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City University of Hong Kong

Department of Applied Social Sciences

**Relationship between Family SES and the
Participation of Social Movement among
College Students**

Submitted in partial fulfillment for

Bachelor of Social Sciences (Honours) in Applied Sociology

By

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May 2015

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Abstract

The relationship between Family Socio-economic Status (SES) and the participation on social movement was examined in this study. Although the direct impact was not assumed, their relationship was theoretically mediating by frame endorsement, perceived police intervention and social support. In this study, a sample of 134 respondents was recruited from college students from different tertiary educational institutes. Result suggested that only frame endorsement and social support have significant positive impacts on the participation of social movement in harmonic manner. For social movement in radical manner, only valorous resistance frame endorsement and parents support showed significant positive impacts. Moreover, Family SES has significant positive impact on parents' support, suggesting the linkage between Family SES and the participation of social movement is mediated by parents' support. In addition, post-materialistic ideology positively associated with the frame endorsement through the mediation of frame exposure.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Social movement serves to change the society for the public good. It is important for the social movement organization (SMO) to study the pattern of participation in order to mobilize people effectively. It is worth to study this pattern among the college students since the higher education empower them to have the ability and thus the responsibility to contribute the society (Cheng, 2014). They will be the future mainstay of social movement so it is necessary to clarify their participation pattern and design better way to mobilize them.

Unlike social movement which strike for the deprivation of lower class, new social movement aims to improve the whole society. It should gather the power of different class participants. There are findings indicating the tendency for high Socioeconomic Status (SES) to participate in political activates due to their possession of civic skills and political knowledge (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998).

In the case of college students, the influence of family SES, instead of SES, is more complicated. According to Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (Chan & Lee, 2005), among 500,000 participants of the demonstration on 1st July, 2003, 20.9% are students above age of 15 (N=576). The reason behind this high participation rate is that college students are well-educated, so there may not be different pattern of participation among students with different family SES. Due to this reason, the SMO should consider whether they should take a grass-root route, or an elite route, to frame the movement for the college students. The current study would explore this issue.

1.2 Goals of Current Research

Current research aims to complete the following goals:

- i. To improve the knowledge of college students' social movement participation pattern in Hong Kong Context.
- ii. To facilitate the development of social movement mobilization strategy.

1.3 Research Questions

1. Do students with different family SES have different pattern of participation in social movement?
2. Do high family SES students have different pattern of participation in harmonic and radical types of social movement?
3. Are post-materialistic ideology, perceived police intervention and social support mediators between family SES and social movement participation of students?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Social Movement

Social movement refers to the collective action aiming to take specific social change under low level of formal organization and by an unconventional channel. (Sztompka, 1993)

Social movements in Hong Kong used to seek the improvement of living condition. However, after 1997, the trend of Hong Kong's social movement had become stressing on the identity politics of "Hongkongers" and "core values" of Hong Kong, including freedom, the rule of law, and a rejection of communism and communist identities (Cheng, 2014, p. 349). This change is similar to the trend of "new social movement" in Europe and South America since 1970s. This kind of "new

social movement” is labeled as “postmodernist” as it tends to focus on general societal wide values rather than narrow economic interest, to be loosely organized, to involve more open and diversified participants, more spontaneous, creative action, and emphasize the use of information technology and mass media (So, 2011).

The old paradigm which explain social movement participation as working class urging for material interest will no longer be able to explain these “new social movements”. Such change led to the call for a new analytical model for social movement participation.

According to Corrigan-Brown (2013), Analyses of social movement participation are mainly on the aspects of initial engagement or afterward trajectories, including persistence, transfer, individual abeyance and disengagement. Since the resource factor is more relevant to the initial engagement, this study, which examines the effect of family SES on participation, will focus on analyzing this stage.

2.2 Family Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status (SES) refers to the combination of income, education, and occupational prestige data in a single index to reflect a person’s position in the socioeconomic hierarchy (Brym & Lie, 2006). In the context of college, the students have similar level of SES in term of income, education and occupation status. To differentiate the class of students, SES, the independent variable, should be replaced by family SES, which is indicated by family income, parents’ education and parents’ occupation status. Association between high family SES and political activism exists may be explained by the tendency that parents in high SES family will serve as a role model in socializing the political participative attitude (Pacheco, 2008). Although there was similar study on political participation among college students with different family incomes (Cheung & Leung, 1994), the underlying factors behind this

positive association were not further explored.

Several researches suggested that low SES may have high participation on political activities while high SES can abstain the political events (Useem, 1980; Lien, 1994). A study on the political participation of Arab American gave an insight that the effects of socioeconomic status are mediated by socialization experiences (Cho, Gimpel, & Wu, 2006). The linkage between SES and participation to social movement is ambiguous since it is established through various intermediate variables.

Plenty of resources are required to operate a social movement, including moral, cultural, social-organizational, human and material resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). However, according to the resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), these costs may not be borne by the social movement activists themselves but obtained by finding supporters to mobilize the resources. Individuals do not need to possess the resources for engaging social movement. Therefore, the linkage between family SES and participation to social movement need to examine factors other than resources.

2.3 Post-materialistic Ideology

Since social movement is a kind of collective action, the participants have to identify with the group goal, which depends on the frame of movement (Johnston, 2003). Endorsement towards certain kind of discourse is hence a predictor of participation to corresponding social movements. In the context of Hong Kong, those endorse to the post-materialistic value will be more likely to participate in “new social movements” since these movements are mobilized with the post-materialistic Ideology.

A study suggested that education and family income contribute to the development of post-materialistic value (de Graaf & Evans, 1996). High SES who are

well educated would be more likely to endorse these ideologies (Dalton, 1977). The post-materialistic ideology is associated with education attainment because of high culture consumption (de Graaf & de Graaf, 1988). As an indicator of post material value, high culture consumption requires high level of information processing capacity (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). High SES family will be more likely to engage in culture consumption in this sense, and it would cultivate the children's information processing capacity.

In order to clarify the linkage between socioeconomic environment and post-materialistic value priority, the hypotheses of scarcity and socialization given by Inglehart (2000) were examined with survey data collected in 1970 and 1994. The result had shown that the sense of economic security in pre-adult period contributes to the post-materialistic value priority and this priority will remain unchanged as they aged, which means it is product of socialization.

2.4 Perceived Risk

The determinant for whether or not participating in specific action is the risk of participation. More concretely, individuals would consider perceived risk rather than actual risk in protest participation (Caren, Ghoshal, & Ribas, 2011). Biographical factors, such as marriage and employment status, would alter the levels of risks associated with social movement (McAdam, Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer, 1986). Unemployed and occupation with free time or integration with the movement, such as social workers, will be more likely to participate (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991), validating the impact of risk on participation tendency. It is necessary to note that if the sanction is not serious, i.e. probation, high SES, who have more resources to deal with it, will not perceive high risk incurred by offending (Wooldredge & Thistlethwaite, 2002).

Since deviance is culturally defined, social movement can be a deviant action or not, depending on the norm. According to Lam (2004), participating in social movement is deviant in Hong Kong, especially for the radical type, because of the depoliticization culture, which developed since the postwar period. Social movement is believed to be controlled by political groups with inappropriate political purpose. The discourse of stability and prosperity, claiming the economic achievement of Hong Kong relied on the repression of politics, stigmatize the political involvement. Hence, social activist will be labeled as “troublemakers” who overwhelm the stability of Hong Kong maliciously. As a result, even the pro-democratic protesters would claim they are apolitical (Lee & Chan, 2008). The consequence of participating to radical social movement in Hong Kong is serious due to the depoliticization culture. For the risk incurred in informal channel, there is social stigmatization. Social movement, such as protest and demonstration, is often radical in nature, which is unacceptable in Hong Kong. A study found out that the linkage between SES and involvement in offense is mediated by the stigma among peer (Grasmick, Jacobs, & McCollom, 1983). The social stigmatization would have higher deterrence to people with higher stake to conformity (Sherman, Smith, Schmidt, & Rogan, 1992). According to Lau (1981), this kind of depoliticization culture originated from Chinese Refugee who seek the economic stability. Therefore, the high SES should be less influenced by this social stigma.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Frame Alignment Theory

Frame alignment theory explains the participation to social movement in the perspective that the social movement organization succeed to mobilize the non-mobilized persons by matching the frames (Opp, 2009). Frame refers to the “schemata

of interpretation” (Goffman, 1974), which guides the action in a cognitive way. Since social movement is a collective action, its occurrence implies its frame is matched with the frames of individual participants. Therefore, social movement mobilization is in fact the process of frame alignment between social movement organization and non-mobilized persons.

Types of Framing

The frame in social movement includes the three components: the existence of unnatural and intolerable problem (diagnosis) the identification of collective strategies in solving these problem (prognosis) and the rationale of taking action in order to motivate the participation (motivational) (Kowalchuk, 2005).

Accordingly, several frames prevailing in Hong Kong’s social movement were selected. For diagnosis frames, there are three goal-based frames: Democratic, Left-wing and Nativism. For prognosis frames, there are two mean-based frames: Peace, Rational, Non-violence, non-profanity (PRNN, 和理非非) and Valorous Resistance (勇武抗爭). For motivational frames, there are four event-based frames: Anti-northeastern New Territories plan in June 2014, Hong Kong 1st July protest, and Occupy Central and Anti-parallel-trading protests in Feb 2015.

Frame Alignment process

There are four types of frame alignment processes (Opp, 2009): First, Frame bridging is the easiest type since it connects the congruent frames regarding a specific issue. Second, Frame amplification emphasizes the importance of certain values and beliefs in a movement. Third, Frame extension elaborates the frame of movement to reach the frame of non-mobilized persons. Fourth, Frame transformation is the most difficult one because it aims to change the non-mobilized persons with incongruent frames.

Frame alignment processes will be more likely to succeed when the social movement organization are mobilizing people who resonate with their frames. For the “New social movement”, the middle class is more resonate with the movement frame than the working class due to the class culture (Rose, 1997).

3.2 Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory explains the individuals’ action as the result of rational weighing benefit and cost (Braham, 2013).

According to Muller and Opp (1986), in consideration to participate a collective action, the utility of the action and that of inactivity are compared, i.e. the opportunity cost. Briefly speaking, utility is calculated by summing the values of public good and private interest and subtracting the private cost. If the private cost of participating the movement increases, the utility of the action will decrease. This model of social movement participation had been validated and improved by Finkel and Muller (1998).

It should be noted that the value and cost are not absolute but perceived by the actor. Different people perceive the value of public good and the private cost of same action differently. High family SES who adhere the post-materialism would place the value of public good higher than those low family SES. On the other hand, high SES may have less cost in participating social movement for two reasons. First, since the high family SES perceive less relational risk, i.e. troublemaker stigma caused by the depoliticization culture, their private cost of participating movement will also be lower than that of low family SES. Second, the high SES family have the resources to deal with the mild legal issue, they will also perceive less risk in police intervention of social movement. This theory may explain the patterns of participation on convention and radical types of social movement for people with different family SES.

3.3 Theoretical Model

Based on the Framing Alignment Theory and Rational Choice Theory, the theoretical model of current study is developed (See Figure 1). Framing Alignment Theory complement with the Rational Choice Theory in the sense that it explains the variation of private utility in participants' decision-making process. Frame alignment shapes individuals' value and thus individuals can compare it with the cost, i.e. perceived risk, incurred in the participation of social movement. Therefore, the foundation would be rational choice theory while the association between family SES and perceived value would be explained by frame alignment theory.

While the relationship between Family SES and participation of social movement is ambiguous, post-materialistic ideology, frame endorsement level and perceived police intervention and social support serve as the mediator variables.

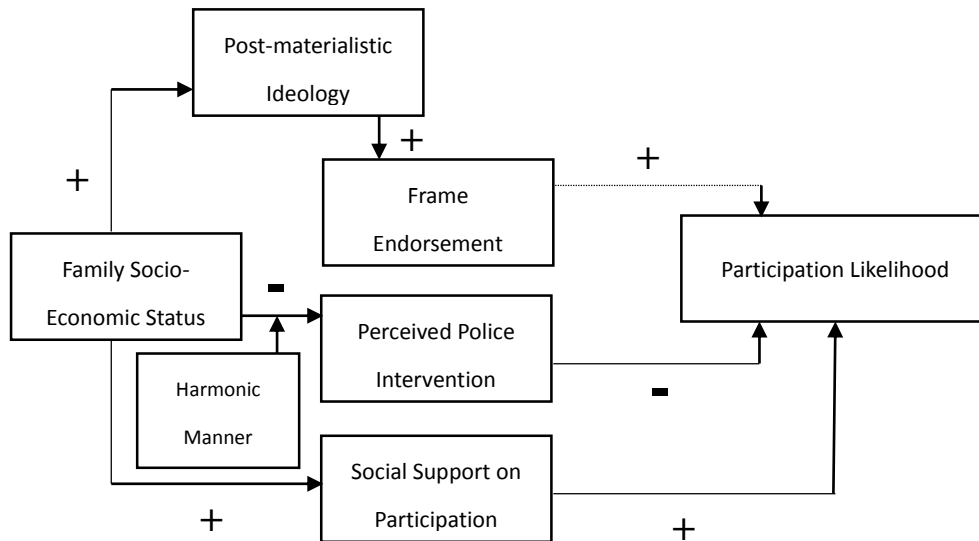


Figure 1: The integrated model of relationship between Family SES and Social Movement Participation

Following hypotheses are derived from the theoretical model:

H₁: There is positive association between Post-materialistic Ideology and Frame Endorsement Level.

H_{2a}: There is positive association between Frame Endorsement Level and Participation on Social Movement.

H_{2b}: There is negative association between Perceived Police Intervention and Participation on Social Movement.

H_{2c}: There is positive association between Social Support and Participation on Social Movement.

H_{3a}: There is positive association between Family SES and Post-materialistic Ideology.

H_{3b}: There is negative association between Family SES and Perceived police intervention on social movement in harmonic manner.

H_{3c}: There is positive association between Family SES and Social Support.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Collection

In current study, the data were obtained through a one-shot retrospective survey. To prevent social desirability bias, the survey was self-administered and folded to keep confidentiality and anonymity. The definition of various terms, such as radical social movement, were clearly explained in so the respondents would not misunderstand the questions.

4.2 Sampling

The target population was Hong Kong college students aged 18 year-old or above. Due to the constraint of human resources in current study, the method of

convenience sampling was employed. In order to control the effects of study field and institution, the survey tried to reach students in different departments and different institutes, but the distribution of study field and institution were not equivalent due to the constraint of social network.

There were 134 respondents in the current study (See Table 1). The age of respondents ranged from 18 to 26, while the mean was 21.18. The proportion of female respondents (61.2%) was more than the male respondents (38.8%). Social Sciences was most common reported as respondents' field of study (36.6%), following by Art and Humanity (17.9%), Business (16.4%) and Science and Technology (15.7%). The respondents from City University of Hong Kong (29.9%) was most common, following by University of Hong Kong (11.9%), Hong Kong Polytechnic University (10.4%) and Hang Seng Management College (10.4%). Majority of respondents were year 3 (35.1%) or year 4 students (31.3%). Almost all respondents were studying Bachelor Degree (96.3%). Most respondents' region of citizenship was Hong Kong (91.7%). The number of family members was commonly reported as 3 (34.1%), 4 (38.8%) or 5 (22.5%).

Table 1: The Demographic Information of Respondents ($N=134$)

	Valid N	Frequency (Valid %)
Age	133	
18		5 (3.8%)
19		15 (11.3%)
20		28 (21.1%)
21		33 (24.8%)
22		21 (15.8%)
23		23 (17.3%)
24		4 (3.0%)
25		2 (1.5%)
26		2 (1.5%)
Gender	134	

	Valid <i>N</i>	Frequency (Valid %)
Male		52 (38.8%)
Female		82 (61.2%)
Field of Study	134	
Business		22 (16.4%)
Art and Humanity		24 (17.9%)
Social Sciences		49 (36.6%)
Science and Technology		21 (15.7%)
Creative Media		3 (2.2%)
Journalism		11 (8.2%)
Other		4 (3.0%)
Institute of Study	134	
City University of Hong Kong		40 (29.9%)
University of Hong Kong		16 (11.9%)
Chinese University of Hong Kong		7 (5.2%)
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology		9 (6.7%)
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University		14 (10.4%)
Hong Kong Baptist University		8 (6.0%)
The Hong Kong Institute of Education		4 (3.0%)
The Open University of Hong Kong		11 (8.2%)
Hong Kong Shue Yan University		11 (8.2%)
Hang Seng Management College		14 (10.4%)
Year of Study	131	
Year 1		13.7 (13.7%)
Year 2		19.8 (19.8%)
Year 3		35.1 (35.1%)
Year 4		31.3 (31.3%)
Educational Level	129	
Associate degree/High diploma		2 (1.5%)
Bachelor's degree		129 (96.3%)
Postgraduate		3 (2.2%)
Region of Citizenship	133	
Hong Kong		122 (91.7%)
Macau		1 (0.8%)
Mainland China		8 (6.0%)
UK		1 (0.8%)
Other		1 (0.8%)

	Valid <i>N</i>	Frequency (Valid %)
Number of Family Members	129	
2		3 (2.3%)
3		44 (34.1%)
4		49 (38.0%)
5		29 (22.5%)
6		1 (0.8%)
7		1 (0.8%)
8		1 (0.8%)
10		1 (0.8%)

Followings are Respondents' Family SES information (See Table 2):

Most respondents' father had the educational level of Senior Secondary (36.5%), following by Junior Secondary (27.0%), Bachelor Degree (16.7%) and Primary School or lower (13.5%). The occupation of respondents' father was mostly reported as professional (25.5%), following by Elementary occupations (17.3%) and Plant and machine operators and assemblers (16.4%).

Majority of respondents' mother had the educational level of Senior Secondary (39.5%) or Junior Secondary (34.9%). Most common occupation of respondents' mother was Service and sales workers (30.3%), following by Elementary occupations (21.3%), Clerical support workers (16.9%) and Professionals (15.7%).

Most respondents' family monthly income was in the range of \$15,000 to \$24,999 (29.1%) while only 17.9% was below \$15,000. Most respondents reported their family asset as below \$100,000 (24.6%) while followings reported either the range of \$100,000 to \$499,999 (22.4%) or \$2,500,000 to \$4,999,999 (19.4%).

Table 2: Family Socio-economic Status Information of Respondents (N=134)

	Valid N	Frequency (Valid %)
Father's Educational Level	126	
Primary School or lower		17 (13.5%)
Junior Secondary		34 (27.0%)
Senior Secondary		46 (36.5%)
Associate Degree / Higher Diploma		4 (3.2%)
Bachelor's Degree		21 (16.7%)
Postgraduate		4 (3.2%)
Father's Occupation	110	
Elementary occupations		19 (14.2%)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		18 (13.4%)
Craft and related workers		12 (9.0%)
Service and sales workers		15 (11.2%)
Clerical support workers		2 (1.5%)
Associate professionals		1 (0.7%)
Professionals		28 (20.9%)
Managers and administrators		14 (10.4%)
Other		1 (0.7%)
Mother's Educational Level	129	
Primary School or lower		12 (9.3%)
Junior Secondary		45 (34.9%)
Senior Secondary		51 (39.5%)
Associate Degree / Higher Diploma		7 (5.4%)
Bachelor's Degree		12 (9.3%)
Postgraduate		1 (1.6%)
Mother's Occupation	89	
Elementary occupations		19 (21.3%)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		1 (1.1%)
Craft and related workers		3 (3.4%)
Service and sales workers		27 (30.3%)
Clerical support workers		15 (16.9%)
Associate professionals		4 (4.5%)
Professionals		14 (15.7%)
Managers and administrators		6 (6.7%)
Monthly Family Income	134	
Below \$10,000		4 (3.0%)
\$10,000 to \$14,999		20 (14.9%)

	Valid <i>N</i>	Frequency (Valid %)
\$15,000 to \$24,999		39 (29.1%)
\$25,000 to \$39,999		27 (20.1%)
\$40,000 to \$59,999		22 (16.4%)
\$60,000 to \$79,999		11 (8.2%)
\$80,000 to \$99,999		5 (3.7%)
\$100,000 or above		6 (4.5%)
Family Asset	134	
Below \$100,000		33 (24.6%)
\$100,000 to \$499,999		30 (22.4%)
\$500,000 to \$999,999		21 (15.7%)
\$1,000,000 to \$2,499,999		12 (9.0%)
\$2,500,000 to \$4,999,999		26 (19.4%)
\$5,000,000 to \$9,999,999		4 (3.0%)
\$10,000,000 or above		8 (6.0%)

4.3 Measurement

For full version of the questionnaire, please refer to Appendix 2. For the result of reliability test, please see table 6.

Family SES

Family SES was measured by six items, including Father’s Educational Level, Mother’s Educational Level, Father’s Occupation, Mother’s Occupation, Family Monthly Income and Family Asset, under the referencing of population structure provide by Census and Statistics Department (2014). The ordering of these items was ranked and the equally weighted responds were summated into an interval variable named “Family SES Index”.

Post-materialistic Ideology

The post-materialist Ideology index developed by Inglehart (1990) was employed. Three sections which consist of two materialistic goals and two post-materialistic goals were provided. Respondents were asked to recall the value

preference in the last year and choose two most important goals in each section. The items' order had remained unchanged as previous study suggested that there will be order effect in this scale (Tasić & Ratković, 2011). The equally weighted responds of post-materialistic goals were summated to form an interval variable name "Post-materialistic Index". Although the internal consistency of this scale is low ($\alpha=.429$), it was still retained because of the popularity of this scale in measuring post-materialistic value.

Frame Exposure Level

Frame exposure level served as a control variable for showing the effect of post-materialistic ideology to frame endorsement. To measure whether movement frames exposed on the respondents, statements captured from the social movement organizations were chosen. Twenty-two items were used in this part. Respondents were asked whether they aware of these social movement frames in the past year. If the respondents had to check at least one frame in each frame type, that frame type will be coded as "1" (otherwise coded as "0"). For the social movement motivating framing, there are four types of frame alignment processes (i.e. bridging, amplification, extension and transformation) so that different audiences of the movement will be included. The confounding situation that the respondents are not mobilized can be controlled in this way. However, the factor analysis gave inconsistent result with the expected result in categorization (See table 3). Eventually, seven type of frame were derived, including Democratic ($\alpha=.664$), Left-wing ($\alpha=.408$), PRNN ($\alpha=.463$), Valorous Resistance ($\alpha=.553$), Anti-Northeastern New Territories Development ($\alpha=.849$), Anti-Parallel Trading ($\alpha=.780$) and Government Fail ($\alpha=.821$). Left-wing and PRNN frame exposure got low internal consistency, but considering there were only two items for these scales, they were retained. All of these items were equally weighted and summated to form the "frame exposure level"

index ($\alpha=.832$).

Table 3: Factor loadings of 22 items in Frame Exposure Level

	GF	NED	PT	D	PRNN	L	VR
1. Democratic, Freedom, Human Rights and Rule of Law are the foundation of modern society.				.716			
2. The mission of HKSAR government are to protect the right of citizen and well-being.				.855			
3. Free market under Capitalism has led to the phenomena of income unequal distribution in Hong Kong.						.825	
4. Minorities, including the middle-aged low technology labor, women and disabilities, are being discriminated.						.631	
5. “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong with a high degree of autonomy” has been failed to be achieved by HKSAR government.	.655						
6. The public policies are not taking local residents in the first priority.	.524						
7. Political problem should be solved by communication, rather than using force.							.673
8. Violent protest will not be supported by the mass.							.829
9. Citizen could use the force to resist the unreasonable ruler.					.779		
10. There are differences between the uses of force rationally and irrationally.					.638		
11. The Northeastern New Territories development harms the local residents.		.864					
12. The Northeastern New Territories development issue reflected the improper cooperation of government and the capitalists.		.863					
13. In the Northeastern New Territories development issue, government past the bill to the Legislative Council before obtaining the approval of the town planning board. It had violated the procedural justice.				.786			

	GF	NED	PT	D	PRNN	L	VR
14. Northeastern New Territories development is the fact the building of “doubly non-permanent resident” city.		.697					
15. Occupy central/Umbrella movement could show the determination of Hongkongers in obtaining the “real Universal suffrage”.		.559					
16. Universal suffrage in the current proposal does not fit the international standard.		.648					
17. Universal suffrage can solve the problem of income unequal distribution by distributing the political power equally.					.520		
18. The students in the movement were badly treated by the police force.		.864					
19. The government had not do enough to solve the parallel-trading issue.		.679					
20. Mainland parallel traders interrupted the ordinary lives of local residents.^a		.546			.500		
21. Mainland parallel-traders caused the inflation in Hong Kong.					.847		
22. Mainland parallel-traders accelerate the invasion of mainlanders.					.811		

Note. Factor loadings < .4 are suppressed

^a Items deleted due to similar levels of factor loading for factors 1 and 2.

Abbreviations:

GF: Government Fail Frame Exposure

NED: Anti-Northeastern New Territories Development Frame Exposure

PT: Anti-Parallel Trading Frame Exposure

D: Democratic Frame Exposure

PRNN: Peace, Rational, Non-violence, non-profanity Frame Exposure

L: Left-wing Frame Exposure

VR: Valorous Resistance Frame Exposure

Frame Endorsement Level

Frame Endorsement reflects the outcome of frame alignment. The frame endorsement level was measured by asking the extent they think that different types

of social movement frame will satisfied their claim, i.e. the frames of respondents and social movement match. The frames were divided to goal frames (Democratic, Left-wing and Nativism) and the mean frames (PRNN and Valorous Resistance), since among the same social movement, the goals and means could vary. It has to be noted that the word “social equality” replaced “Left-wing” in this survey since students in non-social sciences major may not familiar with the concept. All of these items were summated to form the “frame endorsement level” index ($\alpha=.801$).

Perceived Police Intervention

Six 5-point Likert scale items were used in this part, concerning about the police intervention in different forms of social movements, including signing petitions, online campaigns, other kind of persuasive social movements, demonstration, blockades and other kind of confrontational social movements. The results of factor analysis categorized these items into two factors (See table 4). Since the above measurement of participation likelihood had used the classification of harmonic and radical types of collective action suggested by Brunsting and Postmes (2002), the question items in this police intervention would continue to use this classification in evaluating the perceived risks. The scores of questions 1 to 3 were summated to “Perceived Police Intervention of Social movement in Harmonic manner” ($\alpha=.871$) while the scores of questions 4 to 6 were summated to “Perceived Police Intervention of Social movement in Radical manner” ($\alpha=.828$). All of these items were equally weighted and summated to form the “Perceived Police Intervention” index ($\alpha=.673$).

Table 4: Factor loadings of 6 items in Perceived Police Intervention

		Harmonic	Radical
1.	Signing petitions	.891	
2.	Online Campaigns	.919	
3.	Other kind of persuasive social movements	.846	

	Harmonic	Radical
4. Demonstration		.837
5. Blockades		.923
6. Other kind of confrontational social movements		.837

Note. Factor loadings < .4 are suppressed

Social Supports on Movement Participation

Six 5-point Likert scale items were used in this part, measuring perceived support of significant others, as suggested by Finkel and Muller (1998), including parents, spouse, friends, classmates/co-workers, lecturers/tutors and other significant people, towards their participation in social movements. These items were then be equally weighted and summated as “Significant others’ Support” Index ($\alpha=.862$). It is an adverse indicator of relational risk incurred by the participation of social movement.

Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Correspond to the framing of social movement, respondents were asked the likelihood that they will participate in different social movements. However, the types of social movement were categorized by means, as the result of factor analysis suggested (See Table 5). The 5-point scale items were equally weighted and summated to “Participation likelihood on Social movement in harmonic manner” ($\alpha=.941$) and “Participation likelihood on Social movement in radical manner” ($\alpha=.960$) respectively. All of these items were summated to form the “Social movements Participation Likelihood” index ($\alpha=.913$).

Table 5: Factor loadings of 6 items in Social Movement Participation Likelihood

	Harmonic Participation	Radical Participation
1. Democratic-fostering social movements in harmonic manner		.926
2. Democratic-fostering social movements in radical manner	.916	

	Harmonic Participation	Radical Participation
3. Social-equality-seeking social movements in harmonic manner		.919
4. Social-equality-seeking social movements in radical manner	.932	
5. Native-interest-protecting social movements in harmonic manner		.876
6. Native-interest-protecting social movements in radical manner	.932	

Note. Factor loadings < .4 are suppressed

Past Participation to Social Movements

According to the social movement framing concerned in the current research, the participation to specific social movement, which occurred in the past year, were measured. “Anti-northeastern New Territories Development Movement” represents the left-wing issue, “Anti-parallel-trading Protests” represents the Nativism issue, and “Occupy Central” and “1 July Protest 2014” represent the democratic issue. Participation to other movements were also recorded. These participations were coded with dummy variables. All responds were summated to form the “Past participation” index.

Table 6: Internal Consistency of the major variables

Construct	Number of items	Cronbach’s Alpha
Post-materialistic Ideology	6	.429
Frame Exposure	22	.832
Democratic	2	.664
Left-wing	2	.408
Peace, Rational, Non-violence, Non-profanity (PRNN)	2	.463
Valorous Resistance	3	.553
Anti-Northeastern New Territories Development Plan	4	.849
Anti-Parallel Trading	2	.780

Construct	Number of items	Cronbach's Alpha
Government Fail	6	.821
Frame Endorsement	5	.801
Police Intervention	6	.673
On Harmonic Movement	3	.871
On Radical Movement	3	.828
Significant others' Support	6	.862
Participation Likelihood	6	.913
On Harmonic Movement	3	.941
On Radical Movement	3	.960

5. Result

To facilitate the data analysis, statistical software IBM SPSS was used.

Deceptive statistics analysis and Regression analysis were conducted.

5.1. Descriptive Statistic

Family SES

Respondents' average Family SES was below medium ($M=39.09$), implying the respondents were mainly lower to middle class. The standard deviation of 20.89 reflects that respondents' Family SES moderately dispersed in different levels.

Post-materialistic Ideology

Respondents' average Post-materialistic Ideology was at high level ($M=4.28$). It implies that respondents tend to be post-materialistic.

Frame Exposure Level

Respondents' average frame exposure was quite high ($M=3.93$). Among all kinds of frame, average exposure level of Government fail frame was the highest ($M=4.24$) while that of Valorous Resistance frame was the lowest ($M=3.29$). It is suggested that respondents received various kinds of frame at considerably high level, but the frames

exposure at different level.

Frame Endorsement Level

The average frame endorsement level of residents was at modest level ($M=3.24$). Among all kinds of frame, average endorsement level of Government fail frame was the highest ($M=3.43$) while that of Valorous Resistance frame was the lowest ($M=3.07$). Although there was difference of endorsement levels between frames, such difference was smaller than that in the case of frame exposure level.

Perceived Police Intervention Level

Respondents' average perceived police intervention level was at modest level ($M=3.53$). While the average level of perceived police intervention on social movement in harmonic manner was just below medium ($M=2.82$), that of perceived police intervention on social movement in radical manner was high ($M=4.23$). Such difference suggests that respondents perceive police would highly intervene in social movement in radical manner.

Social Support on Movement Participation

Respondents' average social support on participation of Social Movement was at modest level ($M=3.66$). Respondents received much support from friends ($M=3.43$) and classmates/co-workers ($M=3.62$) but received little support from parents ($M=2.34$). It implies that while related persons in equal status would tend to support college students in participation of social movement while parents tend not to support.

Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Respondents' average level of overall participation on Social Movement was considered as below medium ($M=2.67$). While average participation likelihood of social movement in harmonic manner was modest ($M=3.14$), that of social movement

in radical manner was low ($M=2.20$). It showed that radical social movement is generally undesired.

Past Participation

Average past social movement participation of respondents was very low ($M=1.19$). Average level of past participation in Occupy Central/Umbrella Movement was the highest ($M=0.73$), with 1st July Protest as second ($M=0.30$). Average levels of past participation in Anti-northeastern New Territories Development Movement ($M=0.04$), Anti-parallel-trading Protests ($M=0.07$) and other social movement participation ($M=0.05$) were extremely low. This implied that most respondents did not participate in social movement other than Occupy Central/Umbrella movement and 1st July Protest.

Table 7: Mean and Standard Deviation of Major Variables

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Family SES	39.09	20.89
Post-materialistic Ideology	4.28	1.34
Frame Exposure Level	3.82	0.39
Demographic Frame Exposure	3.93	0.67
Left-wing Frame Exposure	3.51	0.73
PRNN Frame Exposure	3.77	0.65
Valorous Resistance Frame Exposure	3.29	0.71
Anti-Northeastern Development Frame Exposure	3.66	0.80
Anti-parallel-trader Frame Exposure	4.06	0.76
Government Fail Frame Exposure	4.24	0.57

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Frame Endorsement Level	3.24	0.71
Demographic Frame Endorsement	3.43	0.97
Social Equality Frame Endorsement	3.23	0.93
Nativism Frame Endorsement	3.24	0.99
PRNN Frame Endorsement	3.22	0.90
Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement	3.07	0.96
Perceived Police Intervention Level	3.53	0.62
Perceived Police Intervention on Social Movement in Harmonic Manner	2.82	1.00
Perceived Police Intervention on Social Movement in Radical Manner	4.23	0.75
Social Support on Participation of Social Movement	3.12	0.82
Parents' Support	2.34	1.20
Spouse' Support	2.90	1.22
Friends' Support	3.62	1.01
Classmates/co-workers' Support	3.66	1.04
Lecturers/Tutors' Support	3.16	1.00
Other significant people's Support	2.99	0.91
Overall Participation Likelihood of Social Movement	2.67	0.88
Participation Likelihood of Social Movement in Harmonic Manner	3.14	1.01
Participation Likelihood of Social Movement in Radical Manner	2.20	1.01
Past Participation on Social Movement	1.19	0.96
Anti-northeastern New Territories Development Movement	0.04	0.19

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Anti-parallel-trading Protests	0.07	0.26
1 st July Protest	0.30	0.46
Occupy central/Umbrella movement	0.73	0.45
Other social movement participation	0.05	0.22

5.2. Linear Regression

Effects of major predictors on the Participation Likelihood of Social Movement

As the theoretical framework suggested, frame endorsement level and social support showed significant impacts on the social movement participation likelihood. For harmonic social movement, frame endorsement ($\beta=.224, p<.01$) and social support ($\beta=.399, p<.001$) have the positive impacts. For radical social movement, frame endorsement ($\beta=.240, p<.01$) and social support ($\beta=.328, p<.001$) have the positive impacts. For overall social movement, frame endorsement ($\beta=.265, p<.001$) and social support ($\beta=.419, p<.001$) have the positive impacts. However, Family SES and Post-materialistic Ideology failed to show their significant impacts. Moreover, Police intervention has significant positive impact ($\beta=.184, p<.05$) instead of negative impact, which is unexpected.

Table 8: Standardized effects of Major predictors on the social movement participation likelihood

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
<i>Predictor</i>			
Family SES	-.113	-.053	-.095
Post-materialistic Ideology	.085	.055	.080
Frame Endorsement	.224**	.240**	.265***

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
Social Support	.399***	.328***	.419***
Police Intervention	.184*	.061	.140

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effects of Past Social Movement Participation on Social Movement Participation

Likelihood

For participation likelihood of Social movement in harmonic manner, only past participation on Occupy Central has significant positive impact. For participation likelihood of Social movement in radical manner, past participations on Anti-parallel-trading Protests ($\beta=.210, p<.05$), Anti-parallel-trading Protests ($\beta=.190, p<.05$) and Occupy Central ($\beta=.226, p<.01$) have significant positive impact. For overall Social movement participation likelihood, past participations on Anti-parallel-trading Protests ($\beta=.176, p<.05$), Anti-parallel-trading Protests ($\beta=.188, p<.05$) and Occupy Central ($\beta=.365, p<.001$) have significant positive impact.

Table 9: Standardized effects of Past participation in Social Movement on the Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
<i>Predictor</i>			
Anti-northeastern New Territories Development Movement	.090	-.010	.045
Anti-parallel-trading Protests	.099	.210*	.176*
1 st July Protest	.139	.190*	.188*
Occupy central/Umbrella movement	.412***	.226**	.365***
Other social movement participation	-.027	.124	.055

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effects of Demographical Variables on Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Among all demographic factors, only educational level has significant negative impact on social movement participation likelihood on harmonic manner ($\beta=-.212$, $p<.05$). Other variables does not show impact the participation likelihood of any kind of social movement.

Table 10: Standardized effects of Demographical variables on the Social Movement Participation Likelihood

	Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
<i>Predictor</i>				
Family SES		.049	-.072	-.011
Age		-.180	-.214	-.229
Being female		-.007	-.120	-.073
Education level		-.212*	-.007	-.128
Born in Hong Kong		.065	-.031	.020
Year of Study		.070	.022	.052
Number of Family Members		-.011	.133	.075
University of Hong Kong		.005	-.003	.001
Chinese University of Hong Kong		-.043	.118	.048
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology		-.221	-.191	-.240
Hong Kong Polytechnic University		.158	.270	.247
Hong Kong Baptist University		.081	.080	.093
The Hong Kong Institute of Education		.032	-.102	-.042
Hang Seng Management College		.214	.129	.199
Hong Kong Shue Yan University		-.025	-.060	-.049
Open University of Hong Kong		-.042	.111	.038
Social Sciences		.007	-.482	-.276
Business		-.135	-.262	-.232
Liberal Arts and Humanity		-.027	-.339	-.210

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
Creative Media	.012	-.158	-.085
Science and Engineering	-.125	-.354	-.280
Journalism	-.302	-.127	-.252

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic Ideology on the Frame Exposure Level

The post-materialistic ideology has significant positive impact on the frame exposure level ($\beta=.216, p<.05$). The concrete frame being affected are democratic ($\beta=.263, p<.01$), Anti-northeastern new territories development protest ($\beta=.209, p<.05$) and government fail ($\beta=.272, p<.01$) frames. In contrast, Family SES did not show significant impact on frame exposure level.

Table 11: Standardized effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic Ideology and Frame Exposure on the Frame Endorsement Level

Model	D	L	PRNN	VR	NED	PT	GF	O
<i>Predictor</i>								
Family SES	.027	-.121	-.052	.082	.092	.151	.041	.059
Post-materialistic Ideology	.263**	.038	-.033	.010	.209*	-.001	.272**	.216*

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Abbreviations:

D: Democratic Frame Exposure;

L: Left-wing Frame Exposure;

PRNN: Peace, Rational, Non-violence, non-profanity Frame Exposure;

VR: Valorous Resistance Frame Exposure;

NED: Anti-Northeastern New Territories Development Frame Exposure;

PT: Anti-Parallel Trading Frame Exposure;

GF: Government Fail Frame Exposure;

O: Overall Frame Exposure Level

Effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic Ideology and Frame Exposure Level on the Frame Endorsement Level

In order to control the confounding effect, frame exposure was added into the examination of post-materialistic ideology's impact. As expected, the frame exposure level do have significant positive impact ($\beta=.208, p<.05$) on the frame endorsement level. However, Post-materialistic Ideology failed to show significant impact.

Table 12: Standardized effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic Ideology and Frame Exposure on the Frame Endorsement Level

Model	Frame Endorsement Level
<i>Predictor</i>	
Family SES	.111
Post-materialistic Ideology	-.019
Frame Exposure Level	.208*

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effects of Family Socio-economic Status, Post-material ideology and Frame Exposure on Frame Endorsement level

Among all frames, only Valorous Resistance frame has significant impact on the corresponding frame endorsement ($\beta=.287, p<.01$). Anti-Northeastern Development frame has significant impact on Social Equality frame endorsement ($\beta=.197, p<.05$). The impact of Family SES, Post-materialistic ideology and the other frame are insignificant.

Table 13: Standardized effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic ideology and Social Movement Frame Exposure on the Social Movement Frame Endorsement

Model	DE	SE	NE	PE	VE
Predictor					
Family SES	.111	.069	.105	.103	-.029
Post-materialistic Ideology	-.084	-.052	-.053	-.059	-.028
Demographic Frame Exposure	.029	.140	.147	.077	-.114
Left-wing Frame Exposure	.005	-.038	-.080	.068	-.006
PRNN Frame Exposure	-.121	-.136	-.134	-.118	-.131
Valorous Resistance Frame Exposure	.053	.115	.166	-.144	.287**
Anti-Northeastern Development Frame Exposure	.080	.197*	-.041	.140	.071
Anti-parallel-trader Frame Exposure	-.170	-.099	.004	-.018	-.061
Government Fail Frame Exposure	.190	.143	.169	.032	.188

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Abbreviations:

DE: Democratic Frame Endorsement;

SE: Social Equality Frame Endorsement;

NE: Nativism Frame Endorsement;

PE: PRNN Frame Endorsement;

VE: Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement

Effects of Family Socio-economic Status, Post-materialistic ideology and Frame

Endorsement on Social Movement Participation Likelihood

For Social movement participation likelihood in harmonic manner, post-materialistic ideology showed significant positive impact ($\beta=.169, p<.05$). For Social movement participation likelihood in radical manner, Valorous Resistance frame endorsement showed significant positive impact ($\beta=.314, p<.01$). For overall Social

movement participation likelihood, Valorous Resistance frame endorsement still showed significant positive impact ($\beta=.267, p<.01$).

Table 14: Standardized effects of Family SES, Post-materialistic ideology and Social Movement Frame Endorsement on the Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
<i>Predictor</i>			
Family SES	-.049	-.002	-.028
Post-materialistic Ideology	.169	.095	.152
Demographic Frame Endorsement	.068	-.062	.004
Social Equality Frame Endorsement	.070	.095	.093
Nativism Frame Endorsement	.036	.181	.124
PRNN Frame Endorsement	.131	-.105	.016
Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement	.149	.314**	.267**

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effect of Family Socio-economic Status, Social support on participation and

Perceived Police Intervention on Social Movement Participation Likelihood

For participation likelihood of social movement in harmonic manner, only perceived police intervention on social movement in radical manner has significant positive impact ($\beta=.164, p<.05$). For participation likelihood of social movement in radical manner, only parents' support on social movement participation has significant positive impact ($\beta=.312, p<.01$). For overall participation likelihood of social movement, both perceived police intervention on social movement in radical manner ($\beta=.183, p<.05$) and parents' support on social movement participation ($\beta=.188, p<.05$) have significant positive impact.

Table 15: Standardized effects of Family SES, Social Support on Movement Participation and Perceived Police Intervention on the Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Model	Harmonic	Radical	Overall
Predictor			
Family SES	-.093	-.133	-.128
Parents' Support	.024	.312**	.188*
Spouse' Support	.089	-.153	-.034
Friends' Support	.043	.238	.158
Classmates/co-workers' Support	.093	-.115	-.010
Lecturers/Tutors' Support	.135	-.084	.032
Other significant people's Support	.221	.251	.268
Perceived Police Intervention on Social Movement in Harmonic Manner	.072	.070	.081
Perceived Police Intervention on Social Movement in Radical Manner	.164*	.158	.183*

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Effects of Family SES components on Major predictors of Social Movement

Participation Likelihood

The result of simple linear regression on all predictors of social movement participation has shown that family SES only has significant impact on Parents' Support ($\beta=.183, p<.05$). Moreover, mother's SES only have significant impacts on Perceived Police Intervention on Movement on Radical Manner ($\beta=.200, p<.05$) and parents' support ($\beta=.185, p<.05$). Monthly family income only has significant impact on the parents' support ($\beta=.189, p<.05$).

Table 16: Standardized Effect and Coefficient of determination of Family SES Components on the Predictors of Social Movement Participation Likelihood

Predictor		Family SES	Father's SES	Mother's SES	Monthly Family Income	Family Asset
<i>Model</i>						
Post-materialistic Index	Beta	-.062	-.016	-.079	-.098	-.007
	R ²	.004	.000	.006	.010	.000
Frame Endorsement Level	Beta	.122	-.007	.227**	.103	.083
	R ²	.015	.000	.052	.011	.007
Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement	Beta	.003	-.072	.054	.026	.014
	R ²	.000	.005	.003	.001	.000
Perceived Police Intervention On Movement on Radical Manner	Beta	.156	.156	.183*	.094	.100
	R ²	.024	.024	.034	.009	.010
Social Support	Beta	.111	.069	.039	.124	.111
	R ²	.012	.005	.001	.015	.012
Parents' Support	Beta	.200*	.155	.185*	.189*	.086
	R ²	.040	.024	.034	.036	.007
Educational Level	Beta	-.045	.011	.020	-.163	-.023
	R ²	.002	.000	.000	.027	.001
Anti-parallel-trading Protests	Beta	.057	-.153	.071	.010	.033
	R ²	.003	.023	.005	.000	.001
1 st July Protest	Beta	-.027	.087	.054	-.016	-.023
	R ²	.001	.008	.003	.000	.001
Occupy Central	Beta	.010	-.034	-.050	.050	-.023
	R ²	.000	.001	.002	.002	.001

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Development of Models

For the harmonic participation, post materialistic index, frame endorsement level, perceived police intervention on radical movement, social support, educational level and previous participation on Occupy Central are the significant predictors. After conducting multiple linear regression, the post-materialistic index and perceived police intervention on radical movement are no longer significant. Final model contains frame endorsement level, social support and educational level and previous participation on Occupy Central only. Frame endorsement level ($\beta=-.196, p<.05$), social support ($\beta=-.363, p<.001$) and previous participation to Occupy Central ($\beta=-.242, p<.01$) has significant positive impacts while educational level has significant negative impact ($\beta=-.172, p<.05$). After removing the post-materialistic index and perceived police intervention on radical movement, the R square of the model become .404, which means 40.4% of the variance in harmonic participation can be explained by the model.

Table 17: Standardized effects on Movement Participation in Harmonic Manner of five regression models

Predictors	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post-materialistic Ideology	.196*	.087	.084	.065	
Frame Endorsement	.304***	.197**	.193**	.192**	.184*
Perceived Police Intervention On Movement on Radical Manner		.149*	.141	.112	
Social Support		.455***	.444***	.346***	.363***
Educational Level			-.168*	-.165*	-.172*
Occupy Central				.211*	.242**
R²	.133	.362	.389	.421	.404

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

For radical participation, Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement, parents' support and past participations on Anti-Parallel-Trader Protest, 1st July Protest and Occupy Central are the significant predictors. The result of multiple linear regression showed that only 1st July Protest is significant. After the removal of insignificant predictor, the R square of the model is .369, which means 36.9% of the variance in the radical participation can be explained by these predictors. All predictors have significant positive impact on the radical movement participation: Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement ($\beta=.309, p<.001$), parents' support ($\beta=.289, p<.001$), past participation in Anti-parallel-trader Protest ($\beta=.260, p<.001$) and past participation in Occupy Central ($\beta=.200, p<.01$).

Table 18: Standardized effects on Movement Participation in Radical Manner of four regression models

Predictors	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement	.390***	.350***	.307***	.309***
Parents' Support		.320***	.271***	.289***
Anti-Parallel-Trader Protest			.217**	.260***
1 st July Protest			.147	
Occupy Central			.177*	.200**
R²	.152	.252	.387	.369

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

For overall participation likelihood, six factors are selected as the predictors, including Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement, Perceived Police Intervention on Movement on Radical Manner, Parents' Support and past participations on Anti-Parallel-Trader Protest, 1st July Protest and Occupy Central. After conducting multiple regression, perceived police intervention on radical movement are no longer significant. The insignificant predictor is then removed. The R square of the final

model is .439, which means 43.9% of the variance in the overall participation likelihood can be explained by the model. All the factors have shown significant positive impact on the overall participation likelihood: Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement ($\beta=.267, p<.001$), parents' support ($\beta=.261, p<.001$), past participation in Anti-parallel-trader Protest ($\beta=.184, p<.05$), 1st July Protest ($\beta=.156, p<.05$) and past participation in Occupy Central ($\beta=.317, p<.001$).

Table 19: Standardized effects on Overall Movement Participation of five regression models

Predictors	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement	.366***	.352***	.311***	.265***	.267***
Perceived Police Intervention On Movement on Radical Manner		.187*	.183*	.050	
Parents' Support			.323***	.263***	.261***
Anti-Parallel-Trader Protest				.177*	.184*
1 st July Protest				.150*	.156*
Occupy Central				.307***	.317***
R²	.134	.168	.271	.442	.439

Note: *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

The explaining power of finalized regression model of radical participation ($R^2=.369$) is slightly less than that of harmonic ($R^2=.404$) and overall participation ($R^2=.439$). Overall, the explaining power of these model is just acceptable.

5.3 Summary

Frame endorsement can predict harmonic social movement participation. Among all kinds of frame, only valorous Resistance Frame Endorsement showed its impact on the participation of radical movement and overall participation.

Social support, rather than perceived police intervention, can predict the

harmonic social movement participation. Among all social ties, only Parents' support can predict the radical and overall predication likelihood.

The only demographic factor predicting the participation of social movement is educational level, and it can only predict the harmonic participation.

Among all past participation, occupy central can predict the participation likelihood of all kinds of social movement, while Anti-parallel-trader Protest and 1st July protest can predict radical and overall participation likelihood.

In respond to the theoretical framework, family SES failed to show direct effect on participation of social movement. As expected, frame endorsement and social support have positive impacts on the participation of social movement. More concretely, valorous resistance frame endorsement and parents' support are crucial to participation of social movement in radical manner. However, perceived police intervention do not showed significant negative impact on the social movement participation. Moreover, post-materialist ideology failed to show its significant positive direct impact on frame endorsement, but frame exposure found to be their mediator. For the Family SES, it did not show significant association with post-materialistic ideology, perceived police intervention and social support. The only mediator between family SES and participation to social movement would be parents' support, as family SES has positive impact on parents' support.

Followings are the revised framework explaining relationship between family SES and participation of different types of social movement among college students:

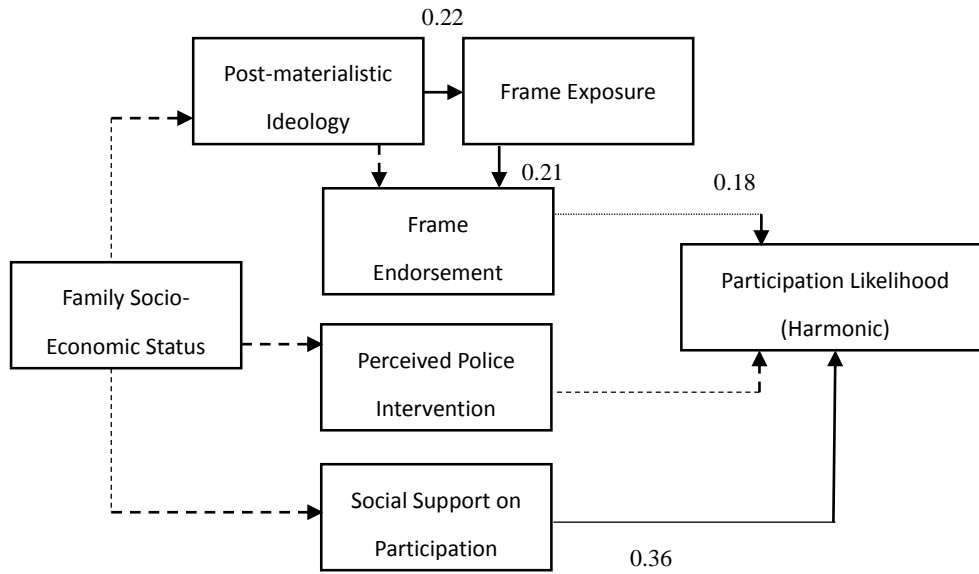


Figure 2: The revised model of relationship between Family SES and Social Movement Participation in Harmonic Manner

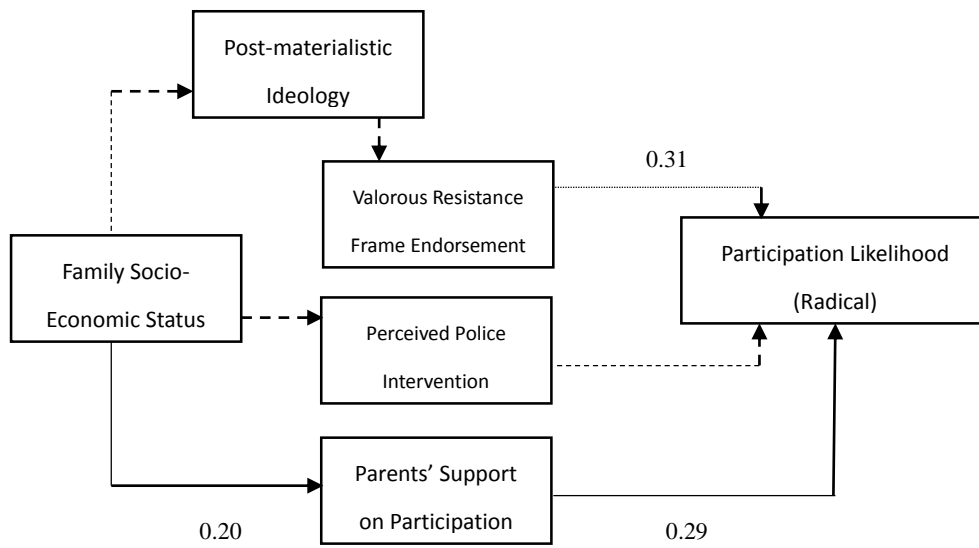


Figure 3: The revised model of relationship between Family SES and Social Movement Participation in Radical Manner

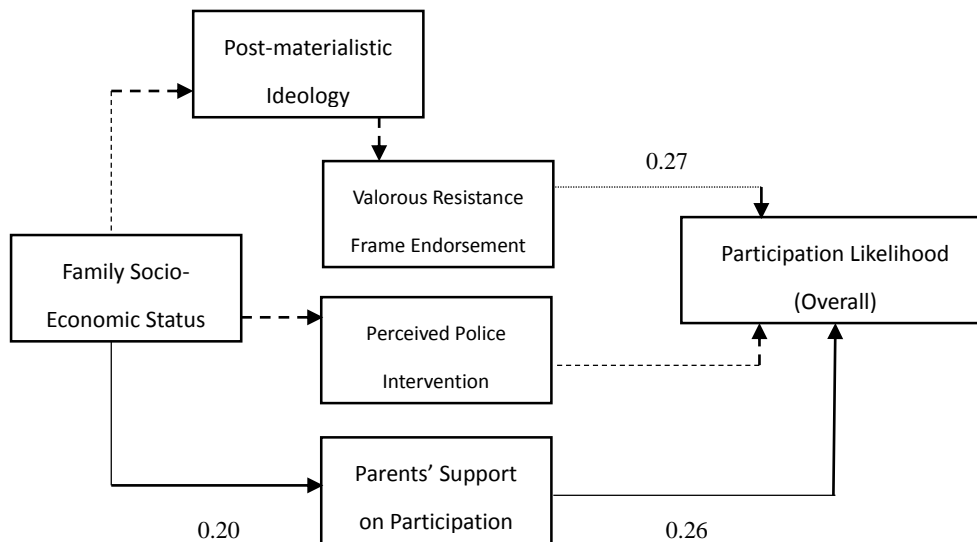


Figure 4: The revised model of relationship between Family SES and Overall Social Movement Participation

6. Discussion

The indirect effect of Post-materialistic Ideology and its relationship with Family SES

Although the direct effects of post-materialistic ideology on frame endorsement level and participation of social movement is insignificant, it may have the indirect effect as it can predict certain types of frame exposure. The linkage behind post-materialistic ideology and frame exposure reflects the post-materialist actively attend to specific frames, i.e. democratic, anti-northeastern new territories development and government fail. And as they are more exposed to these frames, their endorsement level would rise. This finding suggests that frame exposure is not only a passive transmission of idea but an interacting process.

Post-materialistic index does not significantly affected by family SES. The relationship between family SES and post-materialistic index is mediated by educational level (Dalton, 1977). In this sense, the provision of free education will raise the overall post-materialist tendency. Still, the relationship between family SES and post-materialistic has not been rejected as all of the respondents in current

research are college students, their educational are high. It is reasonable that post-materialistic index of respondents in current research is high (Mean = 4.2761). This result is also consistent with the previous finding that post-materialistic index is related economic affluence in societal level (Pavlović, 2009; Inglehart, Globalization and Postmodern Values, 2000), which means people in economically advanced regions would have higher post-materialistic tendency.

Valorous Resistance and Radical Social Movement: Socially unacceptable

Valorous resistance frame is the only frame endorsement which found to be significant related to the participation of social movement in radical manner. On the other hand, overall frame endorsement level has positive impact on the participation of social movement in harmonic manner. It could be interpreted as the social movement in harmonic manner is socially acceptable so that most respondents will tend to participate. In contrast, social movement in radical manner is socially unacceptable that only those who endorse with the valorous resistance frame will tend to participate. The endorsement level of valorous resistance frame is the lowest among all frames while radical social movement is lower than that of harmonic social movement. For the effects of frame endorsement on participation of social movement in different goals, it is remained unexplored in current studies.

Parents as the most important source of support

Among all significant others, Parents' support on participating social movement has found to have significant positive impact on radical social movement. It is consistent with the previous studies on protest participation (Jackson, 1973) and radical political activism (Thomas, 1971) that parents, serving as a reference group, shape the participation on protest. According to Deutsch and Gerard (1955), reference group have the normative function. In the current study, the reference group provides

guide to the participatory norm in family. Since radical social movement is socially undesirable in comparing with harmonic manner counterpart, it requires more acceptance from reference group. If one's parents regards radical social movement as unacceptable behavior, there will be a conflict for the participation. There will be a risk of reducing consensus in family if one violate the participatory norm. Therefore, parents' support is an inverse indicator of this risk.

Class difference of Parents' support

The result of current study also showed that parents' support is affected by family SES, especially mother's SES level, where higher family SES related to more support. For family SES, it is consistent with the proposed thesis of depoliticization, which suggests depoliticization culture among low SES reduce support. Among all kinds of social ties, parents are predisposed while the other social ties are not. That is, low SES may have friends or colleagues from different classes. Hence, parents support would be more likely to be predicted by family SES than other social ties. For mother's SES, previous study suggested that the relationship between mother's SES and parenting style is mediated by the maternal employment and stress (Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). In that study, working class mother, who are prone to high working stress, will be more likely to employ authoritarian parenting style. In contrast, mother in other class have occupation with less stress and thus employ authoritative parenting style. Authoritative parents would have listen to the argument of children while authoritarian parents would not. It implied that high SES mother, who are more authoritative, will be more likely to allow their children to participate in radical social movement.

Meaning of Police Intervention after Occupy Central

Perceived police intervention did not show significant impact on participation of social movement. It should be considered with the current context in Hong Kong. After the incidents of massive and aggressive intervention on the radical social movement participation during Occupy Central, grievance towards police force had risen and thus raised the overall participation level. Perceived police intervention is no longer merely an appraisal of risk, but also link to grievance. The risk in participating radical social movement may be neutralized by the grievance.

Educational Level: Confounding result

Educational level has significantly negative impact on the participation of harmonic social movement. Previous study (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994) merely suggested that college attendance has positive impact on participation of protest, but it did not distinguish participation likelihood between undergraduate students and postgraduate students. However, since 96.3% of the respondents are undergraduate, education level in current study may not reflect the real impact.

Past participation in Occupy Central: Call for Further Studies

Past participation in Occupy Central has significant positive impact on the participation likelihood of social movement. Although no association with family SES has been found, it affects both harmonic and radical participation while the other movement participation experience only influence the radical one. The reason behind this effect could be explained by the collective identity thesis of social movement. Social movement can be mobilized by the identification with specific community (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Past participation is one of the indicator of collective identity in the sense that individuals established their common goal in that

participation. If there are movements link to that identity, the prior activists will be more likely to be recruited (McAdam & Paulsen, Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism, 1993). Since most students participated in Occupy Central, they should have identified with Occupy Central in certain extent. “Yellow ribbon” and “Blue ribbon” are the identities developed in this movement, leading to the consecutive participation of Mong Kok occupy movement known as “nightly shopping tour” (鳩鳴). For other significant past participation, Anti-parallel-trader protest was the Nativism and valorous resistance social movement, which arose in recent year. Those who participated must have identified with social movements in radical manner. Thus, it is reasonable that past participation to parallel-trader protest has significant positive impact on the participation likelihood of social movement in radical manner. 1st July Protest, being the traditional social movement, may reflect the identification of social activism and thus more likely bear the risk incurred in radical manner social movement. After all, Occupy Central generally participated by students and thus become the most importance one among all past participation. This finding suggests that it is necessary to conduct further studies on the post-occupy-central period social movements.

7. Implication

Student activism among college students in Hong Kong is considerably weak. Many respondents just reported the past participation in Occupy Central and the average participation likelihood is not high. Although frame exposure level was quite high, the frame endorsement level was just modest. Social movement organization should put more efforts in alternative ways of framing.

Family SES failed to show the direct impact on social movement participation. Although its indirect effect, mediated by parents’ support, explained the relationship

between Family SES and social movement participation in term of relational risk, the ideological thesis and legal risk thesis cannot predict the participation. Family SES is hence not a strong predictor for the participation of social movement.

The importance of parents support on movement participation, especially those in the working class, has been reflected in current study. The social movement organization should frame the social movement in radical manner with socially acceptable discourse, about its merits, legitimacy and rationality. If the whole family align with the movement frame, the conflict in participation of social movement and thus the risk of participation will be reduced.

Occupy Central, being the social movement with collective identification, should be used as the striking point of mobilization. Social movement should frame with the collective identity of “ribbons” and link it up with the future movements. It could potential become as strong as last decades’ identities, that is, “4th June” and “1st July”.

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香港城市大學

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應用社會科學系

Department of Applied Social Sciences

應用社會學

Applied Sociology

研究同意書

此問卷為香港城市大學應用社會學學生陳子俊發起的學術研究的一部分。受訪對象為 18 歲或以上之大專生。此問卷約花五分鐘即可完成。如有查詢，請以電郵聯絡：

研究目的

此研究的目標如下：(i) 探討本港大學生參與社會運動的模式 (ii) 協助社會運動動員策略的研發。

匿名及保密原則

此問卷無需填寫姓名，資料亦絕對保密。研究完成後問卷將會被銷毀。

參與及退出

閣下已被知會是次研究的目的。如閣下同意為是次研究提供資料，請回答後面數頁之問題。如對題目感到不適，閣下可隨時中止填寫此問卷。

Appendix 2 – Questionnaire Content

第一部分

下列為監督社會進步的目標，請根據你過去兩年的取向選取（四選二）。

甲節	
1. 維持高度經濟增長	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. 確保國家的國防能力強大	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. 人們可以對自己的工作及社區有更多的自主	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. 美化城市及市郊	<input type="checkbox"/>
乙節	
5. 維護國家秩序	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. 人們可以對政府的重要政策有更多影響力	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. 打擊通脹	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. 保護言論自由	<input type="checkbox"/>
丙節	
9. 維持經濟穩定	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. 創建一個少些冷漠、更為人性化的社會	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. 打擊罪惡	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. 創建一個理念比金錢重要的社會	<input type="checkbox"/>

第二部分

閣下於過去十二個月有多少留意到以下陳述？

	很 少	頗 少	一 般	頗 多	很 多
1. 民主、自由、人權和法治是現代社會的基石。	1	2	3	4	5
2. 香港特別行政區政府的任務應是保障公民的權利和福祉。	1	2	3	4	5
3. 資本主義下的自由市場制度導致本港收入分配不均的情況。	1	2	3	4	5
4. 小眾（如中年低技術勞工、女性及殘疾人仕）正被歧視。	1	2	3	4	5
5. 香港特別行政區政府無法做到「港人治港、高度自治」。	1	2	3	4	5
6. 公共政策並沒以港人的利益作為優先考慮。	1	2	3	4	5
7. 政治問題應該以溝通解決、而非武力。	1	2	3	4	5
8. 暴力抗爭不會受大眾支持。	1	2	3	4	5

9. 市民應以武力反抗無理的統治者。	1	2	3	4	5
10. 「理性地運用武力」和「非理性地運用武力」是有分別的。	1	2	3	4	5
11. 新界東北發展損害當地居民的利益。	1	2	3	4	5
12. 新界東北發展一事反映官商勾結的問題。	1	2	3	4	5
13. 新界東北發展一事中，政府在城規會認可之前就於立法會動議撥款，違反了程序正義。	1	2	3	4	5
14. 新界東北發展實為打造雙非城。	1	2	3	4	5
15. 佔領中環／雨傘運動反映了香港人爭取「真普選」的決心。	1	2	3	4	5
16. 現行的普選方案並不符合國際標準。	1	2	3	4	5
17. 普選能以重新分配政治力量的方式解決收入不均的問題。	1	2	3	4	5
18. 學生在佔領中環／雨傘運動中被警方粗魯對待。	1	2	3	4	5
19. 政府未有盡力解決水貨客問題。	1	2	3	4	5
20. 大陸水貨客打亂本地居民的生活。	1	2	3	4	5
21. 大陸水貨客加劇香港的通脹。	1	2	3	4	5
22. 大陸水貨客加劇大陸人的入侵。	1	2	3	4	5

第三部分

請評估以下類別社會運動在過去一個月有多大程度上滿足閣下的訴求：

	很少	頗少	一般	頗多	很多
目標					
1. 促進民主（如佔領中環／雨傘運動）	1	2	3	4	5
2. 尋求社會公義（如反對新界東北發展示威）	1	2	3	4	5
3. 保障本土權益（如反水貨客示威）	1	2	3	4	5
方式					
4. 和平、理性、非暴力、非粗口（和理非非）	1	2	3	4	5
5. 勇武抗爭	1	2	3	4	5

第四部分

請填寫閣下在未來三個月參與下列社會運動的可能性：

	很少	頗少	一般	頗多	很多
1. 和平地促進民主的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5

2. 激進地促進民主的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5
3. 和平地尋求社會公義的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5
4. 激進地尋求社會公義的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5
5. 和平地保障本土權益的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5
6. 激進地保障本土權益的社會運動	1	2	3	4	5

第五部分

評估下列陳述：

過去兩個月，你覺得警方介入以下社會運動的可能性有多少？

	很少	頗少	一般	頗多	很多
1. 簽名運動	1	2	3	4	5
2. 網上聲討	1	2	3	4	5
3. 其他說服式社會運動	1	2	3	4	5
4. 遊行示威	1	2	3	4	5
5. 阻擋道路	1	2	3	4	5
6. 其他衝突式社會運動	1	2	3	4	5

第六部分

過去三個月，對你重要的人（即父母、情人、朋友、同學／同事及其他重要的人），有多少支持你參與社會運動？

	很少	頗少	一般	頗多	很多
1. 父母	1	2	3	4	5
2. 情人	1	2	3	4	5
3. 朋友	1	2	3	4	5
4. 同學／同事	1	2	3	4	5
5. 教師／導師	1	2	3	4	5
6. 其他重要的人	1	2	3	4	5

第七部分

請選取你過去三年曾參與的社會運動：

₁ 反對新界東北發展示威

₂ 反水貨客示威

₃ 七一遊行

₄ 佔領中環／雨傘運動

₅ 其他（請註明：_____）

第八部分

請填寫下列個人資料：

1. 年齡	_____
2. 性別	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 男 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 女
3. 教育程度	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 副學士 / 高級文憑 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 學士 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 研究院
4. 學院	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 香港城市大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 香港大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 香港中文大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 香港科技大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 香港理工大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 香港浸會大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 嶺南大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 香港教育學院 <input type="checkbox"/> ₉ 香港公開大學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₀ 其他（請註明：_____）
5. 國籍	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 香港 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 澳門 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 中國內地 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 台灣 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 日本 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 星加坡 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 美國 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 英國 <input type="checkbox"/> ₉ 其他（請註明：_____）
6. 學年	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 1 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 2 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 3 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 4
7. 學科	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 商科 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 人文學科 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 社會科學 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 科技及工程 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 創意媒體 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 法律 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 能源及環境 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 其他（請註明：_____）
8. 家庭成員數目	_____

9. 父親之教育程度	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 小學或以下 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 初中 (中一至中三) <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 高中 (中四至中七) <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 副學士 / 高級文憑 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 學士 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 研究院 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 不適用
10. 父親之職業	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 非技術工人 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 機台及機器操作員及裝配員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 工藝及有關人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 服務工作及銷售人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 文書支援人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 輔助專業人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 專業人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 經理及行政級人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₉ 其他 (請註明：_____) <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₀ 不適用
11. 母親之教育程度	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 小學或以下 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 初中 (中一至中三) <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 高中 (中四至中七) <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 副學士 / 高級文憑 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 學士 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 研究院 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 不適用
12. 母親之職業	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 非技術工人 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 機台及機器操作員及裝配員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 工藝及有關人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 服務工作及銷售人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 文書支援人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 輔助專業人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 專業人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 經理及行政級人員 <input type="checkbox"/> ₉ 其他 (請註明：_____) <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₀ 不適用
13. 家庭月入 (工作及投資上的全部收入)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 10,000 以下 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 10,000 至 14,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 15,000 至 24,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 25,000 至 39,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 40,000 至 59,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 60,000 至 79,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 80,000 至 99,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ 100,000 或以上
14. 家庭資產 (包括儲蓄、投資和物業)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ 100,000 以下 <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ 100,000 至 499,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ 500,000 至 999,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ 1,000,000 至 2,499,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ 2,500,000 至 4,999,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ 5,000,000 至 9,999,999 <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ 10,000,000 或以上