High-intensity participation: The dynamics of party activism in Britain*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Whiteley, P., Seyd, P., & Billinghurst, A. (2006). *Third force politics: Liberal Democrats at the grassroots*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whiteley, P., Seyd, P., & Richardson, J. (1994). *True blues: The politics of Conservative Party membership*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wigell, M. (2008). Mapping 'hybrid regime': Regime types and concepts in comparative politics. *Democratization, 15*(2), 230-250.

Wolinetz, S. B. (2002). Beyond the catch-all party: Approaches to the study of parties and party organization in contemporary democracies. In R. Gunther, J. Ramon & J. J. Linz (Eds.), *Political parties: Old concepts and new challenges* (pp. 136-165). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wong, T. K. (2000). The politics of power transfer: Political attitudes and patterns of political participation of the youth in Hong Kong toward the 21st Century. *Journal of Youth Studies, 3*(1), 50-60.

Wong, T. K., & Shum, K. C. (1997). *Civic consciousness of Hong Kong youth 1996*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Wong, T. K., & Shum, K. C. (1998). *Civic consciousness of youth after the handover*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Wu, X. (2010). *Hong Kong's post-80s generation: Profiles and predicaments*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

Xinmindang yisui, Tang Liang liangying tongxi. (2011, January 9). *Hong Kong Daily News*, p.A03.

Yates, M., & Youniss, J. (1998). Community service and political identity: Development in adolescence. *Journal of Social Issues, 54*(3), 495-512.

Yeung Law, K. A., & Leung, K. (1992). *Research report on patterns of political participation among youth in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Yip, P. S. F., Wong, P. W. C., Law, F. Y. W., & Fu, K. (2011). *A study on understanding our young generation: Final report*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong.

Young, L., & Cross, W. (2002). Incentives to membership in Canadian political parties. *Political Research Quarterly, 55*(3), 547-569.

Youniss, J., Bales, S., Christmas-Best, V., Diverse, M., McLaughlin, M., & Silvereyes, R. (2002). Youth civic engagement in the Twenty-first Century. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 12*(1), 121-148.

Yu, K. M. (2004). *Party adaptation to the competitive pluralistic environment: A case study of the democratic alliance for the betterment of Hong Kong.* (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong).

Yu, W. (1997). Organizational adaptation of the Hong Kong Democratic Party: Centralization and decentralization. *Issues & Studies, 33*(1), 87-115.

Yu, W. (2005). Dynamics of party-mass relations: The organizational failure of Hong Kong's political parties. In J. Y. S. Cheng (Ed.), *The July 1 protest rally: Interpreting a historic event* (pp. 249-276). Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.

Zhang, J. (2010, August 10). Sheminlian jixi wu jinsheng jieti qingnian. *Hong Kong Economic Times*, p.A24.

Zhao, D. (2002). Student nationalism in China. *Problems of Post-Communism, 49*(6), 16-28.

Ziyoudang chengyuan biqianren, rudang xu mianshi tiaoxuan, (2007, May 16). *Mingpao*, p.A10.

Ziyoudang guangkaimenhu na xinren, tuqu gongshangdang biaoqian ji dangyuan huifu 1400 ren. (2003, October 7). *Hong Kong Commercial Daily*, p.A03.

Ziyoudangyuan, 98 nian bao tuidangchao. (2006, May 31). *Hong Kong Economic Times*, p.A17.

Appendix A: Questionnaire of the Small-scale Survey of Young District Council Election Candidates (Chinese Original)

_____先生/女士：

您好!我是香港教育學院社會科學系的博士研究生。現正進行一項有關本港政黨年青黨員的論文研究。研究旨在了解年青人加入政黨的途徑和理由和參與政黨活動之概況。

為此，我特地設計這份問卷以收集相關的資料。填寫此問卷約需時 5 分鐘，希望您能在百忙之中抽空填寫，您的寶貴資料對此項研究有絕對的幫助。問卷所收集的數據只供整體分析之用，絕對保密，請安心填寫。如有查詢，歡迎致電 6026 5687 或寄電郵到 s0954429@s.ied.edu.hk 聯絡本人。

香港教育學院社會科學系
博士研究生
吳凱宇謹啓

填寫說明：請於您認為最適合的方格中打「✓」，特別註明者除外。

(甲) 與所屬政黨之關係	
1.	您是哪個政黨的成員? □公民黨 □自由黨 □民主黨 □民建聯 □民協 □社民連 □新民黨 □其他(請註明)： _____
2.	您加入該黨多久?_____年
3.	您認為您是一名多活躍的黨員? □非常活躍 □活躍 □不活躍 □很不活躍
4.	您在黨內有沒有擔任領導職位?(例如:中央委員、支部執委、青年部幹事) □有 □無
5.	您是否所屬政黨的受薪僱員?(例如:秘書處職員、議員助理、政策研究員、社區幹事) □是 □否

(乙) 政治社教化經驗	
6.	您在中學時有沒有修讀有關政治的課程? □有 □無
7.	您在大學或大專時有沒有修讀有關政治的課程?(例如：政治學、公共行政)

	□有　　□無
8.	在您成長時，您有多經常與家人討論政治議題? □經常　　□間中　　□甚少　　□從不
9.	在您成長時，您有多經常與朋友討論政治議題? □經常　　□間中　　□甚少　　□從不
10.	在您成長時，您有多經常透過傳媒了解新聞資訊? □經常　　□間中　　□甚少　　□從不
11.	您的父或母是否曾經是某一政黨的成員? □是　　□否　　□不知道
12.	在您成長時，您的父或母有沒有參與政治活動?(包括社會運動) □有　　□無　　□不知道
13.	在您成長時，您的父母有多經常參與社區活動或義務工作? □經常　　□間中　　□甚少　　□從不　　□不知道

(丙) 個人基本資料	
14.	您的性別 □男　　□女
15.	您的年齡：_____歲
16.	您的出生地點 □香港　　□內地　　□其他地區
17.	您的教育程度 □小學或以下　　□中學　　□預科　　□大學/大專 □碩士或以上
18.	您現時的職業 □ 學生 □ 自僱人士 □ 任職商界或私人公司 □ 任職非謀利或志願機構 (例如：慈善機構、工會、政黨、教會、非政府組職) □ 任職公營機構 (例如：醫管局、再培訓局) □ 無業 □ 其他 (請註明)：_____
19.	您是否下列組織的成員?(**可選多項**) □ 工會 □ 商會 □ 專業團體 (例如：律師會) □ 宗教團體 (例如：教會) □ 社運組織

	□ 環保或保育組織 □ 青年或學生組織 □ 人權組織 □ 婦女組織 □ 其他 (請註明：_____)
20.	您認為您的家庭是屬於以下哪個社會階層? □ 上層 □ 中產的上層 □ 中產階層 □ 中產的下層 □ 基層 □ 不知道
21.	您的宗教信仰是? □基督教 □天主教 □佛教 □道教 □伊斯蘭教 □沒有宗教信仰 □ 其他(請註明)：_____

Appendix B: Questionnaire of the Small-scale Survey of Young District Council Election Candidates (English Version)

Dear _____,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Social Sciences of the Hong Kong Institute of Education who are conducting a thesis study on young party members in Hong Kong. The aim of the study is to explore how and why some young people join political parties and what party activities they have engaged in.

I have designed a questionnaire to collect relevant data for the study. You are cordially invited to take part in the study by filling in the questionnaire, which only takes you about five minutes. The data collected are confidential and only for the use of this study. If you have any question, please do not hesitate to contact me by calling 6026 5687 or sending an e-mail to s0954429@s.ied.edu.hk.

Sincerely,

Ng Hoi Yu
PhD Student
Department of Social Sciences
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Instruction: Please tick where applicable except specified otherwise

	A. Relationship with the Party
1.	Which party are you from? □ Civic Party □ Liberal Party □ Democratic Party □ Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong □ Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood □ League of Social Democrats □ New People's Party □ Other(Please specify)： _____
2.	How long have you joined the party? _____Year
3.	How active you are in the party? □ Very active □ Active □ Inactive □ Very inactive
4.	Do you assume any leadership role in the party? (e.g. central committee member, branch committee member, youth wing committee member) □ Yes □ No
5.	Are you a salaried staff of the party? (e.g. staff at the party's secretariat, councilor's assistant, policy researcher, community officer) □ Yes □ No

B. Political Socialization Experiences	
6.	Did you take a class related to politics in secondary school? □ Yes □ No
7.	Did you take a class related to politics in university? (e.g. political science, public administration) □ Yes □ No
8.	When you were growing up, how often did you discuss politics with your parents? □ Frequently □ Occasionally □ Seldom □ Never
9.	When you were growing up, how often did you discuss politics with your friends? □ Frequently □ Occasionally □ Seldom □ Never
10.	When you were growing up, how often read news from the media? □ Frequently □ Occasionally □ Seldom □ Never
11.	Has either of your parents ever belonged to a political party? □ Yes □ No □ Don't know
12.	When you were growing up, was either of your parents involved in political activities? (including social movement) □ Yes □ No □ Don't know
13.	When you were growing up, how often did your parents get involved in community or voluntary activities? □ Frequently □ Occasionally □ Seldom □ Never □ Don't know

C. Personal Information	
14.	What is your gender? □ Male □ Female
15.	Your age：_____years old
16.	Where were you born? □ Hong Kong □ Mainland China □ Other places
17.	What is your education level? □ Primary school or below □ Secondary school □ A-Level □ University/Tertiary □ Master's degree or above
18.	What is your occupation? □ Student □ Self-employed □ Employed in private sector □ Employed in non-profit organizations (e.g. charity, trade union, political party, church, non-government organization)

	□ Employed in the public sector (e.g. Hospital Authority, Employees Retraining Board) □ Unemployed □ Others (Please specify)： _____
19.	Are you a member of these organizations? (**Can choose more than one**) □ Trade union □ Chamber of commerce □ Professional organization (e.g. Law Society) □ Religious organization (e.g. Church) □ Social movement organization □ Environmental or conservation group □ Youth or student organization □ Human rights organization □ Women organization □ Others (Please specify: _____)
20.	What is your self-perceived social class of your family? □ Upper class □ Upper middle class □ Middle class □ Lower middle class □ Grassroots □ Don't know
21.	What is your religious belief? □ Protestantism □ Roman Catholic □ Buddhism □ Taoism □ Islam □ Nil □ Others (Please specify): _____

Appendix C: Invitation Letter for Life History Interview (Chinese Original)

_____先生/女士：

「香港政黨年青活躍成員」論文研究訪談邀請

您好，我是香港教育學院社會科學系的博士研究生，目前正在進行論文研究，希望透過深入訪談，探討香港年青人加入政黨和成為活躍成員的歷程和原因，和了解他們對香港政黨政治的看法。

得悉你的青年民建聯的委員，所以在此誠心邀請您接受訪談。訪談最多進行兩次，每次約 1 至 1.5 小時，內容包括您的成長背景，入黨經過，及成為活躍黨員的歷程等。訪談所收集的資料均屬保密，只供研究之用。至於訪談日期和地點，則完全由您決定！

您的協助對我們了解香港青年政治參與和政黨政治都有相當幫助，在此誠摯地邀請您參與訪談。任何疑問，歡迎隨時聯絡我！

順候

鈞安

香港教育學院社會科學系
博士研究生
吳凱宇謹啟

_____年____月____日

Appendix D: Invitation Letter for Life History Interview (English Version)

Dear _____,

Re: Invitation to participate in the research project "Hong Kong Young Political Party Activists"

I am writing to invite you to participate in my doctoral thesis project "Hong Kong Young Political Party Activists" and become one of the interviewees. The aim of this project is to explore how and why some young people in Hong Kong take the decision to join and take active part in political parties.

If you accept my invitation, you will be interviewed for one to two times with each time lasting for 1 to 1.5 hours. The interview topics include your childhood and teenage experiences, path into party membership, and the process of becoming an active member. All the data collected are confidential and only for the use of this study. You are also free to choose when and where to be interviewed.

Your contribution will surely make a difference in this study. So I sincerely hope you will be able to accept this invitation. If you have any question, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Ng Hoi Yu
PhD Student
Department of Social Sciences
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Appendix E: Life history Interview Guide (Chinese Version)

「香港政黨年青活躍成員」論文研究
生命歷史
訪談大綱

甲、個人成長背景

1. 童年生活環境
   - 您的童年生活環境是怎麼的?(例如居住環境、家境狀況)
2. 家庭背景與父母期望
   - 父母的職業、教育狀況、政治參與
   - 父母如何撫育您?
   - 父母對您的期望?
   - 父母對您的期望有否與其它兄弟姊妹不同嗎?
   - 父母/家人對您的參與政治有沒有影響、或他們扮演著什麼角色呢?
3. 讀書經驗
   - 中小學生活是怎樣?(老師、同學、科目)
   - 大學生活是怎樣?(例如選讀科目、學生社團、社會參與)
4. 工作經驗
   - 畢業後您做過什麼工作?
   - 這些工作如何影響您?
5. 政治興趣與政治信念
   - 您是何時對政治產生興趣的?經過是怎樣的?
   - 有沒有甚麼人或事對您有特別影響?
   - 您的政治理念/意識形態是什麼?
   - 為什麼會有這些理念?這些理念是從何而來?
   - 您對香港的現今政治形勢有什麼看法?
   - 如果未來香港社會可以改變，您最想改變什麼?
   - 您認為哪位政治人物/哪個政黨是友好的，那些是敵對的?

乙、入黨經過

- 可否詳細談談您入黨的經過?當中有沒有什麼轉捩點?
- 當中有遇到甚麼顧慮、猶豫、掙扎?(例如家人、朋友的鼓勵／反對)
- 有甚麼原因驅使您加入這個政黨?
- 為什麼您會選擇這個政黨，而不是其他呢?
- 有沒有甚麼人或事對您的決定有特別深遠的影響?
- 為什麼要加入政黨，而不是(不只是)其他政治參與的方式?(例如社會運動、倡議式非政府組織)

丙、成為活躍黨員的經歷

- 您在黨內主要參與什麼活動?(例如會議、助選、示威)

- 您花多少時間在政黨活動上?
- 您與其他黨友的關係如何?
- 您在黨內有沒有擔任什麼職位? 您是如何當上這個職位的?
- 您覺得您是否一名活躍黨員?如果是，談談您如何變得活躍?
- 甚麼原因驅使您變得活躍?
- 當中有沒有得到誰的啓發/提攜?
- 政黨有沒有培訓新人的計劃(包括青年部)?您有沒有參與?
- 回想，您覺得您參與政黨的經歷是否順利、滿意? 有失望嗎?
- 可以講述參與政黨以來，一件最難過(或感到挫折)的事與最快樂(或最有滿足感)?

丁、基本個人資料

- 出生地點
- 年齡/出生年份
- 性別
- 婚姻狀況
- 宗教信仰
- 教育程度
- 職業
- 收入情況
- 以前參與的政治活動和團體
- 參與其他團體的情況

Appendix F: Life history Interview Guide (English Original)

"Hong Kong Young Political Party Activists" Research Project
Life History Interview

Interview Guide

A) Personal background

1. Living environment in childhood
   - Could you tell me your living environment in childhood? (e.g. where lived, family condition)
2. Family background and parents' expectation
   - What are your parents' occupation, education, and political views?
   - How did your parents nurture you?
   - What were your parents' expectations of you?
   - Did your parents or family have any influence on your political participation? What role did they play?
3. Education and schooling
   - Could you tell me your primary and secondary schooling experience?
   - How was your university life (e.g. courses taken, student society, social participation)
   - How did your schooling experience influence you?
4. Work experience
   - What were you doing after graduation?
   - How did your work experience influence you?
5. Political interest and beliefs
   - When did you first become interested in politics and how did that happen?
   - Are there any persons or events that have great influence on you?
   - Could you tell me your political beliefs or ideology?
   - How did you come to adhere to these ideas?
   - What do you think about the political situation in Hong Kong?
   - If something could be changed in Hong Kong in the future, what would you like the most to be changed?
   - Could you tell me which persons/political parties are on your side and which are against you?

B) Becoming a party member

1. Could you tell me in detail how did you join this party?
2. Did you have any difficulties, hurdles, or hesitations when you made the decision? (e.g. encouragement/discouragement from family and friends)
3. What motivated you to join?
4. Why did you choose this party and not others?
5. Were there any persons/events/turning points that had great influence on your decision?
6. Why did you choose political party and not other forms of political

participation? (e.g. social movement/advocacy NGOs)

C) Becoming a party activist (active member)

1. Could you tell me what are your activities in the party? (e.g. attending meetings, electoral campaign, protests)
2. On average how much time do you spend on party activities every month?
3. Do you hold any position in the party? How did you get this position?
4. Do you consider yourself an active member? If yes, how did you become active?
5. What motivated you to become active?
6. Are there any persons in the party who have inspired, helped, or guided you?
7. Does your party have any training program or organization for young members (e.g. youth wing)? Have you taken part in them?
8. Could you tell me your relationship with your fellow party members?
9. Are you satisfied with your experience in the party so far? Any disillusion?
10. You have joined this party for a period of time. Could you tell me the happiest/most satisfied and the unhappiest/most discouraged story?

D) Demographics

1. Place of birth
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Marital status
5. Religion
6. Education level
7. Occupation
8. Income
9. Membership in other organizations (past and present)

Appendix G: Information sheet (Chinese Original)

「香港政黨年青活躍成員」博士論文研究計劃
訪談說明

您好!我是香港教育學院社會科學系的博士研究生，現正進行一項有關香港政黨年青活躍成員的博士論文研究，以下是研究簡介：

研究目的：

- 探討年青人加入政黨和成為活躍成員的歷程和原因

研究對象：

- 年齡介乎 18 至 29 歲的年輕政黨成員；
- 在所屬政黨擔任領導職位，或積極參與政黨活動的成員。

研究方法：

- 對政黨年青活躍成員進行深入訪談。

訪談程序：

- 與受訪者進行最多兩次，每次約 1.5 小時的深入訪談；
- 訪談過程將會全程錄音，以利資料的詳細記錄及製作逐字稿。

訪談內容：

- 個人成長背景；
- 加入所屬政黨的經過及原因；
- 成為活躍黨員的經歷和政黨活動之參與；
- 基本個人資料(例如年齡、職業、宗教信仰、教育程度)

訪談資料處理：

- 訪談收集的一切資料，均屬保密，只供研究之用。
- 每次訪談結束後，我會儘快把訪談逐字稿寄給您檢閱，以求資料的正確。
- 本人將分析訪談資料，並把資料以不記名方式在論文或其他學術出版物中發表。

注意事項：

- 由於談訪內容涉及您的個人經歷，所以讀者有可能從論文中辨認出您的身份，尚請見諒。但我會設法(例如用化名等)確保研究資料的匿名性，保障您的私隱。
- 在研究的過程中，您有權利隨時選擇退出。
- 如閣下對這項研究有任何不滿，可隨時與香港教育學院「人類實驗對

象操守委員會」秘書周允平女士聯絡(地址:香港教育學院研究與發展事務處 D4-1/F-21 室)

如需更多資料，請致電 6026 5687 或電郵 s0954429@s.ied.edu.hk 直接聯絡我，現誠邀您參與本研究。

香港教育學院社會科學系
博士研究生
吳凱宇

首席指導教授：方睿明博士
(香港教育學院社會科學系副教授)

Appendix H: Information sheet (English Version)

"Hong Kong Young Political Party Activists" PhD Thesis Research Project Information Sheet

I am a PhD student from the Hong Kong Institute of Education and I invite you to participate in my dissertation research project about young party activists in Hong Kong. Below are the details.

Aims of the Project:

- To explore how and why some young people come to the decision to join and become active in political parties

Targeted Respondents:

- Young political party members aged 18 to 29 who have actively participated in party activities or hold a leadership position in his/her party.

Research Method:

- Conduct life history interview with young party activists.

Interview Procedure:

- Each respondent will be interviewed for two times. Each time lasts for around 1.5 to 2 hours.
- Every interview will be taped recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

Scope of the Interview:

- Personal background (e.g. childhood living environment, parents' expectations, education and schooling, work experience, political beliefs);
- Process of and reasons for becoming a party member;
- Process of becoming an active member and party activities participated;
- Basic demographics (e.g. age, occupation, religion, education level)

Interview Data:

- All information related to you will remain confidential.
- Your interview transcripts will be given back to you as soon as possible to seek your feedbacks.
- The information obtained from this research may be used in future research and may be published.

Notes:

- Please be noted that since the interview touches on your personal experience, readers may recognize your identity from publications of this research. Nevertheless, I will try my best to protect your identity through means such as pseudonym.
- You have every right to withdraw from this study before or during the research process without penalty or any kind.
- If you have any complaints about the conduct of this research study, please

contact Ms. Grace Chow, Secretary of the Human Research Ethics Committee of The Hong Kong Institute of Education in person or in writing (Research and Development Office in room D4-1/F-21 of the Institute).

If you would like to obtain more information about this study, please feel free to e-mail me (ng.hoiyu@gmail.com) or call me at 6026 5687. Thank you for your interest in participating in this study.

Mr. Ng Hoi Yu
PhD Student
Department of Social Sciences
The Hong Kong Institute of Education

Principal Supervisor: Dr. Gregory P. Fairbrother
(Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, HKIEd)

Appendix I: Informed Consent Form (Chinese Original)

「香港政黨年青活躍成員」博士論文研究計劃
受訪同意書

本人同意接受「成為香港政黨年青活躍成員」博士論文研究計劃的訪談，並瞭解：

一、 我是自願參與這項研究；
二、 我已充分了解此項研究的目的和內容；
三、 我明白訪談資料會在論文或其他學術出版物中發表；
四、 我明白我有權在研究過程中提出問題，並在任何時候退出研究。

受訪者姓名：_____

受訪者簽署：_____

研究者姓名: _____

研究者簽署: _____

日　　期: 　　年　　月　　日

Appendix J: Informed Consent Form (English Version)

"Hong Kong Young Political Party Activists"
PhD Thesis Research Project
Consent to Participate in Research

I hereby consent to participate in the captioned research conducted by Mr. Ng Hoi Yu and I understand the following.

1. My participation in the project is voluntary;
2. The aims and procedure of this research set out in the attached information sheet has been fully explained;
3. I understand that the interview data may be published;
4. I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without penalty of any kind.

Name of participant: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Name of researcher: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Appendix K: Sample Transcript Excerpt (Chinese Original)

29.	研究者	係，明白。咁樣呢，咁你細個中學係好活躍既，參加好多體育既活動呀咁樣，咁其實參加…嗰陣話參加好多學會啦，其實參加咩學會呢?
30.	受訪者	我自己就打籃球，即以前。咁呀點樣講呢，其實以前乜野都玩，乜野校隊都有打，羽毛球呀，足球呀，籃球呀，係無打乒乓波，田徑校隊咯我仲有係。以前就因為鍾意郁，即我唔係一個坐得定既人來既，即我以前都講過，咁另外就鍾意試唔同類型既野來既，咁所以以前比較多參與各類運動我都有去玩有去參與。
31.	研究者	即主要都係D體育運動?
32.	受訪者	係，ball games 咯。羽毛球其實都唔係特別大興趣，反而係 D team work 性既野我會鍾意 D。係呀，即例如籃球呀、足球呢 D 係講緊成隊人成隊人，你好難係…即一個人都得，但係會好吃力呀，即你會…咁變咗我比較鍾意，我比較鍾意群體生活，群體既活動，或者群體既生活。
33.	研究者	唔…

Appendix L: Party Official Interview Guide (Chinese Original)

政黨招募年青人之策略：

1. 貴黨有多大意願招募年青人加入?
2. 貴黨主要運用什麼策略和方法吸引年青人加入?(例如：政治領袖、實習計劃、議員助理/職員、人際網絡、交流團、政治人才專班、宣傳)
3. 貴黨是否有目標吸引特定類型的年青人加入?(例如：大專生、女性、社運人士、民主派支持者)
4. 貴黨在嘗試吸引年青人加入時遇到什麼困難和挑戰?會嘗試如何解決?
5. 以你所知，近年貴黨的年青黨員主要透過什麼途徑加入?
6. 以你所知，近年貴黨的年青黨員主要有什麼背境?
7. 貴黨會用什麼策略和方法使新加入的年青黨員積極參與政黨工作和活動?
8. 貴黨會用什麼策略和方法和計劃培養年青黨員?

Appendix M: Party Official Interview Guide (English Version)

1. Is your party enthusiastic about recruiting new young members?
2. What strategies or methods has your party employed to recruit young member? (E.g. internship program, staff recruitment, social network, publicity etc.)
3. Does your party target specific type(s) of young people? (E.g. university students, female, social activists etc)
4. What difficulties and challenges does your party face when recruiting young members? What has your party tried to overcome them?
5. According to your own knowledge, in recent years what are the major channels through which the new young members joined the party?
6. According to your own knowledge, what are the social backgrounds of the young members who joined the party in recent years?
7. What strategies or methods has your party employed to motivate the young members to actively engage in party activities?
8. What strategies or plans has your party employed to groom young member?

Appendix N: Conceptual Framework

A) Political Socialization
1.Self-socialization/personal factors (SS)
2.Political attitudes and participation before joining the party (PB)
3.Familial socialization
    3.1 Living environment in childhood/family condition (LE)
    3.2 Parents' background (occupation/education) (PB)
    3.3 Parents' political beliefs and participation (PP)
    3.4 Parents' nurture/expectations (PN)
    3.5 Siblings' political beliefs and participation (SP)
    3.6 Familial influence on political participation (FI)
    3.7 Family's reactions to Children's political participation (FR)
4. Friends and peers
5. Schooling experience
    5.1 School background (SB)
    5.2 School climate (SC)
    5.3 Teachers (T)
    5.4 Classmates/friends (CL)
    5.5 Curriculum (CU)
    5.6 Academic achievement (AA)
    5.7 School participation (SCP)
    5.8 Social participation (SOP)
    5.9 Influence of schooling experience (SI)
6. Social Groups/Community involvement
    6.1 Neighborhood and community organization (NC)
    6.2 Volunteer/Charity organization (VO)
    6.3 Youth organization (YO)
    6.4 Church/Religious organization (C)
    6.5 Others (O)
7. Media and Books
8. University experience
    8.1 Teacher (T)
    8.2 Classmates/friends (CL)
    8.3 Curriculum (CU)
    8.4 Campus participation (CP)
    8.5 Social participation (USOP)
    8.6 Influence of university experience (UI)
9. Significant Others (SO)
10. Political Party (PP)
11. Work experiences (W)
12. Social and Political Context (SPC)
13. Critical events/turning points
    13.1 Personal (P)
    13.2 Social and Political (SP)

B) Entry to the party

1. Get in contact with the party for the first time (GIC)
2. Period between contact and joining (Be)
3. The moment of joining
    3.1 Joining on personal initiative (PI)
    3.2 Joining on exterior recruitment (ER)
    3.3 Difficulties/hurdles/hesitations when joining (e.g. encouragement/discouragement from family and friends) (D)
4. Motivations of joining (MJ)
5. Why this party but not others? (WP)
6. Why party but not other forms of political participation? (WO)

C) Becoming an active member

1. Activities involved (A)
    1.1 Constituency work (CW)
    1.2 Parliamentary work (PW)
    1.3 Being a staff (S)
    1.4 Electoral campaign (EC)
    1.5 Running as candidates (C)
    1.6 Internal participation (IP)
    1.7 Non-institutional activities (e.g. protest) (P)
    1.8 Others (O)
2. Role in the party (position, responsibilities) (R)
3. Time spent on party activities (T)
4. Motivation of becoming active (MBA)
5. Relationship with fellow party members (Re)
6. Persons who have inspired, helped, or guided the interviewees (SO)
7. Training program or organization for young members (TP)
8. Evaluation of the experience in the party
    8.1 Satisfied (ES)
    8.2 Dissatisfied (ED)
9. The happiest/most satisfied story/matter/thing (H)
10. The unhappiest/most discouraged story/matter/thing (U)