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# Source, Composition, and Social Movement of the Middle Class in Hong Kong and Macao – A Social Observation Based on Local Media Public Opinion\*

Yang Liao<sup>1</sup>, Li Meng<sup>2</sup>, Qiang Zhong<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> College of Public Management, South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou 510642 China, E-mail: ly2008@scau.edu.cn

<sup>2</sup> News Center in South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou 510642 China

<sup>3</sup> Department of United Front Work in South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou 510642 China

## Abstract

Based on relevant media reports from Hong Kong and Macao SAR, the article discusses the source composition and social characteristics of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao and analyzes the current interests of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao and the essence of its social movement. The article believes that the source of the middle class in the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Region is relatively complex, and that relatively rich, idle, entitled, and ideal ambitions are the main social group characteristics. At present, the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao has multiple interests appeals, and its social movements highlight the social tension of local society's differentiation and integration. Responding to these diversified interests and social movements requires the central government, the Hong Kong and Macao SAR governments to take advantage of the situation and integrate the demands of the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao into the regional synergy and innovation development of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao and the Pan-Pearl River Delta region. Promote the orderly development of local political reform and social harmony with the steady development of the economy.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macao Special Administrative Region, Middle class, Social Movement, Media Public Opinion, Social Observation

## I. Brief review of related literature

Due to the uniqueness of Hong Kong and Macao's economic and social development, the issue of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao has always been a topic of concern to scholars. Ossowski S.(1998) holds that people of different social types or different historical periods have different perceptions, imaginations, and interpretations of social structures. Li Lue (2010) believes that 87% of respondents believe that there is a middle class in the Macao society, but the standards of the middle class are different countries, institutions, and disciplines.

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\* The third article of a series of papers on social ecology and social change after Macao's sovereignty return to China

McKensey, a well-known consulting firm, believes that household income of RMB 2.5-100,000 is the dividing standard for China's middle class. Among them, the lower middle class of 2.5-4.0 million Yuan(RMB), 4.0-10 million RMB is the upper middle class. The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) believes that after deducting tax and inflation factors, households with a family income of RMB 600,000-100,000 belong to the Chinese middle class. Euromonitor, a consultancy, proposed that the population of the middle class in China reached 700 million in 2020, accounting for about 50% of the population at that time. According to a report jointly published by the United Nations Population Division and the United States Goldman Sachs, according to the World Bank Group's standards (\$4,000-17,000), the number of middle class in China will reach 1.4 billion in 2030, almost the middle class.

Hong Kong's famous scholar Lau Siu-kai (1982, 2016a) discussed the relationship between the middle class and social elites in Hong Kong and Hong Kong politics. Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi (1986, 1988) made a more in-depth analysis of the Chinese people's mentality in Hong Kong. He believed that the political and cultural connotations of Hong Kong Chinese and "utilitarian familyism" are two sides. Lau Siu-kai (2016b) also believes that the link between the elites of Hong Kong and the general public is very fragile. "The separation of elite politics and mass politics in Hong Kong has caused many negative consequences for Hong Kong politics, and at the same time, the experience of democratizing Hong Kong different." (Lau Siu-kai,2016b)Alvin Y. So and Ludmilla Kwitko (1990) argue that the new middle class, which was rapidly emerging in Hong Kong in the 1970s, has elevated the democratization process in Hong Kong.

Yi-Lee Wong (2004) used contemporary Hong Kong data to compare the career strategies and intergenerational migration strategies of forty teachers and thirty managers, arguing that teachers and managers use the same intergenerational migration strategy. Developing children's educational, economic, cultural and social resources in a similar way has led to a unified service class being formed in Hong Kong. Siu-Kai Lau (2013) believes that since the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, the middle class in Hong Kong has changed from a self-confident and self-satisfied social group to an anxious and dissatisfied group. These changes have brought about middle-class radicalism and intensified. The social and political frictions in Hong Kong, but because the middle class still has vested interests in the existing institutional arrangements, the instability of the middle class is unlikely to lead to political turmoil after the handover of Hong Kong.

Chen Xing and Xiao Zhiwei (2017) used questionnaire survey data and qualitative research data to analyze the size of the middle class of Macao residents and their participation in Macao's economic, social and political issues from the perspective of self-cognition and self-identification of Macao residents. Samaon Yuen (2018) analyzed the basic dimensions of the local middle class by examining the protest camp in Mong Kok, Hong Kong. Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao (2014) comparatively analyzed the status of the middle class in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, and mainland China.

Most scholars believe that sociology tends to be "good education, stable occupation, a specific value, and attitude, and achieve certain social status"; economics focuses on defining the middle class from the dimension of income and consumption. Since the return of sovereignty to China, there have been many changes in Hong Kong and Macao society. As a local "elite" class, although the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao is at the "sandwich level," they are the bridge between the local upper-level society and the lower-level society. They are the backbone of the "spindle-shaped" or "rugby"-type social structure, their words, and deeds. Affect the local social harmony and stability.

In the past, the study of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao was a single study. There was not a much comparative analysis of the sources, composition and social movements of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao. The significance of this paper is to revisit the source, composition, and characteristics of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, and to make a comparative analysis. On the other hand, observe and analyze the social movements of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao from relevant reports in the Hong Kong and Macao media, interest appeals and their development trend.

## II. Source, composition and social characteristics of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao

### 1. Definition of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao

The middle-class problem is a controversial topic. There is currently no consensus on the definition of the middle class in the academic community. Scholars from mainland China and Hong Kong and Macao, Li Xiuyan (2008) and Liu Zuyun, Wang Danfeng (2013), Chen Yu, etc. (2017) and so on, have discussed the concept of the middle class.

In Hong Kong, there are many ways to define the standards for the middle class. Hong Kong's strong financial secretary, Mr. Tsang Chun-wah, once said that it is considered a middle class for film and coffee. Hong Kong's former chief executive, Leung Chun-Ying, once believed that as long as there were 500 square feet of housing (less than 50 square meters), it would meet the middle standard. In 2013, a survey conducted in Hong Kong a few months ago showed that most people think that they have a property worth 2 million Yuan (HK\$, the same below) to 8 million Yuan of property; 500,000 Yuan to 6 million Yuan of assets, monthly income of 30,000 Yuan to 6 Ten thousand Yuan is considered a middle class"(Wang Ping, 2013).

The middle class in Macau may depend mainly on the economic situation and housing conditions of the residents. The results of the survey show that "in terms of self-identity of the middle class, it is mainly the economic status that determines the middle class of Macao residents. After controlling the income level, it is found that the influence of education, occupation and other factors on the middle-class identity of Macao residents It is not significant. But the impact of housing ownership on Macao's middle-class identity is statistically significant. In general, the mainstream opinion suggests that no housing is difficult to call the middle class" (Chen Xing et al., 2017: 61). What is the middle class? At present, academics and the industry are still seeing each other.

As the name suggests, the middle class is a social class with medium property (or wealth) that reflects the "ecological niche" of the class in the entire society of a country or region. From the perspective of social ecology, people of different classes are in different "ecological niches" in society. The "ecological niche" of the middle class should belong to the middle level of the social-ecological hierarchy, between the upper social society and the lower social society.

However, due to factors such as inflation, property or wealth tends to "shrink" and depreciate. The ranks of the middle class tend to sink, and it is easy to slip to the "lower level" of society, but identity status, social reputation, discourse power, etc. As the personal property or wealth "shrinks," it immediately decreases sharply; on the contrary, the wealth or property of the lower society increases, and in theory, it can "go" to the middle class, but the status, social reputation, discourse power, etc. The increase in personal property or wealth has increased accordingly. Therefore, the definition of the middle class by medium property (or wealth) seems to be biased. It is more pertinent to comprehensively consider the multi-dimensional factors such as personal property (or wealth), status, social reputation, and discourse power to define the middle class.

In view of this, we believe that the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao should be such a social group: middle- and high-level management of non-production front-line enterprises in Hong Kong or Macao communities, or occupations that are more generally recognized by local communities and stable wage income and higher than the lower levels. A group of nucleus which can communicate with the upper social and lower social groups and can use language or actions to influence others and promote social development and progress, especially white-collar managers, teachers, lawyers. Professionals and technicians, such as doctors, journalists, and brokers, can be subdivided into upper, middle, and lower layers or even finer.

## 2. Sources and composition of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao

According to the definition of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao comes from successful professional persons, white-collar managers, teachers, lawyers, physicians, economists, journalists, brokers, and other professional and technical personnel. However, there are differences between Hong Kong and Macao social history and reality. The composition of the middle class is also different.

From the perspective of composition, the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao can be roughly divided into three categories: the old middle class, the new middle class, and the new middle class. Among them, the old middle class is mainly from the traditional industry and commerce and manufacturers, from the lower society to the middle class, but has not yet reached the affluent upper class; the new middle class is mainly composed of well-educated professionals, most of them source.

In the old middle class, some young people from the lower classes gradually rose to the new middle class through their efforts to receive a good education and then engaged in stable "decent" work; the new middle class enjoyed the old middle class since childhood or the relatively rich material conditions of the new middle class and the social capital and interpersonal relationship network run by the grandparents, they have no worries and good academics, but they have a lot of work, but they like to trade stocks, financial management or in a personalized industry, it doesn't matter if you don't make money. What matters is whether you have any interest.

The division of the old, new, new and new middle class is not absolute, but there are also cases of "rich three generations," it basically reflects the characteristics of intergenerational inheritance in the production and reproduction of social ranks. Liu Zuyun and Wang Danfeng (2013) divided the middle class of Macao into the middle class, the new middle class, and the marginal middle class. They believe that the old middle class mainly refers to small employers, small owners, and self-employed people; the new middle class mainly includes most civil servants and general industries. Managers and professionals with certain qualifications; the marginal middle class refers to the clerk group including the gambling workers, who meet the middle-class standards in income, but not in terms of professional status, education and professional skills. Fully in line with the requirements of the middle class, sometimes referred to as "pseudo-middle class."

In terms of quantity, there are differences in the numbers of old, new, new and new types of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao. The Hong Kong society is relatively open and inclusive, and the vertical mobility of the society is stronger than that of the Macao society. Macao has been influenced by Catholicism and Chinese traditional culture for more than 400 years in Portugal and Australia. In addition to the long-term independence of the gaming industry, Macao residents have not paid enough attention to education in the past. The number of people who have changed their social ranks through higher education is lower than that in Hong Kong. The social class is solidified than the Hong Kong region. Therefore, relatively speaking, the middle class and the new middle class in the middle class in Hong Kong account for a relatively small proportion of the new middle class, while the old middle class and the new middle class in the Macao region account for a relatively larger proportion than the new middle class.

According to the 2011 census data of Macau's Statistics and Census Service, as of August 12, 2011, the total population of Macao was 552,503, including 62,304 foreign employees and 4,944 foreign students. 485,255 people (233,483 men, 48.1%; 251,772 women, 51.9%). From the academic point of view, 16.7% of the local residents of Macao in 2011 (16.8% of males and 16.6% of females) received higher education, an increase of 9.3 percentage points over 2001. Excluding foreign employees and foreign students, the tertiary education rate of Macao residents is 15.8%. Among them, there are 90,067 people with higher education qualifications, an increase of 186.6% compared with 2001; 80,155 people (89%) who completed degree programs, of which 85% have one degree, 12.8% have two degrees, and three Degrees accounted for 2.1%; according to major subjects, social science, business and law courses accounted for 43.1%, humanities and arts accounted for 12.9%, engineering, industry, and construction accounted for 9.9%; and degree obtained in Macau by degree of degree

obtained Those accounted for 35.3%, China accounted for 29.5%, and Taiwan accounted for 7.6%. (Macau's Statistics and Census Service, 2011)

Some scholars (Liu Zuyun and Wang Danfeng, 2013) use occupation as the main indicator, combined with income status, to define the scope of the middle class in Macao as civil servants and managers, professionals, technicians and auxiliary professionals and clerks with incomes between 10,000 and 40,000 Patacas. The middle class, which accounts for 36.1% of Macau's total employed population, accounts for about 22.1% of Macau's total population. According to the statistics of Macao's "Yearbook of Statistics 2016", the total number of civil servants and managers, professionals, technicians, assistant professionals and clerks in Macao totaled 187,700, accounting for 48.42% of the total employment of Macao in 2016. If the relatively high-income groups such as gambling dealers and chip changers are added, the number of middle class in Macao in 2016 reached 236,600, accounting for 60.71% of the population in Macao in 2016 (Macau's Statistics and Census Service, 2017) See Table 1 for details.

**Table 1. Changes in the number of middle-class population in Macao in 2006-2016**

Unit: ten thousand people

Occupation	sexuality	2006	2011	2014	2015	2016
Total number of Employed Persons	Male	14.11	16.59	20.34	20.85	20.11
	Female	12.31	16.17	18.47	18.80	18.86
	<b>Total</b>	<b>26.42</b>	<b>32.76</b>	<b>38.81</b>	<b>39.65</b>	<b>38.97</b>
Legislators, government officials, corporate leaders, business leaders, and managers	Male	1.28	1.14	1.87	1.84	1.87
	Female	0.42	0.52	0.87	0.89	0.84
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>1.66</b>	<b>2.74</b>	<b>2.73</b>	<b>2.71</b>
Professional	Male	0.53	0.65	1.25	1.07	0.97
	Female	0.41	0.55	0.70	0.82	0.71
	<b>Total</b>	<b>0.94</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>1.95</b>	<b>1.89</b>	<b>1.68</b>
Technicians and supporting professionals	Male	1.20	1.56	2.17	2.15	2.10
	Female	1.14	1.49	2.04	2.19	2.13
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2.34</b>	<b>3.05</b>	<b>4.21</b>	<b>4.34</b>	<b>4.23</b>
Clerk	Male	2.34	3.40	3.89	3.87	3.69
	Female	3.76	5.64	6.95	6.69	6.56
	<b>Total</b>	<b>6.10</b>	<b>9.04</b>	<b>10.84</b>	<b>10.56</b>	<b>10.25</b>
Gambling officials, chips, cash changer, etc	Male	1.18	1.77	2.02	2.00	1.83
	Female	1.16	2.24	2.85	2.97	2.96
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2.34</b>	<b>4.01</b>	<b>4.87</b>	<b>4.97</b>	<b>4.79</b>

**Source:** *Yearbook of Statistics 2016*, Macau's Statistics and Census Service, August 2017, P. 72.

The data in Table 1 shows that the source of the middle class in Macao is diverse, and it seems that it can be subdivided into three levels: upper, middle and lower. Among them, legislators, government officials, community leaders, corporate leaders, and managers are the upper middle class of Macao, and their proportion of total employment in Macao has increased from 6.43% in 2006 to 6.95% in 2016, a small increase; Personnel, technicians and auxiliary professionals are middle-class among the middle class in Macao, and their share of total employment in Macao has increased from 12.41% in 2006 to 15.17% in 2016, an increase of nearly 3 percentage points in 11 years; clerks and gambling The income and education level of dealers and chip changers is relatively lower than that of professionals, technicians, and auxiliary professionals. It can be regarded as the lower middle class of Macao, and its proportion of total employment in Macao has decreased from 31.95% in 2006 to 2016. The 38.59% of the year indicates that the internal structure of the middle class in Macao,

especially the lower middle class, is not stable enough and is susceptible to the local socio-economic development.

According to the definition of middle-income households with a monthly income of HK\$14,000, according to the Hong Kong SAR Government's Statistics Department, about 55% of households in Hong Kong are middle-class families around 2012 (Wang Ping, 2013). After 2013, the Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region defines a Hong Kong family with a monthly income of HK\$1.5-500,000 as a middle-class family. (Xiao Zuonv, 2014) Some scholars believe that Hong Kong's middle-class families account for at least 50% of the 2.4 million households in Hong Kong (Pan Yan, 2010). Others believe that the number of middle class in Hong Kong is about 30% of the total population of Hong Kong (Li Xiaoyu, 2012). Some scholars believe that the number of middle class in Hong Kong is 30%-40% of the total population of Hong Kong. If you add 280,000 SMEs, the number of owners will exceed 40%. (Chen Lijun,2004) Therefore, according to the broad standard, at least 50% of the local residents of Hong Kong belong to the middle class (Zi mai, 2002) believes that according to the information provided by the 2001 census report of the Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, "middle-class persons account for 70% of Hong Kong's population."

### 3. Characteristics of the social group of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao

With regard to the characteristics of the social groups of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, scholars have done research and generalization: the class consciousness of the middle class in Macao is weaker than that in Hong Kong, the education level is lower than that in Hong Kong, and the income gap is obvious (Liu Zuyun and Wang Danfeng, 2013). The middle class in Hong Kong is a loose group that swings between the capital class and the grassroots. The color of personal utilitarianism is strong (Li Xiyuan, 2008). It should be said that the structure of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is not uniform. Because of its diversified sources, the social hierarchy is vulnerable to local economic conditions and personal or family income and may be more concerned with the "ecological position" of individuals or families in local communities. Not concerned about the interests of the entire middle class. However, professionals in the local middle class, especially college teachers and lawyers, may have more inspiration and social mission to enlighten the people and pursue social fairness and justice and show their concern or "right guarding" actions against the local social class. It is true that the middle class is only a relatively general concept and social group. The perceptions inside and outside the Hong Kong and Macao middle class may also be inconsistent. However, the "four" situation with money, leisure, right and ideal ambition may be considered. A simplified "label" for the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao.

**Firstly, it is relatively "rich."** The "rich" here is just a relative concept. The "rich" of the middle class is relative to the lower society. It is generally higher than the median level of the local society. It is "rich" than the lower society but "poor" than the upper class and is the basic normal of the income of the middle class. The middle class generally has jobs that are more enviable and decent (such as teachers, lawyers, physicians, executives, etc.), higher wages, stable income, "having a car", "having a house", "having real estate and working capital" The basic portrayal of its "rich". Of course, due to the different economic development conditions in Hong Kong and Macao, the median income level of the local society will be different, and the "rich" status of the middle class will consist of course change. Relatively speaking, the upper class of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is "rich" than the middle and lower levels of the local middle class. Some white-collar workers may also be in a "no house, no car, no movable property" situation, let alone possessing real estate.

**Secondly, it is relatively "free."** The "leisure" here mainly refers to leisure time and space. Unlike the lower social groups, who are rushing around for life and being tired of life, the middle class has relatively more leisure time and leisure space. Due to its relatively stable high income and leisure time, the middle-class leisure tourism consumption, cultural entertainment, and even art collections are important indicators of its "leisure", surpassing the "physiological needs" of the lower society and achieving "safety needs +", but has not yet reached the upper self-realization needs. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, from the physiological needs to the self-realization needs,

it is a pyramidal level of ascending process, which needs to experience "security needs," "social needs" and "respect for needs." The middle class is in "safety needs." In the "social needs" and "respect for needs" levels, but because there are certain differences within the middle class due to multiple sources, there may be "security needs + social needs", "security needs + social needs" + Respect for the need, "safety needs + respect for needs" and other alienation features. It should be noted that the lower classes of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao may also be "no leisure." They may be forced to use their leisure time for work in the same way as the blue-collar workers in the lower strata, in exchange for more and greater pay returns.

**Thirdly, it is relatively "right."** The "right" here has multiple meanings: one is "the right," and the other is "the power." Power and rights are not only important terms in political science but also an important yardstick for measuring and characterizing a society's civilization. Of course, the right to life and the right to development are the most basic human rights. The middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, like other social classes, also has the basic human rights to survival and development.

As for "power", the more emphasis here is that the middle class has more professional knowledge and family feelings than the lower class and has more "rights of discourse" and "right to speak", mainly in the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao, especially the ranks of Kochi executives pay attention to local social public affairs and public interest and "speak" on the mass media platform or other public spaces to show their value orientation and even action and practice, trying to pass their own "right to speak", or "the right to speak" affects the decision-making consultation and governance operations of the local public sector. Therefore, the "public knowledge" of the society can be regarded as a stereotyped and vulgar label of the relative rights of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao to some extent.

They are often active in the public media, or as leaders in various local communities, planning various large-scale events and expressing their own voices in various ways. However, some middle-class people in Hong Kong and Macao have expressed "indifference" or "silence" to public affairs such as Hong Kong and Macao politics. This also reflects some extent the complex composition of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao and the weakening of class consciousness.

**Fourthly, there is a higher ideological realm and certain ideal ambitions.** The middle class in Hong Kong and Macao generally have received a good higher education. Some of them also have experience studying abroad. They are familiar with the local social situation in Hong Kong and Macao and have a certain understanding of the society of other countries and regions in the world. "The world's vision, acting on the ground" can be said to be a simple summary of the ideology of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao.

Whether it is "the height of the temple" or "the distance between the rivers and lakes", they all have a responsibility and responsibility for caring for the development of the country and the region, promoting social fairness, justice and development, just like the ancient Chinese scholars "slim, family, The mind of governing the country and the world.

In comparison, the middle class in Hong Kong pays more attention to national governance, Hong Kong affairs and the development of individual citizens. Chen Lijun (2004) believes that since the reunification of Hong Kong, the middle class in Hong Kong has experienced a political sensation to the political enthusiasm and actively participate in the political transformation process. Although the reasons are mainly related to changing the individual's living situation, they pursue democracy and freedom. The political mentality is not unrelated. They are also more sensitive, and their action plans are more radical; the middle class in Macau is relatively moderate, and constructive criticism is more than excessive action. In other words, the ideological realm and mode of action of the middle class in Hong Kong are more radical, while the middle class in the Macao region is relatively moderate.



### III. Current interests and social movements of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao

As mentioned earlier, the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is not a "single piece" but a "middle" class relative to the upper class and the lower class. The social and historical background of Hong Kong and Macao and the economic and social structures are different. In addition, the sources of Hong Kong and Macao's middle class are diversified, making the interests of Hong Kong and Macao middle-class complex and diverse. This kind of different interests appeals to the new tasks and problems of the united front work of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao.

#### 1. The middle class in Hong Kong and Macao generally hopes that the economic income will increase steadily, but they are not willing to share the social governance costs, and related marginal costs brought about by the adjustment of public policies brought about by the excessive income gap between Hong Kong and Macao residents.

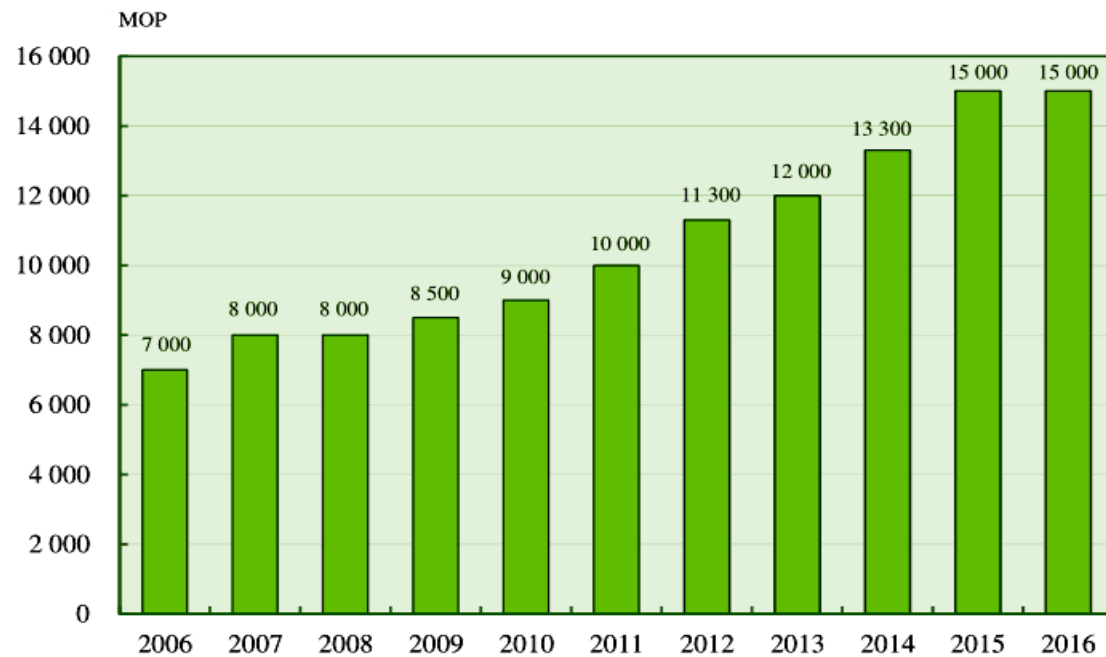
When Hong Kong's sovereignty returned to China, due to the impact of the Asian financial crisis in 1998, the SARS attack in 2003 and the global economic crisis in 2008, Hong Kong's economic development slowed down, and residents' incomes grew slowly. The middle class in Hong Kong has been described by the Hong Kong media as "middle miserable" because Hong Kong's high cost of living is already rising to the bottom line they can afford (Min Zhe, 2013). Some even believe that the middle class in Hong Kong has become the most frustrated group by the backbone of social stability and prosperity (Tan Tianmei, 2013).

According to a survey conducted in 2013, 60% of the more than 3.6 million working people in Hong Kong do not need to pay personal income tax, and 37% of the taxpayers are mostly middle-class (Xiao Zuonv, 2014). "About 10% of the lowest-income families in Hong Kong can enjoy the minimum living allowance, 30% of the low- and middle-income people enjoy the government's low-rent housing, and those with low income can apply for affordable housing. The income of the middle-class is just over the standard, and the housing problem depends on itself. Work hard to solve"(Wang Ping, 2013). They even used 2/3 of their income for rent (Yu Jinyuan, 2012). The steady increase in income and the improvement of the quality of life are the expectations and dreams of the middle class in Hong Kong.

According to the Hong Kong Bauhinia Studies Research Center's 2013 survey on the perception of the "middle class," the economic capital condition is the main indicator for defining the middle class, and the quality of life ranks 10th among the 11 conditions. In the 1005 Hong Kong citizens surveyed, more than 80% thought that economic capital is an important condition for defining middle class. 86% of respondents think that the middle class should have their own property, and 90% of respondents think that the middle class has certain assets. 89% believe that middle income is high. As for the value of the self-owned property that the middle class in Hong Kong should own, more than 56% of the people think that they must have a property worth at least HK\$2 million to HK\$2 million; 63% think that after deducting the value of the property, the middle class should have at least HK\$5-6 million in assets. 45% of people believe that the monthly income of the middle class should be at least 30,000-60,000 Hong Kong dollars (Anonymous, 2013).

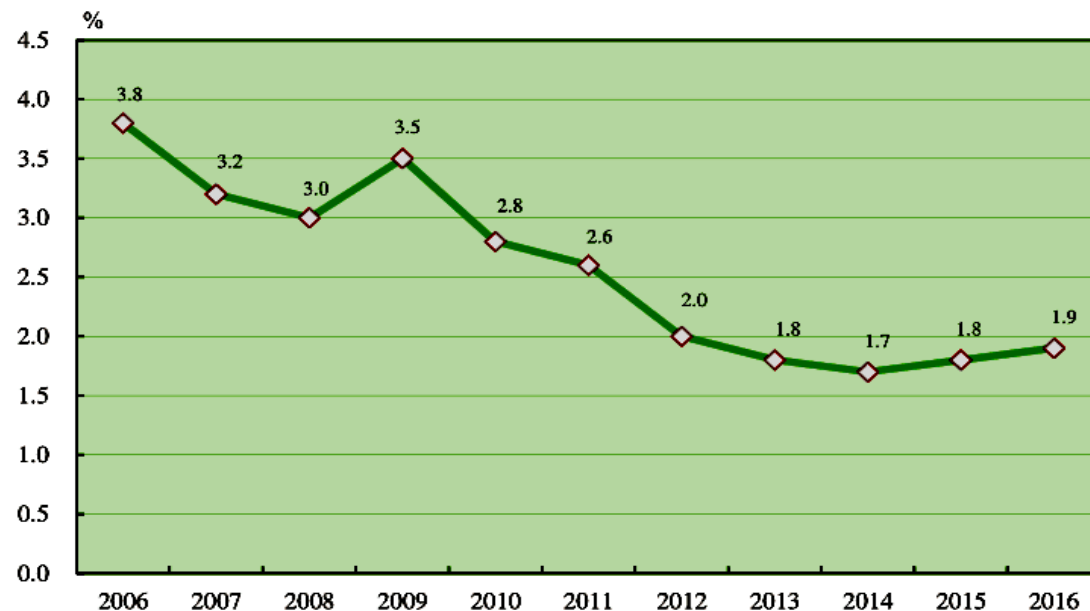
The middle class in Macao is also facing inflationary pressures in recent years. Although the median monthly income of Macao residents is basically increasing, and the unemployment rate is low, the desire of Macao residents, especially the middle class, to "settle in" is still strong. Chen Jialiang, deputy director of the *Qunli* Center in Macau, said: "Macao's stratification of the middle class is still unclear. Many middle-class people have low recognition of the self-class. Plus their conditions are not in line with the application for social housing, to apply now. Through the sorting of housing estates, there is no way to compete with the grassroots to combat their confidence in society and even the government. In the long run, they will greatly reduce their concern and participation in social affairs, creating a vicious circle"(Anonymous, 2017f). To this end, he suggested that "the government should formulate corresponding policies to help the middle class as soon as possible, such as modifying the waiting list of the waiting houses, and assigning them to applicants of each category according to

a certain proportion; accelerating the recovery and utilization of idle land, improving the housing system, and building suitable The "Limited Price Limit Purchases" purchased by the middle class; or when developers construct new buildings, they should be restricted to allocate a certain percentage for the above purposes and strive to improve the living environment and quality of the middle class" (Anonymous, 2017f).



Source: *Yearbook of Statistics 2016*, Macau's Statistics and Census Service, August 2017, P. 64.

**Figure 1. 2006-2016 median monthly working income of Macao residents**



Source: *Yearbook of Statistics 2016*, Macau's Statistics and Census Service, August 2017, P. 64.

**Figure 2. 2006-2016 changes in the unemployment rate of Macao residents**

Figures 1 and 2 respectively reflect the unemployment rate of Macao residents whose monthly income has increased continuously from 2006 to 2016 and the unemployment rate tends to decrease and below 2.0% since 2012. However, this does not mean that there is no pressure on the life of Macao's middle class.

In fact, reports and discussions by local media such as the Macau Daily on alleviating the economic pressure of the middle class are also common in newspapers. In the political platform propaganda before the election of the 6th Legislative Council of Macao on September 17, 2017, the 24 participating groups including the owners of *Haiyiju* believe that housing (including property prices, public housing construction) is The top priority of the 2017 Macao Legislative Council election (Yang Jialong, 2017).

Chen Jialiang, deputy director of *Qunli Think Tank* Center, said: "At present, the government has a large gap in the support policies for the middle class. Relevant departments should study and follow up in due course, and implement relevant support policies and measures as soon as possible. Appropriately allocated to each type of applicants, etc., to help the 'middle class' solve the dilemma" (Anonymous, 2017f). The tenth group of the second candidate for the ideological and political power, Robes, "questioned why the SAR government did not build civil servants' dormitories and believed that resources should be allocated equally"(Anonymous, 2017h).

Like the middle class in Hong Kong, the middle class in Macao has a higher demand for real estate such as housing. The Chief Executive of Macao has stated that "the SAR Government has always attached great importance to the housing demand of residents. In the past, the distribution of housing and housing has repeatedly adopted different administrative procedures. The Government has almost reviewed each method in order to respond to the public's demand for housing truly. Resolve housing problems faster" (Anonymous, 2016b). During the May 1st International Labor Day in 2016, there were many social groups in Macao to express their appeals, and housing issues were one of them. "The group criticized the government for letting house prices remain at a very high level for a long time. Residents can only look forward to public housing and ask the government to build a large number of houses as soon as possible to solve the needs of residents effectively" (Anonymous, 2016d).

Due to the narrowness of people in Hong Kong and Macao, the scarcity of land resources and the high housing prices, self-owned properties have become a dream that Hong Kong and Macao middle-class people are eager to find, but it is difficult or even inconsistent with applying for low-rent housing and affordable housing. The "sandwich layer," once the property of the property has been built, has become a "house slave," and its own assets and movable property are transferred to real estate. The quality of life generally declines. Some middle-class people think that they have slipped down and received the lower society, even with "*Diu-silk*" Self-abuse.

## **2. The demands of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao for the education of their children and the vertical flow of their children are more common, but the class mobility in Hong Kong and Macao has become relatively solid**

A good educational background and educational experience will help to improve the social adaptability and work level of the educated, and it is also an important condition for promoting the vertical flow of society. "*Wang Zi Cheng Long*" and "*Wang nv Cheng Feng*" are the traditional Chinese thoughts. The Hong Kong and Macao middle class is no exception. Of course, Macao is unique in its gambling industry, and its long-term economic development has even affected the employment orientation and educational choices of Macao youth. However, the middle class in Macao pays more attention to the education of their children. In the election of the directly elected seats in the 6th Legislative Council of Macao, many groups of "political platforms" propaganda mentioned education issues, and some groups such as the power of the public even proposed free education in universities.

During the May 1st International Labor Day 2016, the Macao Gaming Enterprise Staff Association and other responsible persons sent a letter to the Macao SAR government headquarters to express their appeal: "The government should continue to maintain the policy of not including foreign employment in positions such as Zhuanghe and the director of the supervision field to ensure local employees. The employment is stable, and at the same time, it promotes the cultivation and reuse of local talents, urges the enterprises to strengthen vocational training, enhance their vocational skills and employment competitiveness, and promote the horizontal mobility and upward mobility of local employees" (Anonymous, 2016a).

In 2016, during the process of the Macao SAR government seeking the first five-year draft plan from Macao residents, different associations and middle-class people expressed concern about the vertical flow of education and society. "Now and in the future, the main demand for Australian employment is upward mobility. This is the core part of the draft. Therefore, Macao should shift from heavy employment to heavy employment quality. The draft regret has not been deployed. Macau is not only a gaming industry but more attention. People in all industries are capitalized and flow upwards" (Anonymous, 2016c).

According to the Macao Chinese Students Association and the Macao Youth Research Association, the results of the "Investigation on the Development of Macao College Students" in the second quarter of 2017 show that 80% of college and university students will be directly employed after graduation, and 15% choose to continue their studies. Only a few students want to start a business in real time; when choosing a career and work, nearly 40% of the students who are interviewed pay the most attention to the development prospects and promotion space. More than 30% think that the salary and benefits are more important, and the most important interest or professionalism. The students are 10% each; the top five students are interested in the industry tourism gambling (17%), education (11.7%), science and engineering related industries (9.1%), civil servants (9.1%), financial industry (8.7%), etc. In the first job salary, two-thirds of the respondents believe that they should receive a monthly salary of 1201-1800 patacas (Anonymous, 2017a).

The demands of the middle class in Hong Kong for the education of children and the vertical flow of society are more common. In the 1970s and 1980s, the first generation of "middle class" who had risen in Hong Kong society came from non-middle-class families. "They are successful generations who have been promoted to the middle class through educational channels and with diplomas" (Anonymous, 2004). They naturally also hope that their children will be among the middle class through educational channels and fair competition.

However, the social and ecological environment faced by the children of the lower class of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao today is different from that of their parents. Not only are there fewer opportunities for promotion, but they also have greater pressure for survival and insufficient social mobility. The Macao Federation of Students and the Youth Research Institute jointly conducted the "Investigation on the Intention of the Development of Macao College Students." It was found that more than half of the college students' career plans were not clear. Sixty percent adults said they had plans but were not clear enough. Another 20% did not think carefully or never thought about it. Through career planning; Macao students do not value the relevance of work and majors. On the other hand, when choosing a job, only one adult will think that work is most important in relation to his or her profession (Anonymous, 2017e).

According to Shiria, the first candidate of the 12th group of "citizen power" who lost the election of the directly elected seats in the 6th Legislative Council of Macao, their team mainly built a development platform for young people. Most of the members are young people aged 20-30. Young people, but "the young people in Macao are politically indifferent and have low participation. In the final analysis, they must change the current electoral culture, and change can promote more young people to participate in politics." "It is especially difficult for newcomers to join the parliament. This is not conducive to young people. The long-term development of a generation" (Anonymous, 2017g).

Although there are many factors affecting the success of the election, it may also reflect some extent that the local social class tends to solidify. This seems to be a footnote in the political propaganda of Song-Biqi, the first candidate of the eighth group of Macao People's Association. Song-Biqi believes that "The infrastructure and system improvement of Macao has not been in place for a long time, leading to deep-seated contradictions in society and insufficient urban development activities. People must fight for the road and must change the hereditary system of the father-son and husband-in-law to become Macao. The future will bring about change" (Anonymous, 2017i).

**3. The middle class in Hong Kong and Macao gradually turned from political indifference to political enthusiasm and actively participated in political activities, and began to seek their own right to**

### subsistence and development from the "discourse power" and "discourse power," but there is a big gap between ideal and reality gap

At present, the middle class in Hong Kong faces multiple economic, social and political dilemmas, and presents four characteristics: political complexity, political orientation, political interests, and political positions.(Wu Qiaoyu,2017)They are "most pragmatic, rational and busy, so there is not much emotional expression in politics, and there is no time to go to the streets to scream for themselves. Naturally, because of the lack of media and political spokespersons, they become 'the silent majority'"(Wang Ping,2012). According to the poll conducted by the University of Hong Kong's public opinion research program at the end of 2016, Macao citizens are most concerned about people's livelihood (73.6%), followed by economic issues (21.7%), and only 1.4% of the respondents who are most concerned about political issues (Anonymous, 2017d). However, when they "have more and more opportunities to receive higher education, the middle class's population will gradually expand. They not only have the certain economic strength and social status, but in order to protect their own interests, they will actively participate in politics. In order to increase its influence in society. At the same time, it may be because the active participation of middle-class people in politics also affects the political awakening of the lower classes, so they are also active in political activities and stimulate the development of democratization"(Xin Sheng, 2016).

According to the provisions of the Basic Law on Macao's political system, the first Legislative Council after the reunification of Macao consisted of 8 directly elected members, 8 elected members, and 7 appointed members, consisting of 23 members. According to the provisions of Annex II of the Basic Law, the second Legislative Council (2001) consists of 27 members, including 10 directly elected members, 10 elected members, and 7 appointed members. The third Legislative Council (2005) added direct elections. The number of Members to 12 members, the number of elected and appointed members remains unchanged, consisting of 29 members. The number of directly elected seats in the 5th Legislative Council (2013) increased from 12 to 14 seats. The number of elected seats increased from 10 to 12 seats. The 7 seats appointed by the Government remained unchanged. The number of directly elected seats, elected seats and appointed seats of the sixth Legislative Council (2017) are the same as that of the fifth Legislative Council. The difference is that the number of associations and voting participants participating indirectly elected seats has increased. The direct elections and candidates of the 6th Legislative Council of Macao have reached a new high. There are 24 groups and 186 candidates for election. There are 300,000 registered voters, nearly 30,000 more than the previous session. See Table 2 for details.

**Table 2. Election or appointment of the Legislative Council of Macao (2001-2017)**

Item		Year				
		2001	2005	2009	2013	2017
Direct election	Number of seats	10	12	12	14	14
	Natural person voters (person)	159,813	220,653	248,708	276,034	307,020
	Voting rate (%)	52.34	58.39	59.91	55.02	56.67
Indirect election	Number of seats	10	10	10	12	12
	Legal person electorate(person)	625	905	973	719	859
	Voting rate (%)	65.12	61.95	—	79.51	91.00
Number of seats appointed by the chief executive		7	7	7	7	7

**Source:** According to the Macao Special Administrative Region Government Legislative Council election official website information synthesis.

**Table 3. Election and electoral appeal of directly elected seats in the sixth Legislative Council of Macao**

Group	Group name	Number of votes	Number of seats obtained	Key points of the political programme	Appeal category
1	New Macao dream	199	0	Striving for "double universal suffrage"; opposing "divorce law"; striving for universities to increase online purchasing, environmental protection and cultural innovation courses to cultivate relevant talents and financial development; striving for moderate economic diversification; advocating that major government expenditures and funding must be approved by the Legislative Council; reopening public housing rotation to curb soaring property prices; and establishing a cultural heritage protection commissioner. Any plan should give priority to the protection of cultural heritage; ensure the employment of local workers, control the importation of foreign labor; implement the "trade union law", "minimum wage" and the right to collective bargaining as soon as possible; and implement welfare measures such as the withdrawal of insurance for the whole people, the legislation on cash sharing and the increase of living allowance for the elderly	Political appeals and nonpolitical (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
2	the strength of numbers	12340	1	Should formulate a policy to help the middle class as early as possible, revise the way of waiting for housing, speed up the recovery and utilization of idle land, improve the housing system, build "price-limited and purchase-limited buildings" suitable for the middle class, and focus on improving the living environment and quality of the middle class; improve the professional certification system and a series of supporting measures, and vigorously develop diversification. Industry, creating more upward mobility for more social talents.	Nonpolitical (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
3	Democratic Chang	10080	1	safeguarding and promoting Macao's major resources and engaging in social construction with far-reaching social impact; implement the reclamation of the new city "Macao people" and advocate "the reconstruction of the inner harbor area and the reconstruction of the	Political appeals and nonpolitical (people's livelihood) aspirations are both

				western coast of the Macao Peninsula."	
4	Citizen supervision	9590	1	The content of the program is divided into eight sections: housing and transportation, medical and healthcare, education and culture, family and society, employment and entrepreneurship, public administration, environmental protection of city planning, and political development. It is hoped that the problems of housing, transportation, medical treatment, education and culture in Macao will be solved systematically, and suggestions on system innovation will be put forward to solve them. The problem of medical treatment improves the relationship between doctors and patients.	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
5	Pink and love-people	Retreat	—		
6	New hope	14386	1	striving for the opening of the Legislative Council Panel meeting and continue to pay attention to the legislation of the people's livelihood	More political appeals
7	Advance for Academic Society	9213	1	Senior officials' accountability, strengthening administrative supervision, general election chief executive, increasing direct election seats, laws and regulations, etc.	More political appeals
8	working in coordination with the masses of the people	10103	1	"Do the real thing" and "fight the way out."	Political appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
9	People's Federation	14879	1	The details are not clear	
10	Ideological and political power	672	0	promoting parliamentary reform, pay attention to the supply of public housing, and improve the "equal pay for equal work" and look forward to the repair of public servants	Political appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
11	Good home	9496	1	promoting integrated education in an all-around way, strive to support the work of making a living for our families, establish a permanent mechanism to promote quality education, adjust teachers' salaries and benefits, establish a sound retirement security mechanism, and accelerate the completion of the Blue Sky Project.	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
12	Civic power	1305	0	Youth first, discontent suppressed,	Political

				youth policy must have medium and long-term planning to avoid the lack of continuity; voter registration abolish -ed, the first 25 to 35-year-old youth can be guaranteed by the government, halved or exempted from the first phase, to create a written park, the implementation of Free University education; and international organizations and regional institutions in cooperation, let young people participate and improve themselves	appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
13	New Democracy	11381	1	The details are not clear	
14	New alliance for the development of Macao	10452	1	Development first, livability first, youth first, education as the basis, culture as the root, health-oriented, good governance for the people, cooperation and sharing.	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
15	New power of communication	7162	0	Reasonable and realistic supervision and innovation, new life, new governance, and new development, promote the reform of coastal, transportation, housing, environmental protection, health care, education, and other policies, improve the emergency response mechanism, avoid repetition.	Political appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
16	concentric	16696	2	focus on young people's choice of housing development, and promote effective training programs to improve public housing policies.	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
17	The justice of Macao	393	0	Promoting the third type of housing plan, as soon as possible plan to build 80,000 new reclamation public housing units, help grass-roots and sandwich class upstairs, social security pension threshold to 60 years old and increase to 5,000 yuan; promote the reduction of foreign labor, to protect local employment; accelerate the reconstruction of old areas, as soon as possible to promote the detection and repair of dangerous buildings, plus Strengthen community health renovation; improve public transport, build more parking lots; break the monopoly of the group market, suppress the unreasonable situation of excessive prices; increase education funds, implement 19-year compulsory education, actively train local talents, expand their space for promotion, support youth, improve the competitiveness of local youth; establish senior	Political appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both



				officials to ask Responsibility system, accelerate the reform process of Legislative Council elections, and gradually reduce or abolish the number of official and inter-elected seats.	
18	Reform and Innovation Alliance	8186	0	For the next generation to strive to protect the people's livelihood, people's livelihood Protection long-term mechanism, convenient and high-quality transportation; to implement economic development planning, support the development of small and medium-sized enterprises; to play the role of the Sino-Portuguese platform, win-win regional cooperation and development; to gradually develop the political system, supervision and improvement of the rule of law; to accelerate the improvement of urban planning, to achieve the goal of housing; We should improve the construction of the medical system and show genuine concern for the disadvantaged groups, formulate a scientific population policy and improve the talent building system in Australia, advocate the establishment of a youth platform to promote the healthy development of the body and mind, and train bilingual talents in China and Portugal to promote the development of diversified industries.	Political appeals and non-political (people's livelihood) aspirations are both
19	Citizen wholeheartedly	904	0	The details are not clear	
20	Alliance of Guangdong and Macao	17214	2	building a happy Macao, pay attention to the welfare of the elderly, provide support for middle-aged entrepreneurs, provide a youth life plan platform with high quality, and optimize the grassroots civil servants' provident fund system; pay attention to housing, transportation, medical and other livelihood issues; improve public transport, road management and pedestrian system, and improve the health care reform	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
21	Light at the grass-roots level	823	0	The details are not clear	
22	Mutual assistance at the grass-roots level	1350	0	The details are not clear	
23	Democratic start	279	0	Giving priority to local employment, strictly curb all abuses of the policy of importing foreign employees, set	Non-political (people's livelihood)

				up a mechanism for the exit of foreign employees, promote the moderate economic development and diversification of industries in Australia, optimize the industrial structure, create more employment opportunities, and promote upward mobility of young people; formulate diversified development strategies for local talent training and strengthen careers. Technical education development; urging the government to implement the "urban renewal" plan as soon as possible to optimize the quality of life of residents in old areas; implementing the "bus priority" to put forward administrative policies, striving to formulate the "road environmental protection education law"; advocating the reform of the economic housing system	demands are the main ones
24	Haiyiju Rights Alliance	2399	0	Solving the incident of Hai Yi Ju, improve residents' happiness, improve administrative efficiency, and equitable distribution of social resources	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones
25	Gaming staff at the forefront	3126	0	In order to improve the welfare of gambling employees, 90 days of maternity leave for women and 5 days of paid maternity leave for men, the gambling enterprises should provide night shift allowance, housing allowance, and childcare services to the employees, and the income of tea should be attributed to the employees. To work for Macau residents, to enhance the employment and promotion opportunities of local people; to strive for a comprehensive ban on smoking indoors casinos; to set up a 24-hour residential smoking inspector; to improve the penalties for casinos violating the "Tobacco Control Law"; to implement the formulation of the "Trade Union Law" and the right to collective bargaining as soon as possible.	Non-political (people's livelihood) demands are the main ones

**Source:** according to the information published in the electronic version of Macao daily on 3-17 September 2017.

According to the statistics in Table 3, in addition to a few groups such as *Haiyiju* Rights Alliance and the front line of gambling employees, many groups of political propaganda involve political and non-political demands. Among them, the political demands for supervision and accountability and housing, transportation, education, medical care, and other people's livelihood appeals are the most. "Analysis of the non-political appeals of various groups of platforms can reveal that housing (including property prices, public housing construction) is

the top priority of this year's Legislative Council elections, including 24 elections including *Hai Yiju*. It is mentioned. The most frequently mentioned non-political demands are transportation, education (including tuition), medical care (including quality, resources, etc.), and about two-thirds of the groups are mentioned"(Yang Jialong, 2017).

Of course, "in view of the fact that there is no political party in Macao and no differences in class interests and political positions, there is no essential difference between the organization of the Legislative Council and the 'political platform' proposed by the candidates. In the strict sense, it is just a similar political opinion. Therefore, it is necessary to imitate the electoral methods under the mature capitalist system, especially the vigorous campaign activities, which deserve to be considered and considered"(Li Jiazeng, 2017). This is reasonable and insightful.

In the political propaganda of the direct elections of the 6th Legislative Council of Macao, the political demands for supervision and accountability are more obvious. These political demands include accountability of senior officials, strengthening administrative supervision of governance, general elections, increasing direct election seats, laws and regulations and legal mechanisms, open recruitment of official positions, direct elections, human rights, and encouraging youth participation in politics."By observing and analyzing political appeals, we can find that the most political appeals are: the third group of democratic Chang, the seventh group of schools, the thirteenth group of new democratic forces; in addition, the second group similar to the above three groups. The appeals of the 13 groups of democratic start-ups in the direct election of the district are not known, so they become the second most popular group of political appeals. The above-mentioned pan-democrats all mention human rights protection and freedom of the press and other related rights"(Yang Jialong, 2017).

Obviously, the political enthusiasm and active participation of the Macao middle class in the propaganda of the political program directly elected by the 6th Legislative Council reflects the beginning of the Macao middle class to seek their own right to subsistence and development from the "discourse power" and "discourse power" right.

#### **4. The personal dreams of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao are integrated into the "Hong Kong Dream" or "Macau Dream" and "Chinese Dream." The ideal persistence and the persistence of dreams are accelerating and strengthening the formation of local middle-class consciousness, but the individual middle-class dreams and The dream between Hong Kong or Macau and the Chinese dream is still relatively difficult**

Since the launch of Macao's first five-year development plan in 2015, the Macao SAR government has gradually absorbed the personal dream of the middle class in Macao into the "Macau Dream" after preliminary research and collection of public opinion. The "Macau Dream" is an important part of the "Chinese Dream" and has flown to a wider world through the construction of the *Dawan Districts* of Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macao and the construction of the "Belt and Road."

The development of Hong Kong's middle class after 20 years of Hong Kong's return to the motherland has gradually realized that Hong Kong is a part of China and cannot and cannot be "independent." The so-called "Western democracy," local thoughts and "love to the UK" mentality will only The intensification of the tearing of Hong Kong society is not conducive to the stability of Hong Kong society and the interests of the middle class in Hong Kong.

According to the press release of the "Hong Kong Public Opinion and Political Development" survey released by the Communication and Public Opinion Survey Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong on June 7, 2017, 30.2% of the respondents expressed their "the central government's practice of implementing one country, two systems in Hong Kong". "Not satisfied", 38.7% of the respondents expressed satisfaction, 30.1% said "general"; for the overall situation of Hong Kong society in the past 20 years, 62.9% of respondents considered "poor" and 15.4% thought "Well," 19.2% of people think "almost"; for the perception of the future development of Hong Kong society, 33.4% said "pessimistic", 29.1% said "optimistic", 37.1% said "general"; for 2047 After the year,

Hong Kong maintained the view of "one country, two systems", 71.2% said "support", 4.9% said it opposed, 22.3% said "general"; for Hong Kong after 2047, whether Hong Kong is fully governed by the central government, 14.7% said "support", 58.6% said "objection", 24.3% said "general"; 11.4% said "support" for Hong Kong after 2047, 60.2% said "opposing", 25.9% said "general"; for Hong Kong's "independence" in the foreseeable future, 83.5% said "no possibility" and 2.9% thought "may" 12.5% of people think "general"; for "whether or not they agree to the principle of peaceful non-violence in the pursuit of political development in Hong Kong", 78.4% said "agree" and 4.8% said "disagree" 15.5% said "general".(The Chinese University of Hong Kong Communication and Public Opinion Survey,2017)

**Table 4. The level of trust of the Hong Kong people in the Central Government, the SAR Government, and the police**

Time	2014.09	2014.10	2014.12	2015.03	2015.07	2016.07	2017.05
Trust in the central government	4.05	4.14	4.62	4.62	4.54	4.33	4.91
Trust in the SAR Government	4.02	4.17	4.76	4.76	4.38	4.43	4.86
Trust in the police	5.49	6.25	5.64	5.79	5.41	5.93	6.09

Source: "Hong Kong Public Opinion and Constitutional Development Survey Results (Press Release),"

Centre for Communication and Public Opinion, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 2017, p. 2. The trust survey is scored from 0-10 points, with 10 points indicating "full trust," 0 points indicating "complete distrust," and 5 points indicating "general." The investigation of police trust in September-October 2014 was postponed for one month.

**Table 5. Hong Kong people's views on the future of Hong Kong after 2047**

time	Maintain "one country, two systems."			Direct governance by the central government			Hong Kong "independence."		
	approve	oppose	neutral	approve	oppose	neutral	approve	oppose	neutral
2016.07	69.6%	6.0%	—	13.8%	59.2%	—	17.4%	57.6%	—
2017.05	71.2%	4.9%	22.3%	14.7%	58.6%	24.3%	11.4%	60.2%	25.9%

Source: "Hong Kong Public Opinion and Constitutional Development Survey Results (Press Release)," Centre for Communication and Public Opinion, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 2017, p. 3.

**Table 6. Whether to strive for constitutional development in Hong Kong must agree to adhere to the principle of peaceful non-violence**

	2015.03	2015.07	2016.07	2017.05
Prone to consent	80.5%	79.4%	71.3%	78.4%
Tend to disagree	6.1%	4.4%	5.9%	4.8%

Source: "Hong Kong Public Opinion and Constitutional Development Survey Results (Press Release)," Centre for Communication and Public Opinion, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 2017, p. 4.

The data in Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 show that although Hong Kong citizens' respondents have certain cognitive differences on the current and future development of Hong Kong society, they generally recognize "one country, two systems" and "adhere to the principle of peace and non-violence" and oppose Hong Kong "independent". The Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Mrs. Lam, said that Hong Kong, as a special administrative region, has no reason to tolerate "Hong Kong independence" under "one country, two systems." "Hong Kong independence" is totally unhelpful to Hong Kong and violates the Constitution and the Basic Law. At present, most Hong Kong people agree that "Hong Kong independence" has no space in Hong Kong. We should stop "Hong Kong independence" as soon as possible (Anonymous,2017c).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the "middle-class dream" of the middle class in Hong Kong and the "Hong Kong dream" of Hong Kong's economic and social development, which was hailed as the "Pearl of the Orient," basically developed simultaneously. They worked hard to gain access to the middle class through higher education and social competition. The formation of fair competition, mobility opportunities, open institutions and the value rationality and way of life contained in the social environment in which they live, if they cannot be integrated into the "Chinese dream" of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation with the return of Hong Kong to the motherland, The dream of Hong Kong society in the Hong Kong-British period, even if it is "love to the British", is obviously to lose direction and go to the end of the road.

#### IV. Conclusion

The middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is a special social class. It not only constitutes a complex but also active in thinking and diverse in appeals. Their words and deeds have a very important influence on local social harmony and stability. Therefore, actively seeking the return of these middle-class people and using them to lead the return of the local people will not only help to bridge the local society that is tearing, but also contribute to the sound development of "one country, two systems" and the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao society. Through the above discussion and analysis, we can draw the following three conclusions:

**First, the issue of people's livelihood is the focus of the Hong Kong and Macao middle class.** Solving the problem of people's livelihood in Hong Kong and Macao is an important cornerstone for responding to the multi-interest appeals and social movements of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao. The problems of family income, housing, children's education, medical care, and social security for the elderly are not only related to the stability of Hong Kong and Macao society but also affect the harmony of Hong Kong and Macao society. Therefore, the Central Government and the Hong Kong and Macao SAR Government should actively respond to the economic demands of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, ease the "sandwich" dilemma and anxiety of the middle class, and increase the income of the middle class through taxation and other policies.

**Second, the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao has not yet fully formed. Their role as a "stabilizer" in the local society has not yet been fully realized. It is necessary to condense the awareness of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao and actively guide the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao to pay attention to and participate in local political and social construction.** The middle class generally represents social mobility and is a symbol of "the individual can work hard to get a relative status." "The middle-class image is relatively mild, or the society is expected to change order, but it does not want to change the existing system completely. On the other hand, the middle class also gives people a more open-minded image. They are willing to listen to different opinions and balance different interests and ideas. For candidates, it is easier to get more people's acceptance" (Anonymous, 2017b). In the election of the directly elected seats of the 6th Legislative Council of Macao, "more than 170,000 voters cast a sacred vote, broke the previous record, and more 'first-investors,' indicating that more residents care about the society and hope to strengthen supervision of government administration.....Lin Yufeng, who was elected for the first time, and Lin Yuzhen, who was elected for the first time and lost the vote with high votes, have outstanding results. Their common point is middle class, a knowledge type, rational and daring, and it is right and wrong. At the intrinsic grassroots, township, It's not easy to be surrounded by consortiums, democracy, and other factions" (Xia Yun, 2017). It is worth cherishing.

**At the same time, the Central Government and the Hong Kong and Macao SAR Governments should actively guide and strengthen the exchange of ideas and mentality between Hong Kong and Macao and the mainland, especially in the Pan-Pearl River Delta region, to enhance understanding, seek common ground while reserving differences, and build consensus.** Taking the construction of the Maritime Silk Road Economic Belt as an opportunity, we will strengthen the economic cooperation between Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao and the collaborative innovation of science and technology Silicon Valley, and realize the multi-dimensional linkage of innovation-driven development and the united front work of professional and

technical personnel in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao and the Pan-Pearl River Delta region. Driving scientific and technological innovation to promote economic cooperation between Guangdong, Hong Kong, and Macao, and deepen the ideological and cultural exchanges between the Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macao and Pan-Pearl River Delta regions on the basis of economic cooperation, bridge the disputes, expand and consolidate consensus.

**Third, young people in Hong Kong and Macao are important members of the new and middle-class class. They should pay attention to the education and guidance of Hong Kong and Macao youths and cultivate the new and middle -class stratum of Hong Kong and Macao in order to strengthen the middle class of Hong Kong and Macao and promote the stability, prosperity, and development of Hong Kong and Macao society.** Through policy guidance, young people from Hong Kong and Macao, especially those with higher education, should be concerned about politics and participation in politics, and further, expand the new and middle- class ranks of Hong Kong and Macao. For example, the middle class in Macao has its unique universality and particularity. Its universality lies in: "As the economy develops, the overall economic conditions improve, and more and more people become middle-class. The particularity lies in the income and economic structure of Macao. The tendency to be a gambling industry has resulted in a relatively small space for professional growth or development. The middle class in Macao is not as clear and clear as other societies. In the process, if there are candidates or professionals who can integrate relevant interests and demands, I believe Can promote social reform and development" (Anonymous, 2017b). The new generation of Macao is more concerned with the candidate's platform and literacy. This provides a reflection on the future development of the Macao political system.

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