

Table 57

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
Great deal	38	54	62	56	50	49	40	52
Somewhat	47	33	27	31	30	24	26	30
Not much	5	8	7	7	8	13	4	8
None	6	2	2	2	5	3	10	4
Don't Know	5	2	3	4	7	10	20	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 80.06 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

The younger groups are much more willing to ascribe a great deal of influence over democratization to the political parties than older groups.

Chart/Table 58 Political party influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy BY Age Group

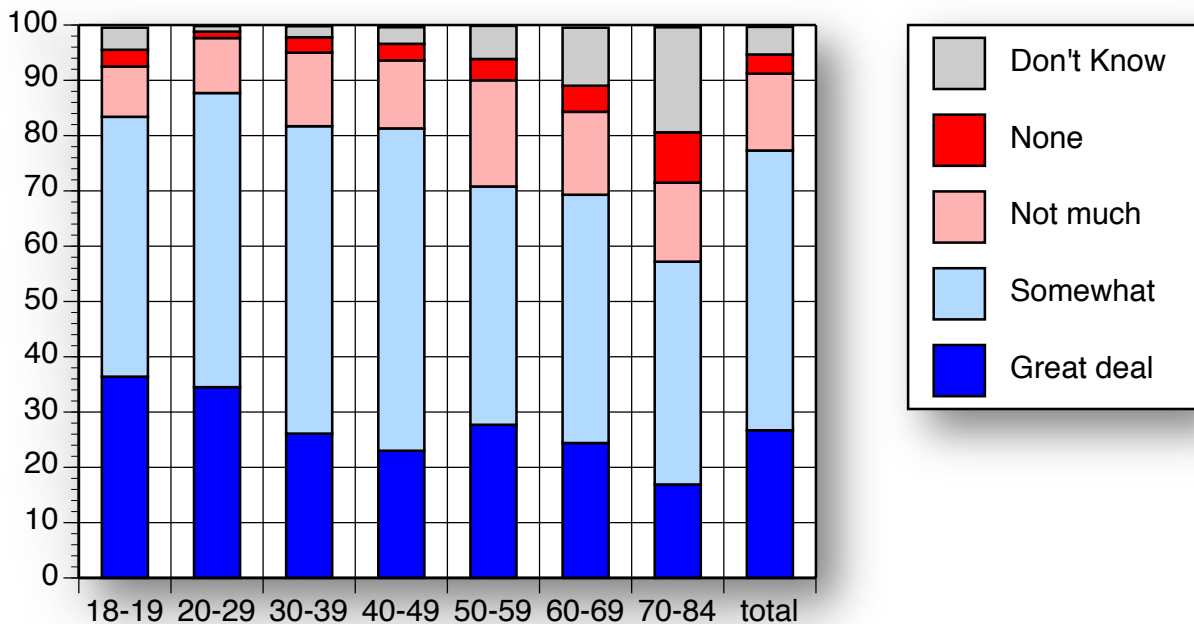


Table 58

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
Great deal	36	35	26	23	28	24	17	27
Somewhat	47	53	56	58	43	45	40	51
Not much	9	10	13	12	19	15	14	14
None	3	1	3	3	4	5	9	3
Don't Know	5	1	2	3	6	11	20	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 88.21 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

And younger groups assess public opinion as having a great deal of influence are larger than other age groups, though a full third of those surveyed assign it a great deal of influence over the process.

Chart/Table 59 Public opinion influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy BY Age Group

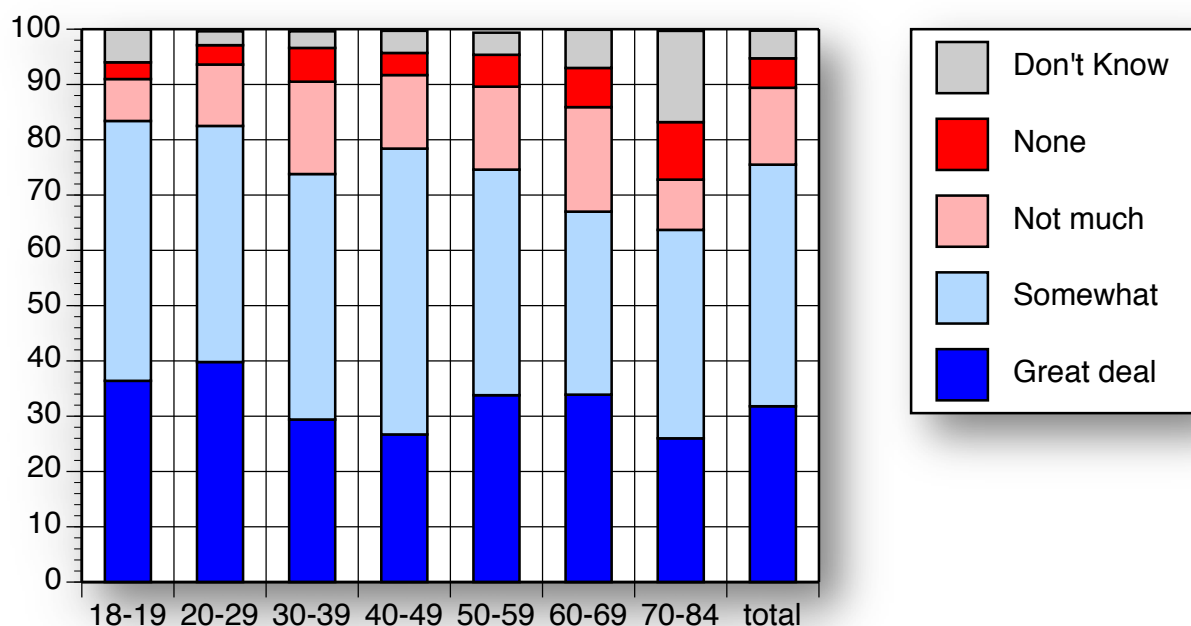


Table 59

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
Great deal	36	40	29	27	34	34	26	32
Somewhat	47	43	44	52	41	33	38	44
Not much	8	11	17	13	15	19	9	14
None	3	4	6	4	6	7	10	5
Don't Know	6	3	3	4	5	7	17	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 56.59 with 24 df p = 0.0002

Assessments of influence on democratization BY Occupation

Among occupations, students have a considerably smaller portion assessing Top Beijing officials as having a great deal of influence over Hong Kong's democratization.

Table 60 Top Beijing officials influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy BY Occupation

	Great Deal	Some	Not much	None	Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	83	13	2	1	2	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	85	9	2	2	2	100
Clerks	78	13	5	2	2	100
Service	71	15	1	4	8	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	68	17	3	6	6	100
Housewife	74	11	3	3	9	100
Retired	72	10	3	6	9	100
Unemployed	77	14	4	4	2	100
Student	73	17	5	1	4	100
total	76	13	3	3	5	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 51.07 with 32 df p = 0.0175

Table 61 Big business influence over HK's development of democracy BY Occupation

	Great Deal	Some	Not much	None	Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	55	35	4	4	2	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	59	30	6	3	2	100
Clerks	54	33	6	4	3	100
Service	47	32	8	3	10	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	48	28	16	3	5	100
Housewife	54	27	8	3	9	100
Retired	48	24	8	7	13	100
Unemployed	66	23	5	4	2	100
Student	46	38	7	4	4	100
total	52	30	8	4	6	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 67.59 with 32 df p = 0.0002

Students give much more credence to political parties having a great deal of influence over the development of democracy in Hong Kong than other occupations.

Chart/Table 62 Political party influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy BY Occupation

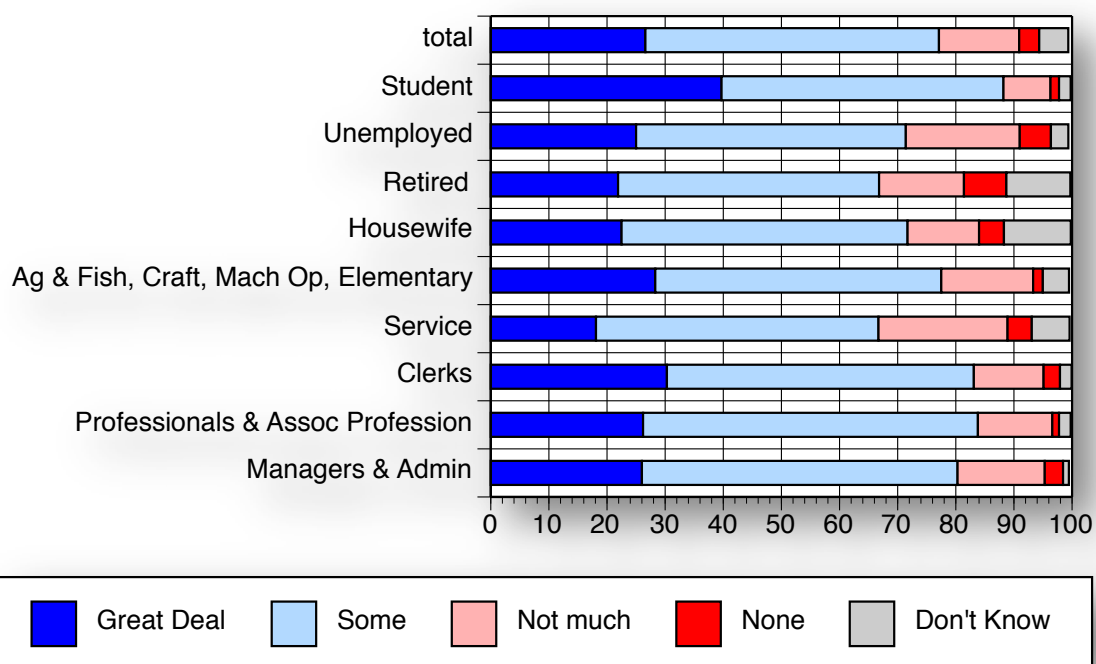


Table 62

	Great Deal	Some	Not much	None	Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	26	54	15	3	2	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	26	58	13	1	2	100
Clerks	30	53	12	3	2	100
Service	18	49	22	4	7	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	28	49	16	2	5	100
Housewife	23	49	12	4	12	100
Retired	22	45	15	7	11	100
Unemployed	25	46	20	5	4	100
Student	40	49	8	1	2	100
total	27	51	14	3	6	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 78.13 with 32 df p ≤ 0.0001

The gap between the business dominated Manager and Administrator occupational category and students over the influence of public opinion is the largest, with the size of the difference next greatest among professionals and blue collar agricultural, craft and machine operators and the unemployed. The gap between business and these other groups on assessing the degree of influence of public opinion over the development of democracy raises a flag of caution over the role of public opinion.

Chart/Table 63 Public opinion influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy BY Occupation

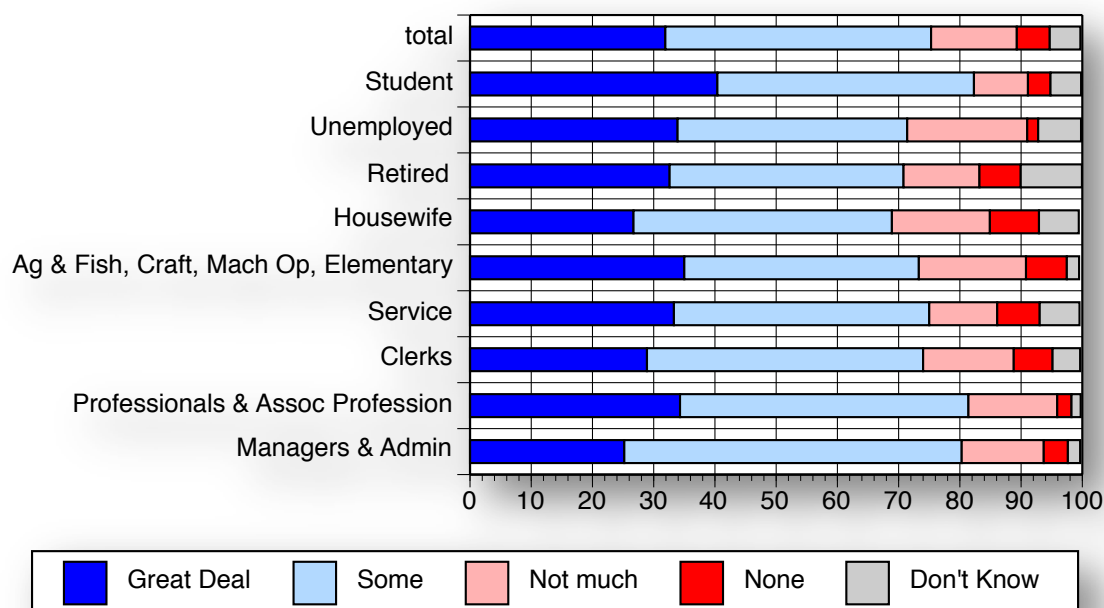


Table 63

	Great Deal	Some	Not much	None	Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	25	55	13	4	2	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	34	47	15	2	2	100
Clerks	29	45	15	6	5	100
Service	33	42	11	7	7	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	35	38	18	7	3	100
Housewife	27	42	16	8	7	100
Retired	33	38	12	7	10	100
Unemployed	34	38	20	2	7	100
Student	40	42	9	4	5	100
total	32	43	14	5	5	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 48.16 with 32 df p = 0.0333

Assessments on who SHOULD have the most influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy

The final question in Part One followed the bank of questions above on how much influence named groups had on the development of democracy in Hong Kong. This was a question on who should have the most influence from the list. It was a ranking or choice question based on a value judgment. This value judgment also sheds light on some of the assessments immediately preceding. As will be seen, the results indicating

gaps between groups above which indicated a possibility of misjudgment will be seen in this final section to be well based.

FINDING: *Table 64 indicates that while a vast majority thought Top Beijing officials HAD the most influence, only 55 percent thought Top Beijing officials SHOULD have the most. It is this considerable difference between the assessments of who has the most influence and the value judgments of who should have the most influence that most clearly indicates the basis for care in the reform process. When set alongside the overwhelming assessments of the unfairness of the policy making process, the value judgment differences among the groups below could be explosive if mishandled.*

Table 64 Who from this list do you think SHOULD have the most influence?

Group	Count	%
Public opinion	139	12
Big business people	74	6
Political parties	88	7
Chief Executive	65	5
Top Beijing officials	663	55
NPC and CPPCC members	32	3
Local CCP members	8	1
Professionals & experts	25	2
Don't Know	110	9

In Table 65 the results of Table 64 are reclassified to permit a sufficient number in each category for reliable cross tabulation to reveal significant associations of variables. The Beijing-related CCP, NPC and CPPCC member assessments are collapsed with other Beijing officials. Overall, about one in five respondents thought local public opinion and political parties should have the most influence.

Table 65 Who from this list do you think SHOULD have the most influence RECLASSIFIED

Group	Count	%
Public opinion/pol parties	227	19
Business	74	6
Chief Executive & experts	90	7
Beijing & related officials	703	58
Don't Know	110	9

Table 66 shows that the average in Table 66 is higher in support of local public opinion and parties among those born on the mainland. Hong Kong born respondents in significantly higher numbers thought Top Beijing officials should have more influence.

Table 66 SHOULD have most influence BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland	Elsewhere	total
Public opinion/pol parties	18	23	18	19
Business	6	6	6	6
Chief Executive & experts	8	6	14	7
Beijing & related officials	62	52	51	58
Don't Know	8	13	12	9
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 18.58 with 8 df p = 0.0173

There is also a significant difference of judgment among income groups, with 20 percent of those making under \$50,000 per month indicating public opinion and parties should have the most influence versus 14 percent among the wealthier group.

FINDING: While 75 percent of those making over \$50,000 per month thought Top Beijing officials should have the most influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy, only 57 percent of the much more numerous lower income group making less agreed.

Chart/Table 67 SHOULD have most influence BY Income Group

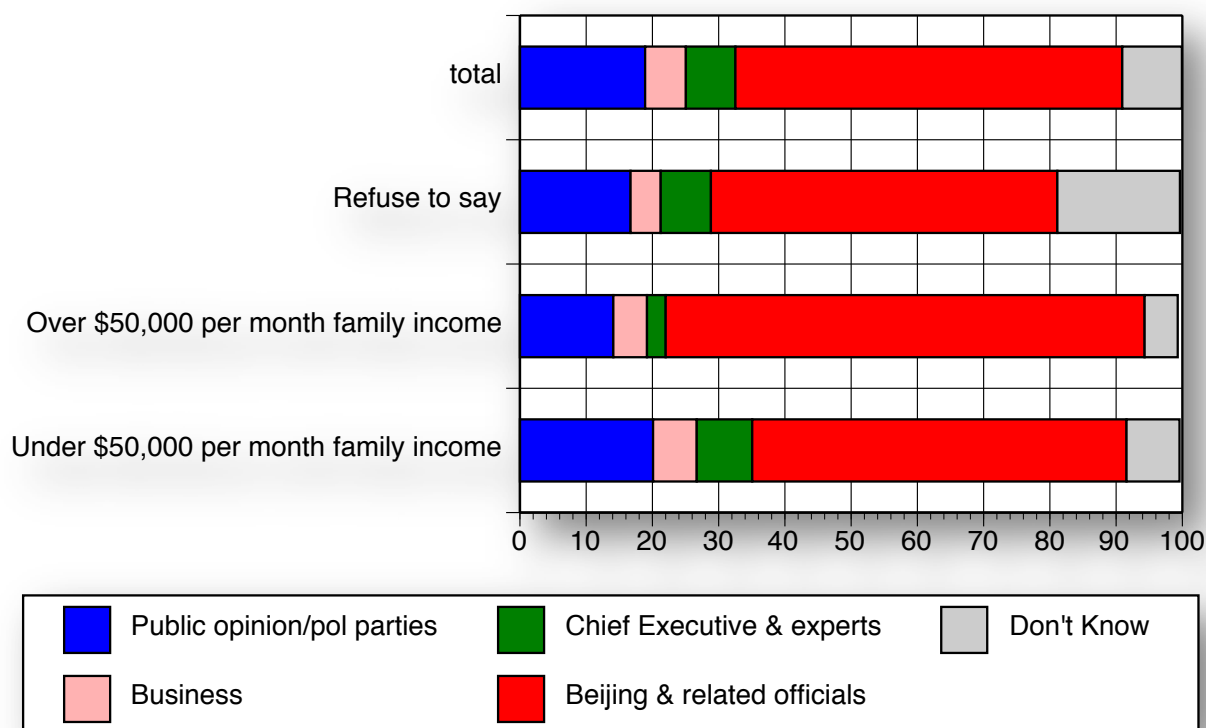


Table 67

	Under \$50,000 per month family income	Over \$50,000 per month family income	Refuse to say	total
Public opinion/pol parties	20	14	17	19
Business	7	5	5	6
Chief Executive & experts	8	3	8	7
Beijing & related officials	57	75	52	58
Don't Know	8	6	19	9
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 34.50 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

The public sector workers also showed enormous differences from the other sectors on who should have the most influence.

FINDING: While just 13 percent of the public sector workers thought public opinion and parties should have most influence, 22 percent of the non-working sector made that choice. While 71 percent of the public sector thought Top Beijing officials should have the most influence, just 61 percent of the private sector, and a bare majority of 53 percent of the non-working sector agreed.

Chart/Table 68 SHOULD have most influence BY Work Sector

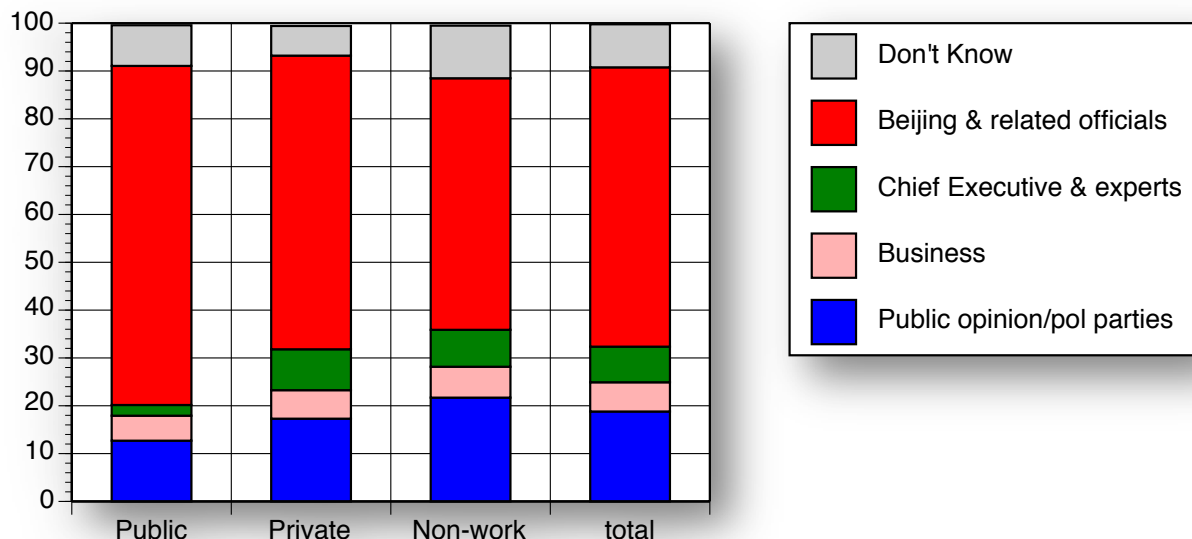


Table 68

	Public	Private	Non-work	total
Public opinion/pol parties	13	17	22	19
Business	5	6	6	6
Chief Executive & experts	2	9	8	7
Beijing & related officials	71	61	53	58
Don't Know	9	7	12	9
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.85 with 8 df p = 0.0011

The differences in judgments among age groups the most widely apart.

FINDING: Among those under 30, over one in four support public opinion and parties having the most influence. The working ages of 30 to 59 were significantly lower in such sentiments. But unrest is driven by the young and those with less responsibilities, not the older and those laden with work and family obligations. The danger is that the government, listening to working groups, and the FCs, dominated by working age and working groups, will make decisions on reform far differing from the sentiments of younger student and retirement aged groups.

Chart/Table 69 SHOULD have most influence BY Age Group

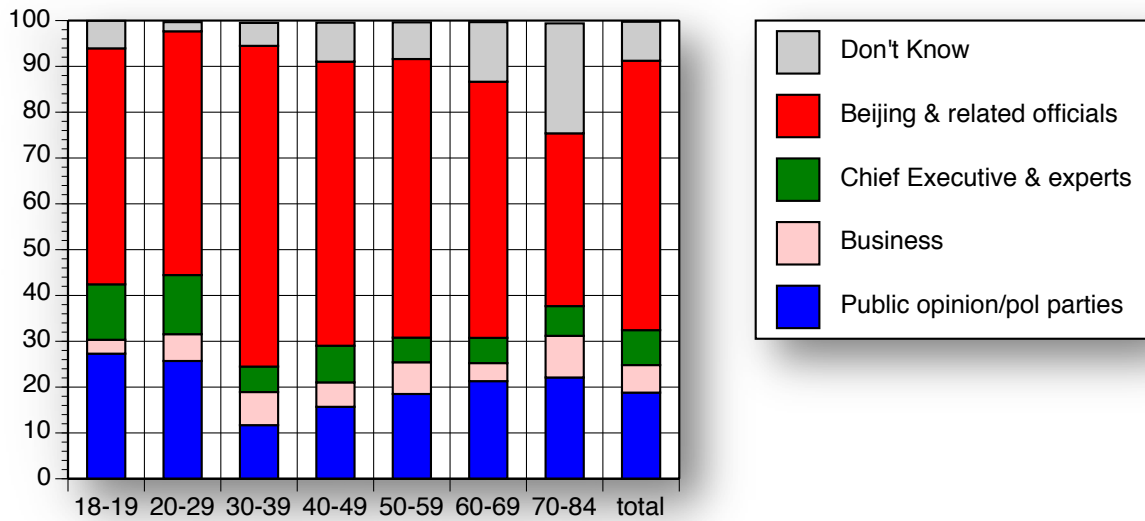


Table 69

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
Public opinion/pol parties	27	26	12	16	19	21	22	19
Business	3	6	7	5	7	4	9	6
Chief Executive & experts	12	13	6	8	5	6	6	8
Beijing & related officials	52	53	70	62	61	56	38	59
Don't Know	6	2	6	9	8	13	25	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 78.23 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

Nearly a third of students wanted public opinion to dominate while only 14 percent of managers and administrators felt the same.

Chart/Table 70 SHOULD have most influence BY Occupation

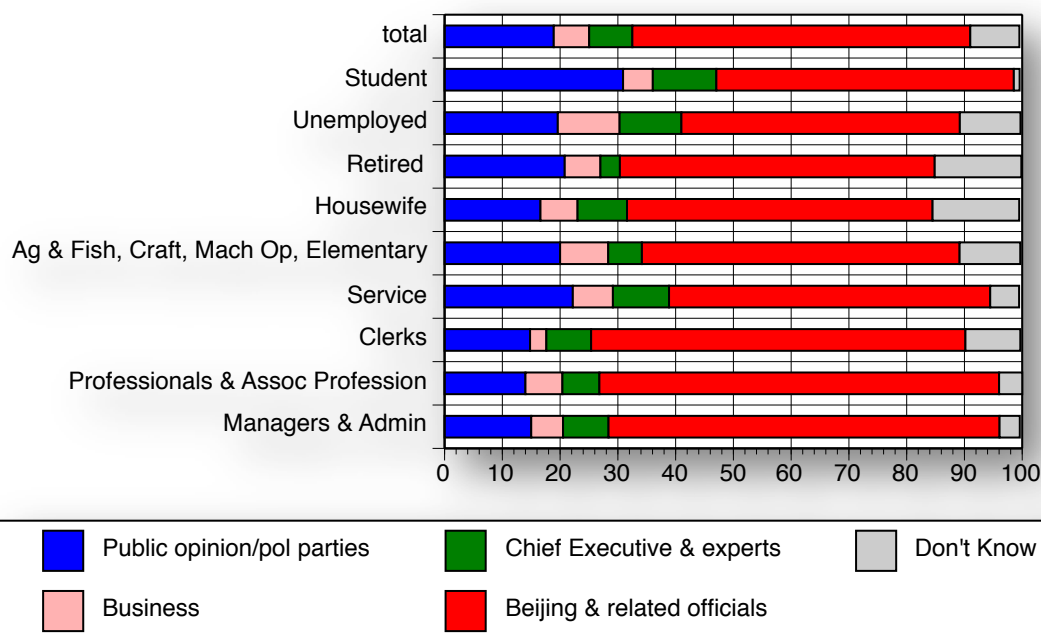


Table 70

	Public opinion/pol parties	Business	Chief Executive & experts	Beijing & related officials	Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	15	6	8	68	4	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	14	6	6	69	4	100
Clerks	15	3	8	65	10	100
Service	22	7	10	56	6	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	20	8	6	55	11	100
Housewife	17	6	9	53	16	100
Retired	21	6	3	55	15	100
Unemployed	20	11	11	48	11	100
Student	31	5	11	52	1	100
total	19	6	7	59	9	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 75.73 with 32 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 71 calculates the gap between the percentage according Beijing officials most influence and those who say public opinion should have the most. The size of this gap indicates the degree of differing perspectives between groups. Column one is determined by subtracting the percentage choosing public opinion from the percentage choosing Beijing officials. Column two shows the difference between the results of column one and student's choice of who should have the most influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy.

Table 71 Gaps within groups, Gaps between students and others over who should have the most influence over Hong Kong's development of democracy

	Gap between Beijing over Public opinion	Gap between students and other category
Managers & Admin	53	32
Professionals & Assoc Profession	55	34
Clerks	50	29
Service	34	13
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	35	14
Housewife	36	15
Retired	34	13
Unemployed	28	7
Student	21	--

FINDING: *The gap on whether public opinion or Beijing should have the most influence on Hong Kong's development of democracy between the business and professional occupations which dominate the FCs, who cast the critical votes on democratization, is largest with students, unemployed, retirees and blue collar workers, the groups historically more likely to react.*

PART TWO: Microanalysis of the current governance system

The conclusions and assessments in Part One are based in data from the May 2009 survey or erected on the basis of long term cross-sectional and trend analyses like these below in Part Two that have been conducted by the Hong Kong Transition Project many times and reported in hundreds of reports and publications. (See Hong Kong Transition Project publications lists at <http://www.hktp.org> for detailed lists of publications by members and the most recent reports). The combination of detailed cross-sectional and trend analysis provides a thorough “health check” into the relationship between the people of Hong Kong and their governance systems.

VIII Problem solving in the current system

People everywhere expect their governments and political parties and leaders to help them solve problems, or at least to champion their cause for help with a problem that faces them or their families. More broadly, societies expect government to take the lead in addressing needs related to education, healthcare, crime, elderly, and the poor. Increasingly governments are expected to take actions to assure a good economy, a sound currency and banking system, and to vigorously root out corruption and fraud in business dealings. The old days of laissez faire and “let the buyer beware” which left consumers without recourse and the government without responsibility have long passed, even in Hong Kong, the “world’s freest economy” and longtime bastion of free trade and very limited government. Chart/Table 72 tracks the trends and specific areas of respondent’s Hong Kong focused problems of most personal concern.

Chart/Table 72 Which problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about personally?*

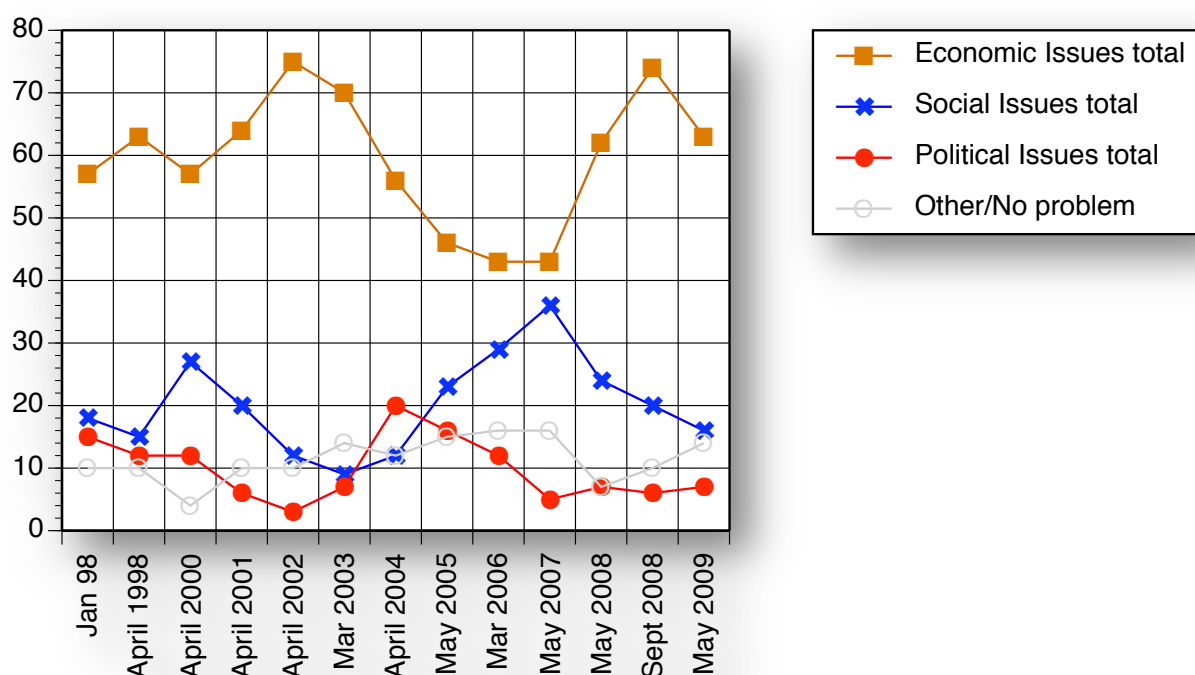


Table 72

	Jan 98	Apr 98	Apr 00	Apr 01	Apr 02	Mar 03	Apr 04	May 05	Mar 06	May 07	May 08	Sept 08	May 09
Economic growth rate	38	32	13	12	14	17	23	12	7	4	11	6	11
Affordable housing	8	4	1	2	--	1	--	--	1	1	--	--	1
Unemployment	11	27	31	40	53	40	26	26	28	28	16	16	35
Salary cuts, welfare cuts			6	4	3	7	5	4	3	6	7	7	4
Property, stock markets			3	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	3
Int'l competitiveness			3	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	3
Other econ.				1	2	1	--	1	1	--			
Inflation											10	34	2
Wealth gap among rich & poor											13**	7	4
<i>Economic Issues total</i>	57	63	57	64	75	70	56	46	43	43	62	74	63
Education	4	3	6	7	6	3	6	9	8	15	6	3	6
Elderly	5	5	3	4	2	1	1	4	3	6	4	2	3
Crime	6	5	6	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	--	1	--
Medical	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	5	6	5	3	5
Pollution/overpopulation	1	1	10	4	2	2	2	7	11	7	9	11	2
<i>Social Issues total</i>	18	15	27	20	12	9	12	23	29	36	24	20	16
Corruption	1	1	1	1	--	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--
Political stability	5	4	4	2	2	2	15	10	5	2	3**	2	3
Freedom of press/speech	2	2	2	1	--	1	1	1	1	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	1
Fair judges/freedom to travel	3	3	1	--	--	1	--	1	1	+2	1	1	1
Competence of Tung (98-04) Tsang (05-) & civil servants	-	-	1	--	1	1	1	--	1	--	1	--	1
Constitutional development						--		3	1	--		--	
<i>Political Issues total</i>	15	12	12	6	3	7	20	16	12	5	7**	6	7
<i>Other/No Hong Kong problem</i>	10	10	4	10	10	14	12	15	16	16	7	10	14

*Other/no Hong Kong problem: For example, 16 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.

The concern with the wealth gap shown in May 2008 is a hard to classify issue. It clearly has both economic and political associations. Table 73 is recoded according to the categories in Table 72 above, with exception of the wealth gap among being moved to political issues to better test the fairness in policy making findings in Part One. We use the results of the regrouping of problems of most concern in May 2009 to analyze which problems are of most concern to which demographic and associational groups.

Table 73 Regrouping of problem of most concern (May 2009)

Group	Count	%
No Hong Kong/Public Problem	113	9
Economic problem	719	60
Political problem	109	9
Social problem	199	17
Other problem	64	5

FINDING: *There is no significant difference in distribution of Table 73 results by birthplace in Hong Kong, Mainland China or Elsewhere. However, women and men clearly*

do have different areas of concern, with women more focused on social problems (education, elderly, crime, medical and pollution) as might be expected from the gender most affected by and concerned with these issues' effects on themselves and their families.

Table 74 Problem of most concern BY Gender

	Male	Female	total
No problem	10	9	9
Economic problem	63	57	60
Political problem	10	8	9
Social problem	12	21	17
Other problem	5	5	5
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.64 with 4 df p = 0.0004

Table 75 flips the independent variable from Gender as above to the type of personal concern. Thus two thirds of those with social problem as their greatest concern are female. Men are more likely to name a political or economic problem than females. The "total" figure gives the distribution of the sample by gender. Thus while men make up 49 percent of the sample, they comprise 53 percent of those who named a political problem as of the greatest personal concern.

Table 75 Gender distribution of Problem of most concern

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Male	53	51	53	34	47	49
Female	47	49	47	66	53	51
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.64 with 4 df p = 0.0004

Issues of concern by age group vary widely, as shown in Chart/Table 76.

Chart/Table 76 Age Group By Problem of most concern

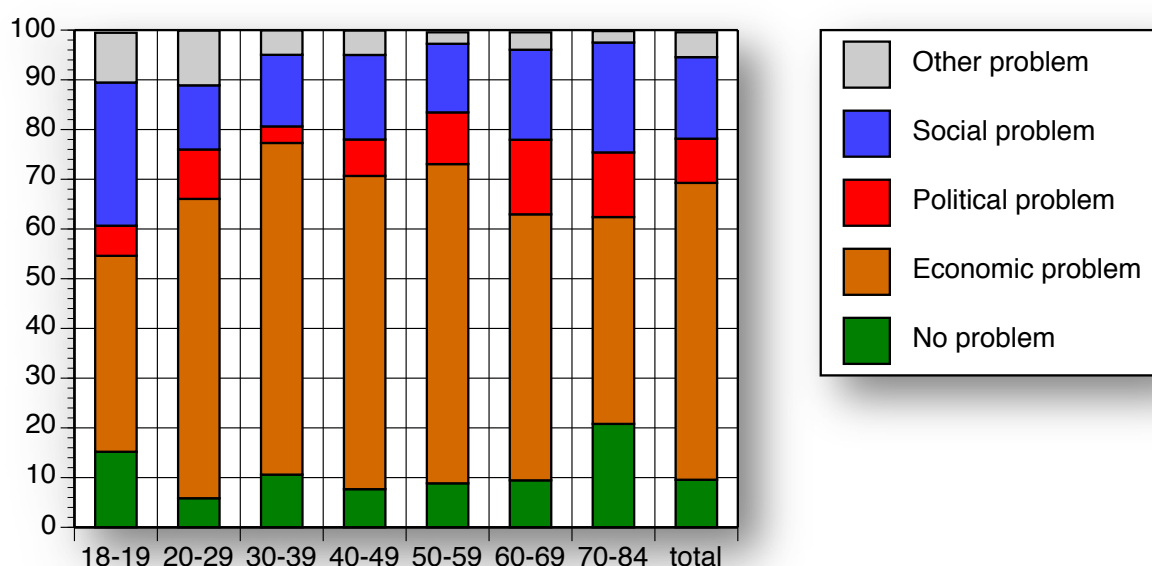


Table 76

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
No problem	15	6	11	8	9	9	21	10
Economic problem	39	60	67	63	64	54	42	60
Political problem	6	10	3	7	10	15	13	9
Social problem	29	13	14	17	14	18	22	16
Other problem	11	11	5	5	3	4	3	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 73.56 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

The age groups of 50 and above show much more concern with political issues than the age groups under 50. One might surmise that this is the natural reaction of age to change, with those older being more concerned about disorder caused by changes such as direct elections. However, this is not the case. To make this clear, Table 77 shows the distribution of concerns by age groups, which have regrouped into those under 50 and a group of 50 and up. While 12 percent of those 50 and up cite a political problem as of most concern, those under 50 show only 7 percent citing a political problem.

Table 77 Age Groups distribution of Problem of most concern

	18-49	50-84	total
No problem	9	11	10
Economic problem	61	58	60
Political problem	7	12	9
Social problem	17	16	16
Other problem	7	3	5
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.03 with 4 df p = 0.0008

And in Table 78 we show the distribution by type of problem of the two age groups. Thus a majority of those with political problems are 50 and up.

Table 78 Problem of most concern BY Age group

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
18-49	55	62	47	61	78	61
50-84	45	38	53	39	22	39
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.03 with 4 df p = 0.0008

And so in Chart/Table 79 we show the results of the Age groups by their support or opposition to direct election of the Chief Executive.

FINDING: *Contrary to supposition that conservatism increases with age, those over 50 more strongly support direct election of the Chief Executive than those under age 50.*

While the overall level of support and opposition is the same between age groups, those over 50 show stronger support for direct election of the CE than those under 50.

Chart/Table 79 Support Direct election of Chief Executive by Over/Under 50

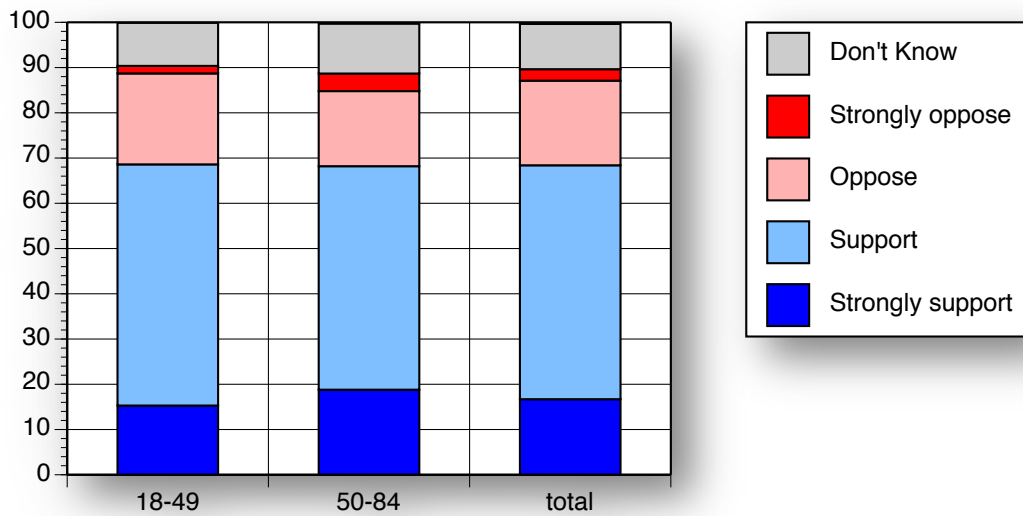


Table 79

	18-49	50-84	total
Strongly support	15	19	17
Support	53	49	52
Oppose	20	17	19
Strongly oppose	2	4	3
Don't Know	10	11	10
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.91 with 4 df p = 0.0276

The case of over/under 50 attitudes on the direct election of all members of Legco is slightly different.

FINDING: While those who strongly support all members' direct election are significantly higher in the over 50 age group, at 17 percent versus 13 percent, overall support for full direct election is 65 percent in the over 50 versus 71 percent in the under 50.

Chart/Table 80 Support direct election all members Legco by Over/Under 50

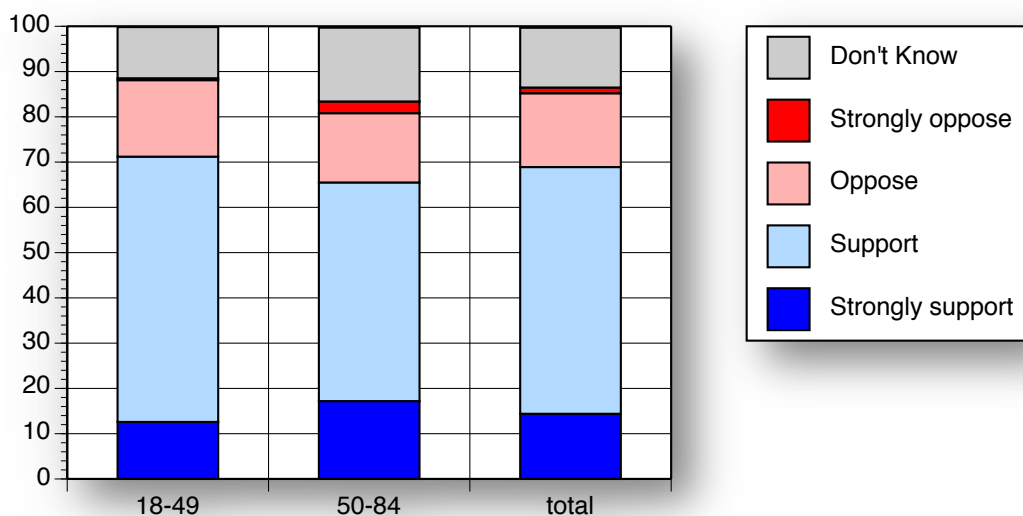


Table 80

	18-49	50-84	total
Strongly support	13	17	14
Support	59	48	55
Oppose	17	15	16
Strongly oppose	0	3	1
Don't Know	12	17	14
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.87 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 81 shows that more in the public and non-work sector name political problems than in the private sector. The private sector shows significantly higher concerns for economic issues.

Table 81 Work Sector distribution of problems of most concern

	Public	Private	Non-work	total
No problem	5	9	11	9
Economic problem	59	67	53	60
Political problem	11	6	11	9
Social problem	21	12	20	17
Other problem	4	5	6	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.18 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Those making over \$50,000 per month family income and those who refuse to say (likely higher income earners) are significantly more likely to cite a political problem as major concern than those making less.

Table 82 Income group distribution of problems of most concern

	Less than \$50,000 p month	More than \$50,000 p month	Refused to say	total
No problem	10	5	12	9
Economic problem	60	60	55	60
Political problem	8	14	12	9
Social problem	16	17	17	17
Other problem	6	5	3	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.38 with 8 df $p = 0.0725$

Chart/Table 83 puts the nature of the concern as the independent variable on top, with those having political problems having a larger portion from those making over \$50,000 per month than their average overall (which is 15 percent of the respondents). The refused to say show the same above average proportion concerned about political problems, making their income as likely above \$50,000 per month.

Chart/Table 83 Problems of most concern distribution of income groups

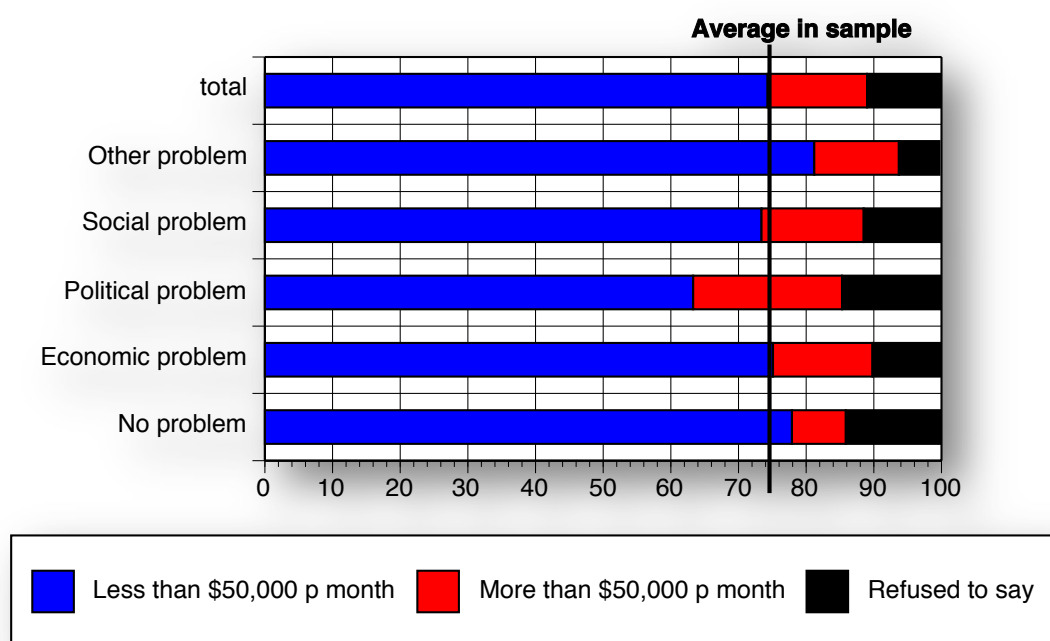


Table 83

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Less than \$50,000 p month	78	75	63	73	81	74
More than \$50,000 p month	8	15	22	15	13	15
Refused to say	14	10	15	12	6	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.38 with 8 df p = 0.0725

FINDING: *Those making above \$50,000 per month family income and those likely making more (who refused to say but whose response pattern is almost exactly the same as the higher income group) are significantly more likely to name a political issue as their problem of greatest personal concern.*

Table 84 shows the distribution of the type of personal problem by occupation. Managers and Administrators, service workers, skilled blue collar and, naturally, the unemployed, are significantly more likely to cite an economic related issue as their top personal concern. Retirees and students are more likely to cite a politically related issue as a top concern. Students, professionals and retirees are more likely to cite social problems as top issues than other groups while service workers are much less likely to cite such concerns as other groups.

Table 84 Occupation, distribution of Type of personal problem of most concern

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Managers & Admin	8	68	9	13	2	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	4	62	8	21	5	100
Clerks	8	66	4	16	6	100
Service	15	68	7	6	4	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	11	68	8	8	5	100
Housewife	12	58	7	18	4	100
Retired	12	47	15	22	4	100
Unemployed	4	73	7	11	5	100
Student	10	44	12	23	12	100
total	9	60	9	17	5	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 77.20 with 32 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 85 Certification or no certification to work, distribution of personal concerns

	Req Certificate	No certificate required	Non-work	total
No problem	5	10	11	9
Economic problem	63	67	53	60
Political problem	10	6	11	9
Social problem	18	12	20	17
Other problem	4	5	6	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 31.30 with 8 df p = 0.0001

FINDING: *Of those whose job requires no certification or license to practice, disproportionately fewer cite a political or social problem as their top personal concern. Professionals and certified persons whose jobs entail interaction with the government and in associations or groupings of certified persons tend to be more politically and socially conscious. However, those professionals and certified persons not presently in an FC who cite an economic problem as their primary concern, tend to support a vote for their FC more than those who cite political or social problems.*

Table 86 Personal concerns of certified persons without a vote in an FC now, by distribution of support or oppose a vote in an FC

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Support	0	65	56	56	50	58
Oppose	33	20	66	11	17	20
Don't Know	67	16	11	33	33	22
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.97 with 8 df p = 0.0597

Chart/Table 87 shows that Liberal FC voters tend to show higher levels of concern on political and social issues than Conservative FC voters.

Chart/Table 87 Conservative/Liberal FC voters, distribution of concerns

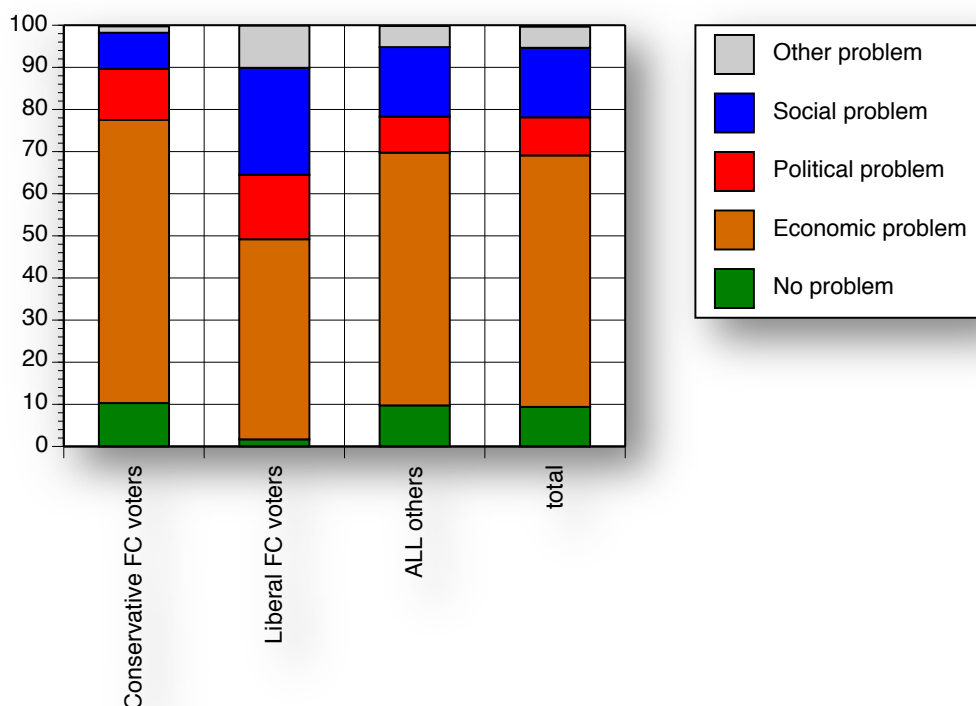


Table 87

	Conservative FC voters	Liberal FC voters	ALL others	total
No problem	10	2	10	9
Economic problem	67	48	60	60
Political problem	12	18	9	9
Social problem	9	25	17	17
Other problem	2	10	5	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 18.42 with 8 df p = 0.0183

Chart/Table 88 shows that one in five are satisfied with government's performance on the problem of most concern to them while two thirds are dissatisfied.

How effective is the Hong Kong Government on addressing respondents problem of most concern?

This next section examines satisfaction and dissatisfaction with Hong Kong Government performance on handling respondents primary problem of personal concern. Chart/Table 88 shows that dissatisfaction significantly outweighs satisfaction, though about 15 percent of the sample had no problem, or were concerned about a problem not related to anything government handled. Age group analysis shows this last group appears more among teens and twenty-somethings and the elderly.

Chart/Table 88 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the Government's performance on this problem?

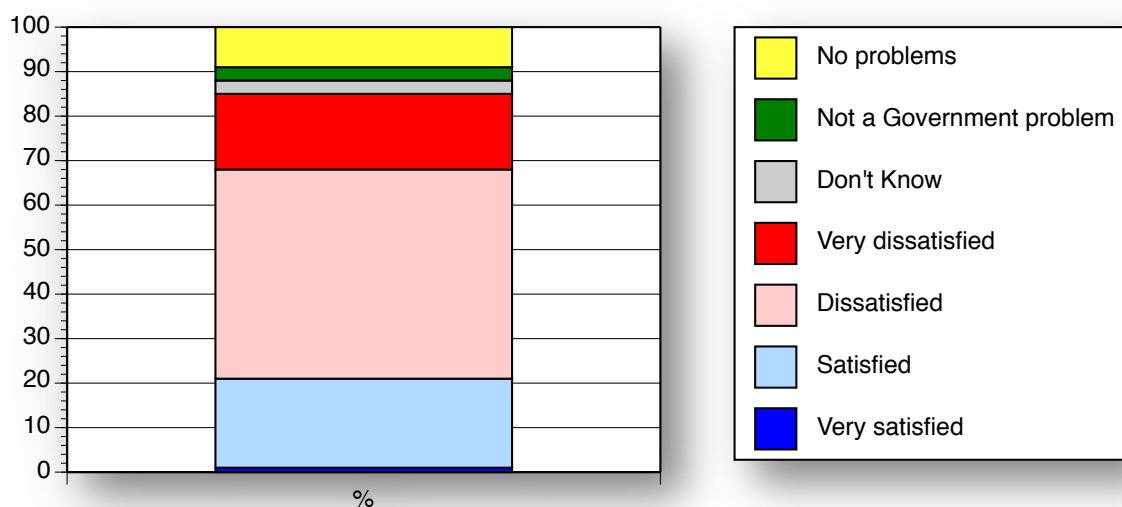


Table 88

Group	Count	%
Very satisfied	8	1
Satisfied	239	20
Dissatisfied	562	47
Very dissatisfied	199	17
Don't Know	47	4
Not a Government problem	36	3
No problems	113	9

We reclassify the results of Table 88 as seen in Table 89 to ensure enough cases in each category for more reliable cross-tab analysis.

Table 89 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern RECLASSIFIED

Group	Count	%
Satisfied	247	21
Dissatisfied	562	49
Very dissatisfied	199	17
No problem/Don't Know	149	13

Table 90 shows that more men than women are very dissatisfied with government's performance, but levels of dissatisfaction overall are the same.

Chart/Table 90 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern BY Gender

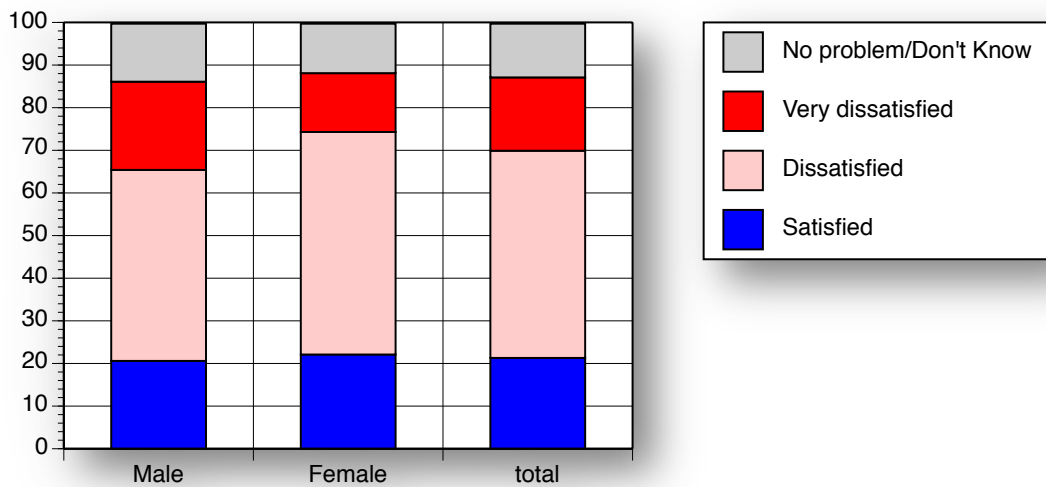


Table 90

	Male	Female	total
Satisfied	21	22	21
Dissatisfied	45	52	49
Very dissatisfied	21	14	17
No problem/Don't Know	14	12	13
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.61 with 3 df p = 0.0056

Chart/Table 91 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern BY Age Group

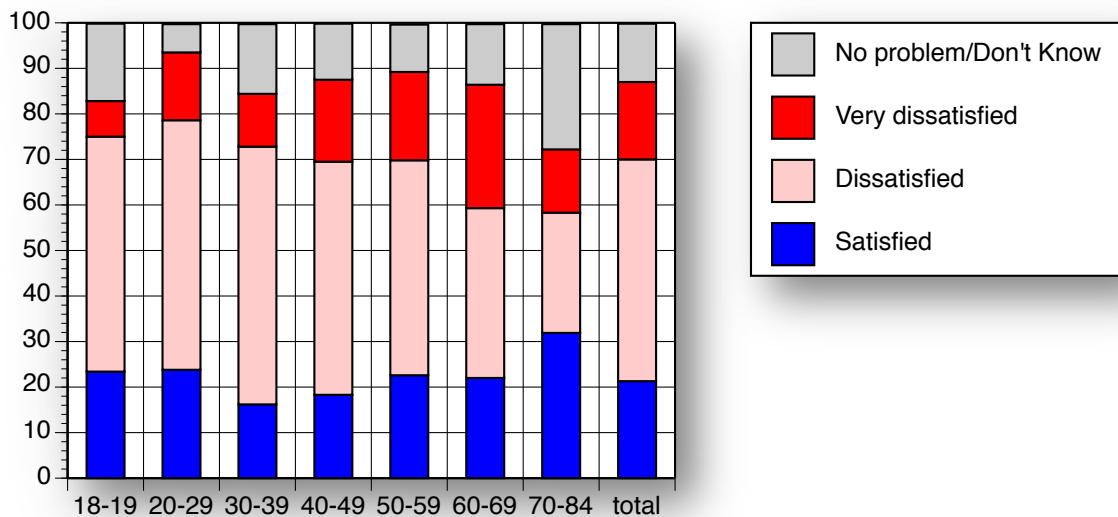


Table 91

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84	total
Satisfied	23	24	16	18	23	22	32	21
Dissatisfied	52	55	57	51	47	37	26	49
Very dissatisfied	8	15	12	18	19	27	14	17
No problem/Don't Know	17	7	16	13	11	14	28	13
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 58.16 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001

The private sector is significantly less satisfied with government performance on their problems of most concern than the public or non-working sectors, with, as Chart/Table 93 shows the most dissatisfaction among Professionals.

Chart/Table 92 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern BY Work Sector

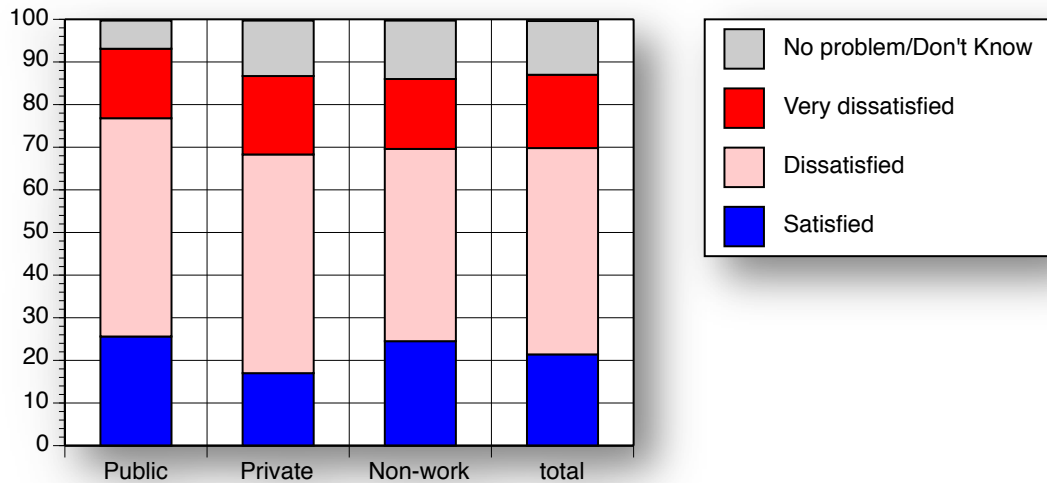


Table 92

	Public	Private	Non-work	total
Satisfied	26	17	25	21
Dissatisfied	51	51	45	48
Very dissatisfied	16	18	16	17
No problem/Don't Know	7	13	14	13
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 14.91 with 6 df p = 0.0210

Chart/Table 93 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern BY Occupation

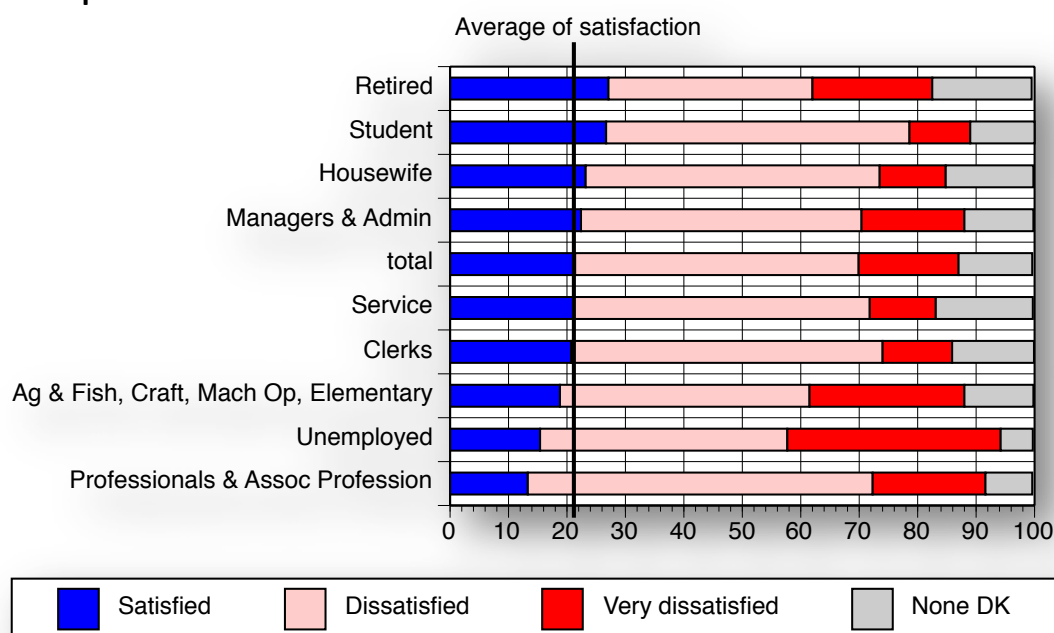


Table 93

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No problem/ Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	22	48	18	12	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	13	59	19	8	100
Clerks	21	53	12	14	100
Service	21	51	11	17	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementry	19	43	27	12	100
Housewife	23	50	11	15	100
Retired	27	35	21	18	100
Unemployed	15	42	37	6	100
Student	27	52	40	11	100
total	21	49	17	13	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 62.73 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

FINDING: Professionals and unemployed are significantly less satisfied with government performance on their problem of greatest concern.

Respondents born in Mainland China are more satisfied than those born elsewhere, with the highest level very dissatisfied found in those born elsewhere.

Chart/Table 94 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern BY Birthplace

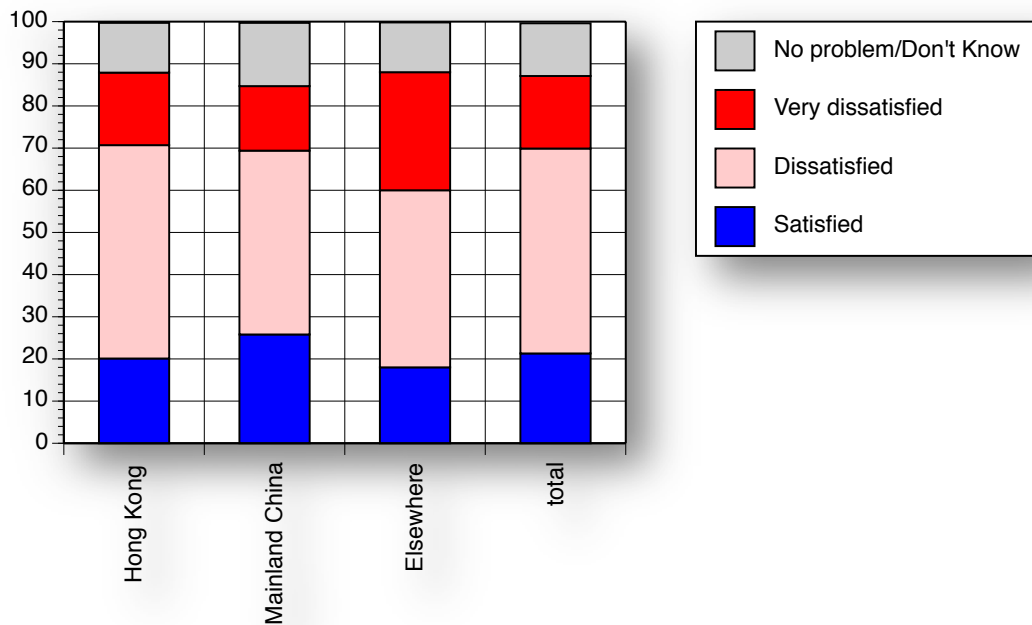


Table 94

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Satisfied	20	26	18	21
Dissatisfied	51	44	42	49
Very dissatisfied	17	15	28	17
No problem/Don't Know	12	18	12	13
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 11.59 with 6 df p = 0.0717

Chart/Table 95 shows that by type of problem, far more who cite a political issue as their prime concern are very dissatisfied with the government's performance on it.

Chart/Table 95 Satisfaction with Government's performance on problem of most concern, distribution by type of concern

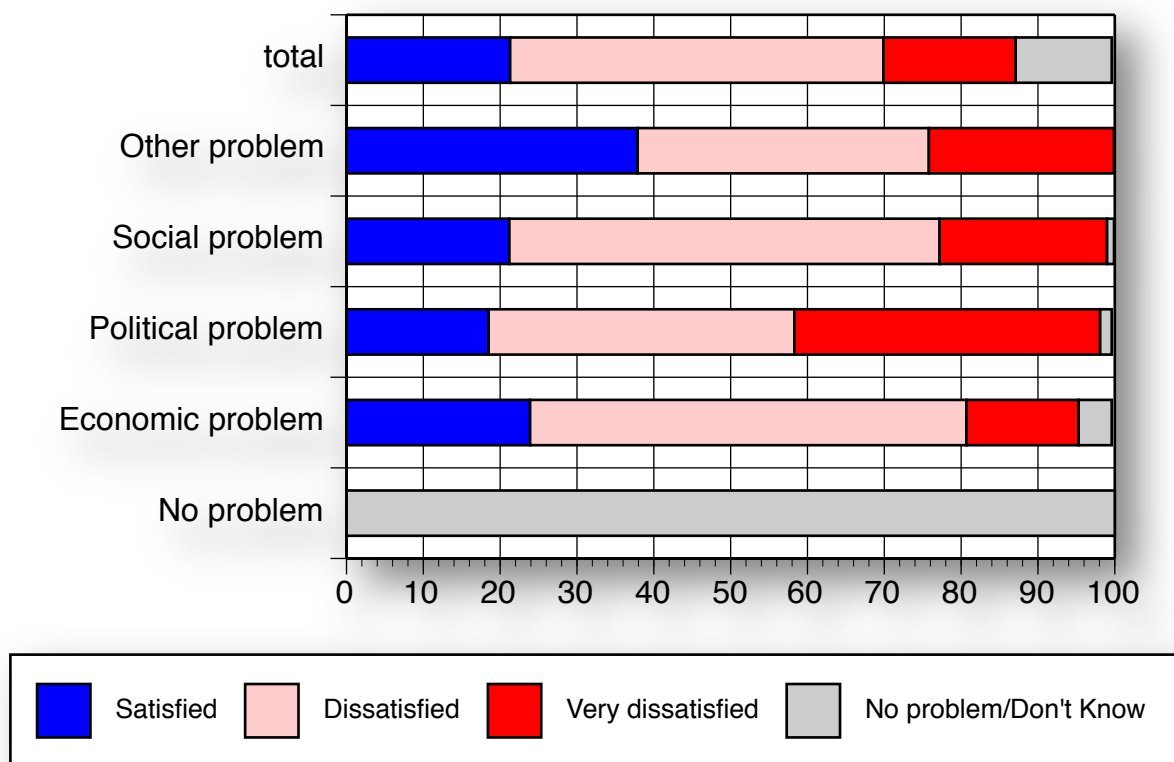


Table 95

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Satisfied	0	24	18	21	38	21
Dissatisfied	0	57	40	56	38	49
Very dissatisfied	0	15	40	22	24	17
No problem/Don't Know	100	5	2	1	0	13
Know						
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 902.5 with 12 df $p \leq 0.0001$

FINDING: *The most intense dissatisfaction with government performance in addressing a problem of greatest concern is among those citing a political issue.*

However, in preparing to compare satisfaction with Hong Kong Government performance on handling to that of respondent's assessments of how political parties affect their problem, we look at performance with GC voters pre-election 2008 and post-election in 2009.

FINDING: *Dissatisfaction with Government performance on handling their primary problem of concern has dropped among GC voters while satisfaction has improved from an August 2008 bottom of barely 15 percent satisfied to 21 percent satisfied.*

Chart/Table 96 Satisfaction with Government performance on problem of greatest concern by GC voter, TREND TABLE

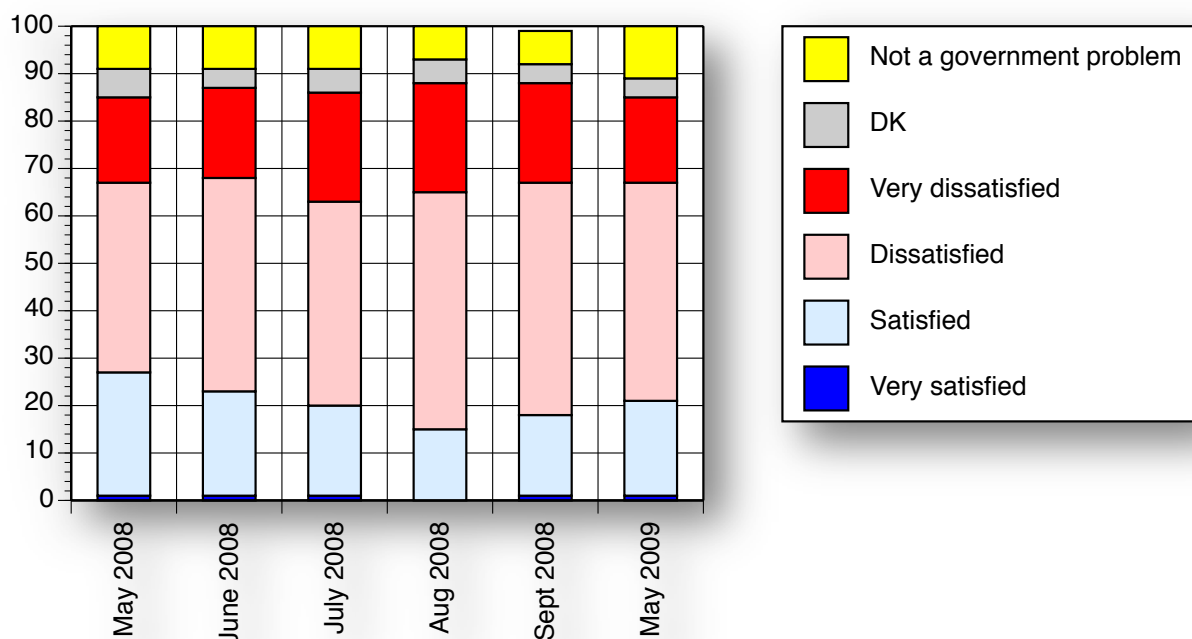


Table 96

	May 2008 GC voters	June 2008 GC voters	July 2008 GC voters	Aug 2008 GC voters	Sept 2008 GC voters	May 2009 GC voters
Very satisfied	1	1	1	--	1	1
Satisfied	26	22	19	15	17	20
Dissatisfied	40	45	43	50	49	46
Very dissatisfied	18	19	23	23	21	18
DK	6	4	5	5	4	4
Not a government problem	9	9	9	7	7	11

How effective are political parties in addressing respondent's problem of most concern?

While the Hong Kong Government has recovered in satisfaction somewhat since the Legco election in September 2008, the same cannot be said for assessments of how political parties affect respondent's personal concerns.

FINDING: *Leading up to the Legco election, and for the first time, a majority saw political parties as having a good or very good effect on their problems. Now, in May 2009, that proportion has dropped by more than half, from 53 percent believing parties had a good effect in September 2008 to 24 percent in May 2009.*

In this section we examine the May 2009 results in more detail to see what happened.

Chart/Table 98 In general, do you think political parties in Hong Kong are having a good effect or a bad effect on your problem? TREND TABLE

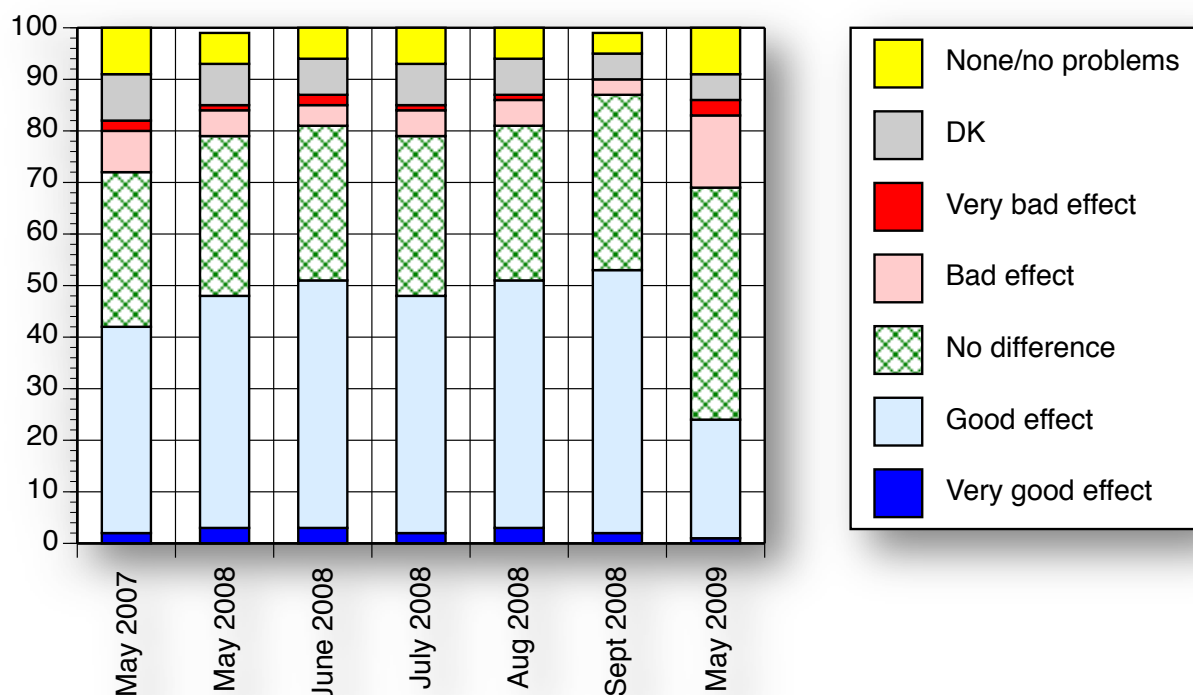


Table 98

	May 2007	May 2008	June 2008	July 2008	Aug 2008	Sept 2008	May 2009
Very good effect	2	3	3	2	3	2	1
Good effect	40	45	48	46	48	51	23
No difference	30	31	31	31	31	34	45
Bad effect	8	5	4	5	5	3	14
Very bad effect	2	1	2	1	1	--	3
DK	9	8	7	8	7	5	5
None/no problems	9	6	6	7	6	4	9

In Table 99 the results for the May 2009 survey are reclassified to permit more accurate cross-tabulation

Table 99 Effect of Political Parties on Problem of most concern RECLASSIFIED

Group	Count	%
Good effect	292	24
No difference	537	45
Bad effect	203	17
No problem/Don't Know	172	14

While the change in assessment of the effect of political parties on their problem of most concern has been dramatic, no problem area shows more negative than positive views. But that parties are deemed to have a good effect on respondents political problems by only 30 percent good effect against 21 percent bad effect is not a strong testimony to the efficacy of political parties in solving political problems.

Chart/Table 100 Distribution of Party effect on problem BY Type of problem

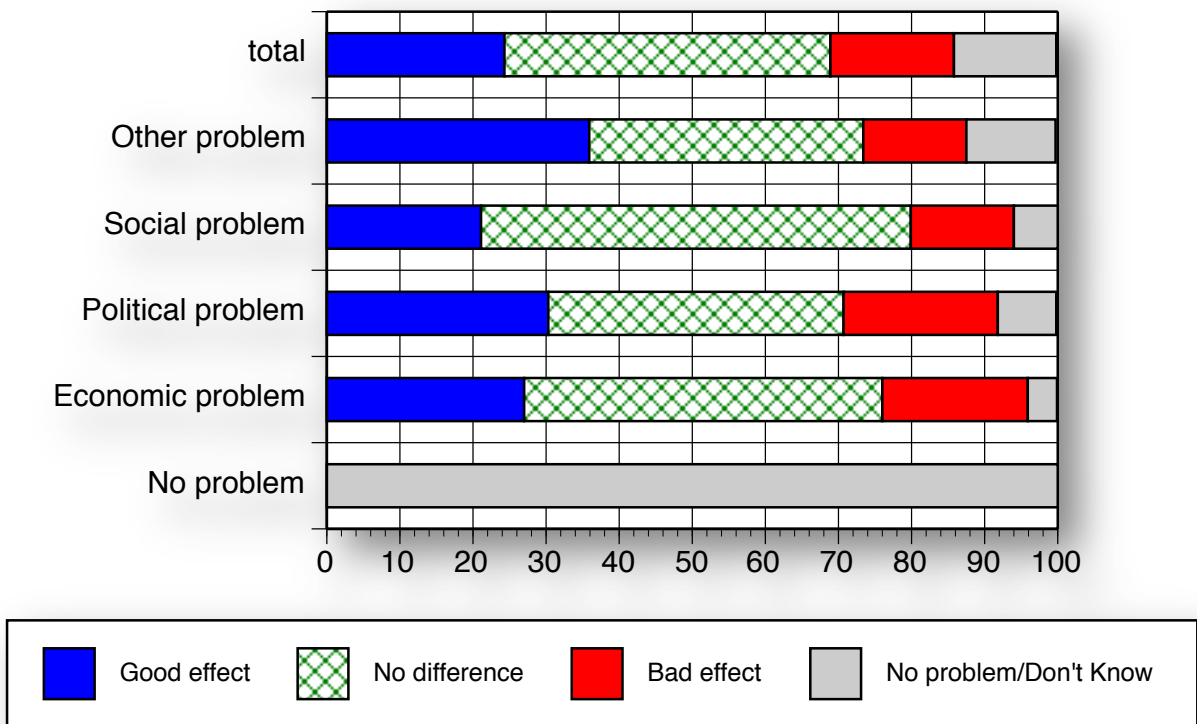


Table 100

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
Good effect	0	27	30	21	36	24
No difference	0	49	40	59	38	45
Bad effect	0	20	21	14	14	17
No problem/Don't Know	100	4	8	6	13	14
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 769.6 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 101 shows those over age 50 consider political parties have a bad effect on their problem by a slightly higher margin than those under 50 do.

Table 101 Effect of Political parties on problem of most concern BY Age group

	18-49	50-84	total
Good effect	24	24	24
No difference	48	40	45
Bad effect	16	19	17
No problem/Don't Know	12	18	15
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 10.64 with 3 df p = 0.0138

In terms of work sector, surprisingly the public sector regards parties as having a good effect on their personal problem of greatest concern by higher margins than the other sectors.

Table 102 Effect of Political parties on problem of most concern BY Work Sector

	Public	Private	Non-work	total
Good effect	28	26	22	24
No difference	51	44	44	45
Bad effect	14	18	16	17
No problem/Don't Know	7	12	18	14
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 14.43 with 6 df p = 0.0252

The unemployed and housewives are the two occupations assessing political parties as having more negative than positive effect on their problems. Students overwhelmingly assess political parties more highly than other sectors, though Professionals are a close second, albeit with higher negative ratings than the students.

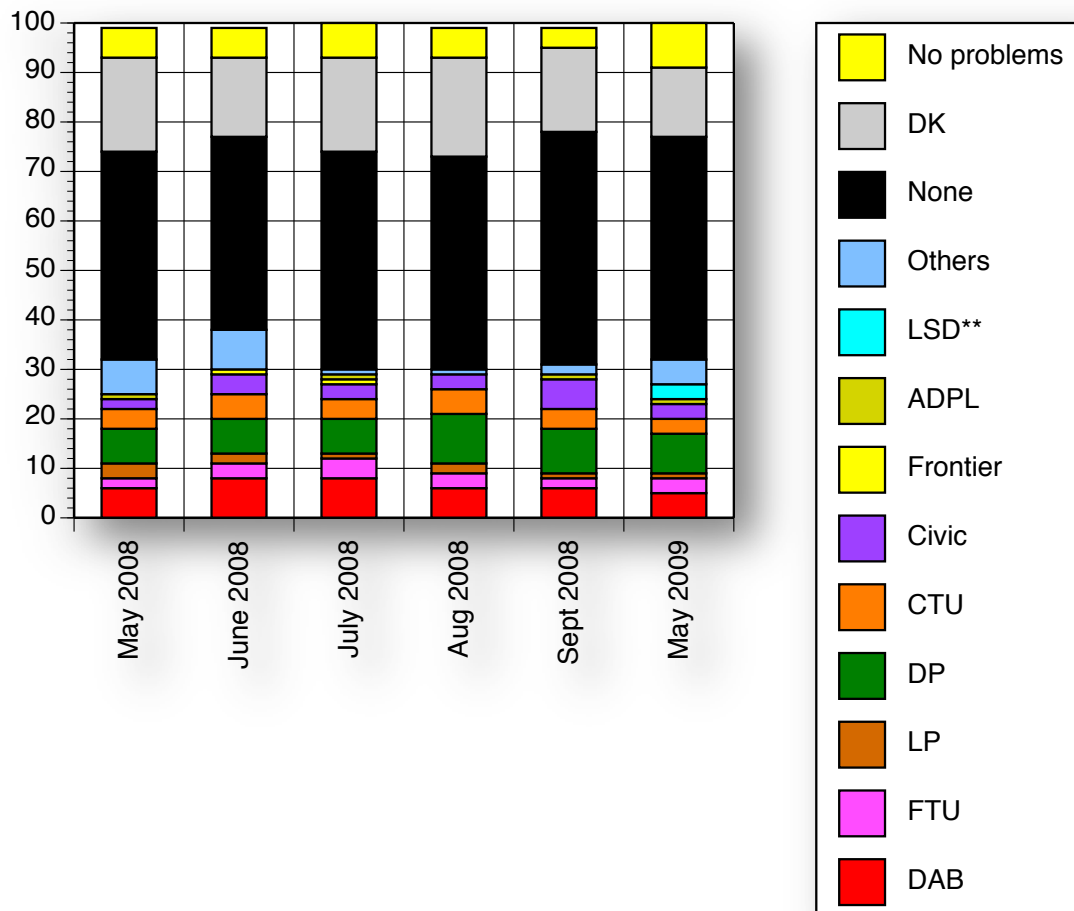
Table 103 Effect of Political parties on problem of most concern BY Occupation

	Good effect	No difference	Bad effect	No problem/Don't Know	total
Managers & Admin	26	41	21	12	100
Professionals & Assoc Profession	30	49	15	6	100
Clerks	24	51	14	11	100
Service	24	40	20	17	100
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	25	40	18	17	100
Housewife	18	43	19	19	100
Retired	21	42	17	20	100
Unemployed	11	52	20	18	100
Student	35	44	9	13	100
total	25	45	17	14	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 47.89 with 24 df p = 0.0026

While the general sentiment toward political parties having a good effect on problems has sharply dropped from September 2008, in Table 104 the specific naming of a party as standing up best on a problem remains about the same for parties in general. This question was open-ended, that is, no parties or persons were named after the question was asked. As will be seen below, when a party is named, the response rate citing a specific party rises considerably. The first, open end question and reclassification thereof is the best test of how much to the forefront a party is to a respondent in terms of dealing with their personal problems. The second, "list of names of a party" question tests the public profile or reputation of a party in general.

Chart/Table 104 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?



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 104

Party	May 2008	June 2008	July 2008	Aug 2008	Sept 2008	May 2009
DAB	6	8	8	6	6	5
FTU	2	3	4	3	2	3
LP***	3	2	1	2	1	1
DP	7	7	7	10	9	8
CTU	4	5	4	5	4	3
Civic	2	4	3	3	6	3
Frontier	--	1	1	--	--	*
ADPL	1	--	1	--	1	1
LSD**						3
Others	7	8	1	1	2	5
None	42	39	44	43	47	45
DK	19	16	19	20	17	14
No problems	6	6	7	6	4	9

*Frontier merged with the Democratic Party after the 2008 Legco election

**League of Social Democrats established in 2008 and won 3 Legco seats in September 2008

***Liberal Party split after it lost all its GC seats

In Table 105 the results of this question from May 2009 are taken and reclassified for further testing with other variables.

Table 105 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? RECLASSIFIED PARTY GROUPS

Group	Count	%
Pro-democracy	214	18
Pro-government	110	9
Others	60	5
None	536	45
Don't Know	171	14
No Problem	113	9

Chart/Table 106 shows that while those who cite a pro-government party as standing up best for their problem are more satisfied with Hong Kong Government performance than those who cite a pro-democracy party, the portion who are dissatisfied with Government performance on their problem is still significantly larger. This is the case across all classifications, those who cite “others” or “None” or Don't Know.

FINDING: *Political parties of either pro-government or pro-democracy leaning gain more from criticizing Hong Kong Government performance than they would lose, given the present preponderance of dissatisfaction with Government's handling of respondents problem of greatest personal concern.*

Chart/Table 106 Reclassified party groups, distribution of satisfaction with Government performance on their problem of greatest concern

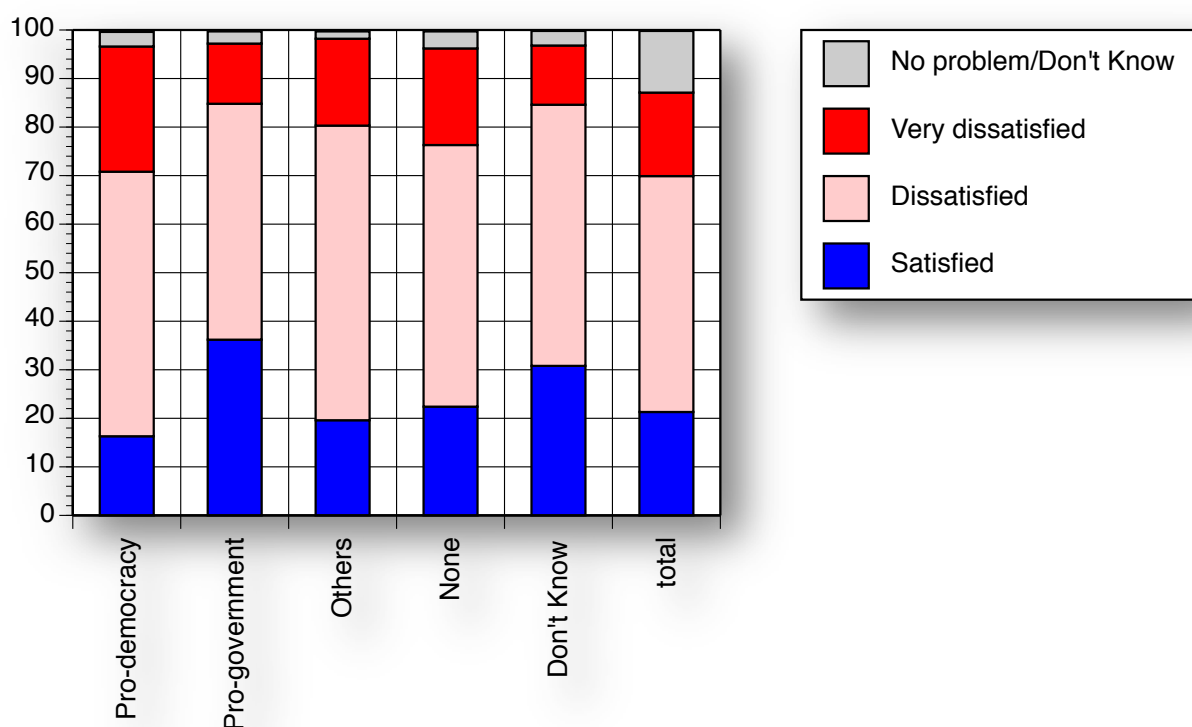


Table 106

	Pro-democracy	Pro-government	Others	None	Don't Know	No Problem	total
Satisfied	16	36	20	22	31	0	21
Dissatisfied	55	49	61	54	54	0	49
Very dissatisfied	26	12	18	20	12	0	17
No problem/Don't Know	3	3	2	4	3	100	13
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 879.0 with 15 df $p \leq 0.0001$

The same test as above, but on the effect of parties on respondent's primary concern, shows pro-democracy party namers are more likely to consider party having a positive effect than other groups. Indeed, the pro-government party naming respondents have a far larger group considering party as having a negative effect on their problem.

Chart/Table 107 Reclassified party groups, distribution of parties effect on personal problem of greatest concern

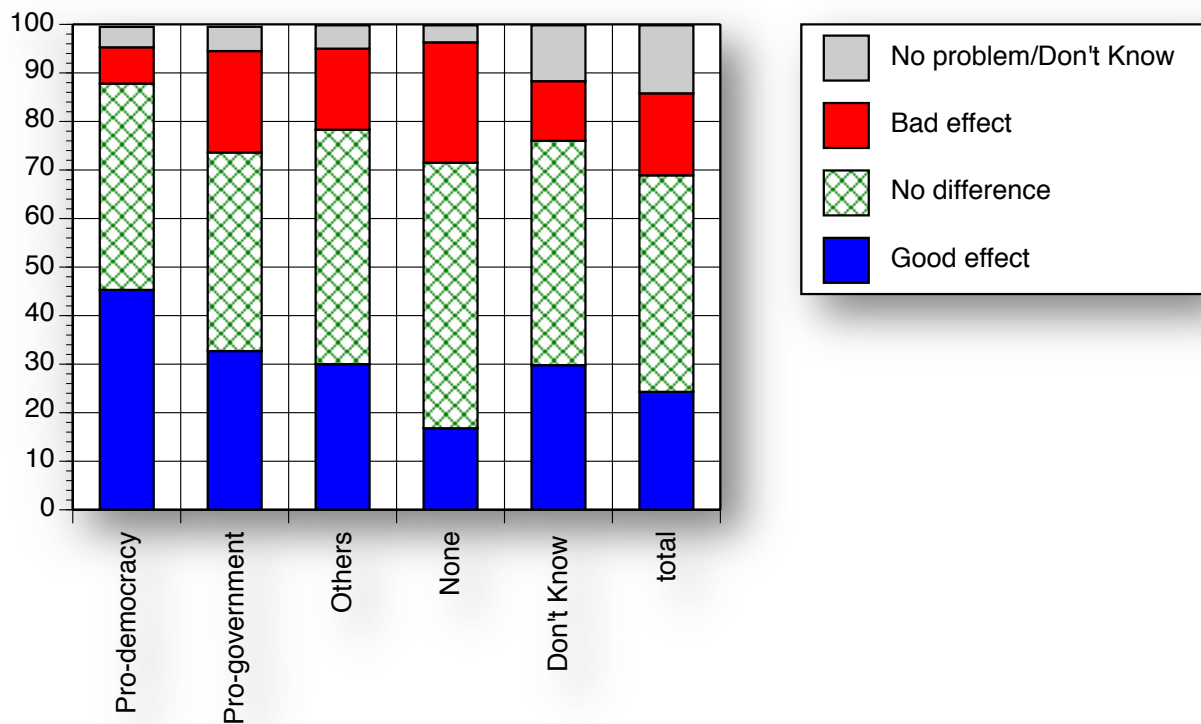


Table 107

	Pro-democracy	Pro-government	Others	None	Don't Know	No Problem	total
Good effect	45	33	30	17	30	0	24
No difference	43	41	48	55	46	0	45
Bad effect	7	21	17	25	12	0	17
No problem/Don't Know	5	5	5	4	12	100	14
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 849.3 with 15 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Characteristics of Party Supporters and Non-supporters

Unlike the previous section which was based on an open ended question, this section presented respondents with the names of five major parties and additional options of All parties, no parties, or Don't Know. Table 108 shows that the two largest parties the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB) and the Democratic Party (DP) are evenly matched at 14 and 15 percent of respondents saying one of them best represented their interests. The Civic Party (CivP) came in third with 10 percent of respondents. The League of Social Democrats (LSD), a new pro-democracy party, and the Liberal Party (LP) together recorded less than the CivP.

Table 108 Of the five biggest political parties in Legco (DAB, DP, LSD, LP and Civic Party), which party, if any, do you feel represents or protects your interests best?

Group	Count	%
DAB	173	14
DP	179	15
LSD	63	5
LP	31	3
CivP	122	10
All	30	2
None	466	39
Don't Know	140	12

All up, the pro-government DAB and LP show 17 percent support of the population, that is perhaps of 850,000 people out of a potential voter base of some 5,000,000 adults aged 18 and above with right to vote. The pro-democracy choices garner 30 percent or some 1,500,000 of the theoretical maximum of possible voters. But how do they do in reality with respondents who say they are registered to vote?

Chart/Table 109 Which parties best represent BY Voter status

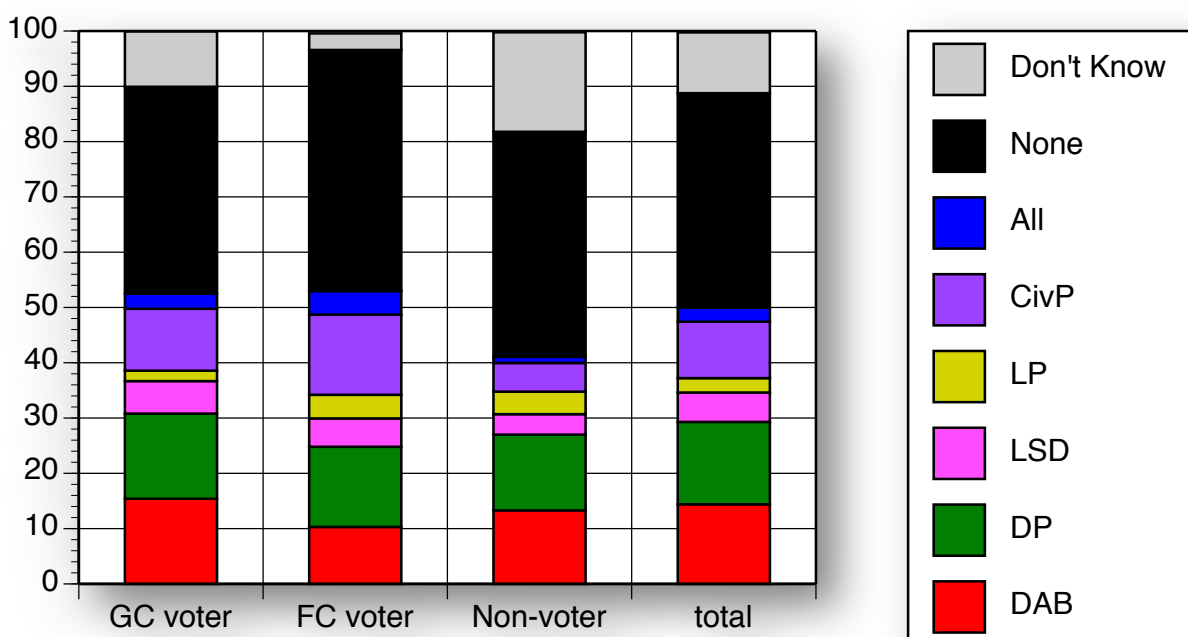


Table 109

	GC voter	FC voter	Non-voter	total
DAB	15	10	13	14
DP	15	15	14	15
LSD	6	5	4	5
LP	2	4	4	3
CivP	11	15	5	10
All	3	4	1	3
None	37	44	41	39
Don't Know	10	3	18	11
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 42.83 with 14 df p ≤ 0.0001

FINDING: *Among registered voters the DAB does significantly less well among FC voters than GC voters while the Civic Party does significantly better among FC than GC voters. The five parties are chosen by half the registered voters in both blocs as representing them best, leaving half of all registered voters saying no one or they Don't Know who represents them best.*

Chart/Table 110 takes the results of Table 109 and reverses the variables, so that it shows what proportion of respondents who choose each party or category are registered voters or not. The Liberal Party (LP) shows that it is garnering the lowest proportion of people who say it represents them but who are also registered to vote. The Civic Party does the best in delivering registered voters as adherents.

Chart/Table 110 Proportion of party choice BY Voter status

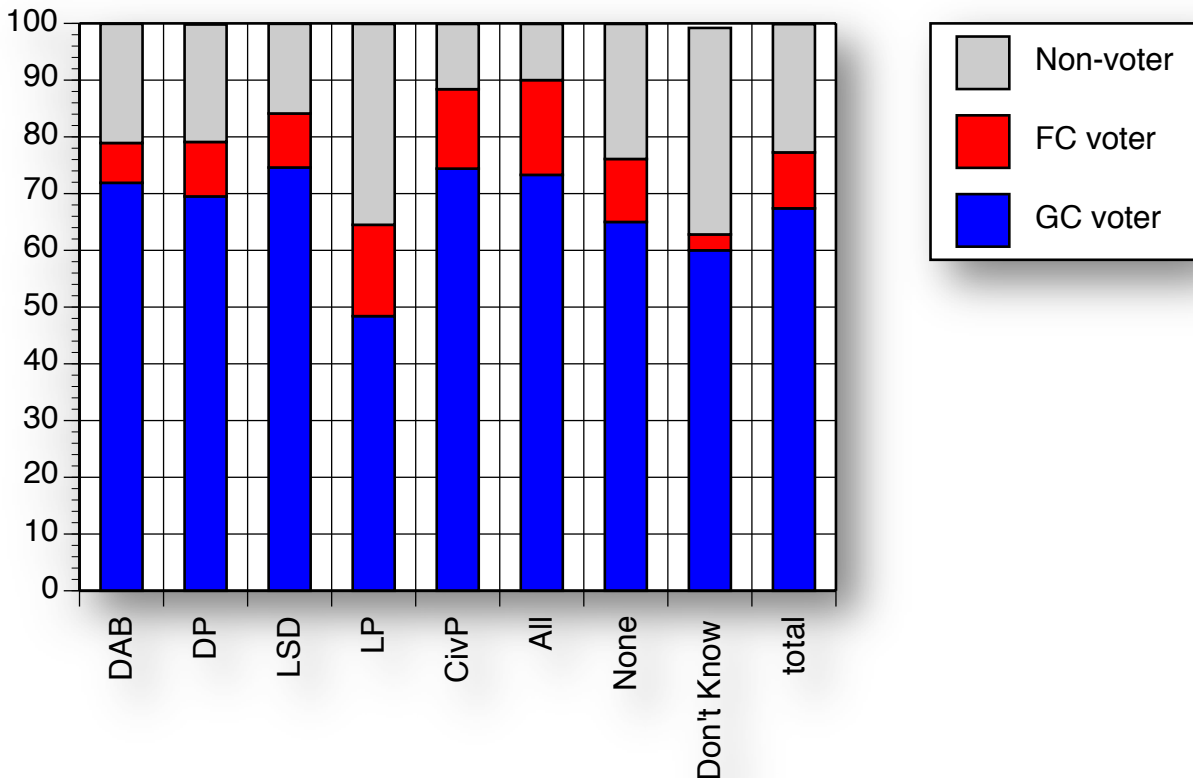


Table 110

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
GC voter	72	70	75	48	74	73	65	60	67
FC voter	7	10	10	16	14	17	11	3	10
Non-voter	21	21	16	36	12	10	24	37	23
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 42.83 with 14 df p ≤ 0.0001

The “total” in Table 110 reveals that 67 percent of respondents said they were registered to vote in the GCs only and 10 percent in the FCs. This 77 percent of respondents is close to the official registration rate in the 2008 Legco election.

Table 111 shows that men are significantly more likely to name a party as representing their interests than women. The LSD also does exceptionally badly among women.

Chart/Table 111 Which parties best represent BY Gender

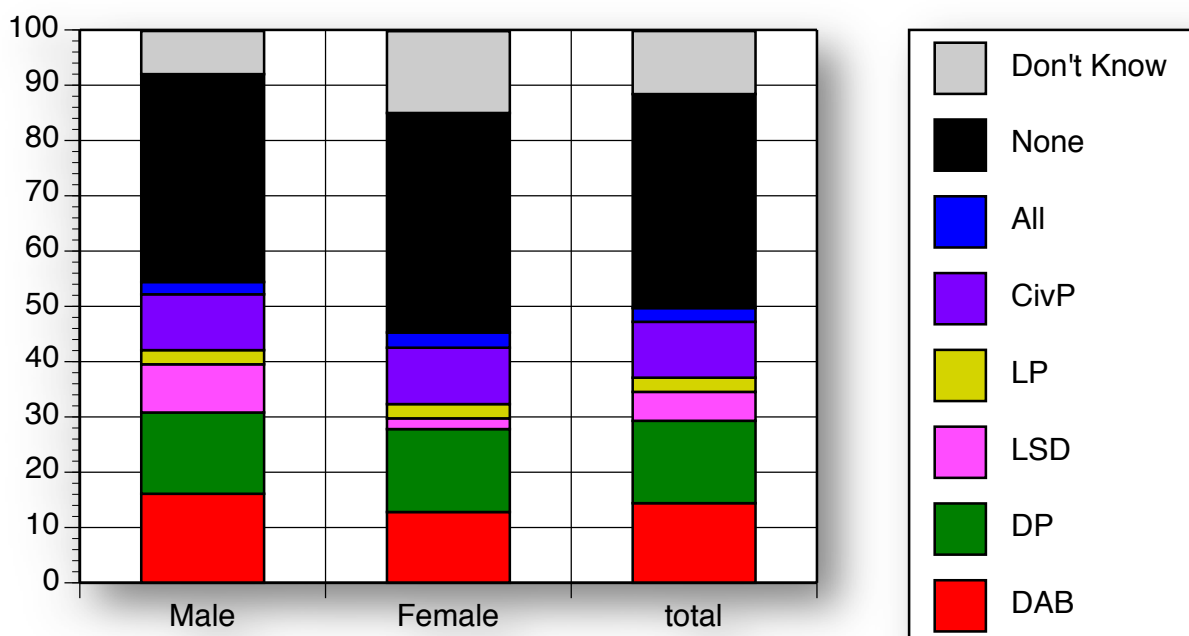


Table 111

	Male	Female	total
DAB	16	13	14
DP	15	15	15
LSD	9	2	5
LP	3	3	3
CivP	10	10	10
All	2	3	2
None	38	40	39
Don't Know	8	15	12
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 42.05 with 7 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart/Table 112 shows that the LSD and CivP do better with younger groups while the DAB and DP show increased support among those over 50.

Chart/Table 112 Which party represents best BY Age groups

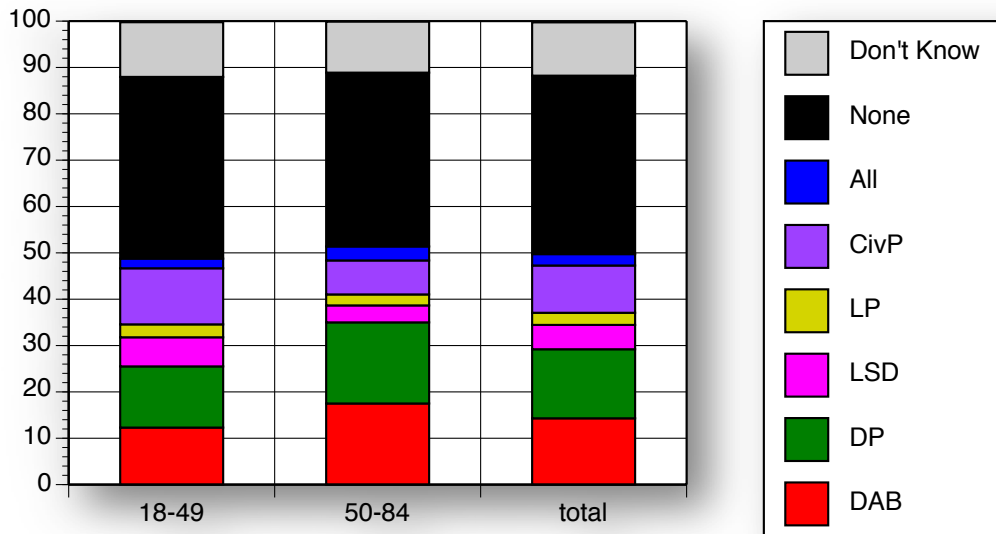


Table 112

	18-49	50-84	total
DAB	12	18	14
DP	13	18	15
LSD	6	4	5
LP	3	2	3
CivP	12	7	10
All	2	3	2
None	39	38	39
Don't Know	12	11	12
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.18 with 7 df p = 0.0052

Chart/Table 113 Which party best represents BY Work sector

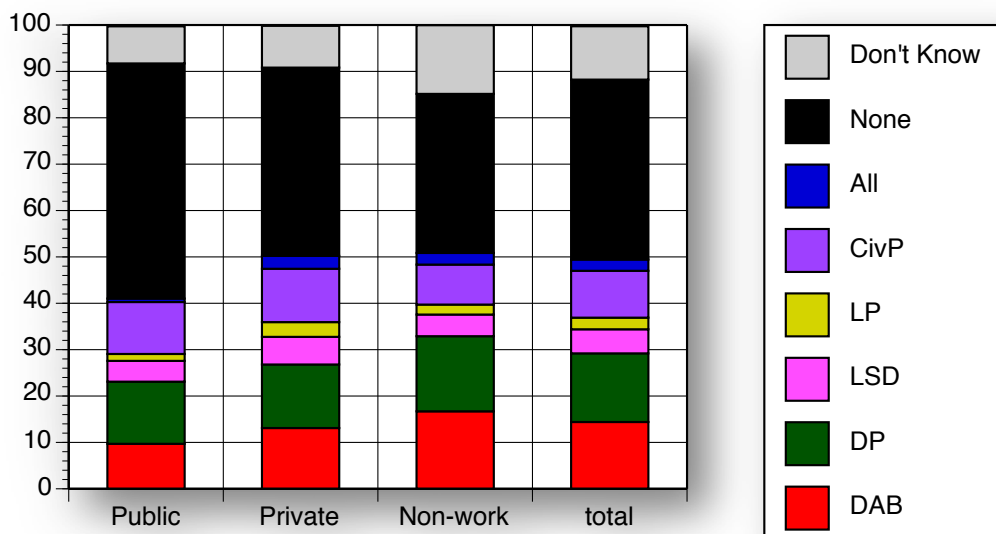


Table 113

	Public	Private	Non-work	total
DAB	10	13	17	14
DP	13	14	16	15
LSD	4	6	5	5
LP	1	3	2	3
CivP	11	12	9	10
All	1	3	3	2
None	51	41	34	39
Don't Know	8	9	15	12
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.19 with 14 df p = 0.0072

FINDING: *The political parties gain significantly less support in the public sector than private or non work sectors, by a margin of 10 points.*

The CivP does significantly better among business managers and administrators and professionals than the other parties. The DP has very strong influence among students, while the pro-democracy parties as a whole take 44 percent of student loyalties, the DAB and LP gain only 16 percent.

FINDING: *Occupationally, 61 percent of students cite a party as best representing them, followed by Managers and Administrators at 56 percent, retirees at 54 percent and 49 percent of professionals. The LSD does better among service workers and unemployed, leading all other parties among the unemployed with 13 percent, nearly twice the DAB's 7 percent. The CivP leads all parties among business and professionals, while the DP outpaces by far all other parties among students, taking nearly one in four.*

Table 114 Which party represents best BY Occupation

	Managers & Admin	Profesinals & Assoc	Clerks	Service	Ag & Fish, etc	House wife	Retired	Un employed	Student	total
DAB	13	12	12	13	14	18	21	7	14	15
DP	13	13	14	13	16	10	19	11	23	15
LSD	6	5	3	10	8	1	3	13	8	5
LP	4	1	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	3
CivP	17	16	10	6	5	8	7	5	13	10
All	4	2	2	0	3	4	2	4	1	2
None	39	47	42	44	39	37	35	46	24	39
Don't Know	6	4	13	13	13	19	10	13	16	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 115.7 with 56 df p ≤ 0.0001

For party associations with birthplace and identity, see Chapter XI, **Politics of Identity and Patriotism** below.

Chart/Table 115 presents the results of party representation by religion, showing a clear association of Catholics and especially Protestants with political parties, dominantly the DP and CivP.

Chart/Table 115 Which party represents best BY Religion

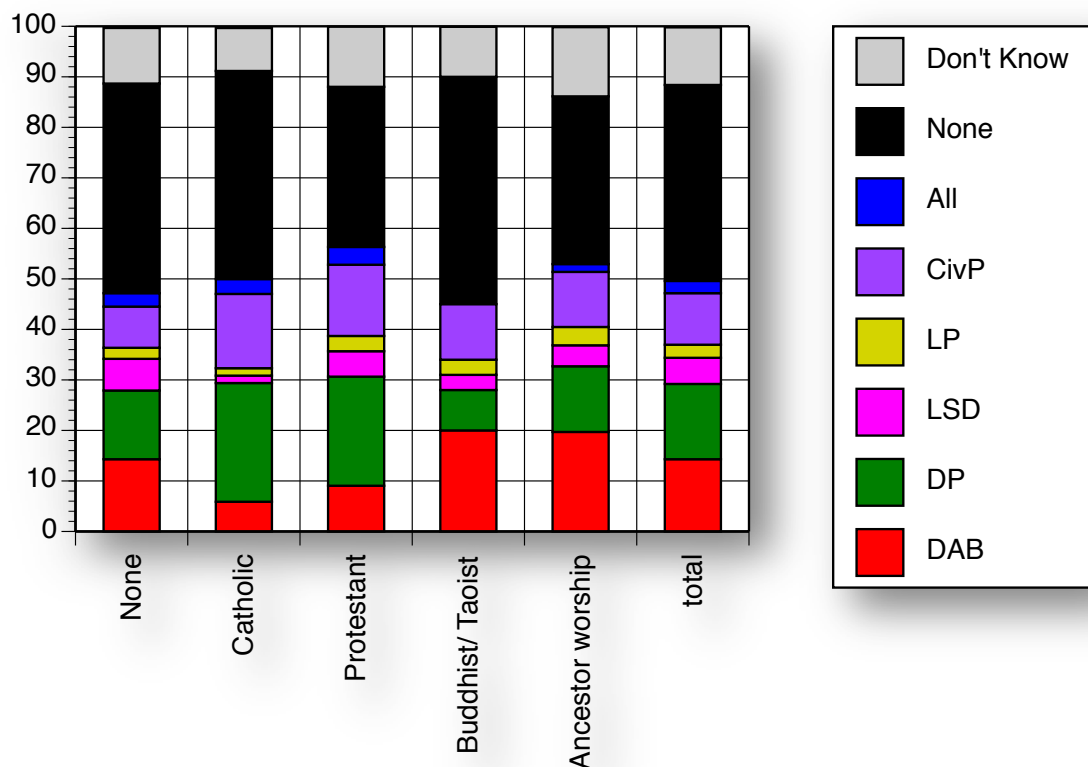


Table 115

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor worship	total
DAB	14	6	9	20	20	14
DP	14	24	22	8	13	15
LSD	6	1	5	3	4	5
LP	2	1	3	3	4	3
CivP	8	15	14	11	11	10
All	3	3	4	0	2	2
None	42	41	32	45	33	39
Don't Know	11	9	12	10	14	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 53.02 with 28 df p = 0.0029

FINDING: *Democratic Party and Civic Party support tends to rise with education.*

Table 116 Which party represents best BY Years of Education

Years of Education	0-6	7-8-9	10-11	12-13	14-15-16 (University)	17-18 (MA/PhD)	total
DAB	16	21	16	21	9	0	14
DP	9	13	17	17	15	15	15
LSD	5	3	5	8	6	2	5
LP	4	2	3	3	3	0	3
CivP	4	6	7	8	16	20	10
All	3	6	1	1	3	7	3
None	41	38	40	28	41	50	39
Don't Know	18	11	16	14	8	7	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 97.67 with 35 df p ≤ 0.0001

Of those who cite a political problem as their major concern, the DP leads with 19 percent of respondents saying the DP protects their interest best while CivP and DAB take 15 percent each. Pro-democracy parties are chosen by 41 percent of political problem respondents, pro-government by 15 percent. One can infer that most who cite political problems as their primary concern see the government as the source, not the pro-democracy politicians. However, those who cite political problems as their primary concern is quite small, just 7 percent of respondents. (See next Chart/Table)

Chart/Table 117 Which party represents best BY Major Concern

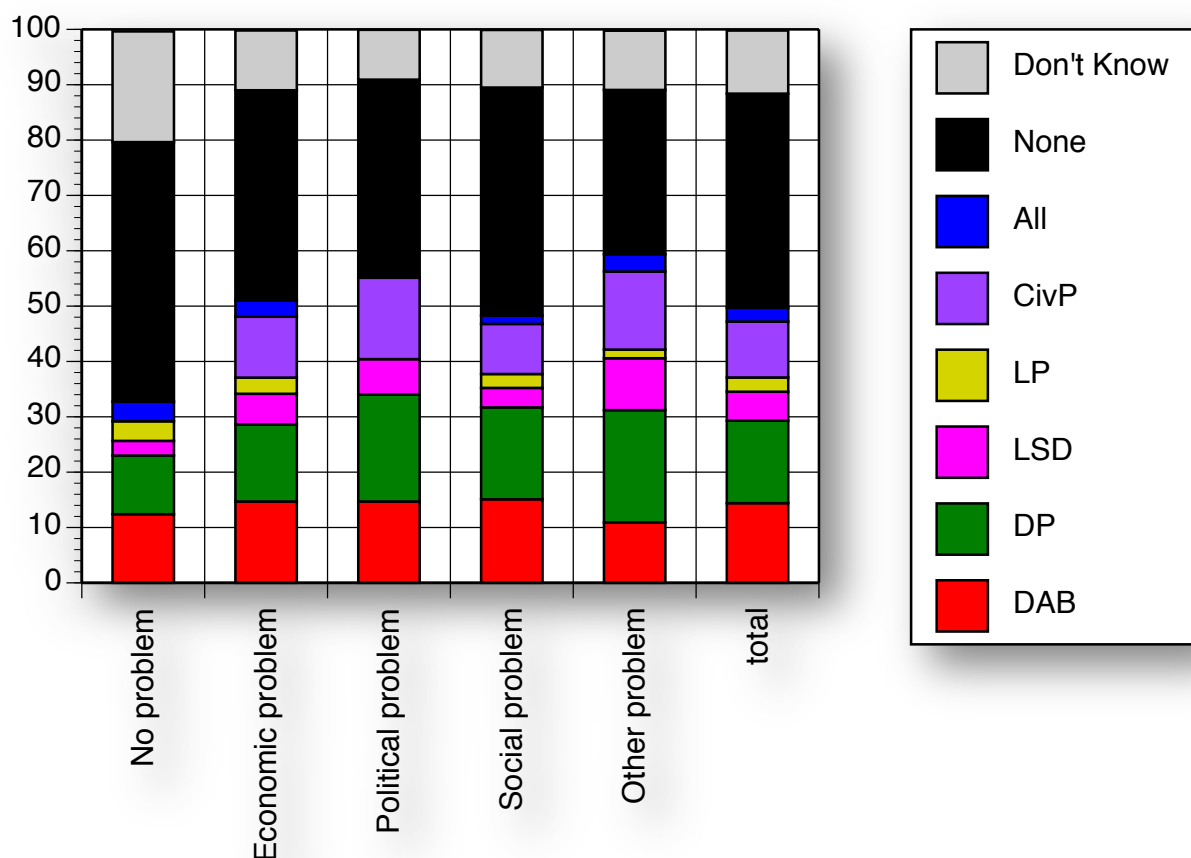


Table 117

	No problem	Economic problem	Political problem	Social problem	Other problem	total
DAB	12	15	15	15	11	14
DP	11	14	19	17	20	15
LSD	3	6	6	4	9	5
LP	4	3	0	3	2	3
CivP	0	11	15	9	14	10
All	4	3	0	2	3	2
None	47	38	36	41	30	39
Don't Know	20	11	9	11	11	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 47.22 with 28 df p = 0.0130

Reversing variables from above, Chart/Table 118 shows the distribution across choice of which party represents best of the type of top priority problems for respondents.

Chart/Table 118 Which party represents best BY distribution of type of top problem

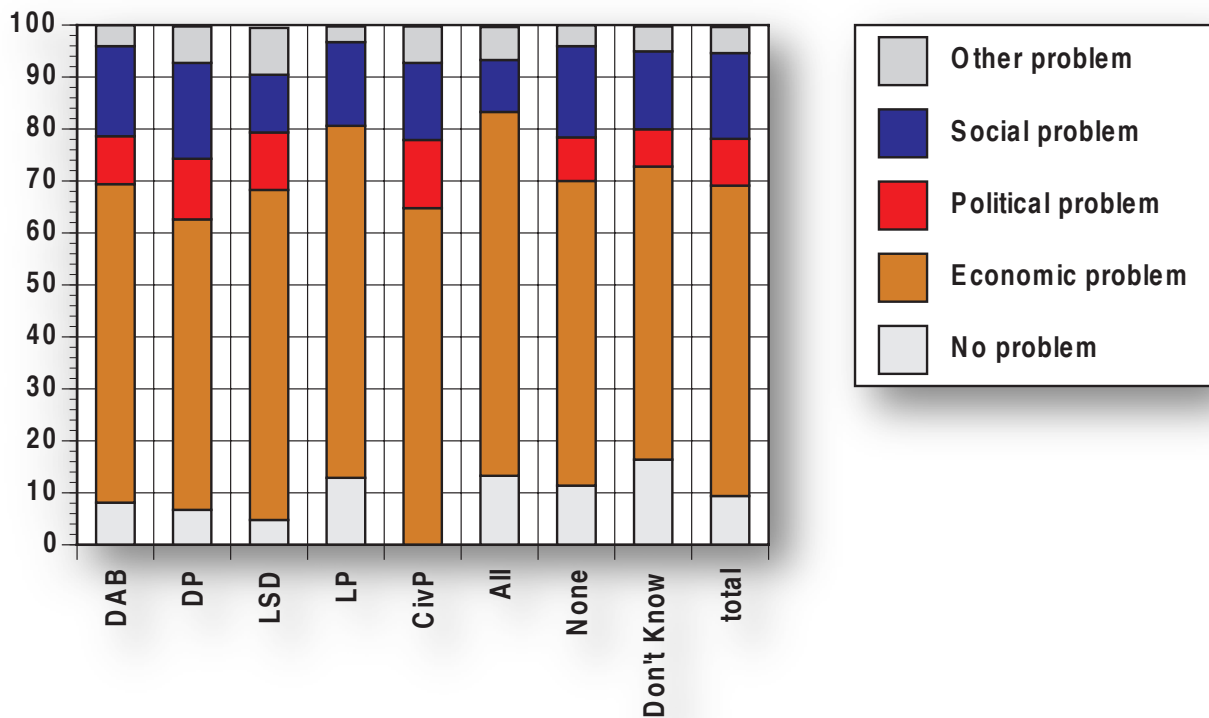


Table 118

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
No problem	8	7	5	13	0	13	11	16	9
Economic problem	61	56	64	68	65	70	59	56	60
Political problem	9	12	11	0	13	0	8	7	9
Social problem	17	18	11	16	15	10	18	15	17
Other problem	4	7	10	3	7	7	4	5	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 47.22 with 28 df p = 0.0130

FINDING: Among all parties, those who cite economic issues as their top personal concern dominate those who say that party best represents their interests. Only Liberal Party shows no respondents with political problems saying they represent their interests.

FINDING: There is no statistical difference between parties among those who have lived outside Hong Kong for a year or more. There is no difference between parties of those having Right of Abode abroad or not. "Foreign influence" in this sense is completely missing from the politics of Hong Kong.

FINDING: There is a difference by incomes above or below \$50,000 per month, with those earning higher amounts saying no party represents their interest by 46 percent to 36 percent of those earning less. The Civic Party portion of higher income, 22 percent of such respondents, matches those of higher incomes citing all other parties combined.

Chart/Table 119 Which party represents best BY Income group

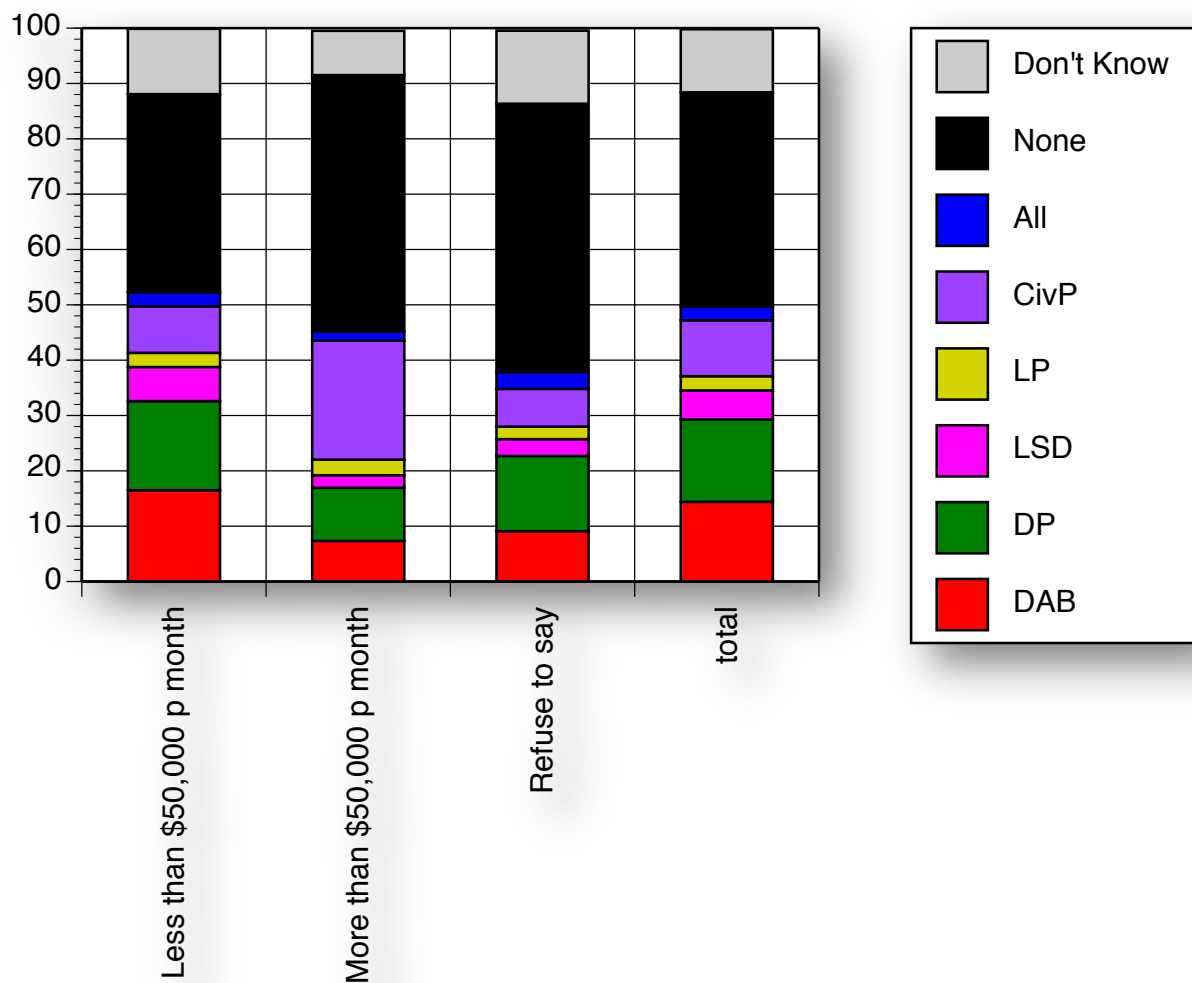


Table 119

	Less than \$50,000 p month	More than \$50,000 p month	Refuse to say	total
DAB	17	7	9	14
DP	16	10	14	15
LSD	6	2	3	5
LP	3	3	2	3
CivP	8	22	7	10
All	3	2	3	2
None	36	46	49	39
Don't Know	12	8	14	12
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 58.83 with 14 df $p \leq 0.0001$

The LSD has the highest proportion of supporters earning under \$50,000 per month in their families while the CivP has the highest proportion of high earners. Those who Refuse to say how much they earn are likely in the high end of earners given that their other responses are much more similar to the responses of high income earners than lower income earners. Thus the significance of having so many in that band saying none of the parties represent them or they Don't Know which do.