

A Project entitled

An exploration study of social stability:

The perspective of the government supporter after the 2019 Hong Kong

Submitted by

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DECLARTIONS

I, *Chung Chak Hong* declare that this research report represents my ownwork under the supervision of “*An exploration study of social stability: The perspective of the government supporter after the 2019 Hong Kong*”and *Dr. Lawrence Ho Ka Ki*, and that it has not been submitted previously for examination to any tertiary institution.

I acknowledge using EdUHK’s ChatGPT (<https://chatgpt.eduhk.hk>) and Grammerly to enhance the academic language of my own work. I submitted my entire report to the AI tool with the following prompt: ‘Check the accuracy of language use in the report’. The output generated by the AI tool was then utilized to correct my grammatical mistakes and improve my style of writing in the report.

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ABSTRACT

In 2019, Hong Kong conducted a very mass social-political unrest movement. Society was mainly separated into two mainstream political ideologies: someone wants to have some changes, and someone wants to be stable. The social unrest affects even includes consumption behavior, friendship, etc. The social unrest that took place in 2019 signified a considerable difference in political viewpoints and dramatically changed Hong Kong's political scene.

Therefore, some people pursued some political changes at that time but also some people didn't want much change at the same time. And most of the government supporter is the middle-class people of Hong Kong. So, it is to explore if the core value of stability and security from them is significantly broken, how these middle-class people think about social stability.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1	Statement of Problem.....	5
1.2	Research Purpose.....	5
1.3	Research Question	6

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1	Research Framework.....	7
2.2	Background.....	8
2.3	Social System	9
2.4	System Dependence.....	10
2.5	Middle Class in Hong Kong.....	10

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1	Research Method and Design.....	11
3.2	Participants.....	12
3.3	Data Collection and Analysis.....	13

Chapter 4: Finding

4.1	Background information.....	14
4.2	Summary of the Result.....	15

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1	Discussion on the Research Result	19
5.2	Limitations and Conclusion.....	21

Appendices

References	24
A1. Interview Script Summary (Chinese Version)	26
A2. English Version Information Sheet	31
A3. Chinese Version Information Sheet.....	33
A4 English Version Consent Form	35
A5 Chinese Version Consent Form	36

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

A very mass social unrest political event in 2019 in Hong Kong highly changed the current political framework in Hong Kong. Furthermore, social unrest developed into different camps of people with different political perspectives. One side wants to have some change or response by the government with the demands of some specific political issue, and this side of people is mainly the teenagers of Hong Kong, who are good at using social media or technology devices. However, the other side of people wants society to become stable and reject some illegal activities and riots to propose some political demands. Moreover, these people can be recognized as pro-establishment camp people and stand with a conservative political perspective, the same as the government's. These people are mainly middle-class people in Hong Kong and pursue a long-term stable society in Hong Kong.

Therefore, due to the high unrest in 2019 in Hong Kong, the camps of left-wing people and the pro-establishment camps created a different political scene at that time. Furthermore, examining the pro-establishment camp's growth and perspective is essential. It makes sense within the context of political socialization. since knowledge of it is necessary to comprehend the dynamics of political attitudes, convictions,

and behaviors in Hong Kong. Thus, this study aims to learn more about the perspective of pro-establishment camp members on social stability in the wake of the 2019 social unrest.

1.2 Research Purpose

As mentioned, Hong Kong faced a significant political-social event in 2019. Furthermore, it has affected Hong Kong's economy and politics for around one year. However, the pro-establishment camp pursues a stable Hong Kong and does not want the political demands from the other side to have a massive impact on Hong Kong's society, economy, and security.

According to Kay & Friesen (2011), when the fundamental principles of stability and security are significantly compromised, it can lead to discontent and annoyance among those who support the government. Therefore, exploring how the government supporters or pro-establishment camp people think about social stability after the tremendous social unrest in 2019 in Hong Kong is crucial. In short, their core value is social stability; what they will think of social stability and security in damage are expected to be found in their perspective in this exploration study.

Therefore, it is vital to find out what a “good Hong Kong” is from their point of view in this exploration study. Moreover, the reasons why the right wings refuse some political demands proposed by the left wings are also expected to be shown in the research results. The interview also aimed to investigate their reasons for rejecting the political demands of the left wing.

1.3 Research Question

- What is the view about social stability from the perspective of a "government supporter"?

The research question will be to find the viewpoint of government supporters on social stability. To prove the say from Kay & Friesen (2011), What is their thought if the security and stability are out of their expectation?

Therefore, the research question is designed on this premise.

However, recognizing the focus group also needs to have a clear explanation. The research selected the people who voted in the 2023 District Council Ordinary Election for the research sample because it aims to divide the interviewees into government supporter or pro-establishment camp people. This setting may not prove that those people voting in the election fully support the Hong Kong SAR government. Although it cannot be proven that these people fully support the Hong Kong government, it is still possible that they partly agree with the government's policies. At least, these people were voting under the government's call; they did not dislike or have any boycott movement to the government's call. Therefore, choosing the people who voted at the Hong Kong District Council Ordinary Election 2023 is the way to measure the people who are the government supporters in this exploration study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Research Framework

The research framework provides a basis for the study, and it divides the research into two significant frameworks: the social system and the middle class in Hong Kong. And this will be mentioned again in the conclusion part. The two research frameworks can study the potential changes in political socialization in Hong Kong and explore their perspective on the perception of stability and security. As mentioned before, if the core value of stability and security is broken significantly, it can create a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration among government supporters. Therefore, the social system can be studied in terms of how government supporters affect the system and how it relates to middle-class people. This is because most of the government supporters are middle-class people in Hong Kong under the observation, and they may have favorable financial conditions, which means they may hold wealth or have some success in their careers. Therefore, it is essential to determine their perspective on whether the core value of social stability is broken. What will they think about social stability, and what is their standard to determine or measure their social stability.

2.2. Background

The 2019 social unrest has significantly impacted different sectors in Hong Kong, including society, economics, culture, consumption behavior, and moral values. History shows how vital stability and peace are to the people of Hong Kong. However, it is also necessary to look back to the dark history and review what has been done and impacted in the darkest unrest moment in Hong Kong.

In June 2019, this substantial anti-government event was started. The riot in 2019 was sparked by the left-wing people who rejected the government's announcement on April 3, 2019, that they intended to pass a bill enabling the extradition of criminal suspects from Hong Kong to Mainland China. During the unrest moment, the left-wing people conducted different large-scale protests and riots to express their political demands, including possessing or having some destructive behavior activities in government buildings or some stores that stand with the pro-establishment camps. The continuous destructive behaviors were very harmful to society, and some of the necessary public emergency services also needed to be shut down or stopped for service periods, such as MTR, car roads, universities, governmental buildings, etc. The political-social event also quickly went from expressing their political demands to an anti-government activity (Holbig, 2020).

In this period, the society in Hong Kong was mainly separated into two mainstream political ideologies: someone wanted to have some changes, and someone wanted to be stable. Nevertheless, the left-wing side had different activities to isolate the pro-establishment side. The most common thing is doxing; the personal information of some of the government supporters will be spread into various platforms, such as LIHKG Forum and Telegram, which has highly affected the personal safety of the government supporters.

One of the reasons that doxing was common at that time was because the movement was mobility and allowed people to rely on the internet and social media. The protests grew from peaceful mass gatherings in the city center to violent clashes across much of Hong Kong. The left wing was faced with well-trained and well-equipped local police forces. Furthermore, the young protesters developed a philosophy of resistance "Be water" (Anderlini, 2019). The left-wing aimed to separate the manpower into different districts and let the

limited riot police force become challenging to handle their illegal assembly. The mobility and rapid movement allowed the whole event to rely on the internet and social media. Therefore, the internet and social media spread various resistance activities against government supporters, including doxing. According to various statistics, police arrested 7,800 people, prosecuted more than 1,200 people, and confiscated more than 3,700 mobile phones related to the mass protests (Wong et al., 2020).

Finally, the National Security Law was distributed to address the protests against the extradition bill that started in 2019. Therefore, on June 30, 2020, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed the National Security Law to resolve the situation.

2.3. Social System

This part will explore the relationship between social stability, government support, and system dependence. However, it is mandatory to understand the social system clearly as a premise first.

Kay and Friesen (2011) argue that a functioning system needs social stability. A social system cannot thrive if its members vehemently oppose any change. However, it is also essential to maintain social stability for the system to function correctly. Therefore, striking a balance between social stability and social change is crucial, and recognizing the factors that can disrupt this equilibrium can provide insights into why specific systems fail. Additionally, the failure of a system can catalyze addressing underlying social conflicts. In short, if the people reject change, that system may not be improved. If the core value of stability and security is significantly broken, it can create a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration among government supporters (Kay & Friesen, 2011). This can contribute to social unrest and protest movements as individuals mobilize to express their grievances and demand change from the government. So, an equilibrium between social stability and social change is indispensable to understanding the contexts that tilt this balance too far.

2.4 System Dependence

According to system-justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), individuals tend to uphold their beliefs about social systems, including the norms, rules, and structures associated with them, as valid, even when presented with evidence to the contrary. This means people employ different psychological strategies, such as relying on stereotypes or justifying their beliefs, to support and protect their social systems (Kay et al., 2009). Therefore, social institutions vary significantly in how much they control individuals' lives. For example, for students, the legitimacy of their university is more important psychologically than the legitimacy of other systems on which they are relatively less dependent. This means that the people who are satisfied with their focus will only care about the other policies a little (Kay & Friesen, 2011). In short, system dependence also supports authorities representing the system (Van et al., 2011). If this logic is applied to this study, it may be the police department, government announcements, political leaders, etc.

2.5 Middle Class in Hong Kong

After the handover of Hong Kong from British colonial rule to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, Lui (2003) studied the middle class and examined their political inclinations in the transformed political landscape. The research findings suggest that the middle class in Hong Kong typically does not take a leading role in political reform, as they tend to maintain conservative values and show minimal interest in politics (Brown & Jones, 1995). This is attributed to the belief among middle-class professionals, administrators, and managers in Hong Kong that success in their careers results from their efforts rather than relying on government welfare or support. Consequently, they do not perceive the need for autonomy and power to shape a new political future, instead focusing on safeguarding their interests amidst societal unrest.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Method and Design

The study applied the qualitative research method and conducted six interviews. Furthermore, the study has a purposive sampling of 3 persons who have a government background and three persons who do not have a government background. Government background means those three persons were employed by the government currently or before. The reason for setting this sample is that the people employed by the government undoubtedly support the government and show their loyalty to the government. On the contrary, the people, not the civil service cohorts, they may not obey and support the Hong Kong government fully. They may have viewed the situation from the same perspective as the government during the 2019 social unrest moment, but it is still possible that they would reject some policies from the government. Therefore, the opinions from these two groups are also valuable, and the interviews can explain more personal interaction and the collection of detailed, in-depth information from participants. The interviews can also involve open-ended and follow-up questions with a conversation or discussion format.

Moreover, the study covered the political issues in Hong Kong because the study will include some parts of the 2019 social unrest in Hong Kong. Due to the current legal and political framework, the study will minimize the risk of contrary to the National Security Law or any national security level sentences. The study only started from the view of government supporters. The interview participant also selected the people who voted in the 2023 District Council Ordinary Election for the research sample. Therefore, the study will not have any perspective from the insurgent person. The main focus of this study is how socialization agents influence their political views. Moreover, it is essential that all the information related to the interviewees remain confidential and will be identifiable by codes known only to the researcher.

However, recognizing the focus group also needs to have a clear explanation. The research selected the people who voted in the District Council Ordinary Election for the research sample to divide the interviewees as

government supporters or pro-establishment camp people; this setting may not prove that those people voting in the election support the Hong Kong SAR government. Although it cannot be proven that these people fully support the Hong Kong government, it is still possible that they partly agree with the government's policies. At least, these people were voting under the government's call, and they did not dislike or have any boycott movement to the government's call. Therefore, choosing the people who voted at the Hong Kong District Council Ordinary Election 2023 is the way to measure the people who are the government supporters in this study.

At the same time, the study targeted people aged 50 or above to study the commonalities in the age situation of government supporters. As mentioned, the government supporters are mainly middle-aged people with the middle-class social ladder. They may not fully support the government during the 2019 social unrest moment in Hong Kong, but they may stand the viewpoint identical to the Hong Kong government.

3.2 Participants

As mentioned, the research cited people aged 50 or above and their occupations. Selected three persons have a government working background; some come from a background of the disciplinary forces, and some do not come from disciplinary forces but also have a government working background. At the same time, the study chose three persons who had no government background. The study chooses the people who voted at the 2023 District Council Ordinary Election to divide the government supporters or the pro-establishment camp people. This setting may not prove that these six people fully support the government or only support some of its policies. At least they are comfortable with the government's call and do not have any boycott behaviors. However, the opinions of these 6 people may not represent all the government supporters. Nevertheless, they represent some of the thoughts of the government supporters.

In the process of different interviews, all the interviews also have fully explained the consent form and the questions from the interviewees. However, All the respondents refused to sign the consent form because they wished their name was confidential. Therefore, all the interviews were conducted with pseudonyms, the

researcher read the consent form to the respondent, and the respondent verbally consented to the researcher after listening. At the same time, the respondent acknowledged that the recording would be deleted on December 1, 2024.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

- **In-depth interview**

The interviews were conducted from February to March 2024. All the interviews are face-to-face and selected with a silent place to protect the interviewee's privacy. Furthermore, all the interviews finished in 30-35 minutes. The results from the interview were used as qualitative analysis. The interview aims to study their perspective on the social stability in 2019 Hong Kong. The in-depth interview has designed the interview question. However, the interviews have a conversation and open-ended discussion format, and some questions may differ from the designed questions.

- **Research Procedures**

The Ethical Review Approval was submitted on November 16, 2023. The study started immediately after the supervisor received the submission. As mentioned, the interviews are mainly conducted from February to March 2024. The consent form and interview questions were thoroughly explained to all participants. However, the respondents declined to sign the consent form to maintain confidentiality. As a result, pseudonyms were used during the interviews. The researcher read the consent form to each respondent, who verbally agreed to participate. Once the interview was finished, a transcription was created, which involved recording the audio with the interviewees' consent. Additionally, the respondents were informed that the recordings would be deleted by December 1, 2024, and they acknowledged this.

CHAPTER 4

RESULT

4.1 Background Information

To begin with, the interview started with at least 24 questions. As mentioned, the interviews have a conversation and open-ended discussion format. Therefore, some of the questions may be different from the designed question. The answers from the six respondents were then combined as a script in the appendix. The study interviewed three people with a government working background. There are two ladies and one gentleman, ages ranging from 49 to 56. Two of them have a law enforcement agency background, and one of them is not from the background of disciplinary forces. Their ranking is as follows: two of them worked as an inspector/ supervisor level of rank, and one of the interviewees is a rank-and-file level officer.

Next, another three interviewees were two gentlemen and one lady, aged 45 to 54. All of them do not hold a background in government work currently. However, one of the interviewees in this group was in service for the Auxiliary Medical Service, which is also an auxiliary disciplinary force under the Security Bureau. Nevertheless, considering the interviewee resigned from his duties in the Auxiliary Medical Service before the 2019 social unrest, this interviewee is divided as a non-government working background people. In addition, one interviewee is currently working for the MTR, and the MTR is privatized as a corporate company right now; this respondent is also, for this reason, divided as a non-government working background government supporter.

As mentioned how to divide a government supporter in this study, all of the respondents are voted to the 2023 District Council Ordinary Election.

4.2 Summary of the Result

The one-to-one and face-to-face interviews deeply understand the perspective on social stability from the government supporters or pro-establishment camp people. The format of conversation and open-ended discussion also shows different perspectives on it.

- **Social Stability**

Firstly, all respondents disliked the confutation in society, were unacceptable to social disorder or illegal activities, and displayed no violent behaviors.

A respondent said, "I hope the people can remain rational and harmonious when pursuing some political demands. At the same time, I think society's economy is extremely important. They cannot stop society. Moreover, I think some of the compulsory, if stopped, will have a huge impact, such as medical and public services. Many services, whether transportation drivers or fire services, cannot be shut down. At that time, there was also some strike activity, and the airport operation was stopped several times, which is unacceptable. Many destructive behaviors may even be involved in it, so I think everything must be under the premises of peacefully and rationally when expressing political opinions."

When asking the respondents how to divide as "confutation or disorder activities," they also believed that society should not be shutting down for the other side of people pursuing their political opinions. Moreover, they recognize that the following behaviors are illegal: strike movements, protests, and isolation of different stores from political perspectives.

Another point to draw attention to the perspective on social stability in 2019 social unrest is the government supporter, or pro-establishment camp people claimed that the people of left wings can peacefully express their political viewpoint, and it will be unacceptable if it turns into illegal behavior or disruptive activities.

A respondent with a non-government working background said, "I wish that the gap between rich and poor can be narrowed down, and the housing issue in Hong Kong also needs to be solved. There will be fewer conflicts when the economic environment is stable, and people are satisfied with their living quality. People will have more trust in the government."

The perspective of social stability from the government supporter with no civil service working background is concerning as to why the conflicts have come out. Furthermore, social unrest may be the trigger point that causes people to show their dissatisfaction with society. The housing price and the gap between the rich and poor may be the reasons for the social unrest movement.

In short, these two groups of people also have their standing points. One side focuses more on the legal aspect and the impact on society due to their working background. The other side is more focused on the potential reason for the conflict. However, their commonality is that they also want society to become stable and safe.

- **Middle Class**

Due to the research setting of this study, the study wishes to study the commonalities of the age situation in government supporters. Therefore, the age range of the respondent is 45-56. The following section will discuss some thoughts or perspectives that appear because of their age.

When asked about their viewpoint on social unrest, some of them have the following response.

A respondent who has a government working background said, "I think most of the time, the people are affected by the environment and trends. Many services and stuff were shut down then, interfering with my daily life. For example, some strike people advocated for others not to go to work or not to school, or there were blockages to the roads and highways. At that time, I think the more they stop me from working, the more I must go to work."

A respondent with no government working background said, "Come on, I need to work. No matter how the change is, I still need to eat; what can I eat if I lose my job? Dear juniors do your best in your responsibilities, and you will get promoted, and your salary will be upgraded. You can buy everything you want at that time."

The respondents with a government background are more likely to focus on the legal aspect. They reject social disorder activities and illegal actions. The respondents with no government working background are similar but more concerned about their jobs, and they do not wish their jobs and working days to be affected by the social unrest. They do not want social unrest to affect their job opportunities and promotions. The commonalities of these two groups are that they do not want social unrest affecting their interests, including jobs, finance, or other aspects.

Commonalities in Age Range

As mentioned, this study is about the commonalities in age range based on pre-observation, which observed that the government supporters were mainly middle-aged people in the 2019 social unrest moment. Therefore, the study restricted the age range to middle-aged people. However, the study also asked the interviewees about this issue to demonstrate that this is true.

Question: *Do you agree that people with the same political values are of the same age as you?*

A respondent who does not have a government working background said, "Yes, I agree with that. My colleagues are quite young, so the sign of youth will deliberately prevent me from expressing my political stance in the relationship between colleagues and me. Furthermore, I am glad my office does not often discuss politics at work."

A respondent with a government working background said, "Yes, I think most blue people are middle-aged; we are uncle and auntie, right? It might be because our focus point is different. We only want society to go back to a peaceful and flourishing Hong Kong. Moreover, we hate some disruptive behavior in Hong Kong."

In response to whether people with the same political values are similar in age, two groups of respondents provide their perspectives. The first group, which does not have a working background in the government, agrees with the statement. They mention that their colleagues are young, allowing them to avoid discussing politics with their colleagues. They also express relief that politics is not frequently discussed in their workplace.

The second group of respondents, who have a government working background, also agree with the statement. They mention that most people with similar political values are middle-aged and refer to them as "uncle and auntie." They focus on wanting society to return to a peaceful and prosperous state, and they strongly dislike any behavior that disrupts Hong Kong.

These responses indicate a correlation between political values and age. The first group of respondents suggests that having similar political values allows for smoother relationships with people of similar ages. The second group of respondents highlights the prevalence of middle-aged individuals sharing similar political values and their desire for a stable society. Overall, the respondents agree that people with the same political values are likelier to be of a similar age.

Further discussing with the respondents, they pointed out their thoughts on social stability.

Question: *Do you agree with the social trend? Do you have some thoughts on politics?*

A respondent with a government working background said, "Actually, I do not care about politics since I was young. The education in our generation did not encourage us to talk about politics. However, as more and more media appear in society, the speed of receiving information becomes faster. As a result, life is also political. It evolved into me thinking that the world is also political. Even if I do not want to understand politics, politics will affect me. Because the world is changing so fast, and the information brought by different channels such as YouTube channels or WhatsApp groups is also huge, it gradually influenced me to spend more time understanding politics."

Although the interviews purposive sampling of the interviewees 45-56 years old, it can be shown that their responses agree with the indicated correlation between political values and age. Some of the respondents also pointed out that their education may focus less on politics, which makes them not have a strong feeling and sense to structure a comprehensive political perspective.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion on the Research Result

Chapter 4 has quoted some of the responses from the respondents, which provide a clear understanding of what they were thinking in 2019. In this chapter, it will further discuss and explain on some specific phenomena.

To begin with, it is essential to note that the middle class in this study is not actively leading the charge for political reform. Lui (2003) suggested that no matter the 1997 British handover of Hong Kong to China or the other political events afterward, the middle class in Hong Kong was always not the vanguard in political reform.

In the result, it is evident that the respondent mainly focuses on how the social unrest can minimize the damage to their interest. They dislike political confutation, reject social disorder activities and no violence. The most important is no illegal behaviors. It might be because they do not want society to stop operating because of the political and social movements. Moreover, the middle class in Hong Kong believes in self-effort rather than the value of dependency. In the study, the respondents seem to be "seniors" to provide some suggestions to the juniors, one of our interviewees said, "Dear juniors, just do your best in your responsibilities, and you will get promoted, and your salary will be upgraded. You can buy everything you want at that time." Therefore, middle-class people believe in self-effort rather than the values of dependency, and they think that people

should follow the political trend to be good people and work hard in society. Not having some disruptive behavior and leading the society to become a "bad Hong Kong." The respondents may have these thoughts. After all, they are not dependent on the government's welfare regarding their careers, and most of them are successful in their careers. They do not believe they need the autonomy and power to design their political blueprint and shape a political future (Lui, 2003). They only seek to secure their interests within the social unrest. However, it still has exceptions; some of the respondents think the social unrest at the time was an unfortunate movement because they think the real reason may be that Hong Kong's housing prices are so high that it is difficult for young people to buy their houses. However, the respondents with these types of thoughts are mainly from respondents with no government working background. On the contrary, the respondents with a government working background mainly focus on the impact of the social unrest.

While some scholars argue that a sense of system dependence often leads individuals to support authorities that represent the existing system, this is not the case for the middle class in Hong Kong (Kay & Friesen, 2001). Their primary focus is securing and protecting their interests amidst the social unrest.

Contrary to popular belief, the lack of political activism among the Hong Kong middle class is not a result of a culture of dependency. Instead, it can be attributed to their largely conservative nature and low political profile. The middle class in Hong Kong tends to be satisfied with the status quo and is less inclined to actively engage in political movements or advocate for significant political reforms.

Aside from this, system dependence also plays an essential role in this study. The social institutions vary significantly in how much they control the people's lives. For example, the effects of an illegitimately run clinic might be severe, while a poorly run shopping mall might affect the clinic's patients very little. Under the system-justification theory, for patients, the legitimacy of their clinic is more important psychologically than the legitimacy of other systems on which they are relatively less dependent. This means that the People who are satisfied with their focus will only care about the other policies a little. Therefore, System dependence

also supports authorities that represent the system. However, this kind of authority may be the government, police, or the political leaders in this study.

While some scholars argue that a sense of system dependence often leads individuals to support authorities that represent the existing system, this is different for the middle class in Hong Kong during the study. Their primary focus is securing and protecting their interests amidst the social unrest. To the extent that people care about belonging to legitimate social systems, threats to those systems should also provoke defensive reactions and system-justifying processes. This exploration study research showing that people who feel threatened respond defensively. Therefore, this phenomenon is similar to the situation in 2019 in Hong Kong; the people who feel threatened will respond defensively to the other side. However, it is only valid when the people feel threatened by their personal interests and securing their interests amidst the social unrest.

In this research result, and contrary to popular belief, the lack of political activism among the Hong Kong middle class is not a reason for a country or government's dependency. The popular may believe that the people who support the government may be patriots. Instead, it can be attributed to their largely conservative nature and low political profile. One of the interviewees also mentioned that the education system of their generation did not encourage them to talk or think about politics. The middle class in Hong Kong tends to be satisfied with the status quo and is less inclined to actively engage in political movements or advocate for significant political reforms. This lack of political engagement can be attributed to their narrow focus on their interests. As long as their needs and concerns are met, they may not need to delve deeper into other policies or broader social issues. This narrow focus often limits their political involvement and prevents them from being at the forefront of political reform movements in Hong Kong.

5.2 Limitations and Conclusion

The research result may be undeniable and easily be seen, showing the perspective of the government supporter, and it may be foreseen at the beginning when starting this study. It needs to be clarified that the study aims to review the situation of social unrest and not comment on past social unrest situations. Therefore,

it will not discuss the viewpoint or suggest social unrest because a neutral standpoint in this study is fundamental. That is the reason for setting the topic of "exploration study" because it aims only to explore and elaborate the perspective on social stability from the right wing. Nevertheless, it is a prominent research result, but it can still find government supporters' expectations regarding the current policy.

When considering for a reasonable research approach, this research topics should be in more comprehensive and mass research methods for a systemic academic research result. Nonetheless, the current research approach is the most appropriate methods in an undergraduate level research project, due to the limited manpower and professional background. Anyway, it is a truth about the six of the respondents in the research cannot represent all the opinions to the group of people. These 6 of the respondents may not be the representatives of their groups to express their thoughts and opinions, but they represent some of the thoughts of the middle class in Hong Kong.

To put it another way, they have some commonalities, and they were the professionals and stakeholders and culminated in the wealth. They get the prestige and social status and dislike significant social changes in HK society. Due to their positive financial condition, they do not believe they must design their political blueprint and shape a new political future. They seek to secure their interests within the social unrest. Therefore, this Hong Kong middle-class group is mainly conservative and has a low political profile. The middle class in Hong Kong cannot be considered the vanguard of political reform. Despite some scholars arguing that system dependence may lead individuals to support the existing authorities, the middle class in Hong Kong primarily focuses on securing their interests. Generally, it exhibits a conservative and politically passive nature.

Another way of viewing this situation, they still hope to provide constructive comments or suggestions to the government because they want to improve society. They are not in zero political participation. They are just not willing to participate in some mass political movement to pursue their expectations of the government. Their limited political engagement and narrow focus on personal concerns contribute to their low political profile. They may rely on a stable social structure and system. When the system suddenly breaks down or is

out of their expectation, they will feel threatened by the system and respond defensively. Therefore, they pursue long-term social stability.

[THE END]

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Appendix 01 (Interview Script Summary in Chinese Version)

Interview Script Summary (Chinese Version)

訪問記錄 (摘錄)

Coding:

Question = Q

Respondent = R

Respondent 01 = R1

Q: 你有在是次區議會選舉投票嗎?

R1: 有, 12 月 10 號那次

R2: 有, 必須支持

R3: 當然有

R4: 有

R5: 一定要做足公民責任!

R6: 有投票

Q: 為何投票?

R1: 見到宣傳知道, 想找一個具有建設性的區議員幫助選區, 希望其改善社區

R2: 留意到政府在公務員上的宣傳, 或者在電視上的宣傳

R3: 每次都會投票

R4: 因為覺得自己都關心時事和政治

R5: 一定要做足公民責任!

R6: 政府叫到一定去

Q: 在 2019 年社會不穩時或直到目前，你最主要使用什麼平台了解新聞？

R1: 主要以電視新聞為主

R2: YouTube 頻道時事評論，WhatsApp 群組一些訊息也有。

R2: 主要以電視新聞和報紙為主

R3: 報紙和電視新聞頻道,它們提供較為客觀全面的新聞報導。

R4: 會集中多觀看時事評論，但亦都會先了解中立新聞本身帶出的新聞資訊

R5: 主要以電視和電台新聞為主

Q: 你會否就相反立場的資訊感到反感？

R1: 我認為了解資訊時要因應該立場建立時的理由和訴求是什麼所以如果立場不符合自己所想的時候就會有所芥蒂。

R2: 我認為當時社會上有一些負面資訊當成正面，亦有正面資訊被當成負面資訊。如果出現這些情況我會覺得反感。

R3: 在選取資訊會考慮那項報道會否影響自己本身的立場及價值觀，以及自己觀看那件事上的看法，我認為在選取資訊時應該要考慮那看資訊會否配合自己的看法和意願。如果不配合，我不會選取。

R4: 我認為自己的家人和自己的政治立場大多數都是相近的，都是追求社會穩定及和諧，不希望社會因為政治事件而停擺，希望社會能夠正常運作，希望所有嘅政治意見都係在正面嘅情況下建立

R5: 因為我自己本身亦都經歷過有一些理念不相近的人，在一些通訊群組表達一些比較偏激的立場和看法，最後那個群組管理員覺得也不能接受這個情況最後踢出該名人士，我認為可以表達一些較為理性的看法，大家理性溝通是可以接受的。同時亦有一些情況就是有些理念不相近的人自行離開群組。因為我接收的訊息都是來自比較理念相近的人，如果本身理念不相近的人亦都不會在那些通訊群組表達看法。

R6: 我認為和我持相反立場的人是偏激，即是當時社會追求改革的那批左派人士。原因是我認為他們很多情況下都在辱罵某一些事情，甚至使用粗口以及一些不禮貌的態度，可能會使用一些粗口辱罵其他人的家人，我另外表達政治意見不應該使用這種方式。

Q: 請問你同意和你政治價值觀相近的人士和你的年齡都是相近嗎？

R1: 同意，今日可能同事的話部份人比較年輕化，所以年輕化這個跡象就會刻意不表達自己的政治立場在同事的關係上，慶幸我的辦公室不會經常在工作時討論政治

R2: 對，我認為都是 “uncle auntie”

R3: 我認為相反立場的人主要是年輕人，所以我展望貧富懸殊可以收窄，居住問題能夠解決，經濟穩定國泰民安的時候就會比較少衝突，令到年輕人比較信任政府

R4: 道不同不相為謀姐，年輕人一定比較多反對，但我認為道理是在於如果在一些明知他和自己立場不相近的人面前會避免談論政治，因為不想產生一些拗撬，不希望傷到和氣，亦唔希望那個立場時常要討論他們是正確的，所以如果知道相處的人和自己立場不同的時候會避開政治話題。可能私下才會找一些想法近似的人去談論。

R5: 我認同，我們藍絲真的好像沒有年輕人，不過我認識有內地來港讀書的年輕人，但是內地人當然支持政府啦，只是香港的年輕人真的很小

R5: 當然啦，主要原因我認為是我們這些 uncle auntie 同聲同氣聚集一起，反之亦然

R6: 大家理念相同嘅人聚集埋一齊啫，年齡當然係大部份都係中年人啦，我哋衣班阿叔梗係想穩陣同安穩㗎啦

Q: 你同意社會趨勢會導致你對政治有睇法嗎？

R1: 自己本身從小都不會關注政治，我認為自己本身的教育小時候不鼓吹我們談政治，但是社會越來越多媒介出現的時候，接收資訊的速度更加快，結果釀成我認為生活也是政治的一種看法。演變成我認為世界也是政治，就算自己不想了解政治都好，政治也會影響我。因為世界變得好快，不同的渠道例如 YouTube 頻道又或者 WhatsApp 群組帶來的資訊也是很龐大漸漸地就影響了我去花多些時間了解政治。

R2: 會，所以我兩邊立場的新聞有時都會觀看。我認為自己會消化不同立場的新聞。我在接收一些第一手新聞時，我不會立刻相信會保持觀望狀態。因為擔心自己觀看到一些虛假新聞，不希望受到一些虛假的新聞而影響。我會多數透過一些新聞報道去了解事件嘅真偽，因為電視的新聞報道比較有公信力。

R3: 會，在 2019 社會不穩的時候，當時有一個現象就是不同派別的人士會有不同的消費意識，通常同一派別的人士都會支持和自己立場相近的品牌、商家或食肆。我自己有時都會支持或者立場相近的店家，因為有時自己工作又或者外出的時候會留意到有一些社區的食肆會掛有一些具有政治訴求的標語，又或者貼上一些不招呼某些人士的字句，又或者有一些字句令到我行過這些店家的時候會有一種避開的心態並不想進入。所以我明知這些店家不是相近立場的時候，如果我要強行進入的

話而心入面會有種不快的感覺，何況那些店家本質上根本不歡迎，我對這些行為非常討厭。我認為那些標語和字句對我們具有傷害性，所以我自己不會去光顧這些店家。社會越來越多拗撬出現的時候，漸漸地就影響了我去花多些時間了解政治。

R4: 我認為大多數是環境而影響，因為當時社會很多事情都停頓，干擾到我的日常生活，例如一些罷工活動鼓吹人不要上班不要上學又或者一些道路阻塞，我有種心態他們越阻止我上班我就越要上班。我認為有一些服務是不能夠停擺的，例如醫療以及公共服務，不論是運輸司機以及消防救援很多服務也不能夠停造成的影響非常大，機場也不能夠停，甚至可能一些破壞性的行為牽涉違反法律，所以我認為在表達所有事情的前提下都應是和平理性的。

R5: 同意，因為我希望不同人士在追求政治意見時是保持理性和和諧，同時我認為社會的經濟非常重要，不希望一些個人主義以及民粹主義影響社會。我認為一些社會事件演變成極端又或者不妥協的情況時，甚至可能一些極端情況演變成推翻政府或者破壞式去達致自己想去的目的是民粹。

R6: 當然啦，香港俾班年輕人搞到咁，點會唔同意。講真，唔使搵食咩。世界點變都好，我都要食飯，唔返工搵錢點食飯？你班後生做好自己本分升職加工人，到時你想買乜都有得你買啦

Q: 所以你同意自己是一個保守派的人士比較追求社會安穩嗎？

R1: 我同意，我認為社會要進步必須要有穩定的治安和經濟，如果在動亂的社會去追求社會改革又點會成功呢？所以我覺得自己都可以說成為一個在政治立場上比較保守的人。主要係覺得所有野都要建立於理性的前提下。

R2: 我有保留，因為我對政府的部分政策也有意見。但是無論怎樣我也認為社會不可以亂。出嚟攞幾塊磚頭就可以實現他們的政治訴求？傾都未有得傾佢地就反晒枱走人，咁點會有改變姐。我唔係要反對佢哋表達政治訴求嘅權利，而係我認為和平最重要。

R3: 同意，我只是覺得因為佢地造成嘅破壞，傷害性是十分長遠的。最受影響一定是經濟，淨係睇樓市已經反映到，近排仲有好多新聞話香港嘅國際地位跌緊，好心痛。至於你話保守我都同意，因為我都差唔多退休，我都咬糧啦，就算我有野提出都唔重要，起多啲公屋俾班後生好過啦

R4: 喺我角度我覺得溝通非常重要，溝通未必解決到問題，但係至少可以達到一個雙贏的局面或雙方滿意的局面。我期望經過溝通後對方可以放低成見又或者執着，亦希望大家溝通的時候也是希望改善事情。所以我絕對係一個保守嘅人，因為溝通其實係一件好簡單嘅事，但係 2019 嗰陣就係因為溝通不足所以先變成咁大件事。

R5: 同意㗎，因為我哋大部分人嘅關注都係唔想社會因為政治而停頓。我只希望社會正常運作，咁嘅說法唔代表我對政治漠不關心，而係大家關注嘅位根本都唔同，表達嘅方式亦不同。

R6: 我一定係保守，我哋衣一輩好多時都係將自己嘅心聲收埋喺心入面，果陣時都係殺到到埋身先至關心下政治。同埋當時嘅衝突對我嘅職業也有很大嘅影響，令到我工作量雙倍左，所以我都可以話係俾環境令到我希望社會安穩啲。

感謝您的參與！

Information Sheet

An exploration study of social stability:

The perspective of the government supporter after the 2019 Hong Kong

You are invited to participate in a project supervised by ***Dr. Ho Ka Ki*** and conducted by ***Mr. Chung Chak Hong***, who are staff / students of the Department of Social Sciences and Policy Studies in The Education University of Hong Kong.

The introduction of the research

Explore the government supporter's view about social stability in their political view.

- What is “good Hong Kong” from their point of view?
- Why don't they want to have changes?
- What political issues will make them feel frustrated?

The methodology of the research

The researcher will conduct an In-depth Interview with the participant. Each interview will be conducted for around 30-35 minutes. This research will not provide you with any personal benefit, but the data collected will provide valuable information for academics on political motivation issues.

The potential risks of the research

This topic is related to the political issues in Hong Kong because the study will include some parts of the 2019 social unrest in Hong Kong. However, the study will minimize the risk of contrary to the National Security Law. The study will be started from the view of the government supporter. The interview participant also selected the people who will vote in the 2023 District Council Ordinary Election for the research sample. Therefore, the study will not have any perspective from the insurgent person. And will not comment on the

social unrest, only focus the perspective from you about the social stability. Your participation in the project is voluntary. You have every right to withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences. All information related to you will remain confidential, and will be identifiable by codes known only to the researcher.

Describe how results will be potentially disseminated

- **The research will be only published as a thesis in the EdUHK, and will not disseminate to the public.**

Only two people can assess the interview recording: the project supervisor and the researcher.

Only one person knows the identity of the interviewees: Principal Investigator, Chung Chak Hong

- **You have the right to conduct the interview anonymously.
(If do so, you no need to sign the consent form. The researcher will read it to you, and you may agree the consent in verbally. And the entire interview will be conducted under a pseudonym.)**

Entered data will be stored on a password-protected file and a password-protected computer, while the original, anonymized voice recording will be deleted on 1 December 2024, and no one can have a copy after 1 December 2024.

Permission will be obtained in advance from participants to voice recording in the interviews, and the recording will be destroyed on 1 September 2024 and will not have any dissemination to different platforms.

If you want more information about this study, please email Mr. Chung Chak Hong

Or contact his supervisor, Dr. Ho Ka Ki

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research study, please do not hesitate to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by email at hrec@eduhk.hk or by mail to Research and Development Office, The Education University of Hong Kong.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this study.

Chung Chak Hong

Principal Investigator

有關資料

對社會穩定的探索研究：2019年後的香港政府支持者的觀點

誠邀閣下參加何家騏博士負責監督,鍾澤康負責執行的研究計劃。他們是香港教育大學社會科學與政策研究學系的學生/教員。

研究計劃簡介

從政治觀點中探索政府支持者對社會穩定的看法。

- 在他們看來，什麼是「好香港」？
- 他們為什麼不想改變？
- 哪些政治問題會讓他們感到沮喪？

研究方法

研究人員將對參與者進行深入訪談。每次訪談將進行約30-35分鐘。

是次研究並不為閣下提供個人利益，但所搜集數據將對研究政治動機的問題提供寶貴的資料。

說明任何風險

這個研究與香港的政治問題有關，因為該研究將包括2019年香港社會動蕩的某些部分。

然而，這項研究將把違反《香港國安法》的風險降到最低。該研究將從政府支持者的角度開始。訪談參與者還選擇了將在2023年區議會一般選舉中投票的人作為研究樣本。因此，該研究**不會從反對派人士獲得任何觀點**。並且**不會評論社會動蕩**，只關注政府支持者對社會穩定的看法。您參與是次研究是自願的。您完全有權隨時退出研究，而不會產生負面影響。與您有關的所有資訊都將保密。

閣下的參與純屬自願性質。閣下享有充分的權利在任何時候決定退出這項研究,更不會因此引致任何不良後果。凡有關閣下的資料將會保密,一切資料的編碼只有研究人員得悉。

描述將如何發佈研究結果

研究成果只會以論文形式在香港教育大學發表，不會向大眾傳播。

只有兩個人可以聆聽訪談錄音：計畫主管何家騏博士和首席研究員鍾澤康。

只有一個人知道受訪者身份: 首席研究員 鍾澤康

- 您有權匿名進行訪談

(如果您這樣做，您無需簽署同意書。研究人員將其向您朗讀，您可以口頭同意有關同意書。而整個訪問亦會以化名稱呼閣下。)

輸入的資料將儲存在受密碼保護的檔案和受密碼保護的電腦上，而原始的匿名錄音將於 2024 年 12 月 1 日刪除，2024 年 12 月 1 日後任何人都無法取得副本。

訪談錄音需事先徵得參加者同意，錄音將於2024年12月1日銷毀，不會在不同平台傳播。

如閣下想獲得更多有關這項研究的資料,請與首席研究員**鍾澤康**聯絡
或聯絡他的導師**何家騏**博士

如閣下對這項研究的操守有任何意見,可隨時與香港教育大學人類實驗對象操守委員會聯絡(電郵: hrec@eduhk.hk; 地址:香港教育大學研究與發展事務處)。

謝謝閣下有興趣參與這項研究。

鍾澤康
首席研究員

Appendix 04 (English Version Consent Form)

THE EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG
Department of Social Sciences and Policy Studies
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

An exploration study of social stability:
The perspective of the government supporter after the 2019 Hong Kong

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned research supervised by ***Dr. Ho Ka Ki*** and conducted by ***Mr. Chung Chak Hong***, staff and student of the Department of Social Sciences and Policy Studies at The Education University of Hong Kong.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and may be published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, i.e., my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the **attached** information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

Name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

香港教育大學
社會科學與政策研究學系
參與研究同意書

對社會穩定的探索研究：2019年後的香港政府支持者的觀點

本人_____同意參加由何家騏博士負責監督,鍾澤康執行的研究項目。他們是香港教育大學社會科學與政策研究學系的學生/教員。

本人理解此研究所獲得的資料可用於未來的研究和學術發表。然而本人有權保護自己的隱私,本人的個人資料將不能洩漏。

研究者已將所附資料的有關步驟向本人作了充分的解釋。本人理解可能會出現的風險。本人是自願參與這項研究。

本人理解我有權在研究過程中提出問題,並在任何時候決定退出研究,更不會因此而對研究工作產生的影響負有任何責任。

參加者姓名:

參加者簽名:

日期:
