TIMETABLES & DESTINATIONS

Hong Kong perceptions and politics after the 2017-2020 time frame ruling

(Aug 2008)

A report written by
The Hong Kong Transition Project

commissioned by
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

1982-2008 THE HONG KONG TRANSITION PROJECT

Background to the principals

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Since 1997, NDI has conducted a series of assessment missions to Hong Kong to consider the development of the HKSAR's "post-reversion" election framework, the status of autonomy, rule of law and civil liberties under Chinese sovereignty, and the prospects for democratization beyond the 10-year transition period set forth in the Basic Law. In 2002, NDI established a field office in Hong Kong.

NDI works with political parties and democratic activists to encourage public discussion and debate on political reform. The Institute shares information with and provides technical assistance to Hong Kong political parties, political groups, and civil society organizations seeking to increase their ability to increase citizen participation in the HKSAR's political life. NDI does not provide funding to any political party or political group in Hong Kong.

Since 2002, NDI has provided technical assistance to Hong Kong's political parties and political groups to address issues such as: membership recruitment; media relations; communicating with constituents; voter contact; and fundraising. Through multi-party and single-party workshops, as well as consultations with party leaders, NDI has worked with all of the HKSAR's major parties to discuss the external political environment and the parties' internal structural weaknesses. Participating parties and political groups have included the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, the Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, The Frontier, the Hong Kong Progressive Alliance, the Citizens Party, and the Article 45 Concern Group.

The Hong Kong Transition Project[1] is a long-term study of Hong Kong people's transition from British subjects to SAR citizens. Citizenship requires that citizens have the power to elect their own leaders and amend or approve their own constitutional documents. The project focuses on the time period beginning in 1982, when negotiations for Hong Kong's return commenced without Hong Kong people's participation as British colonial subjects, until 2007-2008 when under the Basic Law elections under new election rules decided by Hong Kong people themselves are scheduled to take place. It is headquartered at Hong Kong Baptist University, with academic members there, the University of Macau, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Lingnan University and the University of Waterloo in Canada.

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Analytical framework of the report

The surveys, the first in May of registered geographic constituency voters and the second in June of functional constituency registered voters, are examined in relation to demographic as well as key attitudinal variables. Further results from a focus group conducted in June of both functional constituency and geographic constituency registered voters are included. The focus group concentrated on constitutional reform issues where the views of functional constituency voters—who control a veto on the issue—become critically important. Demographic details are listed at the end of this report.[2] Significant association of these variables with selected questions will be indicated with cross-tabulations and are labeled **ASSOCIATION** tables.[3] Some sets of questions will be further analyzed for correlation and are labeled as **CORRELATION** tables. Correlation measures the strength of the association between variables, in other words, how consistently responses to one question line up with another. For example, height and weight are strongly correlated, that is, taller people are almost always heavier than shorter people. Heavier cars always get lower fuel efficiency than lighter ones. In the case of the variables in this survey, for example, correlation measures the strength of the relationship between birthplace and political attitudes or satisfaction with life in Hong Kong and satisfaction with government performance. Most correlation tables will be in the **APPENDIX** with a few key ones in the text. **COMPARISON** tables do not indicate statistical tests of significance, but do show significant variation between the Geographic Constituency voters (GC voters) and the Functional Constituency voters (FC voters). Significant findings will also be marked by the label **FINDINGS** and one can go through this report using search to go straight to these. The Table of Contents lists sections, tables and charts. The main tables, usually the **TREND TABLE** contain the question asked in the surveys in full form, with shortened forms used in subsequent tables.

Questions have been analyzed with four main sets of variables:

Demographic variables include: birthplace, years residence in Hong Kong for non-Hong Kong born residents, gender, age, marital status, children, education, occupation, work sector, living quarters, religion, and monthly family income.

Associational variables include: experience living abroad, identity, and frequency of trips to the mainland.

Participatory variables are: registration to vote, attendance at meetings of community/interest groups, contacting government and civil society groups for help or to express concern, demonstrating, petition signing and donating to political groups, and membership or support of political parties or advocacy groups

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[2] See Analytical Variables section below for comparative profiles of the two surveys. The variability of responses falls within the normal range of random error, +/-4 points at the 95% confidence interval, in surveys of this size, (approximately 700 respondents for the GC survey). The FC survey of 400 respondents, being smaller but also more homogeneous in terms of demographics (male, older, born in Hong Kong, wealthier and more highly educated on average) varies approximately +/- 8 points in the 95% confidence interval. See table of respondents per survey at end of report.

[3] Chi-square is a measure of association. The lower the Chi-square number, i.e., the nearer zero in the number after the symbol p under each table, the less likely that the distribution of responses is a result of just random variation. Chi-square reliably shows an association at .05 or less. However, Chi-square is less useful when only small groups show wide variation from the results of other groups.

Key attitudinal variables include: satisfaction with life in Hong Kong, support or opposition in principle to direct election of the CE and of all members of Legco, worry about free press, employment, air and water pollution, rule of law, and social unrest and street protests, positive or negative assessment of effect of political parties in Hong Kong and optimism or pessimism about Hong Kong's future prospects as part of China.

Many of these variables will be included in TREND TABLES. **Trend Tables** show changes over time in responses to questions, which have been posed over a number of years by the Hong Kong Transition Project. Significant differences over time between previous surveys and the surveys from 2008 will be indicated. Variables without a sum indicated (100) are in column format (read numbers in each column). Normally, independent variables are listed at the top of a table with dependent variables listed in the rows. Tables with 100 indicated to the side are ROW totals which read across the rows from left heading to distribute by columns. If a sum of 100 total is indicated at bottom, these are COLUMN totals summing up the distribution across the variable listed at the top column heading. These are usually good indicators of being association tables testing whether the responses are sufficiently in a pattern as to preclude a distribution of the responses as a matter of chance. The closer to zero (0) the less the distribution of responses could be by chance, and thus the higher the likelihood that responses are associated with one another significantly.

Executive Summary

Great disparity of franchise size and contestation between the Functional Constituencies (FC) and Geographic Constituencies (GC) (around a third of FC seats are uncontested each election) introduces issues of voter's power and influence on legislators. The disparity is clear: the entire franchise of the 30 FC seats, 229,861 registered electors, is less than the nominal average of GC voters per seat, 232,503. That is, fewer voters return 30 seats to Legco from the functional constituencies than return a single legislator holding 1 seat from the geographic constituencies. Even more strikingly, the vast majority of FC voters –150,000 out of 230,000—are concentrated in just 3 seats, further distorting voter power and accountability among the tiny elites dominating 27 out of 60 seats, and who altogether number barely 80,000 people. This means a large stadium full of elites politically outweighs almost every other person in Hong Kong combined. Nearly half of the FC seats, 14 of the 30, are uncontested and will see no voting in 2008 at all. Even in theory, were all FC seats contested, a mere one fifth of FC voters controls four fifths of the FC seats.

How powerful proportionately one voter's ability to elect a representative is with another voter's power, and how influential post-election a voter is on a representative has greater effect on attitudes than income levels. The Gini coefficient measuring the ratio of income between the lowest and the highest income groups shows great disparity between the richest and the poorest in Hong Kong. The disparity is far larger in Hong Kong than among any other entity in the list of the top 30 entities ranked by the UN in the Human Development Index. Yet this survey report shows that though income does make a difference in views it is not as strong nor in the ways often expected.

In sum, voter empowerment and representative accountability are crucial issues in the legitimacy and delivery of good governance, more influential on attitudes than income. Empowerment and accountability are also the central issues in constitutional reforms and between the pro-democracy parties and the government and pro-government parties. The colonial patron-client system erected in the 19th century and maintained nearly throughout the 20th century continues to fundamentally constrict Hong Kong's political development well into the 21st century. How that will be changed is the issue since the Standing Committee's decision of December 2007 deemed the Chief Executive may be directly elected by 2017 and all members of Legco may be elected by universal suffrage in 2020. If the destination is not settled, then the timetable may not be met.

This report will focus on examining politics during the Legco election of 2008 and the issue of constitutional reform through the lenses of differences among income groups and between those groups –FC and GC voters—with greatly differential political power. This Legco election will determine whether and how Hong Kong's system will go forward, for it will vote or not vote into effect the arrangements for the reforms of subsequent elections. The implications for China are great as well, for income disparities and political influence of elites are even more stark on the mainland. China's Gini coefficient stands at 0.469. Only a tiny minority of party members elect most government officials. If these issues cannot be resolved in Hong Kong, there is little hope they can be elsewhere in the Peoples Republic.

I Fundamental divisions, essential unities

Going into the second decade after Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region of China after reunification with the mainland in 1997, the question of "When" the full direct elections promised in the Basic Law may have been answered. The "How" however, remains at issue. And as the old saying goes, the devil –in this case the source of contentiousness—is in the details. The Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress, the body with supreme power over the final interpretation and amendment of the Basic Law which governs Hong Kong-mainland relations and sets the rules of its internal order, ruled in December 2007 that Hong Kong may amend its constitution to permit full direct election of the Chief Executive in the election scheduled for 2017, and may take action to achieve full direct election of all members of the legislature (Legco) in the elections set for 2020. Hong Kong's Chief Executives serve for 5-year terms while legislators serve for four. At issue now, and what has been all along the stumbling bloc in the path of forward movement beyond the modest changes permitted up to 2004 when half of 60 Legco members were directly elected from geographic constituencies (GC), up from 18 out of 60 initially directly elected first in 1991, is how the half of members currently elected from functional constituencies (FC) will be replaced. Also at question, will Legco itself be changed in composition and function via constitutional amendment to somehow preserve the FCs in some capacity, or will they be simply, and wholly, abolished?

The fundamental division in Hong Kong is over the legislative power and influence of different groups. The 60 seat legislature has half its seats determined by universal franchise elections from geographic constituencies or districts. The other half, however, are returned from among a much smaller number of electors qualified by various criteria. These are not deemed universal suffrage elections according to UN criteria. And therein lies the constitutional issue going forward. How can the universal suffrage elections promised for all Legco members in the 1990 Basic Law be achieved? The colonial patron-client system erected in the 19th century and maintained nearly throughout the 20th century continues to fundamentally constrict Hong Kong's political development well into the 21st century. The functional constituency system ensures elite dominance of political affairs and government. Currently FC voters appear highly reluctant to surrender their disproportionate influence over legislation and thus over the government. The government is less than eager to loosen its hold over FC members who have either high numbers of civil servants as enfranchised voters or are dominated by business groups, who have traditionally heavily influenced government in Hong Kong. The disproportionality of power can be seen readily in the number of voters. FCs have a total franchise in the 2008 elections of 229,861 voters, including corporate voters, whereas the GC franchise has 3,372,007 registered voters.[4] Further, Legco elections routinely see about a third of the 30 functional or FC seats returned uncontested. The 30 geographic or GC seats are all highly contested.[5] This great disparity of franchise size and contestation introduces the issue of voting power and influence on legislators, that is, how powerful proportionately one voter's ability to elect a representative is with another person's power, and how influential post-election a voter is on a representative and on a government.

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[4] See http://www.voterregistration.gov.hk/eng/statistic.html for details

[5] Hong Kong is divided into 5 GC districts, Hong Kong Island, Kowloon East and West, New Territories East and West. See "Hong Kong, SAR: the first 10 year's under China's rule" published by NDI in 2007 and the series of elections reports on Hong Kong by NDI on its website for additional details on the election system and previous elections.

These are crucial issues in the legitimacy and delivery of good governance. The concept of one person, one vote has been interpreted by the United Nations as requiring to voters have equal weight in equivalent contests. So, for example, in the US House, seats are reapportioned every decade after a census to achieve roughly equal numbers of voters in each district. In the US Senate, composed of representatives of states, each state of whatever population elects two senators. California, with a population of over 37 million has 2 Senate votes equally with the states of Montana, or Alaska. In each of these small population states considerably under half a million voters cast ballots for their 2 senators. The Senate is thus highly disproportionate in terms of voting power per person, though equal in voting power per state and equal in nominal terms, in voter's influence post-election on their state's senate representatives. As one of many nations with two representative bodies (Japan, Australia and Canada are other examples) having one body equally represent voters in the nation as a whole while others are returned via other means, such as by states or districts, is not uncommon. As long as each state or province or district has equal votes in the one body, and as long as persons enjoy equal voting representation in another body, the UN rule on equal rights applied to voting is not breeched. Hong Kong, however, unites two forms of election in the same "representative" body, and permits the vote of 30 persons, elected in many cases by only a few hundred voters each, to have equal weight with the 30 elected by several million voters. The entire FC voting franchise numbers fewer than the average franchise for a single GC seat. Thus the votes of millions are completely offset by the votes of a few hundred thousand elite members of society. Even more strikingly, the vast majority of FC voters – 150,000 out of 230,000—are concentrated in just 3 seats, further distorting voter power and accountability among the tiny elites returning 27 Legco members who all together number barely 80,000 people. This means a large stadium full of elites politically outweighs nearly every other person in Hong Kong combined. The current Legco mixes geographic representation proportional to population with "functional" representation determined by often less than transparent criteria. This has left a sense of unfairness to dominate public perceptions of the legislative and governance process.[6]

This report will not discuss in detail this perception of unfairness. It will, however, look in more detail at income effects or what has in Hong Kong been called the "wealth gap" between those with high and low incomes. It will also weigh income on a scale with political influence in terms of FC or GC voting rights to examine which more or less affects attitudes. Income, despite expectations to the contrary, often has less effect than say-so or representative influence on government. This is not to say income has no effect, for income differences are large in Hong Kong. The Gini coefficient measuring the ratio of income between the lowest and the highest income groups, shows great disparity between the richest and the poorest in Hong Kong. This is consistent with trends in mainland China and the US where the gap between the richest and poorest has opened fissures in the body politic that have been widely remarked. For example, the Gini coefficient in the US in 1968 was 0.386 whereas in 2007 it hit 0.408 according to some estimates, though ironically, not as high as the Peoples Republic of China at 0.469. Japan currently has the lowest Gini coefficient, that is least variability of incomes from lowest to highest, at 0.249 while Hong Kong's exceeded the US, standing in 2001 at 0.523, though that has reduced to 0.434 in 2007, larger than that of 1996, the final full year of British colonial rule.[7] Nevertheless, the disparity is far larger in

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[6] See the 2007 NDI report "Hong Kong, SAR: the first 10 year's under China's rule" for an extensive survey analysis of perceptions of the electoral system.

[7] See UN statistics at http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/147.html The nearer to zero the lower the inequality of distribution, and thus the smaller the "wealth gap" in a society.

Hong Kong than among any other entity in the list of the top 30 entities ranked by the UN in the Human Development Index. The chart below shows in selected countries the relationship between income per person, calculated by dividing GDP among the population, and the Gini coefficient, which tracks disparity of distribution of that income. So Brazil has low income per person and the greatest gap in distribution. Luxemburg has the highest income and one of the lowest gaps (Japan is lowest in Gini coefficient).

Gini Index, Selected countries:
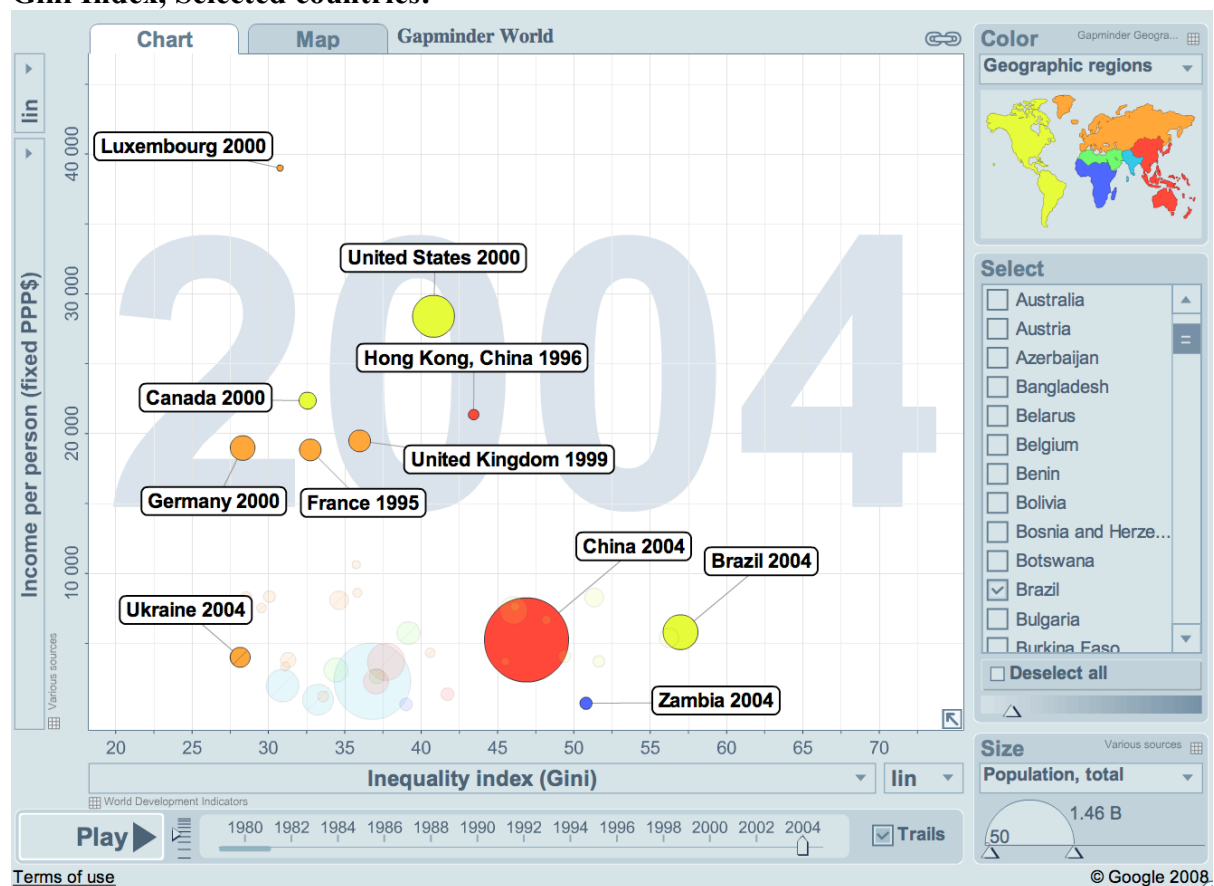
The unrest of 2003-2004 in Hong Kong generated pressures for government to reverse its program of reducing social expenditure as a proportion of GDP which had the effect of increasing the Gini coefficient considerably. These increased expenditures as well as pressure from the Chief Executive on firms to "share the wealth" by increasing salaries had an impact on reducing income disparities. The government has also increased pressures on firms by raising civil service salaries. This has reduced income disparities and social tensions.

Political leadership changes have also clearly had an effect on sentiments in Hong Kong. There is a remarkable consistency of change visible from 2005 when Chief Executive Donald Tsang assumed office and changed the tone of government along with its organization. Political power and influence on government are of as great an effect, or even greater, than economics. Some may call income distribution disparity a "class" issue, equating class with income, but in Hong Kong, for example, as will be seen below, groups with the same income levels but different political positions as GC or FC voters hold very different views on the

same issues, eliminating income as the decisive factor in forming those views. While income is often related to perceptions, it is apparently not determinative of them. This report will thus focus on examining politics during the Legco election of 2008 and the issue of constitutional reform through the lenses of differences among income groups and between those groups –FC and GC voters—with differential political power. In order to further probe these differences, a focus group of FC and GC voters randomly selected from survey respondents interviewed in the two surveys comprising the most recent data for this report, was brought together to explore and discuss differences and similarities of views. Most of the GC voters felt there was clearly collusion between government and big business while FC voters had little awareness of the details of other FC voting groups and favored abolishing the functional constituencies. (See Section V for more detail on the focus groups.)

II The basics of representation in the Hong Kong system

In Hong Kong the five Legco geographic constituencies, equivalent to US House districts in a sense, vary widely in population. However, Hong Kong allocates numbers of Legco seats proportionately to each district based on population. Each GC will represent approximately 232,503 people, the number determined by dividing the population by the number of direct elected GC seats (30). As may be seen in Table 1, the GCs are close to equally proportional.

Table 1 2008 Legco Geographic Constituencies

Geographical Constituency	No. of Registered Electors	Population in district at 6/30/08	Seats per district	Population per seat
Hong Kong Island	627,657	1,267,900	6	211,316
Kowloon West	440,335	1,030,000	5	206,000
Kowloon East	540,649	1,018,700	4	254,675
New Territories West	943,161	2,030,300	8	253,787
New Territories East	820,205	1,628,200	7	232,600

This care to achieve population proportionality among the GCs indicates a concession to the UN standard of equal voting power. However, the entire franchise of the 30 FC seats, 229,861 registered electors, is less than the nominal average of GC voters per seat, 232,503. The power ratio within the FCs is also extremely disparate. It takes 647.8 voters in the Education FC to equal the vote of one voter in the smallest FC franchise, Finance, with 140 voters. Each voter in the Education FC, though, is equal to 2.8 voters in the GC constituency, Kowloon East. Each Finance voter, however, is equal to 1,819 voters in the GC for Kowloon East. Even more remarkably, it takes only 6,939 FC voters to elect a veto bloc of 15 FC members. When a Legco member wishes to amend a government bill, or when voting on a private member's bill, each of the constituencies must return a majority to pass the amendment or private bill. That is, 15 members in either the GC or FC bloc may halt an amendment or private bill. The GC members, though, take hundreds of thousands of votes to get a bloc of 15 votes, whereas the GCs need, in actuality, only a few thousand votes. The source of the suspected big business-government collusion is readily apparent, since these 15 FC legislators are needed by government to stop amendments proposed by the majority of pro-democracy GC legislators. (Pro-democracy parties have consistently held a majority of the 30 GC seats though overall they have held at most 26 seats out of 60 in Legco).

Table 2 2008 Legco Functional Constituencies

Functional constituency	No of Registered Electors	Power ratio within FCs*	Power ratio between FC and GC**
Education	90,693	647.8	2.8
Health Services	36,968	264	6.9
Accountancy	22,276	159	11.4
Social Welfare	12,519	89.4	20.3
Medical	10,606	75.8	24
Engineering	8,323	59.4	30.5
Catering	8,149	58.2	31.3
Architectural, survey & planning	6,147	43.9	41.4
Legal	6,111	43.7	41.7
Wholesale and Retail	6,074	43.4	41.9
Information Technology	5,749	41	44.3
Textiles and garments	3,710	26.5	68.6
Sports, performing arts, culture	2,208	15.8	115.3
Commercial (Second)	1,882	13.4	135.3
Import & Export	1,507	10.7	169
Tourism	1,261	9	202
Commercial (First)	1,040	7.4	244.9
Industrial (Second)	790	5.6	322.4
Real Estate & Construction	751	5.4	339.1
Industrial (First)	715	5.1	356.2
Financial Services	580	4.1	439
District Council†	428	3	595
Labour (3 seats)	596 (199 each)	1.4	1,279.8
Transport	178	1.3	1,430.8
Agriculture & Fisheries	159	1.1	1,601.7
Heung Yee Kuk††	157	1.1	1,622
Insurance	144	1	1,785.6
Finance	140	1	1,819
Total	229,861		

*The Power Ratio within FCs is calculated by the number of voters in an FC divided by the number in Finance constituency, the smallest and hence most powerful FC voters. This is the power of one voter to return one legislator versus the power of another to also return one legislator.

**The Power Ratio between an FC and the GCs is calculated by the number of voters per legislator in the largest GC district, 254,675 in KE, divided by the number of voters in the FC. That is, one voter in the Education FC, for example, is equal in voting power to 2.8 Kowloon East voters in the GC elections.

†Includes 105 government appointees to the District Councils.

††Elected village heads by New Territories indigenous villagers

The vast gap between the representative or political power of the average GC voter and the handful of FC voters returning 24 of the 60 seats in Legco is not unrelated to the vast gap between the wealthy and the poor which prevails in Hong Kong (and for that matter, even more so in the China mainland). The chart below graphically portrays that disparity.

Hong Kong Legislative Council

Functional Constituency

Geographic Constituency

30 Functionally Elected

30 Directly Elected
(all contested)

14 FCs uncontested

Voters for
24 FCs

230,000
FC voters

Largest 6 FCs comprise
80% of FC voters

3.3 million
GC voters
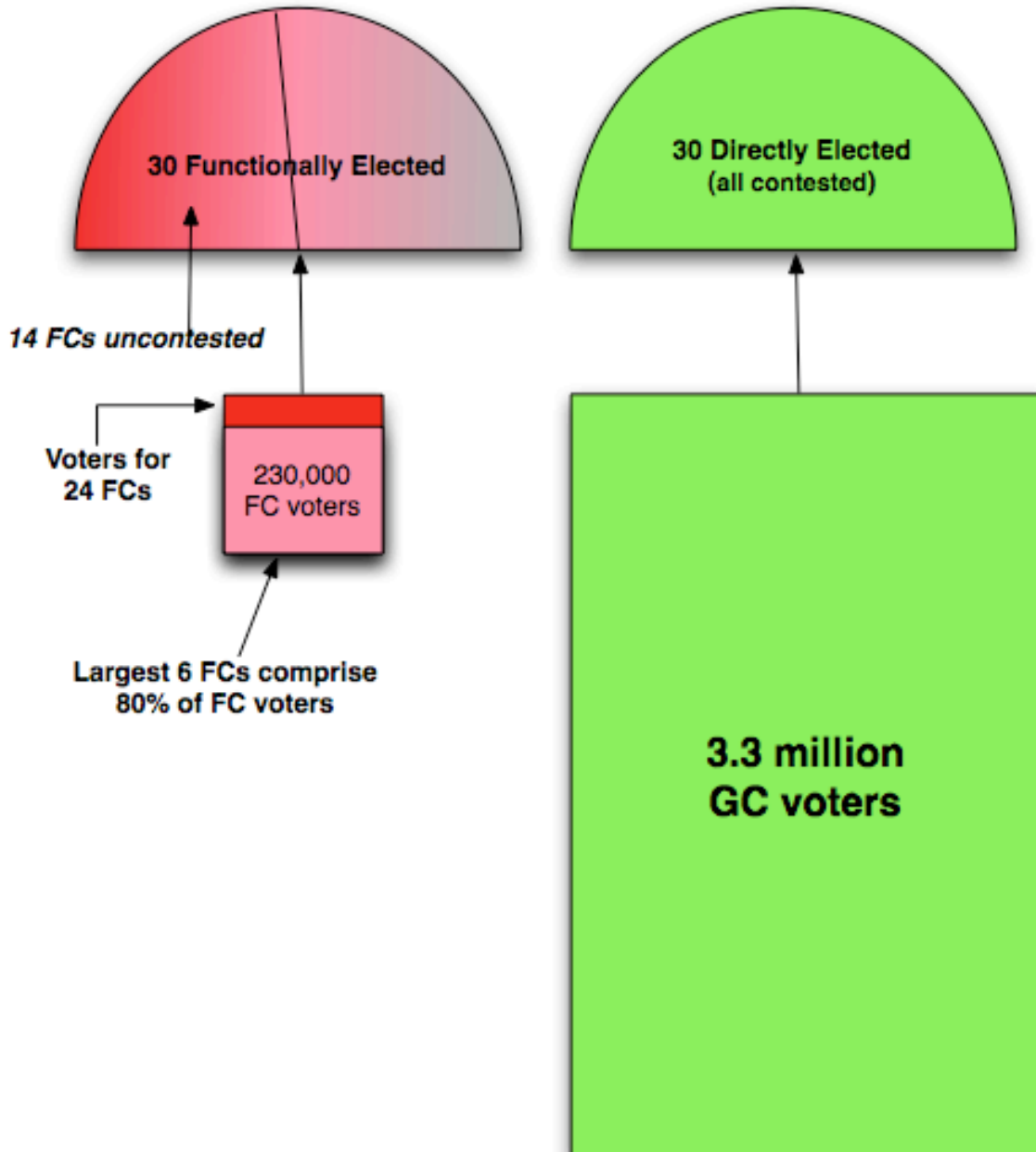
*Figures proportional in size
to number of voters

As the chart above shows, 80 percent of FC voters elect 20 percent of the seats (6 seats), while only 20 percent of FC voters, some 46,000 voters or 1.4 percent of the entire GC voter franchise, elects 80 percent of the FC seats.

III Trends and Perspectives on Governance

This section lays out general trends in attitudes toward government and life in Hong Kong, and includes discussion of differences between FC and GC voters on these issues. There has been a remarkable consistency of public opinion regarding Hong Kong's future prospects as a part of China since Donald Tsang became Chief Executive in March 2005. Relief at the continuity of optimism about Hong Kong's future is tempered somewhat by the continuity also of those who describe themselves as neither optimistic or pessimistic. Together with pessimists, these match the roughly half of those sampled who describe themselves as optimists.

Chart 1 How do you feel currently about Hong Kong's future prospects as a part of China?
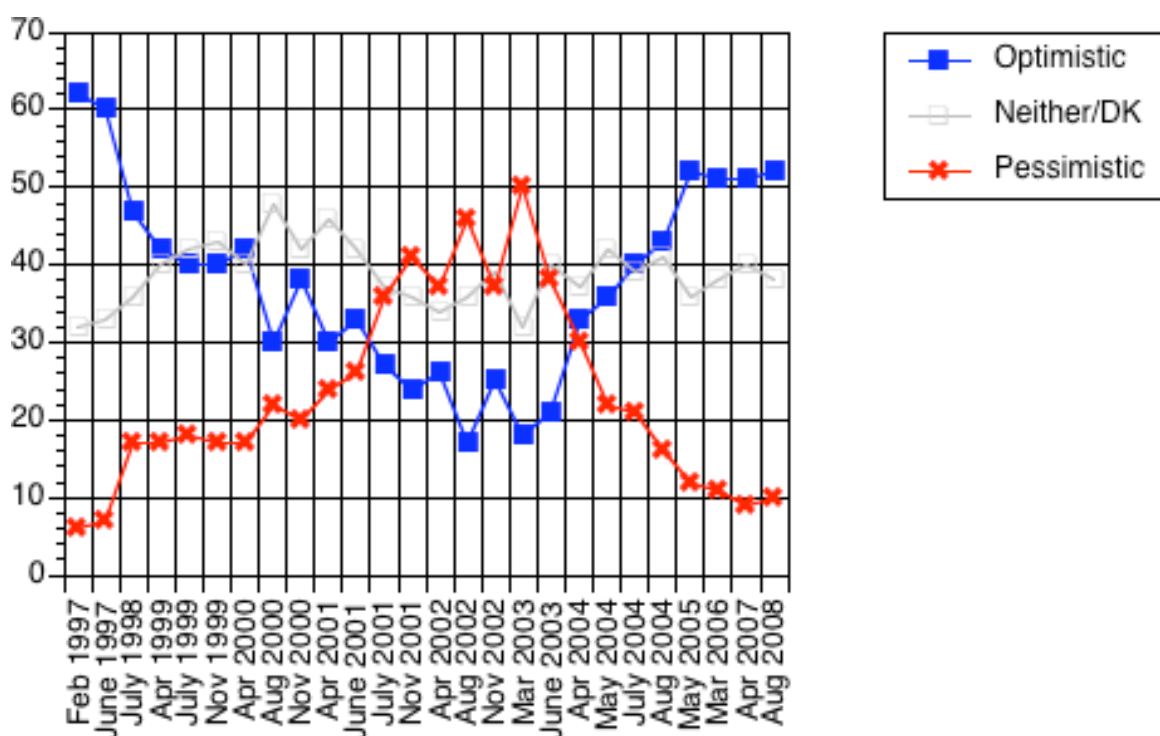
As Comparison Table 4[8] shows below, things are very different between functional constituency registered voters (FC voters) and geographic constituency registered voters (GC voters) on optimism about Hong Kong's future as a part of China. The 230,000 FC voters draw mostly from business and professional elites. (See demographic profiles at end of this report).

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[8] All comparison tables refer to results of the 2008 FC/GC surveys unless otherwise noted.

TREND Table 3 How do you feel currently about Hong Kong's future prospects as a part of China?

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimistic
Feb 1997	62	32	6
June 1997	60	33	7
July 1998	47	36	17
Apr 1999	42	40	17
July 1999	40	42	18
Nov 1999	40	43	17
Apr 2000	42	40	17
Aug 2000	30	48	22
Nov 2000	38	42	20
Apr 2001	30	46	24
June 2001	33	42	26
July 2001	27	37	36
Nov 2001	24	36	41
Apr 2002	26	34	37
Aug 2002	17	36	46
Nov 2002	25	39	37
Mar 2003	18	32	50
June 2003	21	40	38
Apr 2004	33	37	30
May 2004	36	42	22
July 2004	40	39	21
Aug 2004	43	41	16
May 2005	52	36	12
Mar 2006	51	38	11
Apr 2007	51	40	9
Aug 2008	52	38	10

While barely half of GC voters are optimistic, nearly two thirds, 63% of FC voters are. FC voters also registered in the geographic constituencies as well make up just over 10 percent of the GC sample.[9]

COMPARISON Table 4 How FC/GC registered voters feel about Hong Kong's prospects

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimistic
FC	63	31	6
GC	51	40	9

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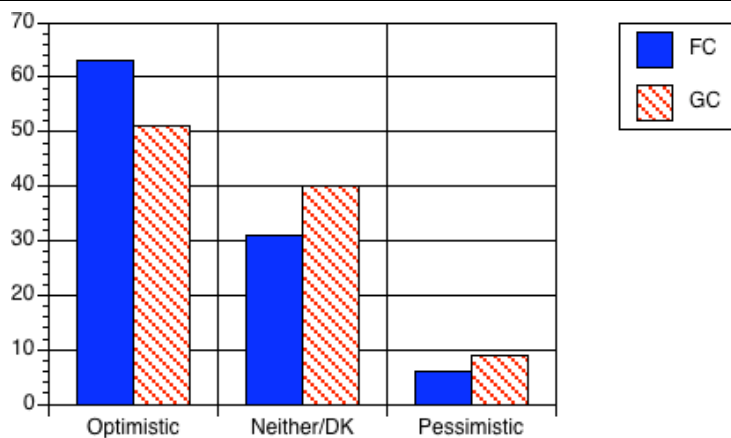
[9] The GC sample, unless otherwise indicated to exclude all FC voters, is a sample of overall voter sentiment. FC voters tend to vote in higher proportions than those with only a right to vote in geographic constituencies.

One might suspect that income rather than FC voting rights has more influence on attitudes toward Hong Kong's prospects. Table 5 seems to bear that out, showing that as income goes up, optimism toward Hong Kong's future as a part of China rises (except in the highest income group).

ASSOCIATION Table 5 Attitudes toward Hong Kong's prospects by Income group

	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Less than $9,999 per month	45	38	16	100
$10,000-19,999	43	42	15	100
$20,000-29,999	58	37	4	100
$30,000-39,999	55	41	4	100
$40,000-49,999	57	38	6	100
$50,000-59,999	66	29	5	100
$60,000-69,999	74	21	5	100
**$70,000-99,999	64	32	4	100
$100,000 and up	52	38	10	100
total	52	38	10	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square =   64.59   with   40   df p = 0.0082
602 respondents, GC registered voters

And, since FC voters tend to have higher incomes, as Comparison Table 6 shows, one might be tempted to dismiss the difference franchise rights have in attitudes and focus instead on income or class as determined by income.

COMPARISON Table 6 Comparative Approximate Monthly Family Income

Income	FC%	GC%
Less than $9,999 per month	8	19
$10,000-19,999	8	22
$20,000-29,999	12	19
$30,000-39,999	12	13
$40,000-49,999	9	7
$50,000-59,999	10	7
$60,000-69,999	7	3
**$70,000-99,999	15	5
$100,000 and up	20	5

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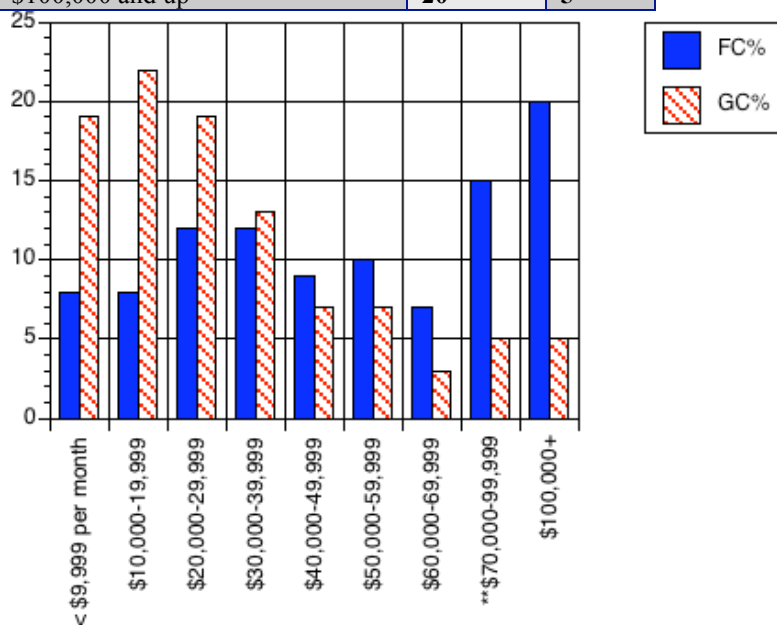
However, Association Table 7 shows that there is no effect of income on FC voter's attitudes toward Hong Kong's future as a part of China. And there is no effect of occupation on FC voter's attitudes toward Hong Kong's future (Table 8).

ASSOCIATION Table 7 FC voters attitude toward Hong Kong's future by Income

	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Less than $9,999 per month	63	26	11	100
$10,000-19,999	48	37	15	100
$20,000-29,999	60	37	5	100
$30,000-39,999	51	44	2	100
$40,000-49,999	56	34	9	100
$50,000-59,999	68	27	6	100
$60,000-69,999	71	25	4	100
**$70,000-99,999	58	39	2	100
$100,000 and up	71	25	4	100
total	62	32	6	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square =   38.92   with   40   df p = 0.5186   NO ASSOCIATION FOUND

ASSOCIATION Table 8 FC voters attitude toward Hong Kong's future by Occupation

	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Manager/administrators	59	34	8	100
Professionals	72	24	5	100
Assoc Professionals/Educ.*	57	36	7	100
Service workers	61	29	11	100
Manual workers	33	56	11	100
Housewives	38	62	0	100
Retirees	73	21	6	100
Students	50	50	0	100
total	62	31	6	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square =   16.36   with   14   df   p = 0.2921   NO ASSOCIATION FOUND

However, among the GC voters, there is an association of occupation and attitudes toward Hong Kong's future. FC voters are in each comparable category consistently more optimistic than GC voters. Hence, the key difference is FC or GC status, not occupation per se.

ASSOCIATION Table 9 GC voters attitude toward Hong Kong's future by Occupation

	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Manager/administrators	57	39	4	100
Professionals	71	23	7	100
Assoc Professionals/Educ.*	50	46	4	100
Service workers	53	39	8	100
Manual workers	41	47	12	100
Housewives	42	45	13	100
Retirees	56	28	16	100
Students	41	55	4	100
total	52	39	9	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square =   36.82   with   14   df p = 0.0008

The same substantial differences are seen in Comparison Table 11 below on satisfaction with life in Hong Kong, as well as the same pattern of similarities within the FC income groups.

TREND Table 10 Are you currently satisfied/dissatisfied with your life in Hong Kong?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Nov 91	84	15	1
Feb 93	85	13	2
Aug 93	88	10	2
Feb 94	88	10	2
Aug 94	87	10	3
Feb 95	86	9	5
Sept 95	80	18	2
Feb 96	85	13	2
July 96	88	10	2
Feb 97	90	9	1
June 97	86	12	2
Jan 98	81	16	3
Apr 98	71	26	3
July 98	74	25	1
Oct 98	70	27	3
Apr 99	72	24	3
July 99	73	26	1
Nov 99	72	26	2
Apr 2000	65	33	2
Aug 2000	65	31	4
Nov 2000	67	30	3
Apr 2001	61	34	5
June 2001	71	25	4
Nov 2001	64	33	3
Apr 2002	66	31	3
Aug 2002	62	34	4
Nov 2002	66	31	3
June 2003	60	37	3
Nov 2003	51	44	4
Dec 2003	57	39	5
Apr 2004	67	27	5
July 2004	55	39	6
Aug 2004	63	32	4
Nov 2004	65	32	4
May 2005	78	20	2
July 2005	78	20	2
Nov 2005	73	23	4
Feb 2006	76	22	2
Mar 2006	75	20	4
Nov 2006	80	19	1
Apr 2007	75	22	3
Aug 2008	77	20	3
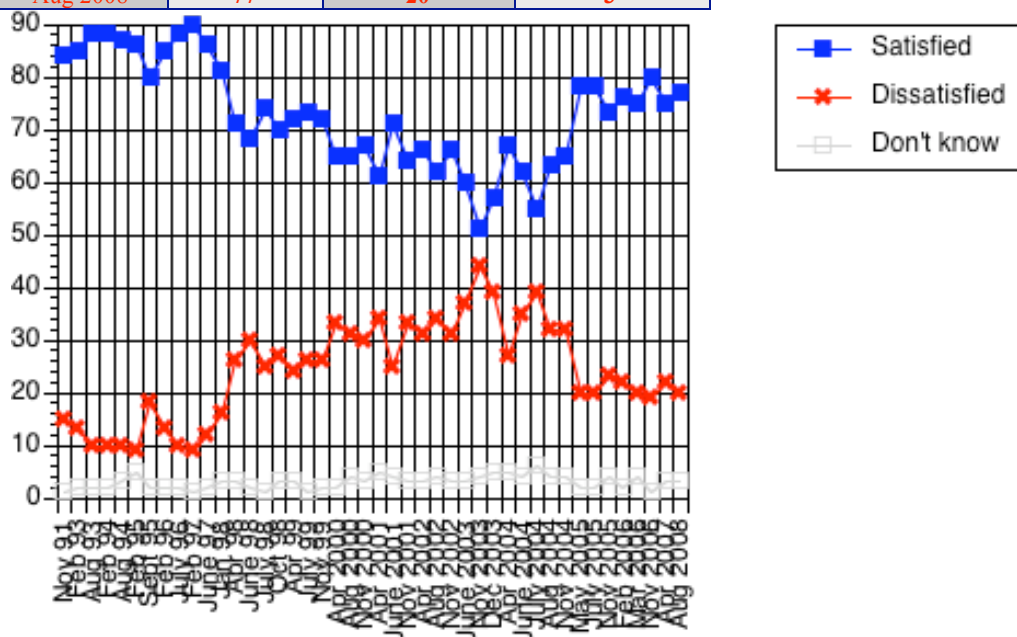
Twice as many GC only voters are dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong than FC voters and substantial differences also occur in the Very satisfied category.

COMPARISON Table 11 FC/GC voters satisfaction with life in Hong Kong*

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Don't know
FC voters	1	9	70	18	1
GC voters	5	17	66	10	3

*GC registered votes only
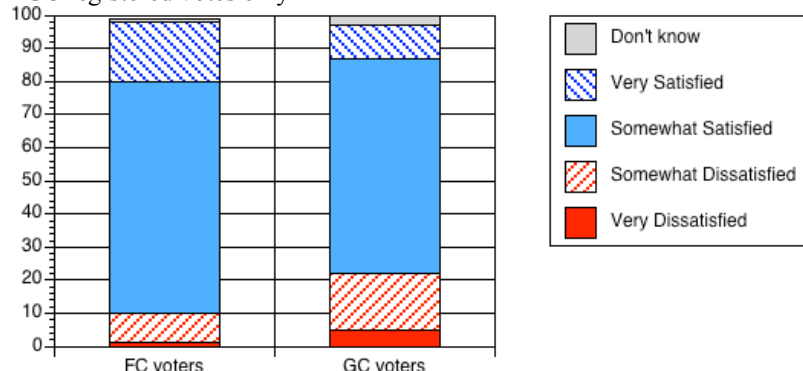
The relationship of income to satisfaction with life in Hong Kong is weak in the GC and non-existent in the FC income groups.

ASSOCIATION TABLE 12 GC voters satisfaction with life in HK by Income

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	total
Less than $9,999 per month	23	77	100
$10,000-19,999	26	74	100
$20,000-29,999	18	82	100
$30,000-39,999	16	84	100
$40,000-49,999	22	78	100
$50,000-59,999	12	88	100
$60,000-69,999	21	79	100
**$70,000-99,999	14	86	100
$100,000 and up	7	93	100
total	20	80	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total 588 respondents
Chi-square =   10.38   with   8   df p = 0.2395   VERY WEAK ASSOCIATION

ASSOCIATION TABLE 13 FC voters satisfaction with life in HK by Income

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	total
Less than $9,999 per month	7	93	100
$10,000-19,999	19	81	100
$20,000-29,999	15	85	100
$30,000-39,999	12	88	100
$40,000-49,999	10	90	100
$50,000-59,999	12	88	100
$60,000-69,999	21	79	100
**$70,000-99,999	6	94	100
$100,000 and up	6	94	100
total	11	89	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total   341 respondents
Chi-square =   8.316   with   8   df p = 0.4033   NO ASSOCIATION

While there is a very weak association between occupation and satisfaction with life in Hong Kong among GC voters, the association does not exist among FC voters. Only if there is a consistency of association among the FC and GC groups with the same variable can there be

an assumed relationship between the variable and the responses. The most consistent variable with demonstrated associations is FC or GC voter status. So for example, there is an association between gender and attitudes toward Hong Kong's future and satisfaction with life in Hong Kong among GC voters, but no such association among FC voters. Gender differences fail to explain the distribution of attitudes among one bloc of voters whereas FC or GC voting rights does show association.

ASSOCIATION TABLE 14 GC voters satisfaction with life in HK by Occupation

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	total
Manager/administrators	18.0	82	100
Professionals	13	87	100
Assoc Professionals/Educ.	29	71	100
Service workers	19	81	100
Manual workers	33	67	100
Housewives	25	75	100
Retirees	22	78	100
Students	9	91	100
total	21	79	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 15.48 with 7 df p = 0.0303

However, satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong government does vary with income groups and between the FC and GC voters, but not in ways expected. In terms of overall trends, satisfaction with performance is high, well above a majority, and has remained constant at nearly two thirds being satisfied since March 2005 when Tsang took over.

Chart 3 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of the Hong Kong Government?
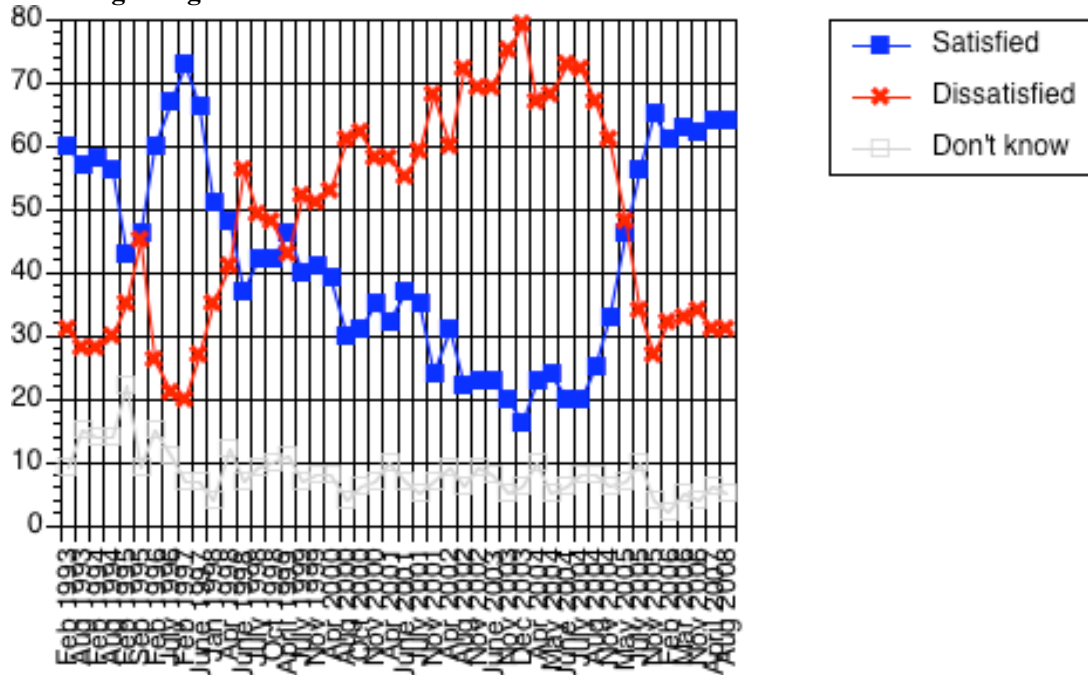
While dissatisfaction is higher on average among GC voters and association with income weak, FC voters show stronger association and much more variance among income groups.

ASSOCIATION TABLE 15 GC voters satisfaction with HK Gov performance by Income

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	total
Less than $9,999 per month	37	63	100
$10,000-19,999	43	57	100
$20,000-29,999	26	75	100
$30,000-39,999	27	73	100
$40,000-49,999	33	67	100
$50,000-59,999	28	73	100
$60,000-69,999	22	78	100
**$70,000-99,999	30	70	100
$100,000 and up	36	64	100
total	33	67	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square =   12.33   with   8   df p = 0.1372
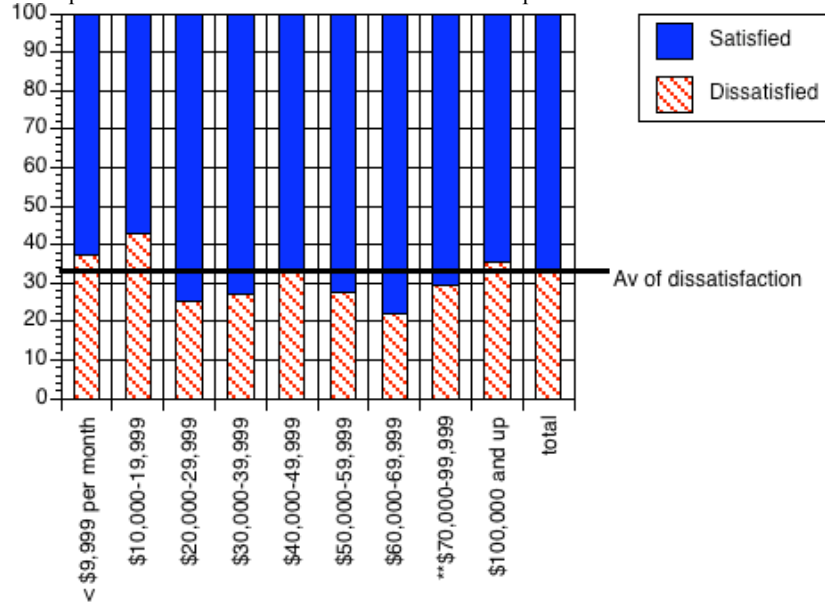
Middle income groups among FC voters tend to be more satisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong government than lowest and highest income groups, similar but more pronounced than among GC voters. (About 10 percent of the GC voter sample are also FC voters. Removing FC voters who are also GC voters has no effect on the GC sample averages and only minor effect in the categories.)

ASSOCIATION TABLE 16 FC voters satisfaction with HK Gov performance by Income

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	total
Less than $9,999 per month	35	65	100
$10,000-19,999	44	56	100
$20,000-29,999	13	87	100
$30,000-39,999	13	87	100
$40,000-49,999	32	68	100
$50,000-59,999	16	84	100
$60,000-69,999	18	82	100
**$70,000-99,999	35	65	100
$100,000 and up	29	71	100
total	26	74	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square =   17.34   with   8   df p = 0.0268   SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

Chart: FC voters satisfaction with HK Gov performance by Income
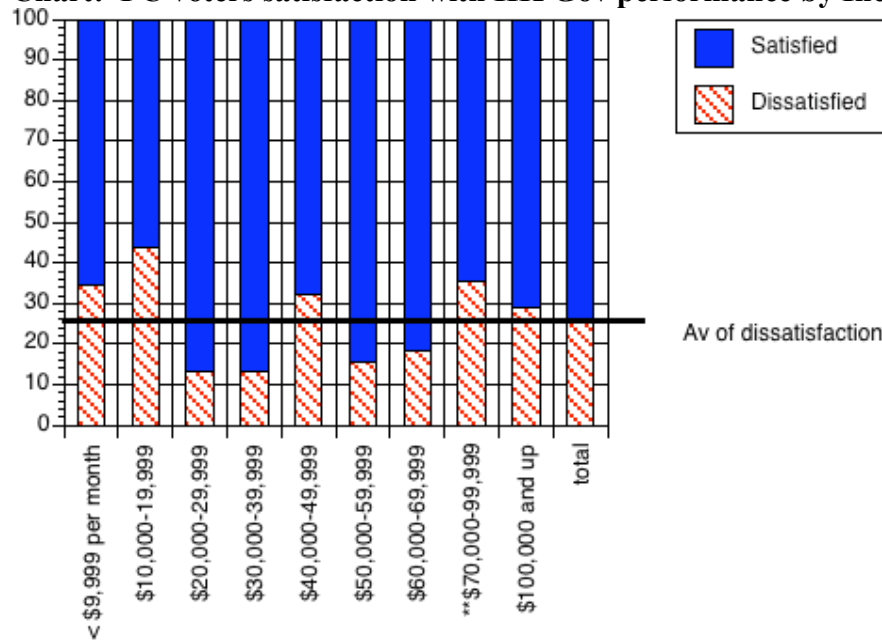
FINDING: The key difference in attitude toward government performance is not so much income group as political grouping as either an FC or GC only voter.

FC voters also tend to be employed by the government either as civil servants or in the privatized public authorities such as the Hospital Authority or Airport Authority. FC voters also tend to be employed, regardless of their ages, much more so than GC voters, as Tables 17 and 18 indicate. Nearly a third of FC voters work for the government, so the sense of greater influence and empowerment among FC voters over GC voters despite similar levels of income makes sense.

Table 17 Work sector: GC voters

	Count	%
Civil Service	63	9
Public Authority	16	2
Private Sector	329	46
Non-profit	7	1
Non-working	287	40

Table 18 Work sector: FC voters

	Count	%
Civil Service	91	22
Public Authority	34	8
Private Sector	212	52
Non-profit	14	3
Non-working	47	11

TREND Table 19 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of Hong Kong Government?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1993	60	31	9
Aug 1993	57	28	15
Feb 1994	58	28	14
Aug 1994	56	30	14
Feb 1995	43	35	22
Sep 1995	46	45	9
Feb 1996	60	26	15
July 1996	67	21	11
Feb 1997	73	20	7
June 1997	66	27	7
Jan 1998	51	35	4
Apr 1998	48	41	12
June 1998	37	56	7
Oct 1998	42	48	10
April 1999	46	43	11
July 1999	40	52	7
Nov 1999	41	51	8
Apr 2000	39	53	8
Aug 2000	30	61	4
Oct 2000	31	62	6
Apr 2001	32	58	10
July 2001	35	59	5
Nov 2001	24	68	7
Apr 2002	31	60	9
Aug 2002	22	72	6
Nov 2002	23	69	9
June 2003	23	69	8
Dec 2003	16	79	6
Apr 2004	23	67	10
July 2004	20	72	8
Aug 2004	25	67	8
Nov 2004	33	61	6
May 2005	46	48	7
July 2005	56	34	10
Nov 2005	65	27	4
Feb 2006	61	32	2
Mar 2006	63	33	5
Nov 2006	62	34	4
April 2007	64	31	6
Aug 2008	64	31	5

The same pattern is visible in satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong government in dealing with the PRC government. While the overall trends among all voters have been good since March 2005 when they recovered and reached new highs, sentiment is down from a high of 71 percent satisfied in 2005 to 63 percent in August 2008.

FINDING: Voter group membership as an FC or GC voter has more effect than income, gender or occupation.

Chart 4 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong Government (SAR government) in dealing with the PRC Government?
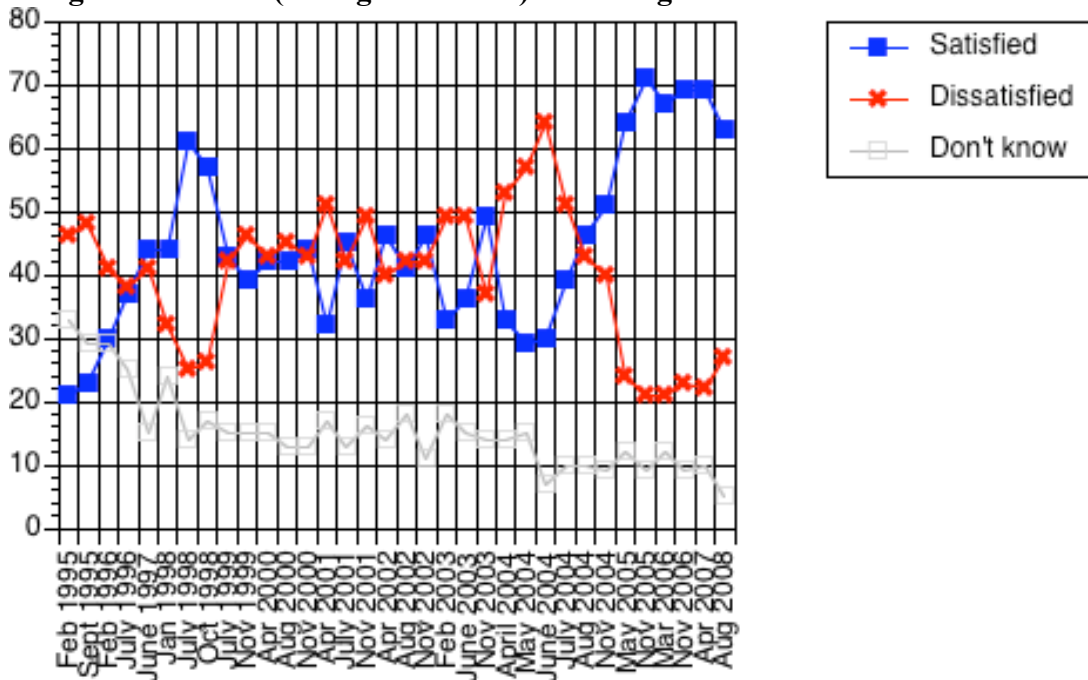
FINDING: Satisfaction with the government's performance dealing with the PRC Central Government is about 10 points higher among FC voters than GC voters, and dissatisfaction varies from one in four GC voters dissatisfied to one in five FC voters dissatisfied.

COMPARISON Table 20 FC/GC voters satisfaction with HK GOV performance in dealing with the PRC Gov

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Don't know
FC voters	2	18	66	7	7
GC voters	4	23	57	6	11
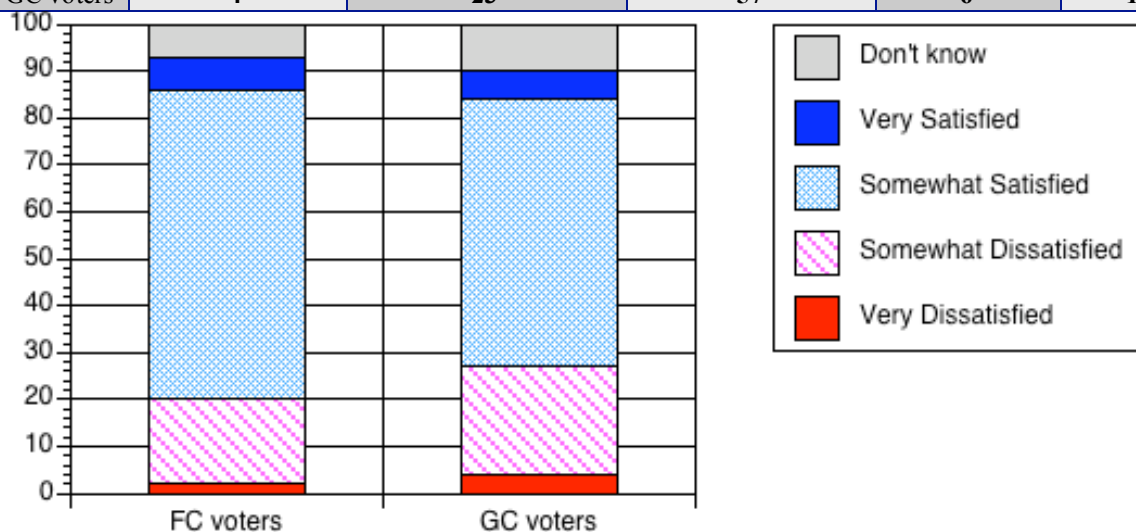
TREND Table 21 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong Government (SAR government) in dealing with the PRC Government?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1995	21	46	33
Sept 1995	23	48	29
Feb 1996	30	41	29
July 1996	37	38	25
June 1997	44	41	15
Jan 1998	44	32	24
July 1998	61	25	14
Oct 1998	57	26	17
July 1999	43	42	15
Nov 1999	39	46	15
Apr 2000	42	43	15
Aug 2000	42	45	13
Nov 2000	44	43	13
Apr 2001	32	51	17
July 2001	45	42	13
Nov 2001	36	49	16
Apr 2002	46	40	14
Aug 2002	41	42	18
Nov 2002	46	42	11
Feb 2003	33	49	18
June 2003	36	49	15
Nov 2003	49	37	14
April 2004	33	53	14
May 2004	29	57	15
June 2004	30	64	7
July 2004	39	51	10
Aug 2004	46	43	10
Nov 2004	51	40	9
May 2005	64	24	12
Nov 2005	71	21	9
Mar 2006	67	21	12
Nov 2006	69	23	9
Apr 2007	69	22	10
Aug 2008	63	27	5

Table 22 below shows the PRC government has also recovered from lows in 2003 to 2004 and consistently gained approval for its handling of Hong Kong affairs.

FINDING: As Table 22 shows, satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government in dealing with Hong Kong affairs is back to all time highs above 70 percent satisfied.

TREND Table 22 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC GOV in dealing with Hong Kong affairs?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Aug 1993	25	54	22
Feb 1993	23	56	21
Aug 1994	21	63	16
Feb 1995	20	60	20
Sept 1995	17	62	22
Feb 1996	31	49	20
July 1996	27	58	15
June 1997	45	41	14
Jan 1998	61	22	18
Apr 1998	67	17	16
June 1998	68	17	15
July 1998	74	11	15
Oct 1998	67	15	17
Apr 1999	65	19	16
July 1999	60	25	16
Nov 1999	57	26	17
Apr 2000	55	31	13
Aug 2000	56	27	15
Nov 2000	50	36	14
Apr 2001	46	34	21
July 2001	57	29	14
Nov 2001	55	26	19
Apr 2002	59	25	17
Aug 2002	57	25	19
June 2003	57	28	16
Nov 2003	72	18	10
Apr 2004	47	37	17
May 2004	37	50	11
June 2004	38	53	9
July 2004	38	50	12
Aug 2004	47	40	12
Nov 2004	55	32	13
May 2005	64	24	11
July 2005	58	29	12
Nov 2005	64	25	10
Mar 2006	66	23	11
Nov 2006	67	23	10
Apr 2007	69	22	9
Aug 2008	71	21	8
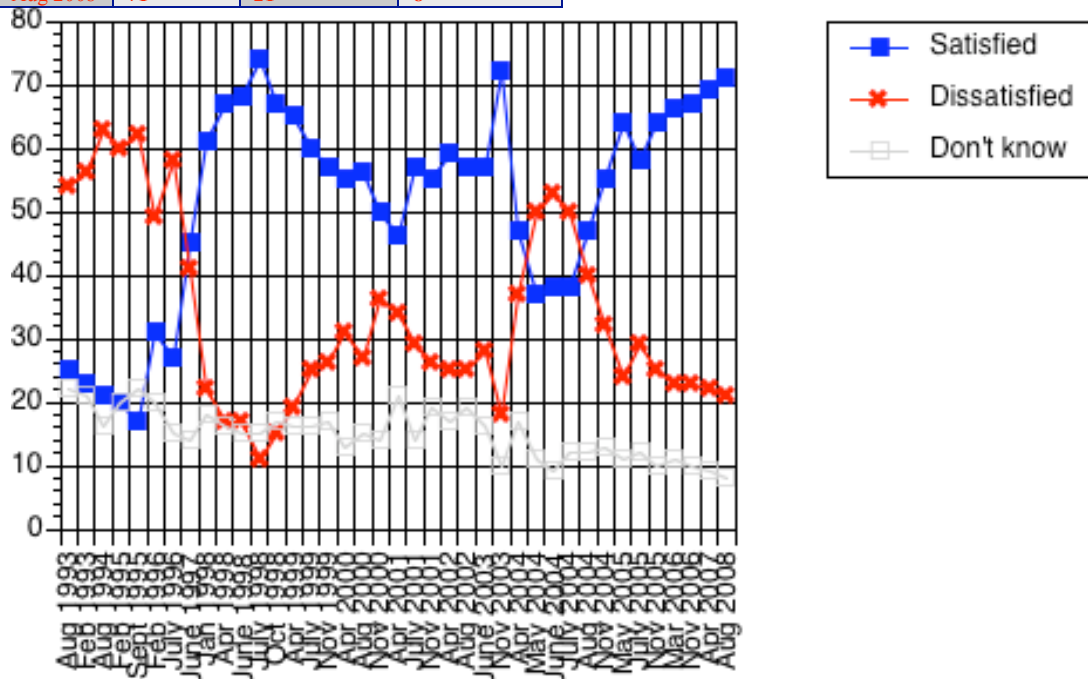
While satisfaction with the Chief Executive's performance has fallen somewhat from 2005 levels, it has consistently remained well above a majority satisfied with his performance.

TREND Table 23 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with performance of C. E. Donald Tsang?

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
May 2005	1	9	67	9	16
July 2005	1	8	52	6	33
Nov 2005	1	8	72	10	9
Mar 2006	2	11	69	9	7
Nov 2006	4	21	66	6	4
April 2007	2	13	71	9	6
Aug 2008	3	18	68	6	4
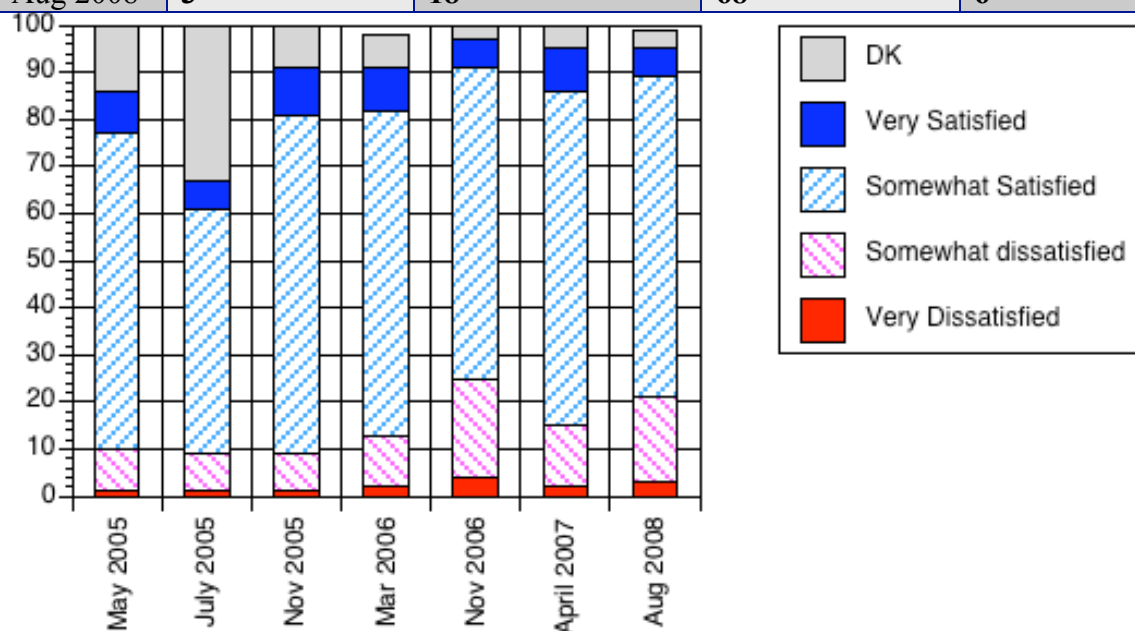
FINDING: Satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong and PRC governments is solidly positive among a clear majority. However, a majority of GC and FC voters express dissatisfaction with government performance solving their problems of personal concern. (See Table 37 below)

IV Trends and Perspectives on Political Parties

Parties have increasingly established a profile in voter's minds. Across the board fewer registered voters answered don't know to a parties name in 2008 than in 2007.

FINDING: Recognition of party names/reputations at highest levels ever recorded.

Key: Political Parties
DAB   **Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong**
DP   **Democratic Party**
LP   **Liberal Party**
CP   **Civic Party**
FTU   **Federation of Trade Unions**
CTU   **Confederation of Trade Unions**
ADPL   **Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood**
LSD   **League of Social Democrats**

Table 24 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following political parties? (June 2008 GC voters)

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	16	24	43	3	15
FTU	8	20	46	4	22
LP	9	29	39	2	21
DP	21	34	31	2	11
CTU	11	22	41	4	21
Civic	7	17	41	9	26
Frontier	18	29	29	2	22
ADPL	5	20	35	1	38
LSD	19	24	19	2	36
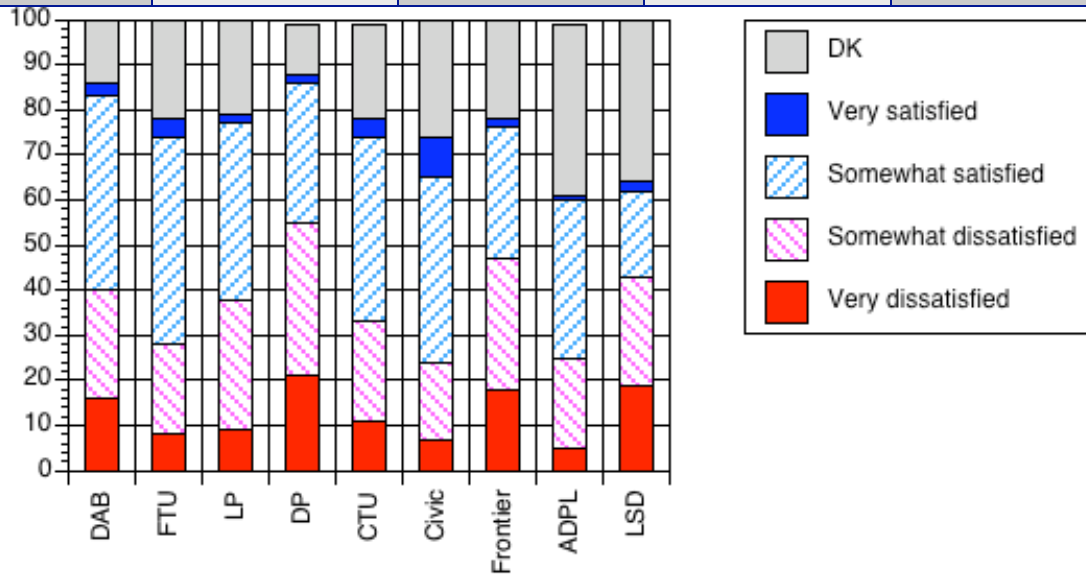
Compare the Chart above with that from May 2007 for Don't Know (DK):

Chart 5 Satisfaction with the parties, May 2007
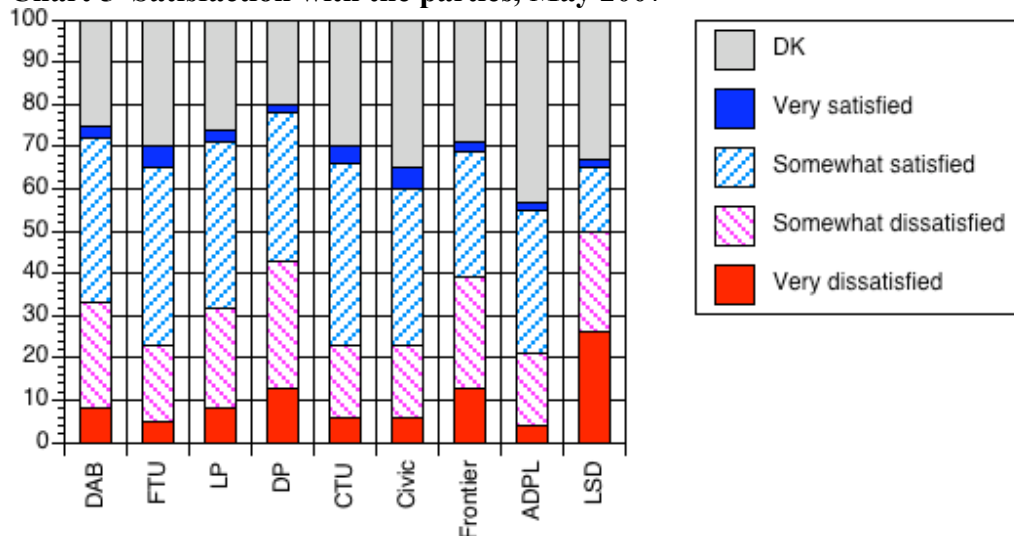
Finding: Democratic party leads in dissatisfaction levels.

Table 25 compares satisfaction and dissatisfaction levels, while Table 26 tracks the differences over time.

Table 25 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following parties? Collapsed* JUNE 2008

Party	Dissatisfied with performance	Satisfied with performance	Difference JUNE 2008**
DAB	46	54	+8
FTU	36	64	+28
LP	53	47	-6
DP	62	38	-24
CTU	42	58	+16
Civic	32	67	+35
Frontier	61	39	-22
ADPL	41	59	+18
LSD	67	32	-35

*Combining very dissatisfied with somewhat dissatisfied, dropping don't know responses
** Negative number indicates more dissatisfaction than satisfaction

TREND Table 26 Comparative satisfaction of parties over time

Party	Difference +/- Sept 2004	Difference +/- Nov 2005	Difference +/- Mar 2006	Difference +/- May 2007	Difference +/- June 2008
DAB	-58	-16	-10	+12	+8
FTU	-24	+28	+26	+36	+28
LP	+2	-2	+6	+14	-6
DP	+4	-18	-36	-8	-24
CTU	+32	+36	+22	+36	+16
Civic	+52	+46	+38	+30	+35
Frontier	+6	-8	-4	-10	-22
ADPL	+44	+42	+26	+28	+18
LSD	--	--	--	-50	-35
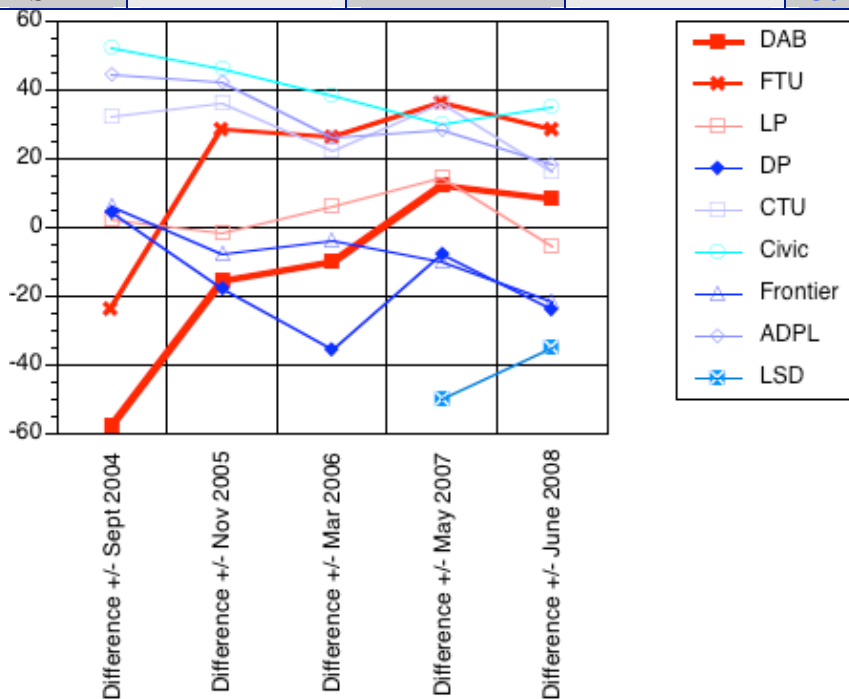
Table 26 above shows that the two pro-government parties and allies, DAB and FTU, have performed relatively well since a disastrous showing in 2004. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party and Frontier have dropped well below 2004 levels and significantly into negative territory. The ADPL, CTU and especially Civic Party among the pro-democracy parties remain in positive territory though also down from 2004 levels, but as in 2004 and 2005, Civic party leads with most positive responses after tying statistically with the FTU, CTU and ADPL in 2007. Table 27 shows there is a small but persistently higher level of dissatisfaction among FC voters over GC voters with nearly all parties except Civic Party, where the larger affiliation of professionals to Civic Party and their dominance among FC voters shows to good effect. This same effect can be seen in Table 28 below.

COMPARATIVE Table 27 Satisfaction with parties, GC & FC voters June 2008

Party	Dissatisfied GC	Dissatisfied FC	Satisfied GC	Satisfied FC
DAB	46	54	54	46
FTU	36	43	64	57
LP	53	58	47	42
DP	62	69	38	31
CTU	42	45	58	55
Civic	32	29	67	71
Frontier	61	60	39	40
ADPL	41	41	59	59
LSD	67	73	32	27
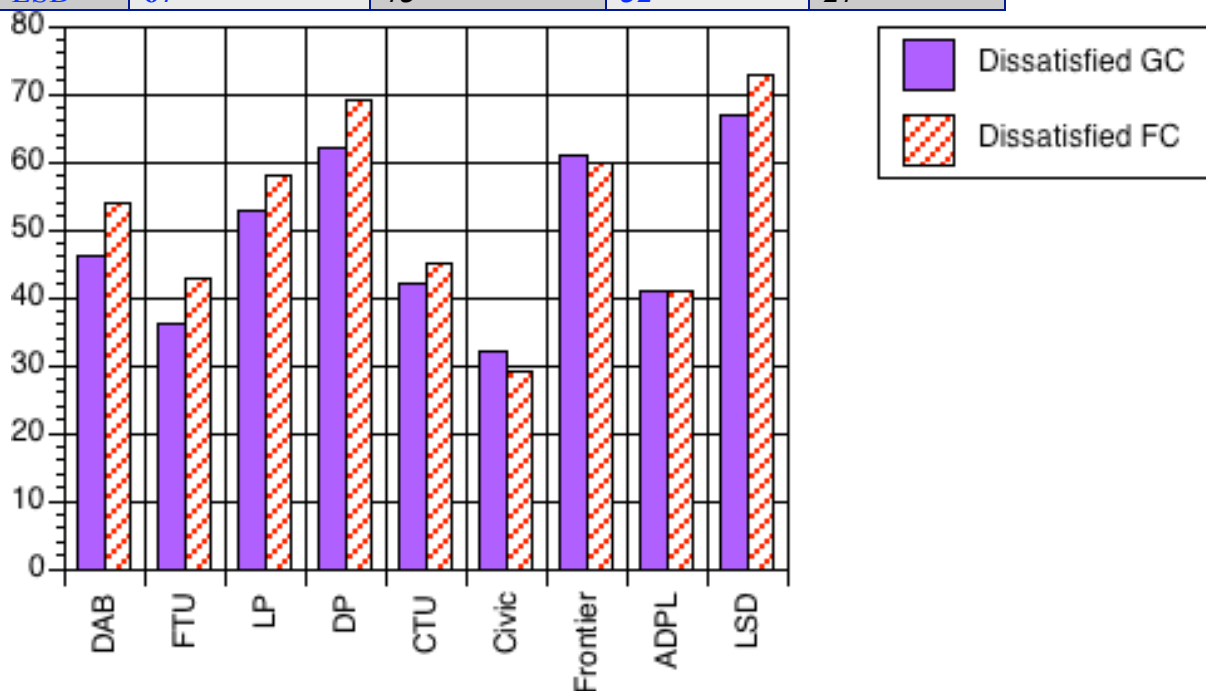
Table 28 shows a steady growth in the DAB as best representing GC voter's interests. While the Liberal Party has seen sharp improvements since 2006, it appears stalled at about 10 percent of voters, mirroring a similar steady showing by DP and Civic Party. There has been also a significant fall in responses of "None of them" and Don't Know since 2006. Comparative Table 29 of GC only versus FC voters shows distinct differences among the two groups of voters, with Civic party fall outshining the others among FC voters.

COMPARATIVE Table 28 Of the 4 biggest political parties in Legco (Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Civic Party) which party if any do you feel represents or protects your interest best?

	Mar 2006	May 2007	June 2008
DAB	15	17	20
DP	14	18	16
LP	3	10	8
CP	18	16	18
None of them	32	21	24
Don't Know	16	19	11
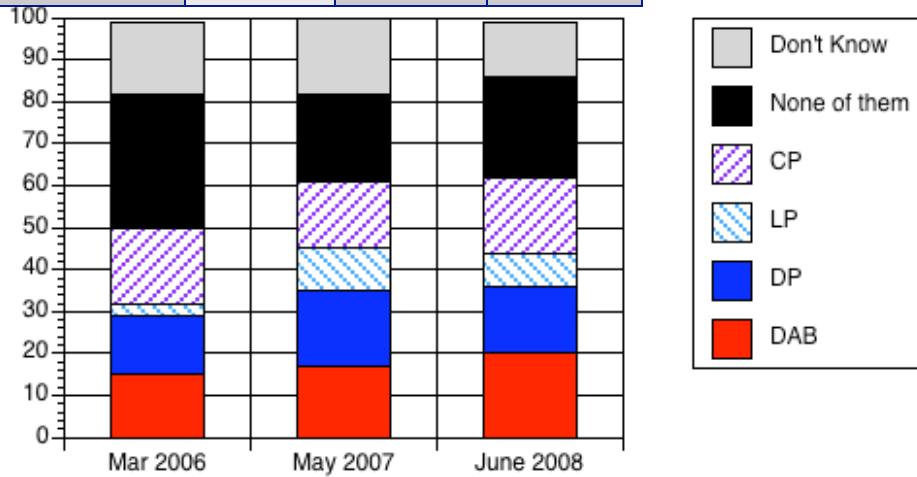
COMPARATIVE Table 29 GC voters versus FC voters on which party protects interests

	GC voters*	FC voters
DAB	21	15
DP	16	15
LP	8	11
Civic	17	25
None of them	25	22
Don't Know	11	10
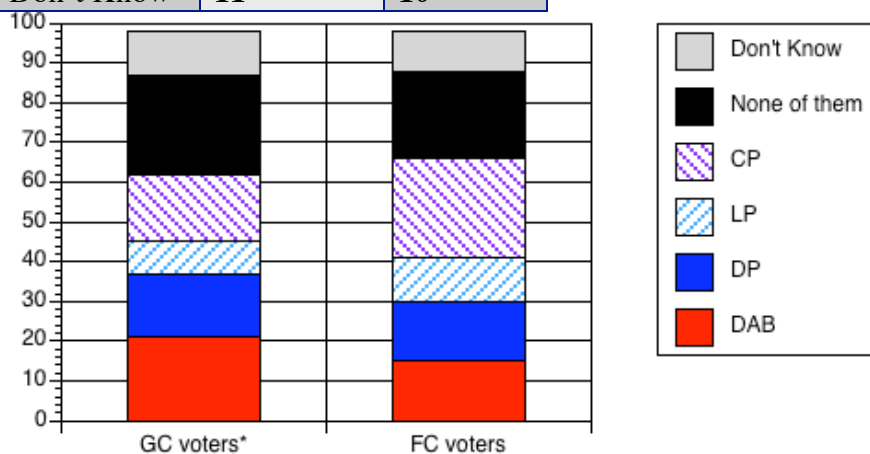
*Excluding all FC voters

FINDING: Civic Party dominates FC voter's choice on which party protects interest best; DAB tops GC voters as top interest-protecting party.

In May 2007 no party had a majority of respondents citing it as standing up best for a list of major issues. The DAB and Liberals had the best profiles for standing up best for good relations with Beijing and for business interests, respectively. But most other issues saw only small pluralities of respondents, with very high numbers of None and Don't Know responses.

Table 30 Do you think there is a political party or person in Hong Kong that stands up best for: May 2007

	DAB	LP	FTU	DP	CP	FR	CTU	ADPL	LSD	NWSC	All	Other	None	DK
Working Class	9	1	20	8	1	4	19	1	2	2	--	1	13	20
Middle Class	8	19	1	8	10	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	19	34
Business interests	3	46	1	2	1	1	1	0	--	0	--	0	12	34
Women's interests	2	2	2	3	3	7	1	--	--	0	--	--	30	50
Retirees	5	2	3	5	1	--	2	1	1	--	1	--	34	45
Human rights	1	3	--	20	12	3	1	--	2	0	1	--	23	34
Environmental protection	2	2	--	6	4	1	0	--	1	0	1	--	37	47
Housing problems	6	1	1	8	1	--	1	3	1	1	1	0	33	44
Education problem	4	3	--	16	3	--	0	1	--	0	--	--	35	38
Protect rule of law	3	2	0	10	23	--	--	0	--	0	--	--	24	38
Protect freedom of the press	1	2	0	13	8	4	0	0	1	0	--	1	23	47
HK's prosperity & stability	11	10	--	5	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	33	36
Good relations with Beijing	47	4	2	1	--	1	--	--	0	0	--	1	19	25

BROWN: Groups
GREEN: Issues
Red: System

KEY:	
DAB	**Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong**
LP	**Liberal Party**
FTU	**Federation of Trade Unions**
DP	**Democratic Party of Hong Kong**
CP	**Civic Party**
FR	**The Frontier**
CTU	**Confederation of Trade Unions**
ADPL	**Association for Democracy and Peoples Livelihood**
LSD	**League of Social Democrats**
NWSC	**Neighborhood and Worker's Service Center**

In June 2008, at the start of the campaigning for the 2008 Legco elections on 7 September, the parties had made little progress in claiming particular interest groups and in cementing an association between explicit concerns and their party, on most issues, as their own. In fact, Table 31 with the June 2008 data shows a clear deterioration among GC voters on the issues of which party is standing up best for: Middle Class, Business interests, and Women's interests. While the Liberal Party still polled highest as protecting business interests, at 40 percent of GC respondents, that was down from 46 percent citing the LP as standing best for business interests in May 2007. The DAB scores highest as the party best supporting Donald Tsang, just as in 2007 it scored highest as the party best standing for good relations with Beijing. If a Chief Executive was a member of this party, this affiliation would be understandable. But the CE is a non-party post, and neither Tsang nor his predecessor Tung Chee-hwa were members or had ever been members of the DAB. This tight association in voter's minds is an asset when a CE is popular, but a real liability when he is not, as with Tung Chee-hwa.

The matter at stake in these results is that of marketing and branding for a party. Issues identified with a party, positively or negatively, allow voters to cast their vote according to how an issue is associated with personal concerns. For example, the Republican Party in the US had a "brand" identity as most concerned with security, particularly in foreign affairs. It also was once known in voter's minds as the party associated with business, the military, fiscal responsibility and applying business methods to government (efficiency, privatization, and balanced budgets). Republicans also once had a reputation, stretching from Theodore Roosevelt to Richard Nixon, of protecting national parks and wildlife and promoting environmentalism. The experience since Reagan and Bush presidencies in the US has turned many of these associations into negatives, especially in terms of corruption in business (Keating, Enron, WorldCom), incompetence in governance (Hurricanes Andrew, Katrina), disregard of the environment, and the invasion of Iraq. The US Democratic Party has focused on these issues and built its brand identity as focused on domestic affairs, economic well being of working and middle classes, environmental action and international cooperation instead of confrontation. Parties need brand identity, and having a clear image among most voters on issues is a sign of maturation in party development. There is, as yet, only early signs of this developing here, with Liberals identified as the pro-business party, Democrats as standing up best for human rights, press freedom and Hong Kong's autonomy from mainland intervention to many, and the Civic Party as concerned with the rule of law among about one in five or one in six voters. The DAB is simply pro-government, leaving an impression of a party with no principle but affiliation with power. So while voters recognize the party names and leaders more, they are apparently yet making little real headway in defining issues as their own. This is among all voters. Among FC voters, a small elite, party issue associations are somewhat stronger. But, as Table 37 below shows, dissatisfaction with government handling of issues of personal concern to voters is very high, despite high satisfaction with government performance in general.

Table 31   Do you think there is a political party or person in Hong Kong that stands up best for: June 2008 (GC voters)

	DAB	LP	FTU	DP	CP	FR	CTU	ADPL	Other	None	DK
Working Class	8	--	19	3	2	1	28	1	1	21	15
Middle Class	3	17	2	4	8	--	2	--	--	34	28
Business interests	3	40	1	1	1				--	26	28
Women's interests	2	--	2	1	3	3	1	--	1	44	43
Retirees	4	--	3	2	1	--	3	1	1	50	35
Human rights	2	2	1	29	7	3	1	1	4	25	27
Environmental protection	2	1	--	4	2	1	1	--	7	41	40
Housing problems	6	1	1	5	2	--	1	5	1	37	41
Education problem	4	1	--	13	2	--	1	1	1	38	38
Protect rule of law	4	2	1	7	17	1	1		2	30	34
Protect freedom of the press	2	2	1	18	6	3	2	--	1	33	32
HK's prosperity & stability	9	8	--	5	2	--	2	--	1	39	34
Hong Kong's autonomy	2		--	24	6	--	--	--	2	32	30
Supporting Donald Tsang	43	8	1	1			--	--	3	18	26
Opposing Donald Tsang	1	1	--	37	2	2	1	--	3	25	26

Table 32, for FC voters, shows a very high association of the Liberal Party with business interests, the only issue a majority associate with a party. However, the Democratic Party sees stronger association with human rights issues than among all GC voters, and the CTU considerably stronger association with the working class. (The Confederation of Trade Unions is one of the two major labor associations in Hong Kong. The Federation of Trade Unions is a pro-Beijing group of labor unions set up to contest the working class with the Trade Unions Council, a nearly defunct pro-Taiwan association of unions. The CTU began as a decidedly worker oriented versus nationalism oriented union association.) FC voters also more strongly associate the Civic Party with protecting the rule of law.

Table 32   Do you think there is a political party or person in Hong Kong that stands up best for: June 2008 (FC voters)

	DAB	LP	FTU	DP	CP	FR	CTU	AD PL	Other	None	DK
Working Class	3	--	17	3	2	1	40	1	--	15	11
Middle Class	3	17	--	7	15	--	1	--	--	43	13
Business interests	2	60	--	1	--		--	--		21	14
Women's interests	2	1	1	2	5	3	1	--	1	53	31
Retirees	5	--	2	3	--	--	4	--		57	27
Human rights	3	3	--	35	15	4	2		1	23	14
Environmental protection	1	1	--	6	7	--	1	--	1	50	31
Protecting rule of law	2	2	1	11	26	--	--	2	3	25	21
Protect freedom of the press	13	3	1	16	13	2	1	--	1	30	19
HK's prosperity & stability	14	7	--	13	3	1	--	--	2	38	21
Hong Kong's autonomy	3	2	--	27	14	--	1		2	31	19
Supporting Donald Tsang	44	5	1	3	1		--	3	1	22	18

BROWN: Groups
GREEN: Issues
Red: System

While many issues lack a clear champion in the minds of most GC voters and most FC voters, with rare exceptions, there are also some issues that seem to be orphaned from association with any party. Charts 6, 7 and 8 below compare the combined None and Don't Know responses on comparable issues between 2007 and 2008 GC voters and between these voters and FC voters of 2008. What is striking is how the environment, education, women and retirees have no identified association with any party. As Tables 35 and 36 show, about one in ten voters cite pollution as the issue of most personal concern to them. About 17 percent express their greatest personal concern as the wealth gap between rich and poor and elderly welfare. But, as Tables 46 and following show, levels of worry about an issue can be associated statistically with particular party support. The association, however, does not appear to be a conscious one for many respondents across most issues.

FINDING: There is some affiliation of unions and working groups in people's minds in Hong Kong, but that no party here has apparently made a concerted and concentrated effort to make a particular issue and group their own, and that they have in effect apparently neglected the basic issues of education, welfare and environment and such key groups as

home owners, women and retirees is an indicator that the party system is still far from fully developed.

Chart 6 GC None/Don't Know Responses May 2007
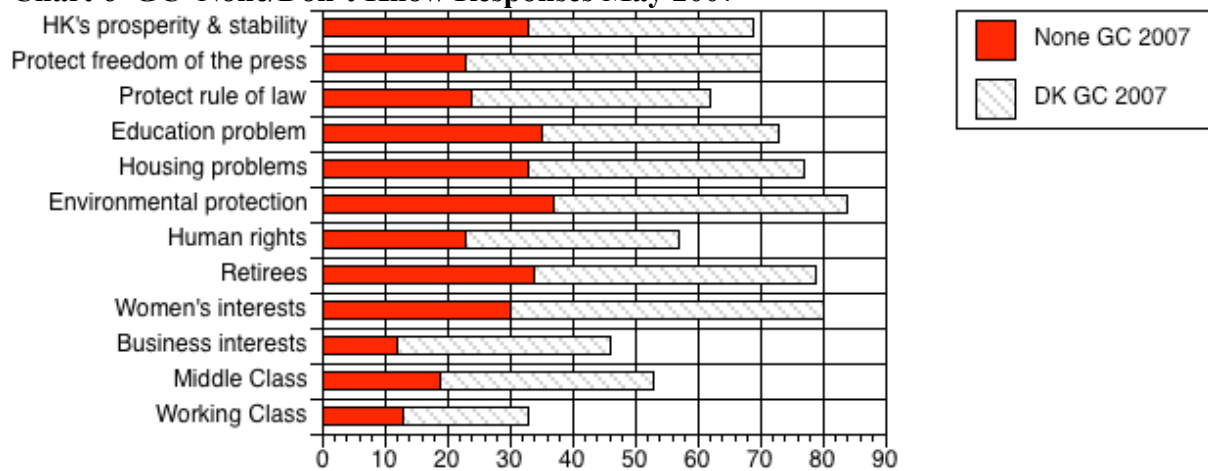
Chart 7 GC None/Don't Know Responses June 2008
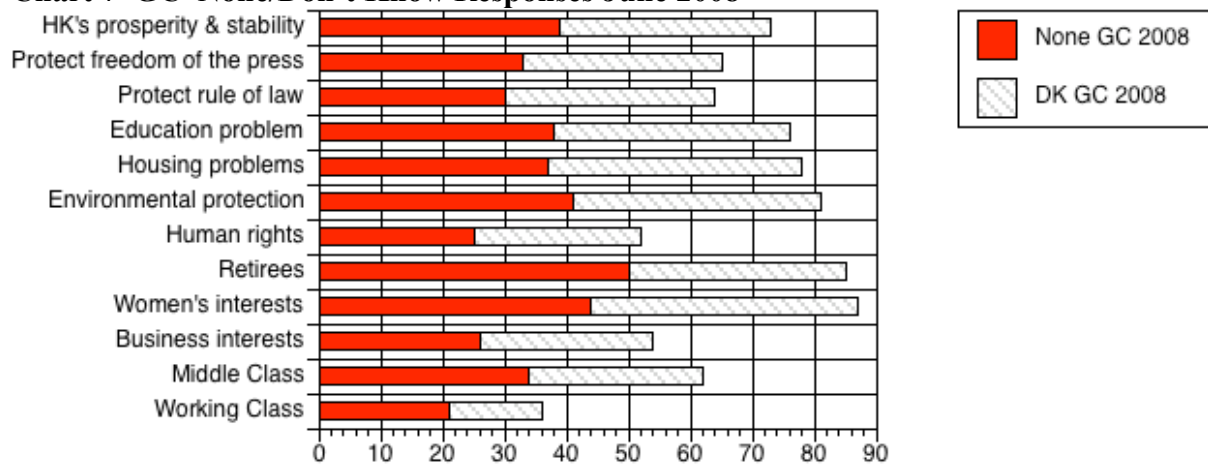
Chart 8 FC None/Don't Know Responses June 2008
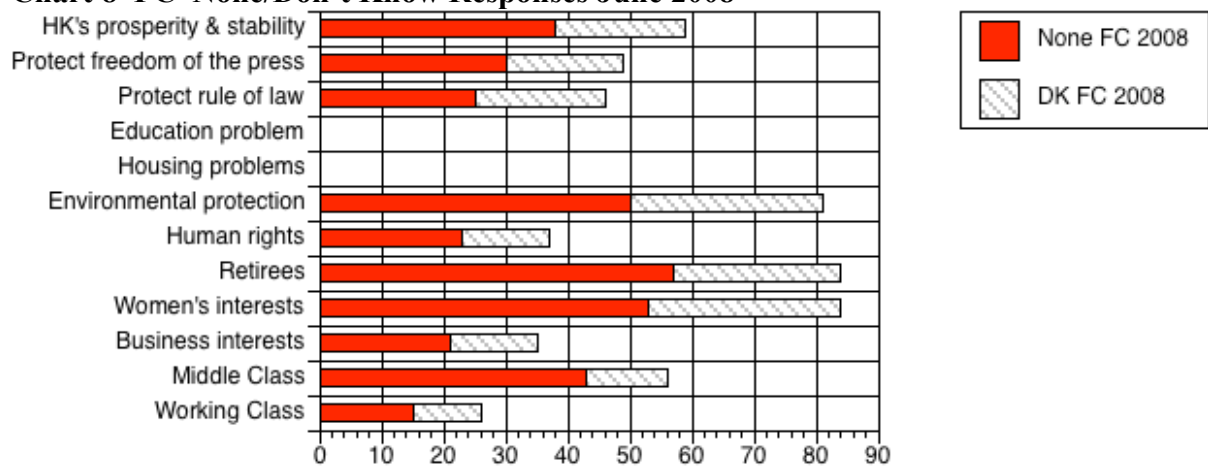
See Table 33 below for detailed numbers for the charts above.

COMPARATIVE Table 33 2007, 2008 GC and 2008 FC None/DK responses on issues

	GC 2007	GC 2007	GC 2008	GC 2008	FC 2008	FC 2008
Issues	None	DK	None	DK	None	DK
Working Class	13	20	21	15	15	11
Middle Class	19	34	34	28	43	13
Business interests	12	34	26	28	21	14
Women's interests	30	50	44	43	53	31
Retirees	34	45	50	35	57	27
Human rights	23	34	25	27	23	14
Environmental protection	37	47	41	40	50	31
Housing problems	33	44	37	41		
Education problem	35	38	38	38		
Protect rule of law	24	38	30	34	25	21
Protect freedom of the press	23	47	33	32	30	19
HK's prosperity & stability	33	36	39	34	38	21

The lack of clear identity of parties above with issues does not seem to be due to lack of interest in politics and public affairs.

COMPARATIVE Table 34 How frequently do you discuss politics and public affairs with:

	GC voters		FC voters	
Frequency	Family	Friends	Family	Friends
Never	26	23	19	12
Seldom (few times a year)	30	29	28	27
Occasionally (once a month)	25	32	31	38
Often (once a week)	17	14	19	21
Very often (almost every day)	1	1	2	2
DK	1	1	--	--
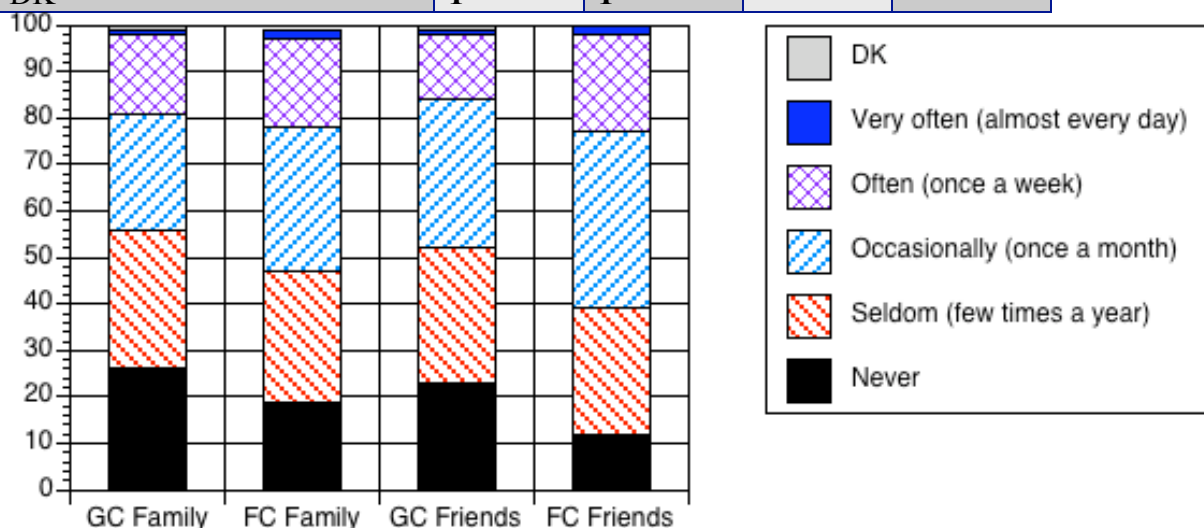
FINDING: FC voters discuss politics and public affairs more frequently than GC voters. Majorities of FC voters discuss politics and public affairs. More voters discuss politics and public affairs with friends than family. About one in five FC and GC voters discuss these issues often or very often—every day or at least once a week.

TREND Table 35 Which problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about now personally?*

	Jan 98	Apr 98	Apr 00	Apr 01	Apr 02	Mar 03	Apr 04	Aug 04	May 05	Mar 06	May 07	Jun 08
Economic growth rate	38	32	13	12	14	17	23	9	12	7	4	11
Affordable housing	8	4	1	2	--	1		1	--	1	1	--
Unemployment	11	27	31	40	53	40	26	35	26	28	28	16
Salary cuts, welfare cuts			6	4	3	7	5	4	4	3	6	7
Property, stock markets			3	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3
Int'l competitiveness			3	2	2	3	1	4	1	1	2	2
Other econ.				1	2	1	--	--	1	1	--	
Inflation												10
Wealth gap among rich & poor												13**
Economic Issues total	57	63	57	64	75	70	56	55	46	43	43	62
Education	4	3	6	7	6	3	6	4	9	8	15	6
Elderly	5	5	3	4	2	1	1	2	4	3	6	4
Crime	6	5	6	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	--
Medical	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	5	6	5
Pollution/overpopulation	1	1	10	4	2	2	2	3	7	11	7	9
Social Issues total	18	15	27	20	12	9	12	13	23	29	36	24
Corruption	1	1	1	1	--	1	1	--	1	1	--	--
Political stability	5	4	4	2	2	2	15	12	10	5	2	3**
Freedom of press/speech	2	2	2	1	--	1	1	8	1	1	1	1
Freedom to demonstrate	2	1	1	1	--	1	1	1	--	1	+	--
Autonomy of HK	2	1	2	1	--	--	1	1	--	1	+	1
Fair judges/freedom to travel	3	3	1	--	--	1	--	1	1	1	+2	1
Competence of Tung (98-04) Tsang (05-) & civil servants	-	-	1	--	1	1	1	1	--	1	--	1
Constitutional development							--		3	3	1	--
Political Issues total	15	12	12	6	3	7	20	27	16	12	5	7**

*None, other, don't know responses dropped   +added together responses less than 1
15 percent said not concerned about a problem in Hong Kong personally in May 2007 or had concerns not of a public affairs nature.
**Wealth gap is not just an economic issue but also a concern with political stability. Arguably, inflation raises issues of political stability as well.
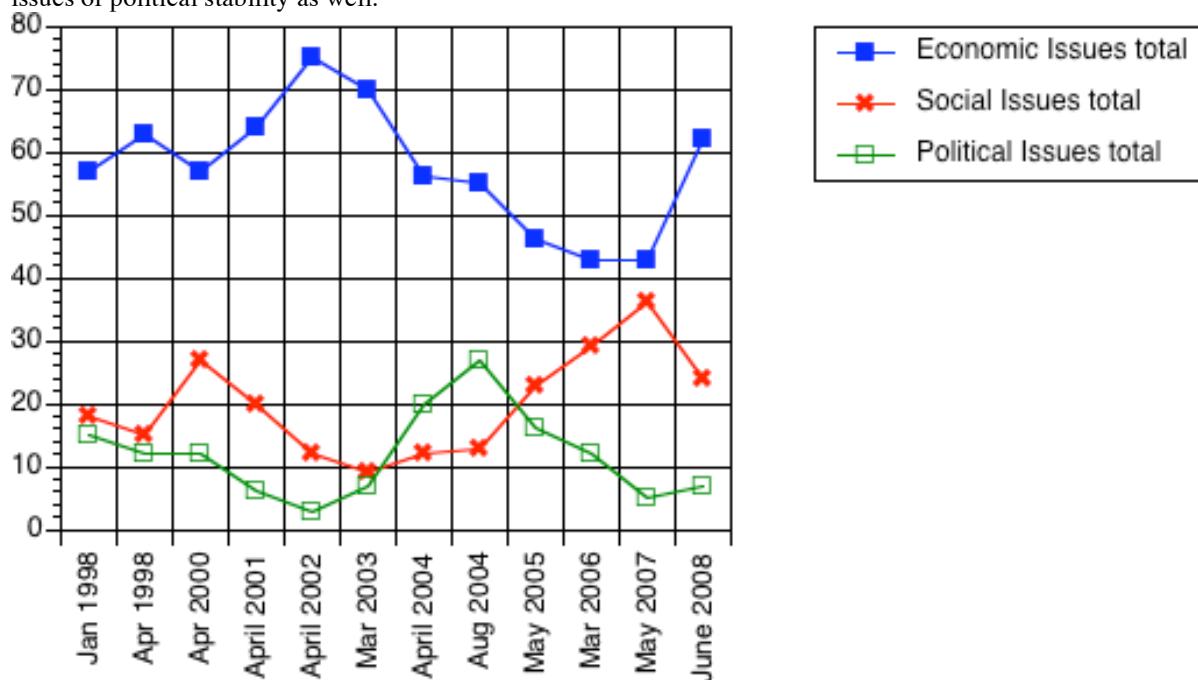
COMPARATIVE Table 36 GC and FC voters personal concerns June 2008

	June 2008 GC voters	June 2008 FC voters
Economic growth rate	11	10
Affordable housing	--	--
Unemployment	16	12
Salary cuts, welfare cuts	7	9
Property, stock markets	3	1
Int'l competitiveness	2	1
Other econ.		1
Inflation	10	13
Wealth gap among rich & poor	13**	11**
Economic Issues total	62	58
Education	6	9
Elderly	4	2
Crime	--	--
Medical	5	5
Pollution/overpopulation	9	13
Social Issues total	24	29
Corruption	--	--
Political stability	3**	3
Freedom of press/speech	1	1
Freedom to demonstrate	--	1
Autonomy of HK	1	1
Fair judges/freedom to travel	1	1
Competence of Tung (98-04) Tsang (05-) & civil servants	1	1
Constitutional development		
Political Issues total	7**	8**

**Wealth gap is not just an economic issue but also a concern with political stability. Arguably, inflation raises issues of political stability as well.

COMPARATIVE Table 37 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's performance on this problem?

	June 2008 GC voters	June 2008 FC voters
Very satisfied	1	1
Satisfied	26	20
Dissatisfied	40	47
Very dissatisfied	18	20
DK	6	5
Not a government problem	9	7
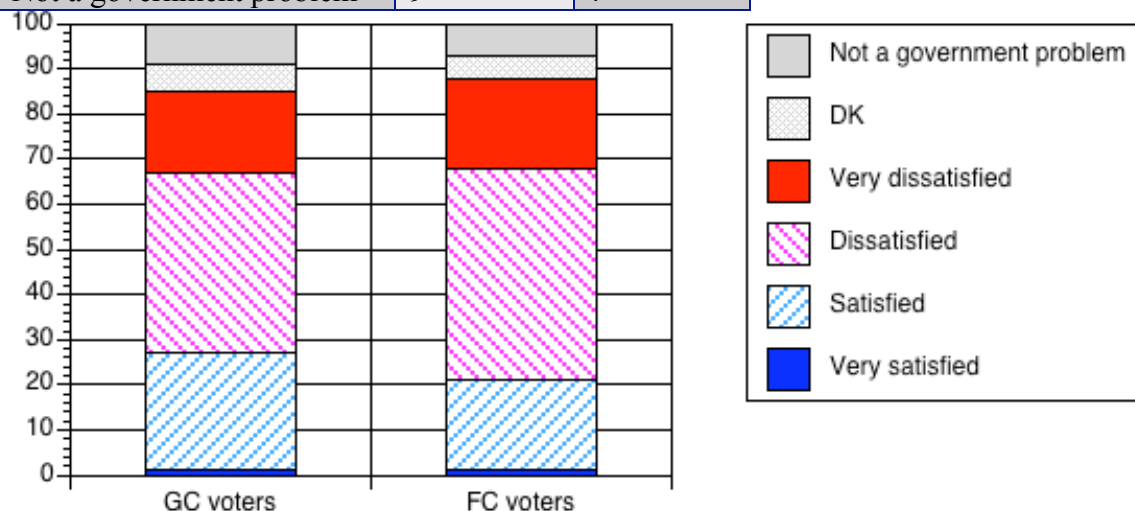
COMPARATIVE Table 38 Do you think there is a political party or person in Hong Kong which stands up best for the problem of greatest concern to you?

Party	GC voters	FC voters
DAB	6	5
FTU	2	2
LP	3	1
DP	7	10
CTU	4	5
Civic	2	6
Frontier	--	--
ADPL	1	1
Others	7	5
None	42	46
DK	19	11
No problems	6	5
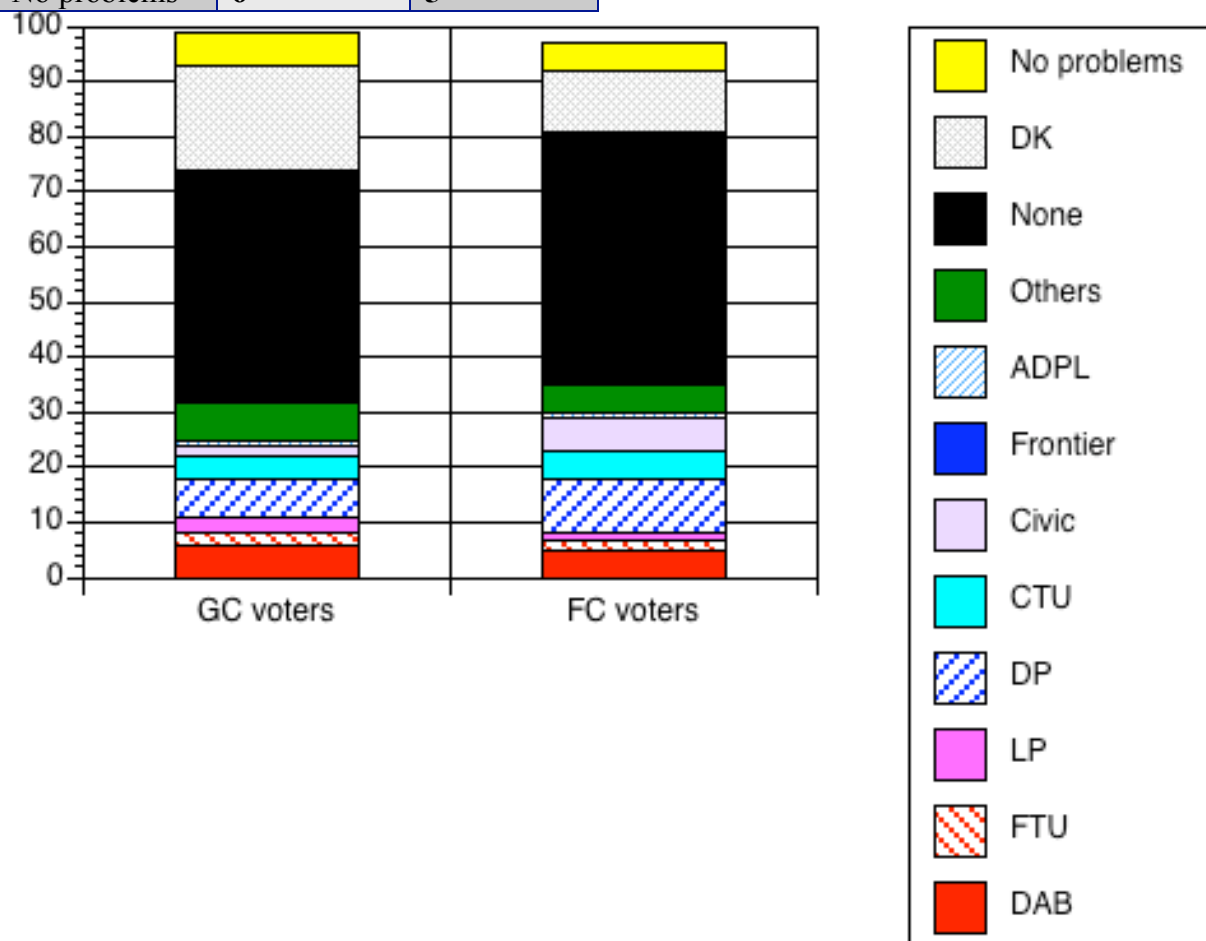
FINDING: Only about one in four GC voters and one in three FC voters associates their problem of greatest personal concern with a political party.

COMPARATIVE Table 39 In general, do you think political parties in Hong Kong are having a good effect or a bad effect on this problem?

	GC voters	FC voters	May 2007 survey
Very good effect	3	3	2
Good effect	45	43	40
No difference	31	29	30
Bad effect	5	2	8
Very bad effect	1	2	2
DK	8	10	9
None/no problems	6	5	9

FINDING: A small improvement on assessments of parties having a good effect on problems is visible from May 2007 (42% good effect) to June (GC voters, 48% good effect).

Table 40 Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong?

	GC voters	FC voters
Yes	15	21
No	80	77
Maybe	2	1
DK	2	1

In each group, 15 percent report donating to a political party or group in the previous 12 months. However, as Table 42 shows, those who consider themselves party members or supporters are more likely to have donated in the previous 12 months.

TREND Table 41 Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong?

	Nov 2006	Nov 2007	June 2008
Yes	12	10	15
No	77	79	80
Maybe	6	5	3
DK	4	4	2
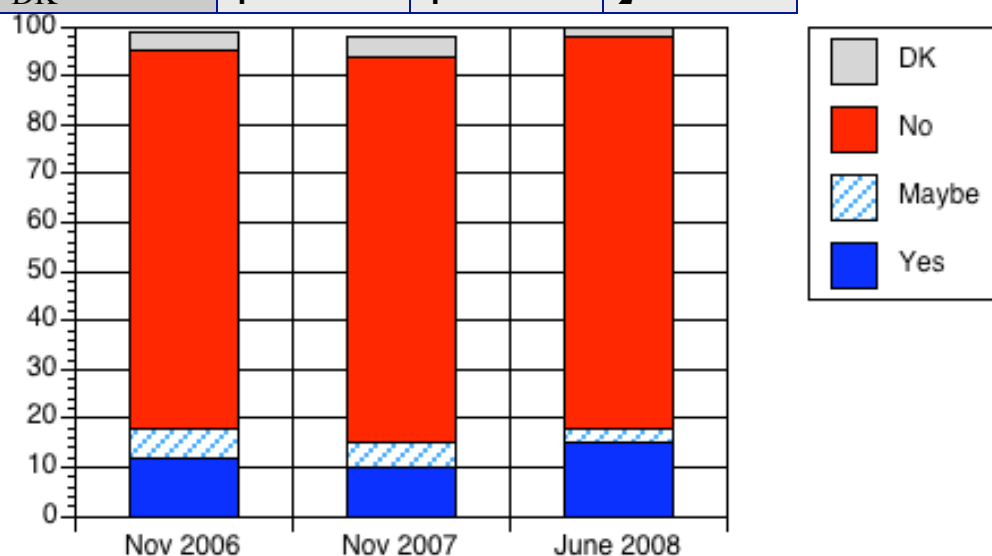
ASSOCIATION Table 42 Supporter or member of party by Donated in previous 12 months

	Not supporter	Supporter	total
DONOR	13	23	15
NON-DONOR	87	77	85
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 6.864 with 1 df p = 0.0088
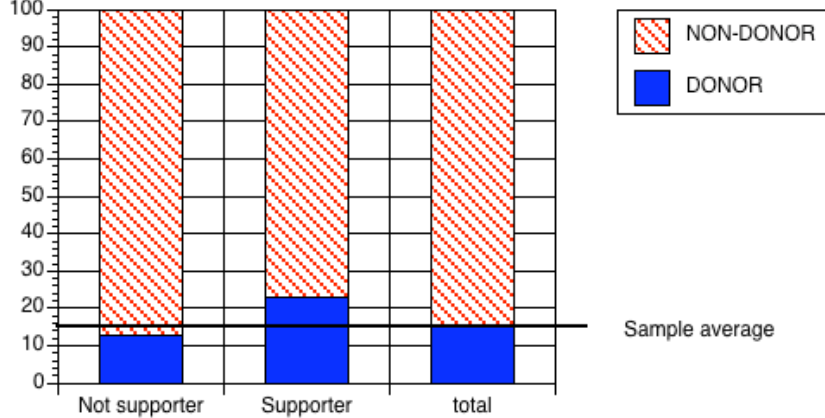
Removing Don't Knows and those without a problem, those who think a party has had a very good effect on the problem of their personal concern are far more likely to consider themselves supporters or party members, and those judging a party as having a good effect are more likely to consider themselves supporters than those who say parties have made no difference or had a bad effect on the problem of concern to them.

ASSOCIATION Table 43 Effect problem of personal concern on Support or member of party

	Not supporter	Supporter	total
Very good effect	55	46	100
Good effect	83	17	100
No difference	88	13	100
Bad effect	86	14	100
Very bad effect	88	13	100
total	84	16	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 16.57 with 4 df p = 0.0023
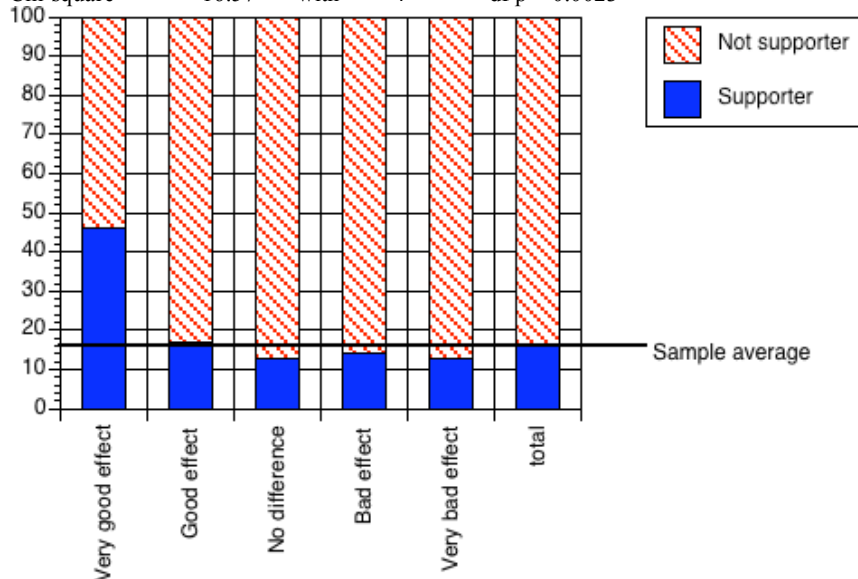
Table 44 shows that the DAB has the smallest proportion of those saying it best represents them or protects their interests best as donors (13 percent) while the Liberal party has the largest at 24 percent.

ASSOCIATION Table 44 Of biggest Legco parties best represents by Donor to pol. party

	Donor	Non-donor	total
DAB	13	87	100
DP	17	83	100
LP	24	76	100
Civic	17	83	100
None of them	10	90	100
Don't Know	14	86	100
total	15	85	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square =   8.084   with   5   df p = 0.1516   Weak Association
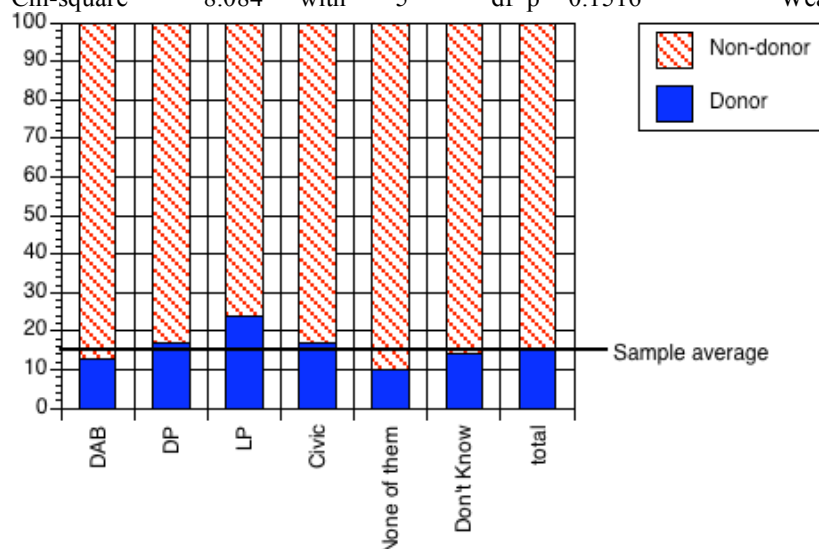
Table 45 shows that of those considering one of the four big parties as best representing or protecting their interest, how many judge the party as having a good or bad effect on the problem of greatest personal concern to them. One would anticipate that those saying a particular party has a good effect on their problem would show greater affiliation to that party, and such is the case. Certainly those saying a party is having a bad effect on their problem should not consider themselves supporters, and only a tiny proportion cite a party as best protecting their interests, but nevertheless say it has a bad effect on their problem of most concern.

ASSOCIATION Table 45 Which party best represents/protects interests by Effect on problem of personal concern

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Very good effect	3	7	2	4	1	4	3
Good effect	62	60	55	49	43	59	53
No difference	28	28	28	43	45	36	36
Bad effect	7	3	11	4	9	2	6
Very bad effect	0	2	4	1	2	0	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   37.03   with   20   df p = 0.0116

40

Chart of Table 45 Party best represents by Effect on problem of personal concern
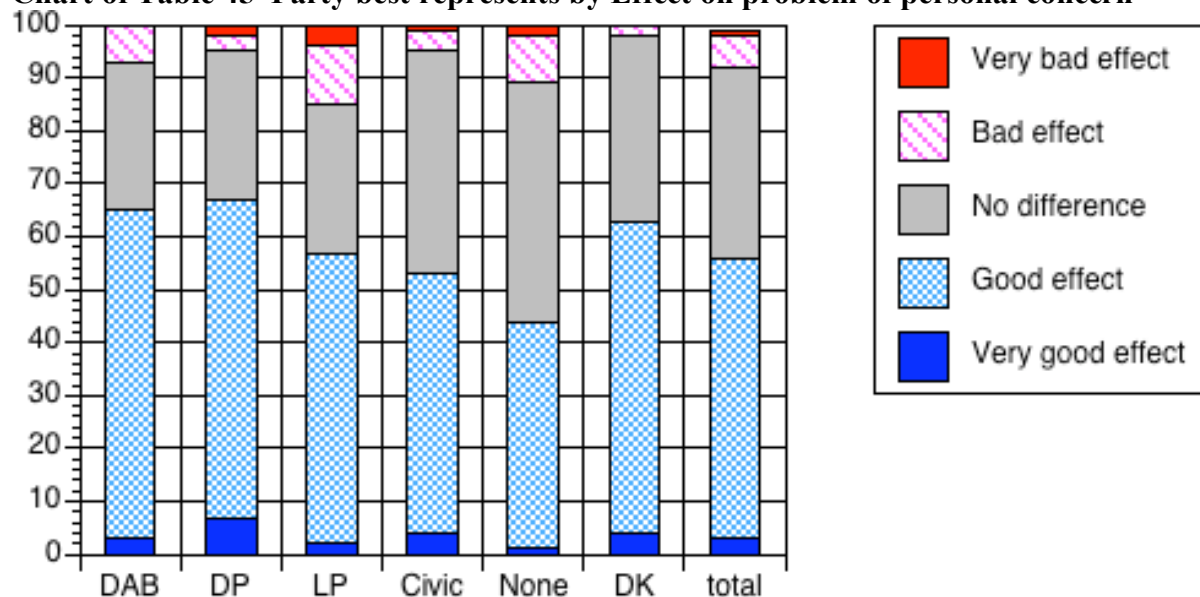
Though the association is there, the relationship is not as strong as might be expected. While those saying none for which party best represents them also show the largest portion seeing no difference of parties on their problem of personal concern, people saying the Liberal Party best represents their interests also show the largest portion of assessments that parties most negatively affect their problem of concern. The LP began as an association of business people in Legco who at first denied they were a party and only later organized and named themselves the Liberal Party. So their affiliates may still consider "party" per se as bad. However, as the tables below also show, there is a clear association between levels of concern about named issues and which one of the four big parties, if any, best represents or protects a respondent's interests.

Table 46 shows the overall ranking of concerns on named issues in June 2008. As in all previous surveys, worry about air and water pollution is highest, rivaled only by concern about corruption in the PRC.

Table 46 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong (June 2008):

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Corruption in Hong Kong	66	21	8	3	3
Your employment situation	65	16	9	6	4
Social unrest & street protests	61	21	11	5	2
The rule of law	59	22	13	4	2
Free press	57	24	12	6	1
Overpopulation	42	24	20	13	2
Competitiveness of Hong Kong	30	35	24	9	2
Corruption in PRC	13	18	25	37	8
Air & water pollution	12	23	31	34	--

Chart of Table 26 Current worry levels by issue
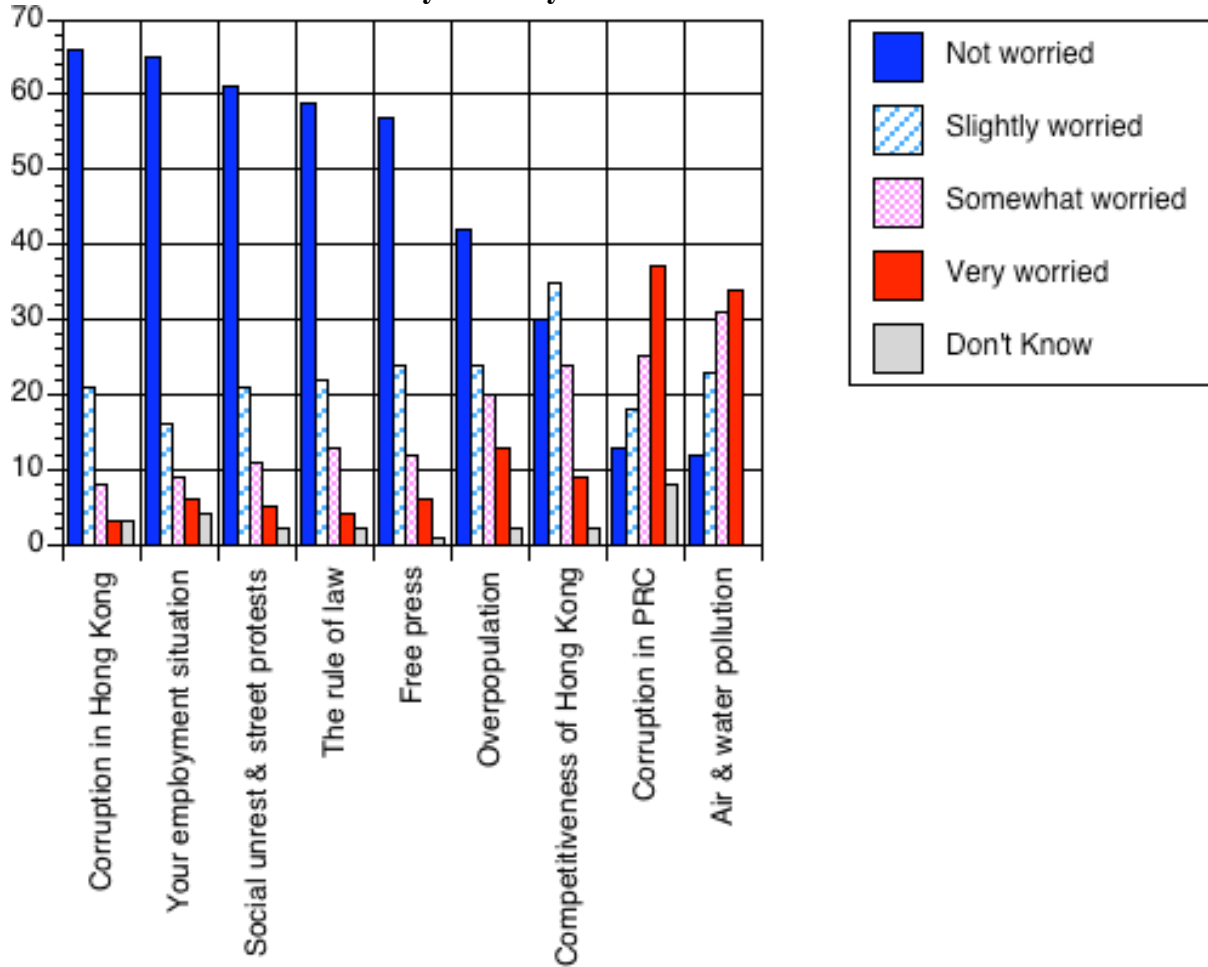
Table 47 and following tracks the levels of worry on each issue in the table above by the party respondents cited as best representing their interest. In every case, there is a significant association between the level of worry and the party cited as best protecting their interest. For example, in Table 47 those saying the DAB or Liberals best represents or protects their interests also show the highest level of unconcern about corruption in the PRC, whereas those choosing the Democrats or Civic party show much higher levels of worry. Civic party choosers, in fact show half of their respondents are very worried about this while only 23 percent of DAB respondents have the same high level of concern.

These associations, however, are unconsciously formed for most respondents. In other words, their levels of concern about an issue are associated with a party indirectly. When asked directly about an issue, such as the rule of law or the environment, a much lower proportion of voters cites the party they say best represents them. For example, 17 percent of respondents said the Civic Party and 16 percent said the Democratic party best represents their interests. Both these parties have a long and often stated concern with the rule of law in Hong Kong. And though, as shown in Table 49, 24 percent and 29 percent of DP and Civic party choosing respondents express themselves very or somewhat worried about rule of law in Hong Kong, only 7 percent of respondents associated standing up for the rule of law with the DP and only 17 percent did so with the Civic Party for a total of 24 percent of respondents associating this issue with these parties despite 32 percent of respondents saying either the DP or Civic party best represented their interest. (See Table 31 above.) This

means that only three out four supporters in this case consciously associates a party with an issue of concern. This pattern repeats in many instances, with the exception of which party best represents business interests. On this issue, though only 8 percent of respondents said the Liberals best represents them, fully 40 percent associated business interests with the Liberal party. Liberals have a clear identity as the pro-business party. Neither the DP nor Civic Party have a clear identity as the rule of law party, despite many of their members being concerned about the issue and despite their self-perceptions as staunch and frequent advocates on the topic

ASSOCIATION Table 47 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about Corruption in the PRC

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	18	9	14	8	13	17	13
Slightly worried	27	22	16	12	18	17	19
Somewhat worried	24	25	31	26	26	17	25
Very worried	23	41	40	50	33	34	36
DK	8	3	0	4	11	16	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   53.91   with   20   df p ≤ 0.0001
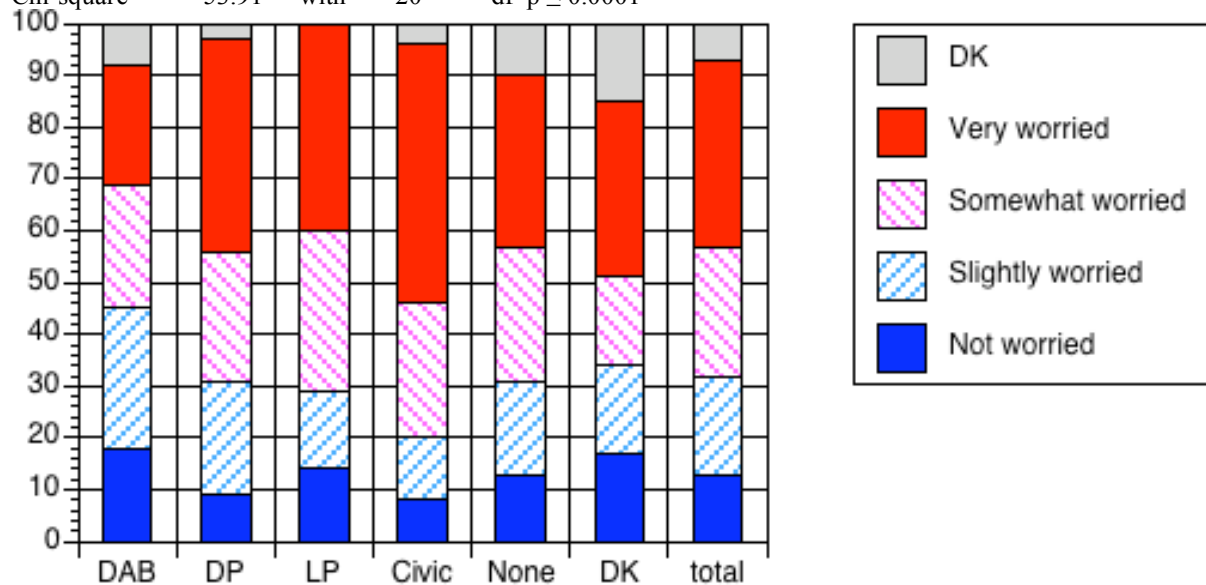
ASSOCIATION Table 48 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about Corruption in Hong Kong

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	77	55	69	60	70	64	66
Slightly worried	19	27	16	21	21	14	21
Somewhat worried	3	10	10	14	5	9	8
Very worried	0	6	5	3	2	3	3
DK	1	2	0	2	2	10	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   55.39   with   20   df p ≤ 0.0001

ASSOCIATION Table 49 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about the rule of law

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	78	47	62	41	60	70	59
Slightly worried	13	29	22	29	24	13	22
Somewhat worried	7	15	10	26	8	8	13
Very worried	1	9	3	3	5	3	4
DK	1	0	2	1	3	6	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   83.35   with   20   df p ≤ 0.0001
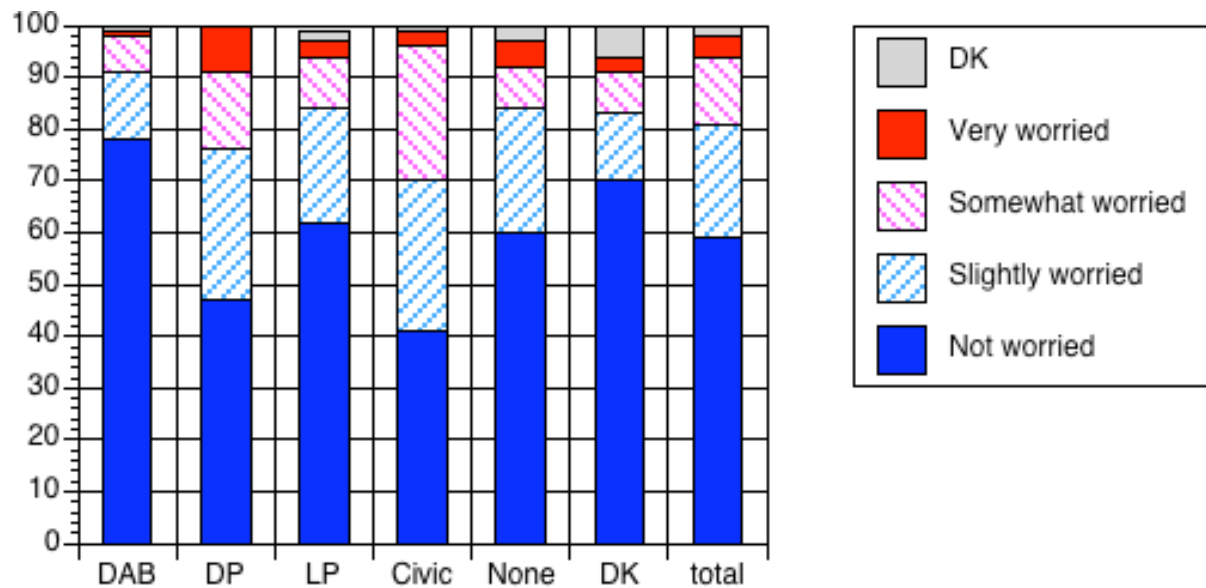
Table 50 also provides puzzles in terms of profiles on issues. Perhaps one of the more outspoken Legco members on environmental issues is the DABs Choy So Yuk. Yet DAB members show the lowest levels of worry about air and water pollution. None of the pro-democracy parties has a clear profile as a pro-environmental party despite 95 percent or more of their affiliates being worried to some degree by air and water pollution.

ASSOCIATION Table 50 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about air and water pollution

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	19	5	12	6	13	17	12
Slightly worried	30	25	22	18	20	22	23
Somewhat worried	30	30	29	33	33	26	31
Very worried	20	40	36	43	33	34	34
DK	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   37.93   with   20   df p = 0.0090

Chart of Table 50 Party best represents by worry about air & water pollution
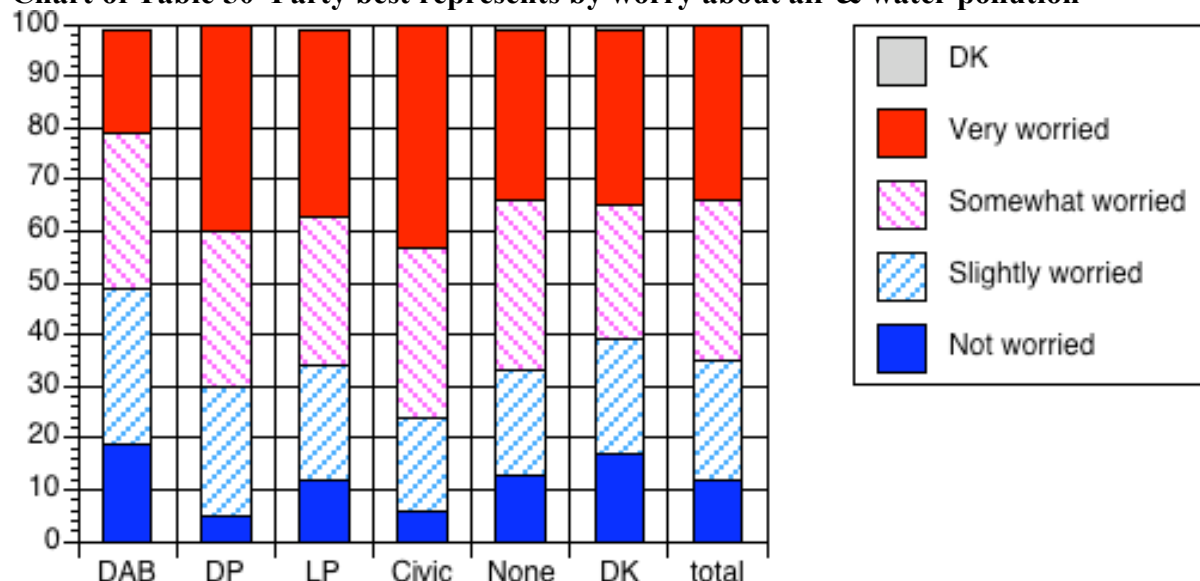
ASSOCIATION Table 51 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about overpopulation

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	47	35	48	32	44	49	42
Slightly worried	23	27	26	20	25	23	24
Somewhat worried	18	19	16	28	19	17	20
Very worried	8	19	10	20	10	8	13
DK	3	0	0	1	3	3	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   33.22   with   20   df p = 0.0320

One issue showing an unusual diversion of responses from the typical similarity between pro-democracy party levels of concern and pro-government parties DAB and LP being similar is in concerns about social unrest (Table 52). Here the DAB and DP are similar in profile in terms of high levels of unconcern whereas the Liberals and Civic Party have higher levels of worry though the Liberals are not nearly as concerned as either DP or Civic Party affiliates. Only at the greatest level of concern does DP and Civic Party share similar levels.

ASSOCIATION Table 52 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about social unrest in Hong Kong

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	71	62	59	54	59	64	62
Slightly worried	18	19	31	22	24	17	22
Somewhat worried	8	10	10	18	8	9	11
Very worried	1	9	0	6	5	6	5
DK	1	0	0	1	3	4	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   34.56   with   20   df p = 0.0226

Chart of Table 52 Party best represents by Worry about social unrest
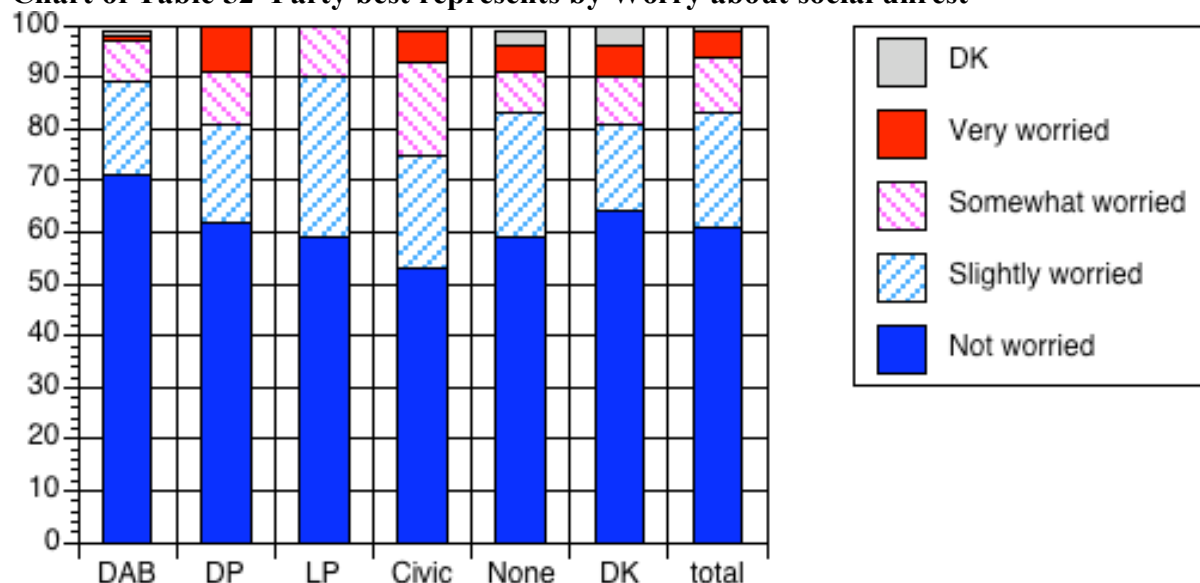
ASSOCIATION Table 53 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about competitiveness of Hong Kong

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	39	22	38	21	32	34	30
Slightly worried	38	35	26	41	34	30	35
Somewhat worried	16	28	28	30	20	23	23
Very worried	6	14	9	7	12	5	9
DK	1	1	0	2	2	8	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   45.36   with   20   df p = 0.0010

Again in Table 53 the DP and Civic Party affiliates show higher level of worry about Hong Kong's competitiveness. Table 54 shows that DAB respondents, who usually are from less educated, lower income groups, are less, much less, worried about their employment situation than DP members.

ASSOCIATION Table 54 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about your employment situation

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	77	58	69	68	61	64	66
Slightly worried	13	19	16	15	17	16	16
Somewhat worried	5	14	9	11	8	9	9
Very worried	2	7	5	5	8	4	5
DK	4	3	2	2	5	8	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   25.53   with   20   df p = 0.1817

Chart of Table 54 Which party best represents by levels of Worry about employment
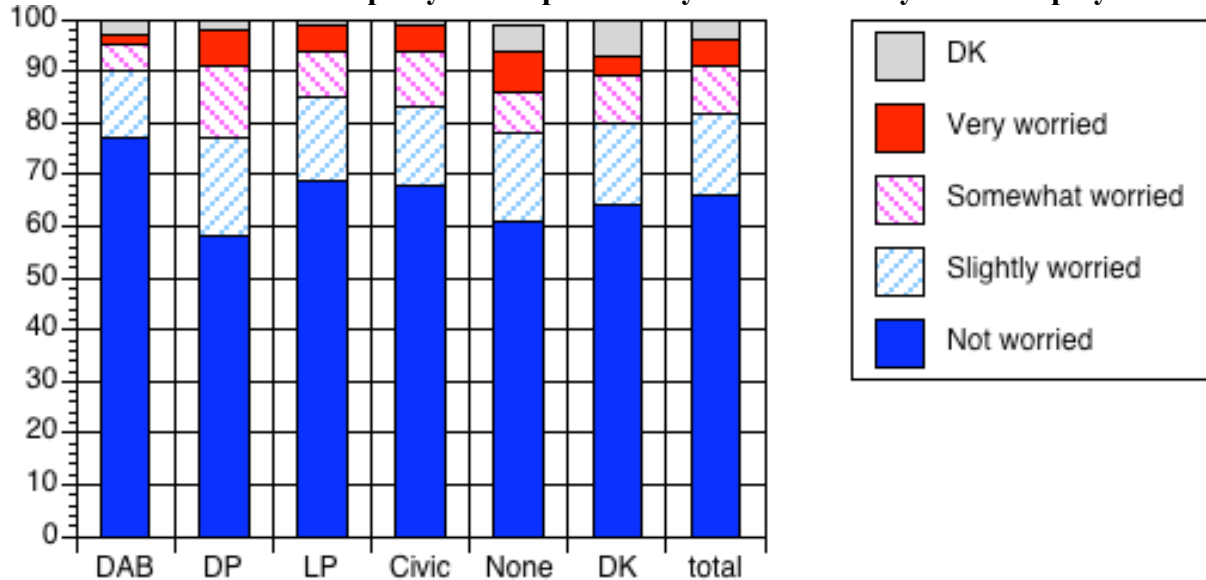
As might be expected, both Democratic Party and Civic Party affiliates express much more worry about freedom of press than DAB or Liberal members.

ASSOCIATION Table 55 Which party best represents/protects interests by Levels of worry about Free press

	DAB	DP	LP	Civic	None	DK	total
Not worried	82	38	69	41	54	61	57
Slightly worried	13	36	26	30	23	20	24
Somewhat worried	3	16	3	19	13	13	12
Very worried	2	9	2	10	8	4	6
DK	1	0	0	1	2	3	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   86.80   with   20   df $p \leq 0.0001$
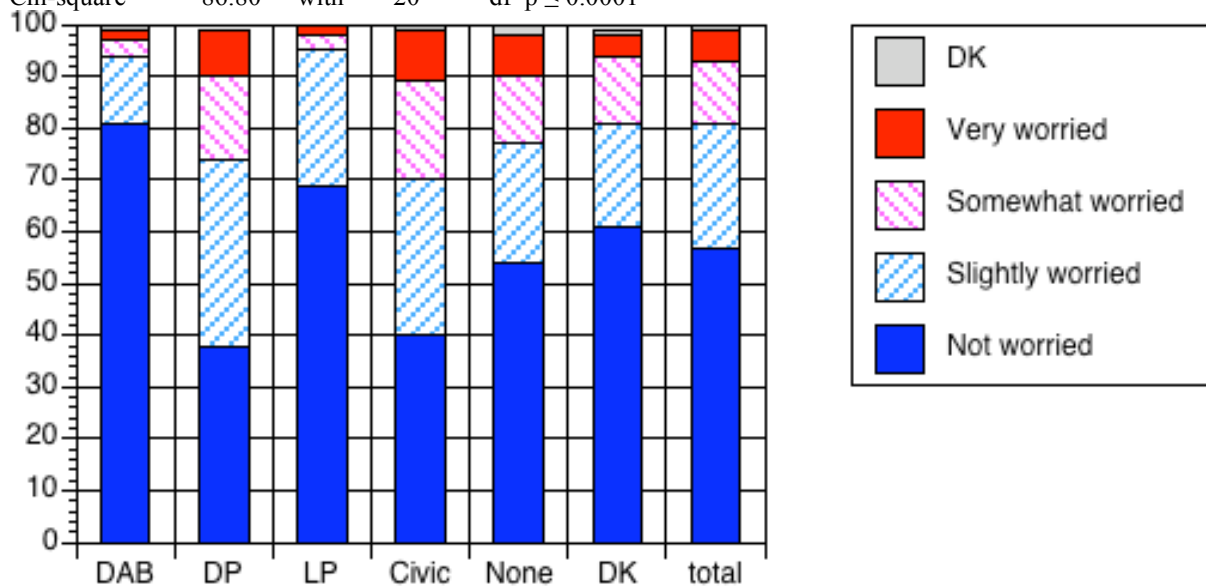
IV Constitutional Reform: Preferences and Perspectives

In terms of political development and GC and FC voters, issues related to constitutional reform toward full direct elections of the Chief Executive and of all Legco members have been the most problematic. The Hong Kong government has indicated that following these elections in September 2008 it will put forward proposals for what is locally called the "roadmap" toward full direct elections. The roadmap concerns the exact steps and final destination in terms of procedures for nomination and election of the CE and of election of all Legco members by universal suffrage, as promised in the Basic Law. The process of reform precipitated a fractious split in 2005 when the government's proposals were shot down, on the one hand, by its own refusal to abolish appointees to the District Councils who also sit and vote on the CE nomination and election committee, and on the other hand by pro-democracy legislators unconvinced the government's plans and promises constituted good faith steps toward democratic reforms. The crux of further reform and of democratic development concerns how the functional constituencies will be eased from their dominance of more than three out of four of the 800 members of the CE election committee and of their hold over half the seats in Legco. Since reforms require 40 out of 60 votes in Legco, 10 FC members and all directly elected GC legislators must vote to abolish or change the FCs. Getting a third of FC legislators to vote themselves out of office is much easier said than done.

There is a high degree of uncertainty or lack of confidence about whether Hong Kong will achieve universal suffrage elections in the timeframe approved by the Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress, which ruled in December 2007 that Hong Kong "may" elect the CE by universal suffrage election in 2017 and "may" elect all members of Legco in 2020. A bare majority may be confident the goal will be met.

COMPARISON Table 56 How certain or confident are you that we will achieve the universal suffrage elections for CE and Legco as promised in the SC's decision?

	GC voters	FC voters
Very uncertain/not confident	11	9
Uncertain/not confident	28	34
Certain/confident	42	41
Very certain/confident	9	7
DK	10	9

Statistically there is very little difference between the two groups in terms of their confidence or lack thereof. These are issues which have an effect on the current elections, not just future ones. When asked how the Standing Committee's decisions on reforms might affect their vote in September, over a third of respondents said it had some effect on how and whether they will vote. FC voters in Table 57 indicated they were more likely in higher proportions to support pro-democracy candidates, but bare majorities of both voting groups indicated their voting would be unaffected by the SC decision.

COMPARISON Table 57 How will the Standing Committee's decision on the Basic Law about elections affect how you vote in September?

	GC voters	FC voters
More likely to vote for pro-government (patriotic) candidates	9	5
More likely to vote for pro-democracy candidates	14	22
More likely to vote for independents	6	7
More likely not to vote	7	5
No effect on how I vote	52	52
DK	12	9
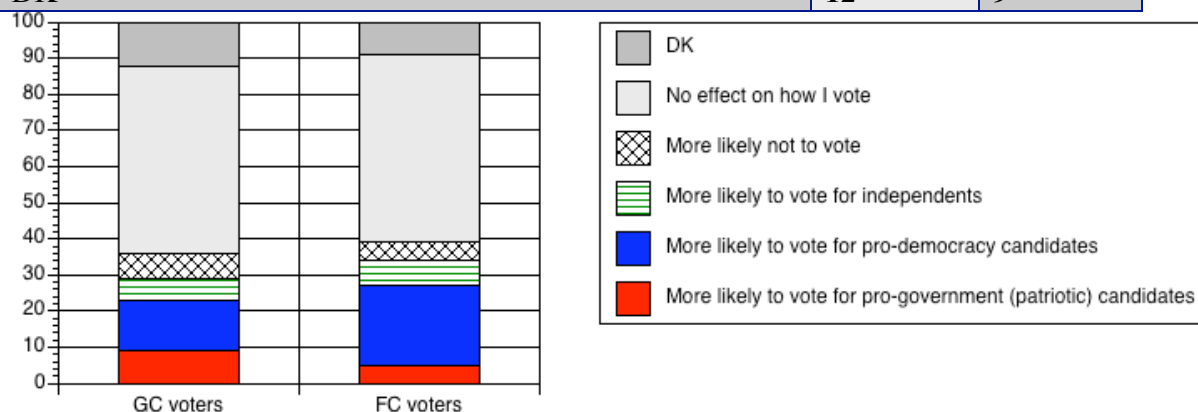
Of the 52 percent above, 6 percentage points are planning to vote for pro-government candidates, 9 points for pro-democracy candidates and 7 points for independents, with the remaining 30 points of the 52 percent in Table 57 above not decided yet or with no opinion. That means a total of 49 percent of respondents said they are likely not to vote, don't know if they will vote, or have not decided yet whether or how to vote. At this point, historical patterns of turnout compared to responses indicates that the election turnout rate will be around 50 percent, somewhat down from 2004. Events could raise the turnout as the campaigning continues, but the Olympic events in Beijing this year coming so close to the Legco elections will lower attention paid to politics and will likely tend to dampen turnout. The SC decision alone should not be taken as a decisive impact on turnout, though it may move votes at the margin, particularly among FC voters, and marginally toward pro-democracy candidates. A majority of respondents found the SC decision on the timing of the CE election by full universal suffrage as reasonable, but that proportion dropped significantly for the Legco election, as Table 59 shows.

COMPARISON Table 58 Do you think the National Peoples Congress Standing Committee timetable on Hong Kong's constitutional reform permitting full universal suffrage Chief Executive elections in 2017 is generally reasonable or unreasonable?

	GC voters	FC voters
Very reasonable	9	7
Reasonable	52	50
Unreasonable	19	19
Very unreasonable	7	12
DK	13	12

COMPARISON Table 59 Do you think the National Peoples Congress Standing Committee's decision to permit Hong Kongers to elect all members of Legco by 2020 is generally reasonable or unreasonable?

	GC voters	FC voters
Very reasonable	5	4
Reasonable	35	36
Unreasonable	33	35
Very unreasonable	11	15
DK	15	11

Lest there be any misinterpretation, most respondents answering "unreasonable" thought the decision to push Legco elections out to 2020 was far too late (see Table 60 where only 2 percent said they would wait to 2020 to implement full direct elections. Others, of course, think 2020 is too soon, as Tables 60 and 61 show.

COMPARISON Table 60 In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of all Legco seats?

	GC voters	FC voters
Strongly support	21	22
Support	50	51
Oppose	14	17
Strongly oppose	3	2
DK	12	9
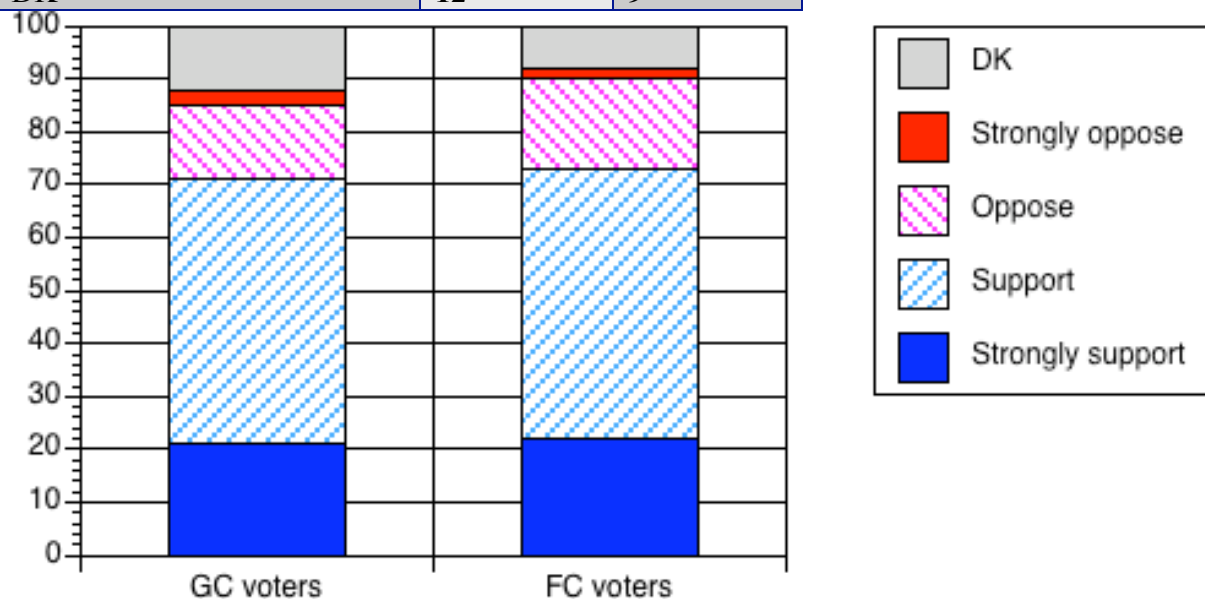
COMPARISON Table 61 When would you implement direct elections of Legco?

	GC voters	FC voters
2012	45	50
2016	17	14
2020	2	2
Later election	5	6
DK/Oppose direct elections	29	28

Chart of Table 61 When to implement direct elections of Legco
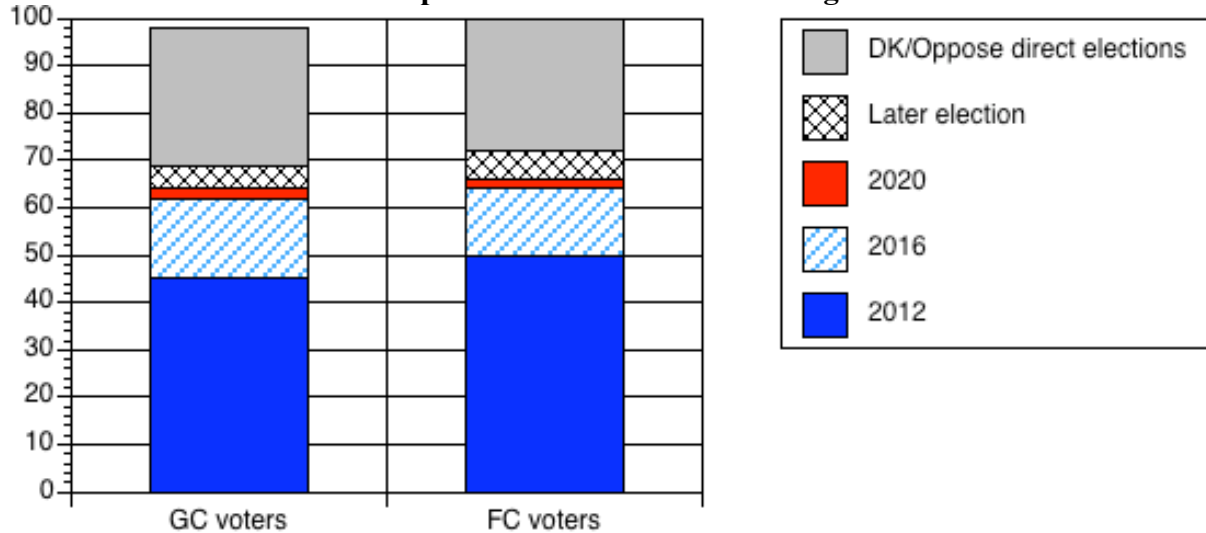
Table 62 shows that party affiliation for supporters and opponents of direct elections to Legco appears in all parties. Ten percent of strong supporters for full direct elections say the DAB best protects their interests while 10 percent of those who oppose direct elections for Legco say the Democrats protect their interests best. The DP has long made the demand for full direct elections of all Legco members its central concern, to the point it has been accused of being a "one issue party."

ASSOCIATION Table 62 Support/Oppose direct election of Legco by Which party best represents/protects interests

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	total
DAB	9	19	37	21
DP	27	17	10	18
LP	7	10	9	9
Civic	32	18	10	19
None	20	24	29	24
DK	6	12	6	9
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square =   63.63   with   10   df p ≤ 0.0001
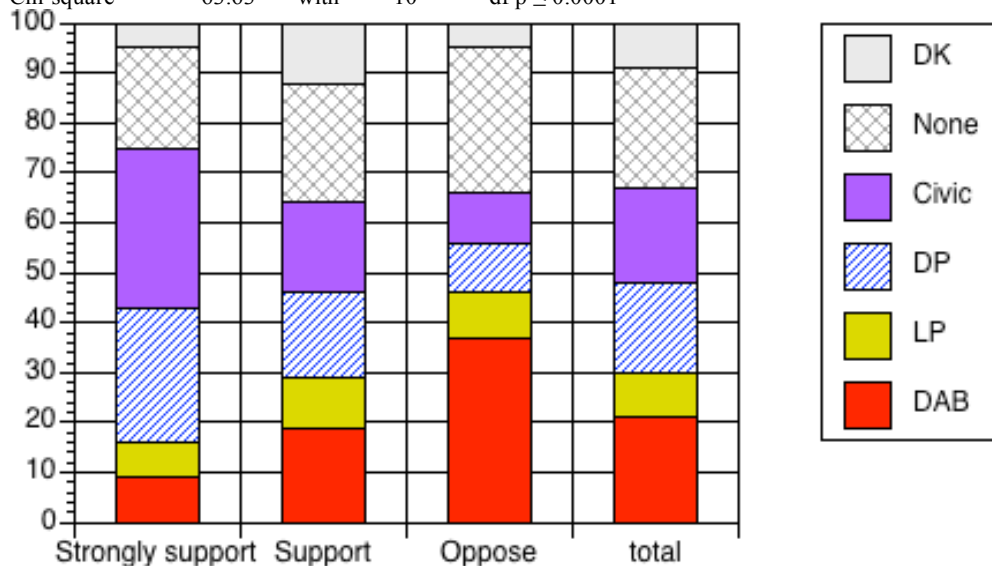
FINDING: That some of the opponents to direct elections should cite the DP as their affiliation choice indicates some confusion on the part of registered voters about what the parties stand for.

There is even stronger support for direct election of the Chief Executive, and strong preference among both GC and FC voters for direct elections to be sooner rather than later.

COMPARISON Table 63 In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of the Chief Executive?

	GC voters	FC voters
Strongly support	23	25
Support	53	54
Oppose	14	14
Strongly oppose	3	--
DK	8	6
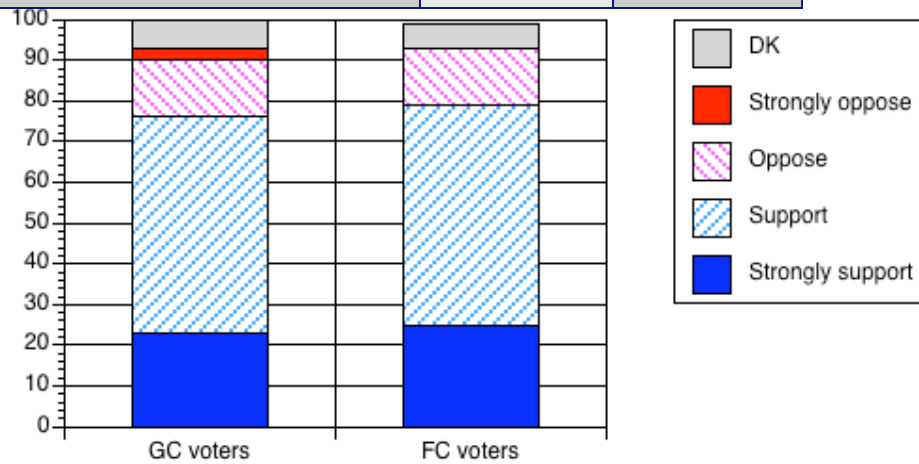
COMPARISON Table 64 When would you implement direct elections of Chief Executive?

	GC voters	FC voters
2012	43	46
2017	23	21
Later election	8	11
DK/Oppose direct elections	25	21
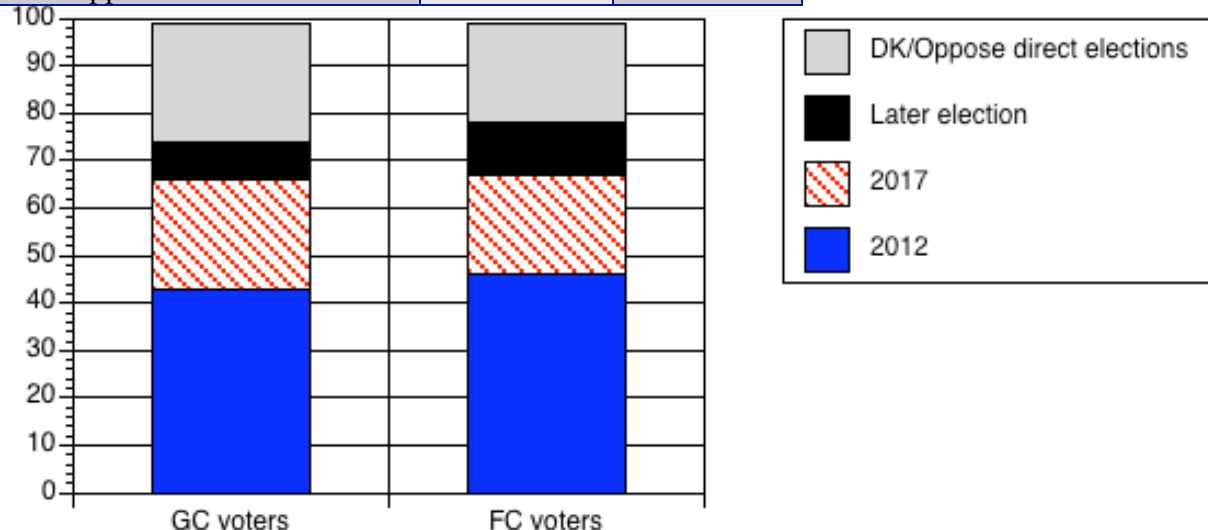
COMPARISON Table 65 How important is it for your Legco councilor to support direct elections for the CE and all Legco members?

	GC voters	FC voters
Great deal of importance	18	20
Some importance	22	23
Little importance	19	19
No importance	29	32
DK	12	6
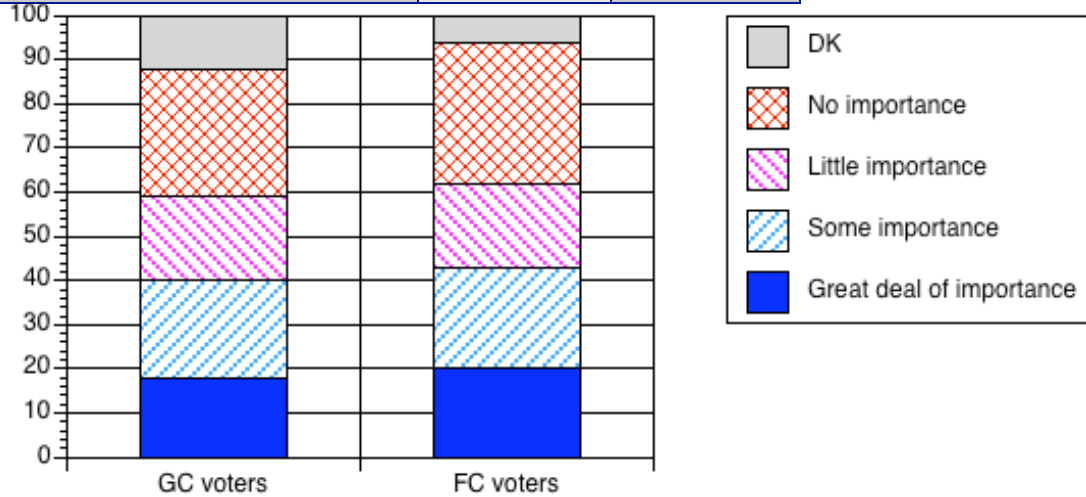
While there is majority support to directly elect the CE and all members of Legco, the devil is in the details in terms of when, and particularly how to do this. Even incremental steps like increasing the franchise for FC voting runs into opposition from about one in four voters.

COMPARISON Table 66 Do you support/oppose increasing who has a right to vote in FC elections?

	GC voters	FC voters
Strongly support	6	8
Support	52	48
Oppose	20	20
Strongly oppose	4	7
DK	17	17
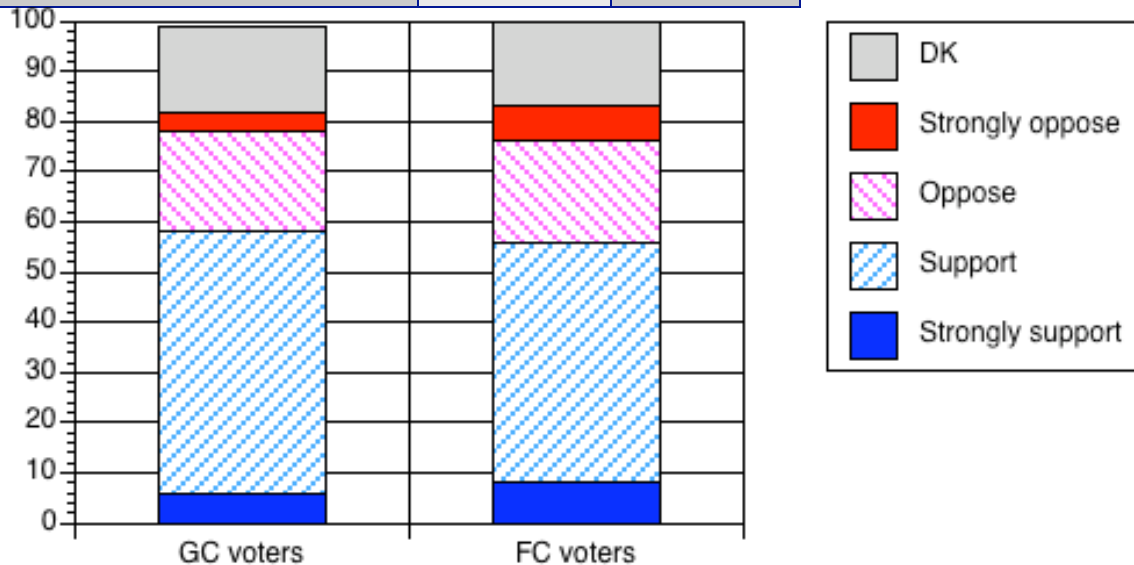
There is further division on both intermediate steps and final destinations. Both the old proposal rejected in 2005 (option 2 in Table 67) and full direct elections elicit a majority of support, though both list elections replacing FCs and abolishing corporate voting in the present FCs gets plurality support.

Table 67 Do you support or oppose the following reform proposals for Legco as steps toward the 2020 direct elections?

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Elect half from GCs as now, half by everyone getting a second vote, from a list with top 30 elected	2	40	25	7	27
Add 5 new GC members and 5 new FC members from District Councils	2	54	20	4	20
Keep same, but abolish corporate voting	8	33	34	4	22
Abolish FC; directly elect all from GCs	16	39	28	4	13
No change	2	36	39	5	17

In terms of preferred options among the above list, only abolishing the FCs outright and directly electing all Legco members from GCs gets fair support, but only from 35 percent. Other options fall below one in five. The government will have to mount a hard campaign to persuade voters to accept incremental steps, perhaps unless it spells out and timetables each move forward with a clear deadline for full direct elections in 2020.

Table 68 Which option do you prefer most?

Option	% preferring
Elect half from GCs as now, half by everyone getting a second vote, from a list with top 30 elected	9
Add 5 new GC members and 5 new FC members from District Councils	16
Keep same, but abolish corporate voting	6
Abolish FC; directly elect all from GCs	35
No change	17
DK	18

Even a proposal to retain but separate the FC representatives from the GC representatives into a second house sees fair support.

Table 69 Would you support or oppose setting up the FC representatives in a separate body from the GC representatives, like the Senate in the US or House of Lords in UK?

	GC voters
Strongly support	5
Support	43
Oppose	17
Strongly oppose	3
DK	31

At the same time, opposition to change and to election of the CE or Legco directly in principle appears steady at around one in five registered voters. Unless and until the Hong Kong government and Beijing government are willing to confront these voters, steps forward will fail. So who opposes stepping forward? None of the demographic variables significantly explains the locus of opposition in terms of gender, education, income, occupation, or religion. Age has only a weak association, with the highest proportion opposed found in those in their 30s, but the variance is marginal. Surprisingly, in contrast with views a decade ago, those in their 60s are more strongly in support of directly electing the CE. In the late 1990s, those in their 60s more strongly opposed direct election of the CE than other age groups. And as the study above shows, FC voters and GC voters are more alike than different on most of the issues affecting elections and constitutional reforms.

ASSOCIATION Table 70 Support/oppose directly electing CE in principle by Age group

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	total
18-19	11	70	19	100
20-29	19	66	15	100
30-39	20	57	23	100
40-49	24	58	17	100
50-59	30	49	21	100
60-69	35	50	15	100
70-84	17	68	15	100
total	24	57	19	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 18.02 with 12 df p = 0.1152
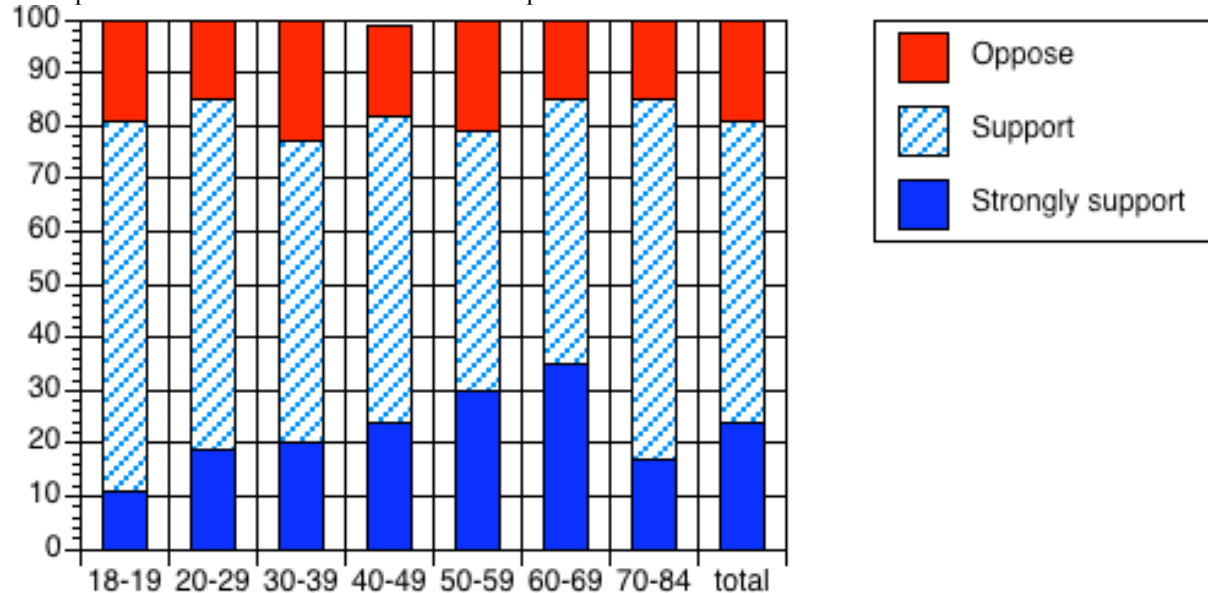
So who does have the most influence over Hong Kong's further democratic development? Most say top Beijing officials have a great deal of influence (Table 71). But in terms of who has the most influence?

Table 71 Who do you think has the influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy?

	Great deal	Somewhat	Not so much	None	DK
HK public opinion	37	37	14	7	6
HK big business people	58	24	7	6	5
HK political parties	26	46	14	6	8
Chief Executive	44	29	14	8	6
Top Beijing officials	78	11	4	1	6
Local NPC & CPPCC members	24	35	19	12	9
Local CCP members	9	25	19	19	27
NPC Standing Committee	31	34	13	8	15
International business	14	38	21	16	11
Foreign governments	8	36	23	25	8

As Table 72 shows, only a bare majority agree that top Beijing officials have the most influence on forward steps. But the second most influential group, far ahead of the Chief Executive or business or parties, is the Hong Kong people themselves. And so, in the final section of this report, we invited a randomly selected sample of GC and FC voters to take a half day on a Saturday to discuss their perceptions of each other and of the choices facing the people of Hong Kong.

Table 72 Who has the most influence do you think of these groups over Hong Kong's development of democracy?

	Most influence
HK public opinion	12
HK big business people	7
HK political parties	7
Chief Executive	5
Top Beijing officials	51
Local NPC & CPPCC members	2
Local CCP members	--
NPC Standing Committee	3
International business	--
Foreign governments	2
DK	11
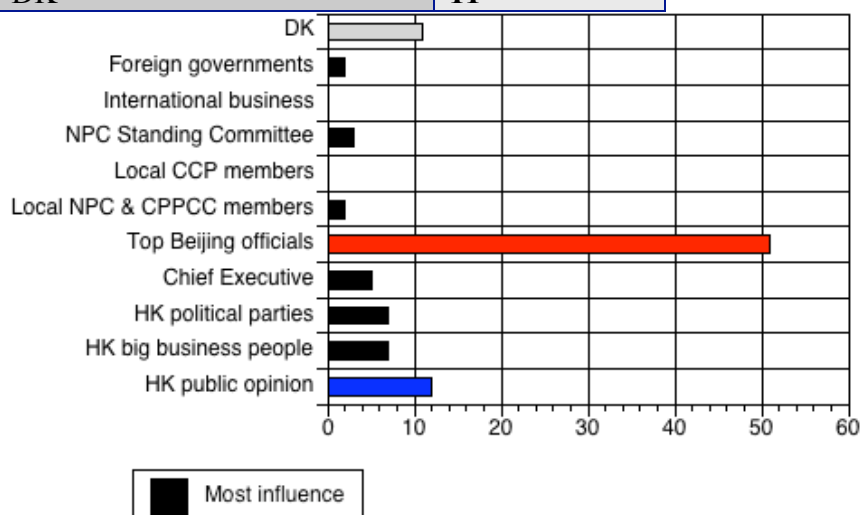
VI The Focus Groups

Focus groups are often used to study in more detail issues and perceptions uncovered by research or observation. In this case, the telephone surveys of approximately 20 minutes could not cover reasons why people felt as they did, and they could not promote interactive negotiation and discussion of the issues involved. We were particularly interested in having geographic constituency voters and functional constituency voters talk to each other about their views.

Selection process

Respondents to the two surveys were asked if they would be willing to participate in a half day focus group study. A small honorarium was offered to cover their travel expenses to Hong Kong Baptist University, where the group met. Of those expressing interest, a random sample was chosen and invited to the focus group.

Process outline

Facilitators were trained and briefed in advance on the objectives and processes and also selected on the basis of their experience in facilitating focus groups. Both main facilitators had extensive experience after training several years earlier by the principle investigator.

These facilitators were instructed to (actual instructions used are below):

1. Greet and welcome focus group members as they arrive, find out which group they are in and steer them toward the FC and GC groups they are members of to meet each other and fill in the pre-test questionnaires. (For copy of questionnaire, see Appendix). Collect and mark as to group, gender and age of the respondent (no names)

Continue to 30 minutes after start time

2. Convene initial meetings of FC and GC in separate focus group panels

     A. Welcome and thank participants for giving up there time, explain the purpose of the study, to examine in depth the telephone survey they participated in earlier, and to particularly examine the FC/GC reform problem for electing Legco and making up the Chief Executive Election Committee (currently three out of four of the 800 are elected by the FCs only, with just 30 directly elected from the GCs).

     B. Go over part 1 of the pretest questionnaire, explain that it is simply a test of knowledge related to some of these issues, and no one should be embarrassed if they don't know many of the answers. Lots of people don't know, even experts! (especially the average age questions and internal divisions of the FCs)

     C. In part 2 of the pretest questionnaire,

     1. Write out the options for Q1 and Q2 and Q3 on the board and tally up the choices of the group (Again, emphasize that no one has a right or wrong choice in any of the answers, the purpose the Focus Group is to find out what people think and why, so don't be afraid to speak up even if your view is different from others in the group. Tell them in the

next section after the break they will see the results of the telephone survey and see just how many others had different views about things.)

      2. Go back to part 1, Q1 to Q4 and ask participants to compare their responses to Part 2, Q1, and Q2 and Q3.

      3. Write out the options for Part 2, Q 4 and Q5, (repeat free choice, no right or wrong answer) Poll the group. Then ask if Part 1 Q1 to Q4 affect how well government and Legco works now. Bring up Q5 of Part 1 (Age). Is age a problem according to participants? Do they think the new program of appointing assistant secretaries who are younger might help or make any difference? If age is not a problem, but group seems dissatisfied with how well Legco and/or government works, probe into what they think the problem is.

      D. Bring up Part 2, Q 6 and poll the group
If there is agreement on on A or B, ask how they think members of the other group might react to their views. If some choose option C, ask what kind of reforms they prefer. Probe to see if they think members of their group, and members of the other group, might support or oppose them.

The purpose of this group session is to better understand if and how much in-group members agree or disagree on these issues, and whether each group has a distinct identity of itself and of its differences with the other group.

1 Hour, Break for 15 minutes

3. Convene unified group to study results of the survey

      A. Facilitators split the questions 1-10, 11-20 and review the results question by question. Encourage anyone to ask questions to make sure they understand the questions and the results. The point here is not to debate the results but to make sure everyone understands what they are, and especially whether or not there is a statistically significant difference between the views of FC and GC registered voters. You might ask if people find this surprising or not.

The results (a summary of the report above of about 5 pages) are rounded to the nearest whole number. They represent views with a general accuracy of plus/minus four percentage points and were conducted using standard methods for telephone surveys such as random selection, conducted over weeknights and weekends to try to give everyone as much of an equal chance as possible to participate in the survey.

30 minutes (give or take a few minutes), then Break for 15 minutes

4. Convene negotiation session of FC and GC groups

      A. First reorganize into gender groups and probe the pretest questionnaire and survey results according to gender perspective. You might ask the women to give their responses to Pretest Questionnaire part 2 and compare those to the men. Any differences? Should their be? How about the survey results? We usually see differences in responses acc to gender in Satisfaction with Life in HK, pollution, corruption.

Approximately 25 minutes

   B. Second reorganize into Age groups, Under 45s and Over 45s. Review the questions in the pretest questionnaire Part 2 from that perspective, and from the survey. Usually there are huge differences in responses by Age on the reform issues especially, with older people less willing to support direct elections and other reforms than younger people. Do participants think age has anything to do with this, or could it be life experiences or education?

Approximately 25 minutes

4. Now, tell participants they have approximately 45 minutes remaining to discuss how to solve the FC/GC reform problem. Poll the responses of the whole group to their pretest questionnaire, Part 2 Q 6 (emphasize that you want their first response even if they have changed their minds now). Then ask if and how many might have different views now, or think they could change their minds. If so, from what to what and why? Or if so, from what to what if XXX were to happen. Follow up with reminder of survey results Q 13-16. Do they still think the same as they did in responding to the telephone questionnaire (if they can remember their answer!) What view do they have now on this? Would it make any difference what stance one of those influential groups took on the reforms? What stance and which influence group do they think would have the biggest effect on them, or biggest effect on their friends?

5. End by handing out the Pre-test questionnaire again, ask people to fill it in again this time and the session is over. Remind them to make sure to collect their honorarium, tell them how much we deeply appreciate their participation and citizenship. We hope the results will help all Hkers make better decisions and make government work better for everybody.

Selected transcript of remarks by participants:

 GC GROUP DISCUSSION (made up of GC voters)

 On ending FCs:
 男士：2012年可以比較少，2017又可以再少一點，但都不應該取消，因為它有它的功能作用在。

There can be less in 2012 and further in 2017, but you shouldn't get rid of them altogether since they have their use.

立法會是全港的立法會，我覺得功能組別只代表某一功能某一界別，可能會有利益衝突，當立法會討論一樣問題時，功能組別會投贊成票，可能維護自己的界別，所以有利益衝突。

Legco belongs to the whole of Hong Kong and FCs only represent one sector, and there may be conflict of interest, when certain issues are discussed in Legco the FCs may give a yes vote to protect their own sectors but there may be a conflict of interest.

所以有普選時人人都可以一人一票選立法會議員，所以律師有律師的選民，醫生有醫生的選民，普通老百姓有普通老百姓的選民，你自己在社會內各個階層都有代表都可以選到，你一人一票嘛，為甚麼要特地為功能而設一個議席位呢？如果該個功能界別是人強馬壯的，那麼就會佔很大優勢。

When there is universal suffrage everyone can pick their Legislative Councilors through one man one vote, so lawyers have their voters, so do doctors and ordinary folk, every sector in the community could pick their own representatives. We're talking about one man one vote here, so why should we have a specially created seat? If that sector is strong, it would naturally play a bigger role in the legislature.

目前我們看到的，選舉的人現在成熟了，但我就覺得還未夠成熟，還差一點點，保留功能組別循序漸進，就是因為大家未必知道組別內是怎樣運作的，社會人士對這樣意識，對醫院架構怎樣分配，法律界怎樣，但遲一點是會知道的，慢慢成熟了，當教育逐漸變好，所以應該慢慢遞減，再到取消的地步。

We can see that the people participating in elections are maturing but I feel we're not too mature yet, still a bit more to go, and we are still not sure how individual sectors function, and until the community know the structure of hospitals and the legal profession, and when education gets better, we can eventually get rid of them (FCs).

但我這樣看啦,如果他們這一屆做得不好的話,其實如果全面普選回那60個席位，他這一屆，你看到他沒有甚麼做事的，那下一屆就可以不選他羅，但是現在有的是功能組別的人在，沒有我們選擇，那我們就不可以揮走他，很多功能組別其實都一個人出來選)

I look at it this way, if they don't do well this time, and we have universal suffrage of 60 seats, then next time you don't need to vote for that person, but at the moment for the people in the FCs, there is no way to remove them, and with many FCs only one person stands for election anyway.

(從另一個角度看啦，可能他那個界別的人都認為他最好，沒人願意跟他爭呢，有另外一個看法的麻，不是一定說，沒人跟他爭。)

But then, from another angle maybe people think that person in the FC is doing great, and no one really wants to fight it out with that candidate. That is perhaps another way of putting it, you don't have to say no one is contesting the seat.

(我就覺得立法會不是太好的，那因為即是我覺得啦，立法會它的其中一個功能啦，應該是監察政府表現的，我個人觀點啦，但我覺得它好像製造了很多討論，這幾年，但是又，我又看不到政府的表現因為它的討論而改變了，那所以我覺得他還沒能做到我心目中立法會應有的角色和作用，這樣羅。)

I don't think Legco is performing well at the moment, since one of the key roles of Legco is to monitor the performance of the government and from my personal perspective I think they've created a lot of discussion, and these couple of years, I don't see how the government's performance has changed as a result of the discussions so it just hasn't lived up to my expectations.

(我覺得不好，因為聲音不公平，即代表弱勢的太少，所有都是一些商界，很強的人去拿主意，那其實他們都不太需要政府去幫只有弱的人才需要政府去幫，和弱的人是佔多數，例如小朋友將來會投身社會，現在這個社會的設施幫的也不太多。)

I don't think it's good not all voices are heard, especially those of the minorities. Mostly they are those of the businesses and the strong make up all the decisions. In fact its the weak that need the most help from the government.

(應該是四十幾五十歲呢，在社會有經驗，如果現在二十幾三十歲，剛剛讀完書出來，對社會的人那個人事方面沒有經驗。)

The average legislator should be in their 40s or 50s, and have some societal experience. If they're in their 20s and 30s and just got out of university, that person may not have too much experience.

GC and FC focus groups members together:

Concept of age group and gender representation, discrimination against housewives, retirees and students in present system of FCs. In some European countries there are strict quotas by gender and special provisions for representation of young people in party organizations. Should we have quotas in Hong Kong? F = female M = male

男士： 不懂得答，因為沒有什麼意思。例如：
香港大部份議員40歲，年齡大未必會比年輕的差，現時我們年長的至少可以寫得一手好字，相反年青人的字好像小朋友的字跡，可以說是「字都唔識多個」。

M – Not sure, since there's not much point to this question. E.g. Most of HK's legislators are in their 40s, but just because you're older it doesn't mean you'll do worse, and I'd say the older you are, the better you are at writing, look at the younger generation's writing, barely legible!

男士： 人生是需要磨練的，年輕人沒有經驗，當議員的還是中年或以上會比較好，因為年輕人實在沒有人生經驗了。

M – People have to go through difficult times, young people have no experience and its better to have middle aged legislators since young people don't have much experience

女士： 退下來與否，自己來決定。 香港不論你是18歲， 78 歲也可以參選。
所以不需要設置年齡限制，選擇應在乎一個人的能力，即使他已經70歲，有能力的話都可以參選或從政，所以年齡不是一個問題。

F – Whether you step down or not should be your own decision. In HK it doesn't matter whether you're 18 or 78 you can still stand in elections. So there should be no age limit, it should really depend on one's ability, even if he is 70 he should be allowed to stand for elections.

\女士：
投票便可以，根本就是保護既得利益者的界別，如果真正代表選民的話，為什麼不從直選途徑進入議會，功能組別議員害怕直選，怕輸，所以想保留功能組別。

How can we move toward the direct election of all members of Legco promised in the Basic Law?

F – You just need to vote, FCs are just for people with vested interests, if we're really talking about real voting, why not go into Legco through normal elections, FC legislators are scared of facing real elections because they worry that they would lose so they want to preserve the FCs.

男士： 增加功能組別議席的話，假如到時要他退下來的話，議員一定不願意。
例如漁農界，功能組別根本是直選的大阻力。

M – If we add more FCs, and later want them to step down later, they would not do so, take the Agricultural FC for example, they are the biggest obstacle towards universal suffrage.

男士： 不認識的沒有五百元
(只是說笑)，普選不受納稅人、性別影響，每個市民也有投票權利， 不知應不應該，可能增加會是好事，有興趣者可以支持， 政府有具體方案可以再選擇。

M – Universal suffrage is not affected by taxpayers, sex etc, every citizen has the right to vote, it should not be a case of whether one should have the right or not, but increasing the number of voters is surely a good thing, those who are interested could support it.

女士： 香港整個社會根本不是只得28個界別，
所以是不能代表香港全部人，根本不公平。不論兩票或一票也是不公平。
比例代表制簡直是荒謬的選舉制度，每人投一票，但最終未必會令自己投的候選人當選。

F – HK as a whole should have more than 28 sectors, it doesn't represent HK people as a whole and is inherently unfair. It doesn't matter whether you have 2 votes or 1 vote. Proportional representation is a ridiculous system, everyone gets one vote but you can't pick the person you want.

男士：同意保留能組別。可能會選出自己不喜歡的議員，但相信會有空間作出改善；不過，若某些組別的人數太多，部份基層的意見便無法表達意見。

M – I agree with the keeping of the FCs, I may pick someone I don't want but I believe there is room for improvement. However, there are too many people in certain sectors, and some of the grassroots views just wouldn't get through.

女士：唔應該一刀切，政府設立功能組別，一定有他的存在價值。但參加了這次研討會，對功能組別有較完善的了解，相信有必要改善現有的制度，可以直選，但都擔心直選未必是真正公平的制度。

F – They shouldn't be cut out in one go, the government should retain FCs, they have their value, but after coming to this focus group, I see room for improvement within FCs, I think they should be changed, maybe they could be elected through universal suffrage but I worry even by electing them through universal suffrage its still not fair.

男士：為什麼沒有議席是代表共產黨？整個制度的失敗是基於曾蔭權的失職，香港已回歸祖國，十分應該跟隨中國共產黨的制度，所有議員必須是共產黨黨員。

M – Why is there no seat for the communist party? The failure of the whole system could be blamed on Donald Tsang. We've already returned to the Motherland, and we should really align ourselves with the CCP, and all members of Legco should be members of the CCP

女士：意見要可以人人不同，功能組別要需要保留，但要確保每個人的意見都可以如實反映。

F – Everyone's views can be different, FCs should be retained, to ensure everyone's views gets reflected.

女士：雖然制度已定，但既定的制度是否一定正確，一定好呢？市民有沒有權去改變現狀？例如釋法問題，大家無渠道表達意見，政府的權力過大，制度又不容許市民可以投票。

F – Although the system is set, but it doesn't mean its right. Do citizens have a right to change the state of things? Look at the issue of reinterpretation of the Basic Law, everyone did not have a way to channel their views, the government is too powerful and the system doesn't let all people to have a say or to vote on it.

The questionnaire (in Appendix) given before and after the focus group shows nearly all learned a great deal about Legco they didn't know, such as how many voters were in the FC s and GCs respectively and how many women were in Legco and the numbers of seats held by different groups in the FCs. The pre and post questionnaires (results in the appendix) show that while many believe the poor should get special protections, most want everyone treated the same. While most agreed Legco does not work very well now, they also disagreed on what to do with the FCs, though by two to one they preferred to abolish or reform the FCs over leaving them unchanged.

Demographics

Gender

Group	GC Count	GC %	FC Count	FC %
Male	325	46	195	48
Female	389	54	214	52

Age groups: GC voters

Group	GC Count	GC %	FC Count	FC %
18-19	28	4	--	--
20-29	84	12	24	6
30-39	113	16	88	22
40-49	183	26	156	40
50-59	160	23	87	22
60-69	71	10	24	6
70-84	55	8	13	3

Religion

Group	GC Count	GC %	Count	%
None	346	48	187	46
Catholic	34	5	47	11
Protestant	134	19	109	27
Buddhist	71	10	12	3
Taoist	3	--	1	--
Ancestor Worship	123	17	48	12
Other	3	--	5	1

Years of Education

Group	GC Count	GC %	FC Count	FC %
0 (below primary	26	4	4	1
1 Primary 1	4	1		
2 Primary 2	6	1		
3 Primary 3	6	1	1	--
4 Primary 4	4	1	1	--
5 Primary 5	4	1		
6 Primary 6	33	5	6	1
7 Form 1	12	2		
8 Form 2	15	2	1	--
9 Form 3	64	9	11	3
10 Form 4/Technical 1	11	2	2	--
11 Form 5/Technical grad	176	25	48	12
12 Form 6	28	4	3	1
13 Form 7/US univ freshman	82	12	28	7
14 University Yr 1/sophmore	12	2	1	--
15 University Yr 2/Junior	8	1		
16 Univerity Graduate	179	25	229	57
17 Masters	28	4	61	15
18 Ph.D.	5	1	7	2

Occupation: GC voters

Group	Count	%
Manager/Admin	81	12
Professionals	61	9
Assoc/cert professionals	21	3
Clerks/Secretaries	88	13
Service/sales/police/fire	50	7
Skilled agri & fisheries	3	--
Craft & performers	17	2
Plant & machine operators	27	4
Elementary occupations	21	3
Housewives	100	14
Retired	124	18
Unemployed	13	2
Student	49	7
Teachers/principals incl univ	27	4
Other	9	1

Occupation GC Voters Reclassified:

Group	Count	%
Manager/administrators	90	13
Professionals	61	9
Assoc Professionals/Educ.*	48	7
Service workers	138	20
Manual workers	68	10
Housewives	100	15
Retirees	124	18
Students	49	7

*Teachers grouped with associate professionals. Other with Manager/admin. Clerks & secretaries grouped as service workers. All others as manual workers.

Occupation: FC voters

Group	Count	%
Manager/Admin	67	17
Professionals	109	28
Assoc/cert professionals	49	13
Clerks/Secretaries	24	6
Service/sales/police/fire	14	4
Craft & performers	1	--
Plant & machine operators	4	1
Elementary occupations	4	1
Housewives	8	2
Retired	33	8
Unemployed	1	--
Student	4	1
Teachers/principals incl univ	58	15
Other	13	3

Occupation FC Voters Reclassified:

Group	Count	%
Manager/administrators	80	21
Professionals	109	28
Assoc Professionals/Educ.*	107	28
Service workers	38	10
Manual workers	9	2
Housewives	8	2
Retirees	33	9
Students	4	1

*Teachers grouped with associate professionals. Other with Manager/admin. Clerks & secretaries grouped as service workers. All others as manual workers.

Work sector: GC voters

	Count	%
Civil Service	63	9
Public Authority	16	2
Private Sector	329	46
Non-profit	7	1
Non-working	287	40

Work sector: FC voters

	Count	%
Civil Service	91	22
Public Authority	34	8
Private Sector	212	52
Non-profit	14	3
Non-working	47	11

Approximate Monthly Family Income: FC voters

Income	Count	%
Less than $9,999 per month	27	8
$10,000-19,999	27	8
$20,000-29,999	41	12
$30,000-39,999	41	12
$40,000-49,999	32	9
$50,000-59,999	34	10
$60,000-69,999	24	7
**$70,000-99,999	52	15
$100,000 and up	69	20

409 total cases of which 62 are missing
Total Cases   347
**Note change in increments

Approximate Monthly Family Income: GC voters

Income	Count	%
Less than $9,999 per month	117	19
$10,000-19,999	131	22
$20,000-29,999	115	19
$30,000-39,999	78	13
$40,000-49,999	45	7
$50,000-59,999	42	7
$60,000-69,999	19	3
**$70,000-99,999	28	5
$100,000 and up	29	5

716 total cases of which 112 are missing
Total Cases   604
**Note change in increments

Comparative Appromate Monthly Family Income

Income	FC%	GC%
Less than $9,999 per month	8	19
$10,000-19,999	8	22
$20,000-29,999	12	19
$30,000-39,999	12	13
$40,000-49,999	9	7
$50,000-59,999	10	7
$60,000-69,999	7	3
**$70,000-99,999	15	5
$100,000 and up	20	5

Appendix

Constituency Focus Group Questionnare

Please answer all questions. If you cannot, please put DK (Don't know) Circle or fill in the blank:

Sex: M/F   Age: _____   Registered voter: GC | FC   Lived outside Hong Kong: Y | N

7 M, 7F   20 to 68   8 GC and 6 FC   Yes, 5   No 9

Civil servant: Y | N   Civil servants in your family (parents, brothers, sisters, children): Y | N

3 civil servants, current or retired, only 1 with civil servants in the family

This section tests what you know now and what you learn in this session. Don't worry if you cannot answer many questions in this part before the group session. We hope you know much more afterwards however!

1. Of the 60 members in the Legislative Council, how many are:

      A. Elected from Geographic Constituencies   _____

      B. Elected from Functional Constituencies   _____

2. Approximately how many voters are registered to vote in:

      A. Geographic Constituencies _____

      B. Functional Constituencies _____

3. How many members of Legco are:

      A. Women   _____

      B. Aged over 60   _____

      C. Members of a party _____

4. How many of the Functional Constituency seats in Legco are:

      A. held by Business   _____

      B. held by Professionals   _____

      C. held by Unions   _____

      D. held by other groups_____

5. What is the approximate average age of:

      A. Geographically elected Legco members _____

      B. Functionally elected Legco members _____

      C. The Hong Kong population _____

This section registers your perceptions BEFORE and then AFTER this session. There are no right or wrong answers, just how you feel.

FIRST COLUMN IN PRE-TEST GIVEN BEFORE FOCUS GROUP SESSION. Not all filled in the questionnaire as some arrived just before discussion started, mostly in the FC group. SECOND COLUMN IS AFTER FOCUS GROUP WAS COMPLETED. ALL NUMBERS REFER TO ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES, NOT PERCENT.

1. Who should get special protections in Hong Kong? (pick one only) **PRE**   **POST**

	PRE	POST
A. Business people	-	-
B. Professionals	-	-
C. Retirees	-	-
D. Women and children (families)	1	2
E. Poor people	5	6
F. Entrepreneurs, inventors, artists and other talented people	-	-
G. Taxpayers	-	-
H. Everyone should be treated same	8	9

2. What should be Hong Kong government's most important guiding principle?

A. Fairness	7	5
B. Wealth	-	-
C. Stability	4	6
D. Opportunity	3	6

3. What should Legco's primary characteristic be?

A. Place to speak out on issues	3	4
B. Watch dogs on government performance	4	6
C. Represent everyone's views	2	3
D. Make laws and decide on spending and taxes	5	4

4. How well do you think government generally works now?

A. Very well	-	-
B. Sufficiently well	6	7
C. Not very well	4	7
D. Not well at all	2	1
E. Don't Know	2	2

5. How well do you think Legco generally works now?

A. Very well	-	-
B. Sufficiently well	5	4
C. Not very well	7	11
D. Not well at all	1	-
E. Don't Know	1	2

6. Do you think Functional Constituencies should ultimately be:

A. Retained unchanged	-	5
B. Abolished completely	7	6
C. Reformed	4	5
D. Don't know	3	1

Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer
Survey administration and Chinese translation: P.K. Cheung, B. Winterbourne (focus group translation)
At the 95% confidence level, range of error is plus or minus 3 points for surveys 900-1,000 respondents and 4 points for those 600-800. Completion rates for the surveys range from 28% to 32% of those contacted by telephone. Since the project uses a Kish table to randomly identify the correspondents desired and then schedules a callback if that specific respondent is not at home, the completion rate tends to be lower but the randomization of responses (needed for accurate statistics) tends to be higher than surveys which interview readily available respondents using the next birthday method. Older respondents with this method tend to use traditional Chinese calendar where all "birthdays" are celebrated on the second day of the lunar new year, thus degrading randomization dependent on this method (in lunar calendar using societies in Asia). Respondents are interviewed in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, Hakka and other languages or dialects as they prefer and as interviewers with the language skills needed are available. Other surveys referred to above are Hong Kong Transition Project surveys. The details of those surveys and reports of same may be found on the Hong Kong Transition Project website at http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp

The number of respondents in the HKTP surveys:

N=	Nov 91	902									
	Feb 93	615	Aug 93	609							
	Feb 94	636	Aug 94	640							
	Feb 95	647	Aug 95	645							
	Feb 96	627	July 96	928					Dec 96	326	
	Feb 97	546	June 97	1,129							
	Jan 98	700	April 98	852	June 98	625	July 98	647	Oct 98	811	
	Apr 99	838	July 99	815					Nov 99	813	
	Apr 00	704	Aug 00	625;	Aug 00	1059	Oct 00	721	Nov 00	801	
	Apr 01	830	June 01	808	Jul (media) 831		Jul (party) 1029		Nov 01	759	
	Apr 02	751	Aug 02	721					Nov 02	814	
	Mar 03	790	June 03	776			Nov 03	836	Dec 03	709	
	Apr 04	809	May 04	833	June 04*	680	July 04 *	955	July 04*	695	Aug 04* 781
					Sept 04*		Nov 04	773	Dec 04	800	Dec FC** 405 (365)
	May 05	829	May FC**376		July 05	810	Nov 05	859			
	Mar 06	805	Apr 06	807	July 06	1,106	Nov 06	706	Nov 06 FC** 374		
	Apr 07	889	May 07	800							
	June 08 GC	714	June 08 FC** 409								

*permanent residents, registered voters only (part of a special 2004 election series)
**Functional constituency registered voters (voters in September 2004/2008 Legco election)
†Not all surveys are referred to in trend series.