

Chart/Table 120 Which party represents best BY distribution of Income groups

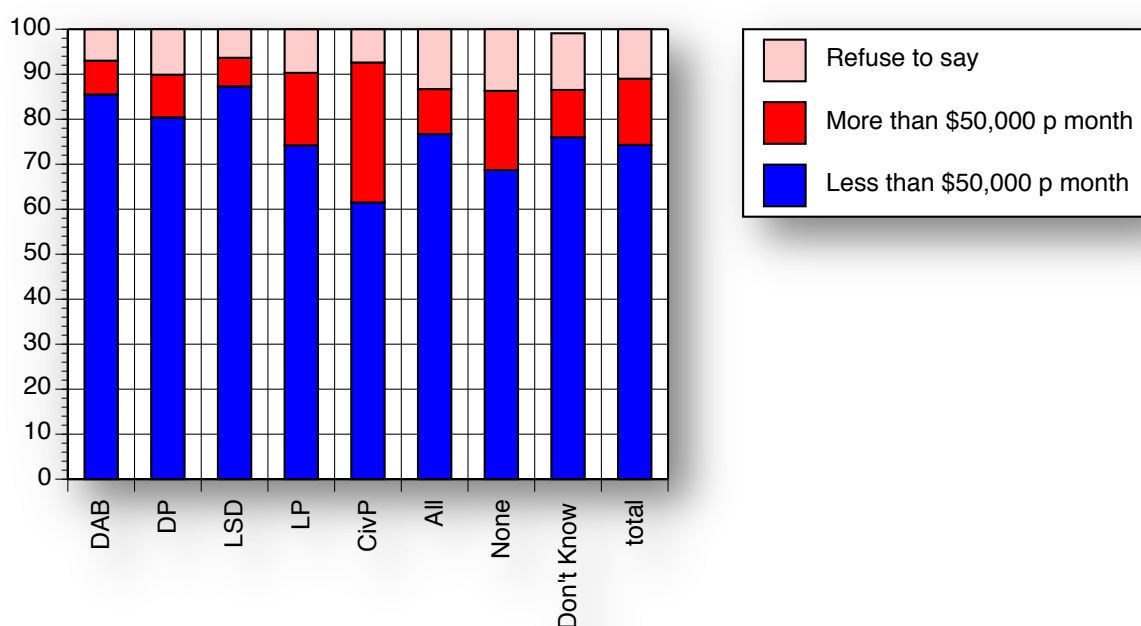


Table 120

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Less than \$50,000 p month	86	80	87	74	62	77	69	76	74
More than \$50,000 p month	8	10	6	14	31	10	18	11	15
Refuse to say	7	10	6	10	7	13	14	13	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

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

FINDING: *Though half of respondents cited a party as representing their interests best, and though a third of respondents named a political party, group or person in open ended questions as representing their interests best, only 12 percent of respondents considered themselves a member or even just a supporter of a political party. Just 12 percent of respondents gave money to a political group or party in the previous year.*

The political parties are doing a better job of focusing on problem solving and getting the message out to voters, but they are not enlisting supporters or getting donations at the level of their respondent's choice of them as best representative.

Table 121 Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong?

Group	Count	%
Yes	150	12
No	1025	85
Maybe	13	1
Don't Know	14	1
Refuse to say	2	0

Could dissatisfaction with the parties or the political system, be behind this "participation gap"? This is the focus of **Chapter IX Satisfaction with the current system.**

IX Satisfaction with the current system

Satisfaction with political parties

The Chart below shows satisfaction with parties ranked by “very dissatisfied” respondents. Clearly in May 2009 the LSD far outranked all other parties in dissatisfaction. The CivP had the highest satisfaction rate.

Chart/Table 122 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following political parties?*

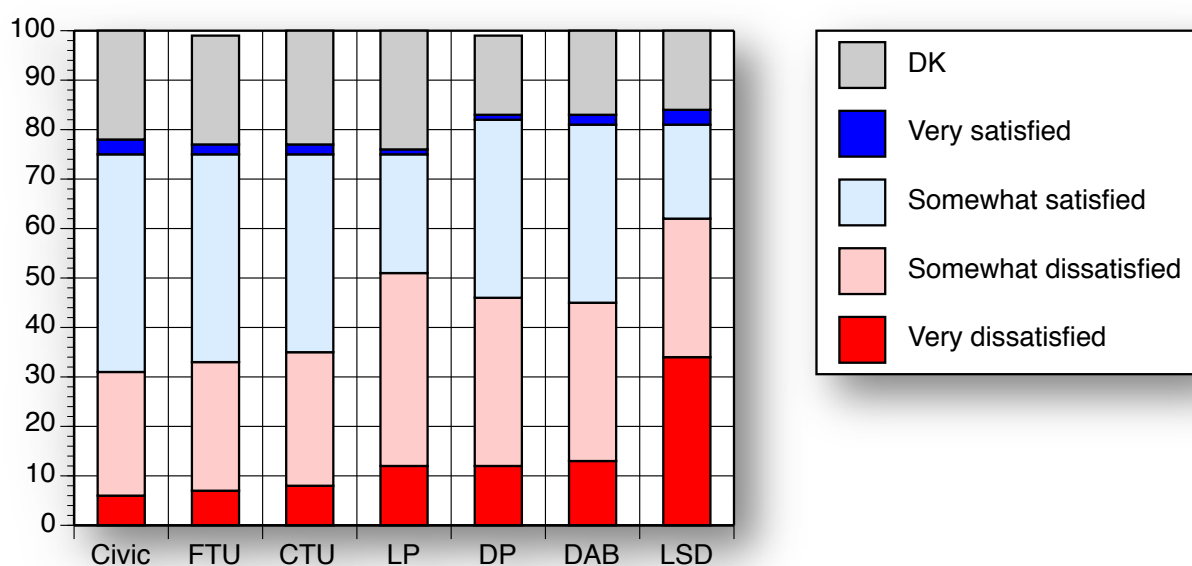


Table 122

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	13	32	36	2	18
FTU	7	26	42	2	22
LP	12	39	24	1	24
DP	12	34	36	1	16
CTU	8	27	40	2	23
Civic	6	25	44	3	23
LSD	34	28	19	3	16

*Full names of parties plus their party leader read out to respondents

Chart ranked by very dissatisfied

Table sorted by pro-government parties in red; pro-democracy parties in blue

Chart/Table 123 tracks the differences between satisfaction and dissatisfaction over time by removing the Don't Know's from the table above, the subtracting dissatisfaction from satisfaction. A positive number in Table 123 shows in the chart above the “0” center line, indicating more satisfied than dissatisfied, a negative number below that line indicates more dissatisfied than satisfied with the performance of that party.

Chart/Table 123 Comparative satisfaction of parties over time

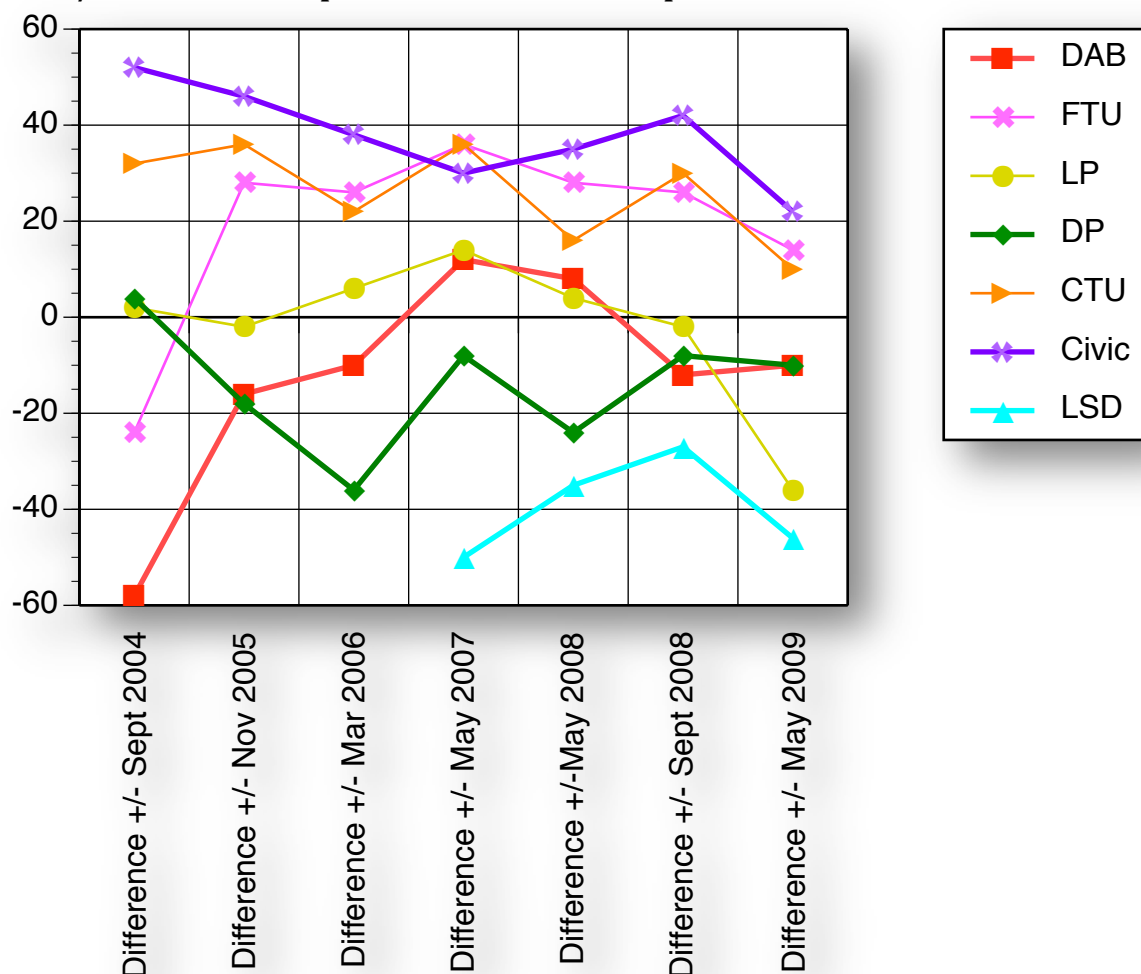


Table 123

Party	Difference +/- Sept 2004	Difference +/- Nov 2005	Difference +/- Mar 2006	Difference +/- May 2007	Difference +/- May 2008	Difference +/- Sept 2008	Difference +/- May 2009
DAB	-58	-16	-10	+12	+8	-12	-10
FTU	-24	+28	+26	+36	+28	+26	+14
LP	+2	-2	+6	+14	+4	-2	-36
DP	+4	-18	-36	-8	-24	-8	-10
CTU	+32	+36	+22	+36	+16	+30	+10
Civic	+52	+46	+38	+30	+35	+42	+22
LSD	--	--	--	-50	-35	-27	-46

FINDING: The DAB marginally improved in public sentiment, matching the DP. The DAB is the only party showing such an improvement between the September 2008 Legco election and May 2009. The LP shows the steepest drop in satisfaction, down 34 points, Civic shows the second steepest drop in satisfaction, at 20 points down but still in positive territory while LSD shows a close third steepest drop in satisfaction at 19 points down from September 2008, and bottom of the chart with 46 points more dissatisfied than satisfied.

While the above charts and tables show general public sentiment, the real bottom line for parties are how they fare among the voting public. This in many cases gives a very different result from the above.

Table 124 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the Democratic Party

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	57	57	46	55
Satisfied	43	43	54	45
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 7.940 with 2 df p = 0.0189

Gap with DP widens among GC and FC voters to -14 points.

Table 125 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the DAB

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	55	64	46	54
Satisfied	45	36	54	46
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 9.726 with 2 df p = 0.0077

Gap with GC voter stays same, among FC voters is -28 points, considerably worse. Both DP and DAB show more satisfied than dissatisfied among non-voters, and statistically the same margin: 46 percent dissatisfied versus 54 percent satisfied.

Table 126 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the FTU

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	43	57	35	43
Satisfied	57	43	65	58
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 13.33 with 2 df p = 0.0013

The FTU and CTU are rival unions, the FTU affiliated with the DAB and pro-Central government groups while the CTU is affiliated with the DP and pro-democracy groups. The net 14 point positive margin for the FTU holds among GC voters, but is the reverse among FC voters with 14 points more dissatisfied than satisfied. Among non-voters, FTU has a 30 point positive margin. The CTU holds its 10 point positive margin among GC voters, but also shows a smaller, 6 point more dissatisfied than satisfied margin with FC voters. Its positive margin among non voters is 14 points.

Table 125 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the CTU

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	45	53	43	45
Satisfied	55	47	57	55
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 2.519 with 2 df p = 0.2838

FINDING: *The Liberal Party, which lost its GC seats in 2008 and then split, leaving it with 3 Legco seats, is at a negative 61 point margin more dissatisfaction than satisfaction among FC voters, once its major support base. At negative 39 points among GC voters, its margin is better but still deeply negative. Among non-voters, it has a 16 point gap of more dissatisfied than satisfied.*

Table 126 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the LP

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	69	81	58	68
Satisfied	31	19	42	32
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 15.86 with 2 df p = 0.0004

FINDING: *The Civic Party shows a 20 point positive margin with GC voters, but just 14 points positive margin among non-voters. With FC voters, which the party wants to eliminate, it shows 42 points more satisfied than dissatisfied with its performance. It is the only party with a positive margin among FC voters, and that margin is the largest margin of satisfaction over dissatisfaction of any party among any group.*

Table 127 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the CivP

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	40	29	43	39
Satisfied	60	71	57	61
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 5.514 with 2 df p = 0.0635

FINDING: *The post-election tactics of the LSD have badly damaged its standing with voters, with the party showing 46 points more dissatisfied than satisfied among GC voters, 56 points negative difference among FC voters, and 40 points more dissatisfied than satisfied among non-voters. The LP and LSD are the only parties showing a negative margin with both GC and FC voters and also non-voters.*

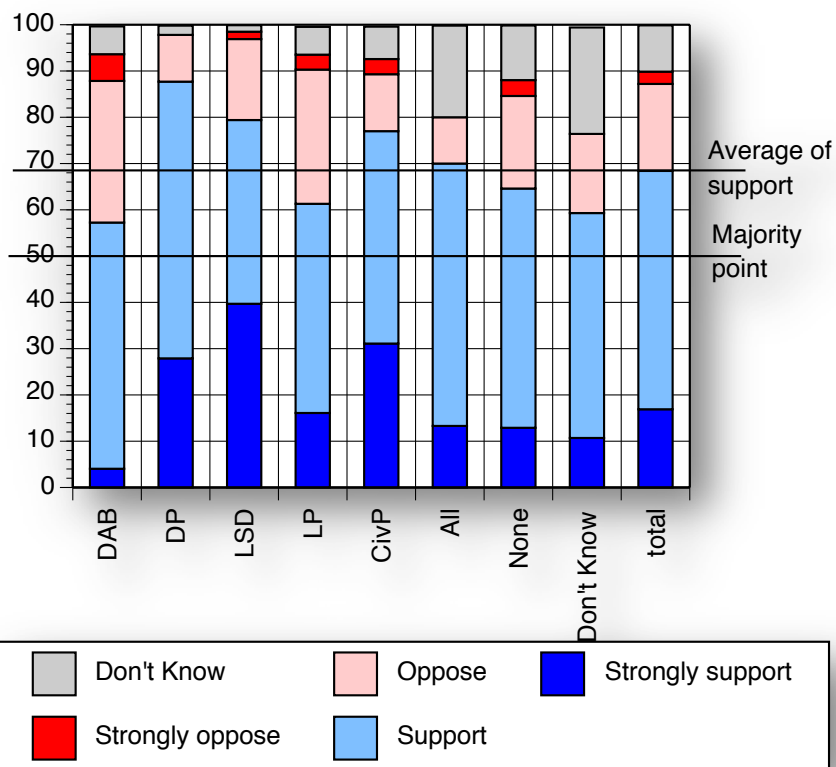
Table 128 Voter status BY Satisfaction with performance of the LSD

	GC voters	FC voters	Non-voters	total
Dissatisfied	73	78	70	73
Satisfied	27	22	30	27
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 2.014 with 2 df p = 0.3652

Chart/Table 129 shows the support for direct CE election by party that best represents, first among all respondents, then in Chart/Table 130 among registered voters only. The differences show that for all parties but the DAB, support for direct CE election is higher among registered voters, for those that choose the LP as best representative, significantly higher, from 61 percent among all to 75 percent among registered voters. (Tables 129 and 130 are next page)

Chart/Table 129 Support for Direct Election of CE BY Party that best represents



Chart/Table 130 Support for Direct Election of CE BY Party that best represents/REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY

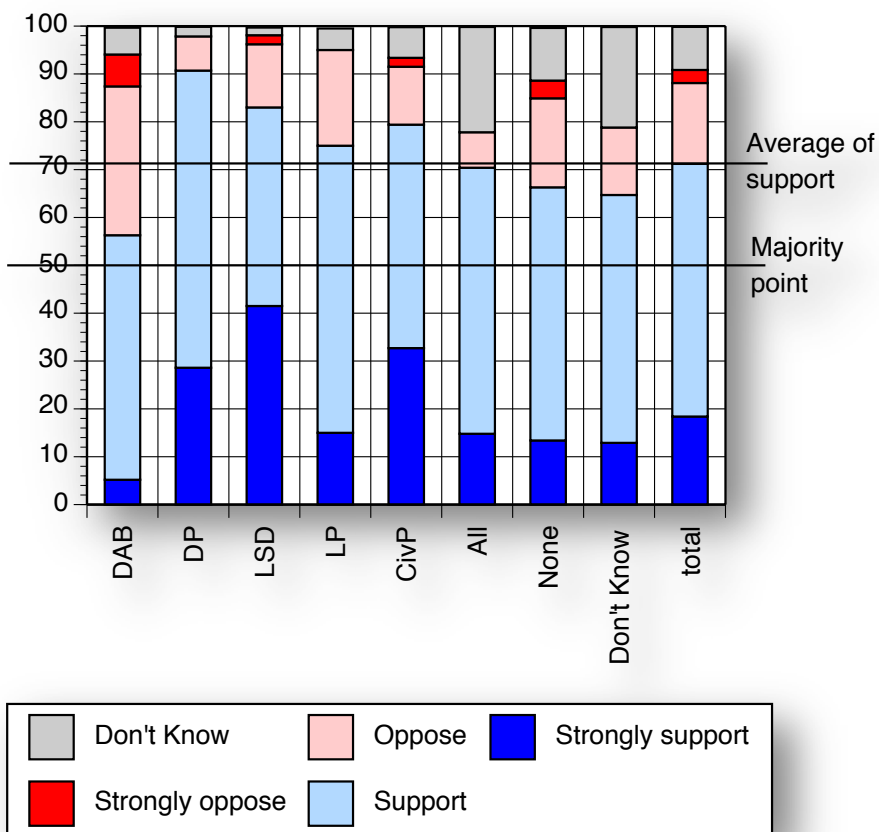


Table 129 (all respondents)

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Strongly support	4	28	40	16	31	13	13	11	17
Support	53	60	40	45	46	57	52	49	52
Oppose	31	10	18	29	12	10	20	17	19
Strongly oppose	6	0	2	3	3	0	3	0	3
Don't Know	6	2	2	6	7	20	12	24	10
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 169.5 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 130 (registered voters only)

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Strongly support	5	29	42	15	33	15	13	13	18
Support	51	62	42	60	47	56	53	52	53
Oppose	31	7	13	20	12	7	19	14	17
Strongly oppose	7	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	3
Don't Know	6	2	2	5	7	22	11	21	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 137.8 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Tables 131 and 132 show the distribution among parties of those who strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose direct CE election, first for all respondents and then for registered voters only. While almost every party has among those who say it represents their interests best opinions on direct CE election that represent all options, clearly the pro-democracy parties show higher portions that support direct election than oppose it. The largest bloc who oppose say no party represents them. Clearly, parties are picked partly for their stance regarding direct elections.

Table 131 Distribution of support/oppose direct CE election among best party that represents respondent (ALL respondents)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't Know	total
DAB	3	15	24	31	9	14
DP	25	17	8	0	3	15
LSD	12	4	5	3	1	5
LP	2	2	4	3	2	3
CivP	19	9	7	13	7	10
All	2	3	1	0	5	2
None	29	39	41	50	46	39
Don't Know	7	11	11	0	27	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 169.5 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

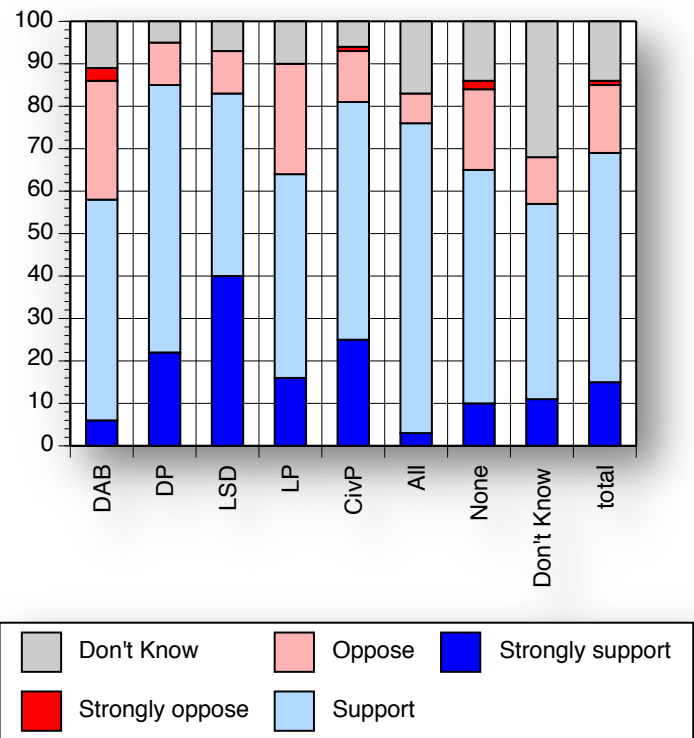
Table 132 Distribution of support/oppose direct CE election among best party that represents respondent (Registered voters only)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't Know	total
DAB	4	14	27	36	10	15
DP	24	18	6	0	4	15
LSD	13	5	5	4	1	6
LP	2	2	2	0	1	2
CivP	21	10	8	8	8	12
All	2	3	1	0	7	3
None	28	38	41	52	48	38
Don't Know	7	9	8	0	21	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

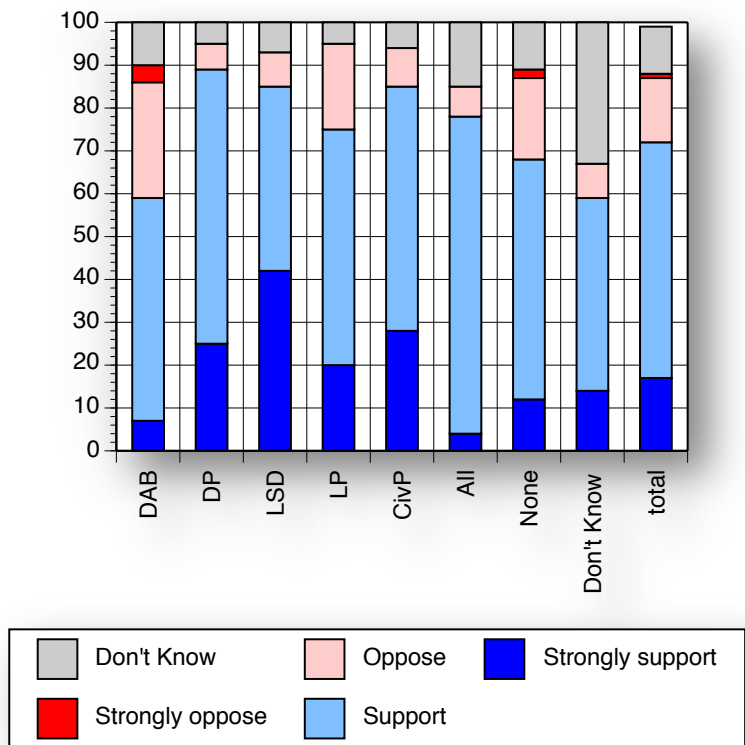
table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 137.8 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

As with direct elections of the CE, ALL RESPONDENTS preferences differ from REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY regarding direct elections of all members of Legco.

Chart/Table 133 Support for Direct Election of all Legco BY Party that best represents



Chart/Table 134 Support for Direct Election of all Legco BY Party that best represents REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY



Support for direct election of all Legco members rises most with registered voters only from that shown by all respondents among the parties most identified with promoting that stance. Again, only with the LP does this differ as the LP was not known for promoting direct elections and was divided among its membership on the issue. Those who remain are more strongly in support of direct elections (See "Timetables and Destinations" the 2008 NDI report by the Hong Kong Transition Project.)

Table 133 All Respondents

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Strongly support	6	22	40	16	25	3	10	11	15
Support	52	63	43	48	56	73	55	46	54
Oppose	28	10	10	26	12	7	19	11	16
Strongly oppose	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
Don't Know	11	5	8	10	6	17	15	32	14
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 168.2 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 134 Registered voters only

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Strongly support	7	25	42	20	28	4	12	14	17
Support	52	64	43	55	57	74	56	45	55
Oppose	27	6	8	20	9	7	19	8	15
Strongly oppose	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
Don't Know	10	5	8	5	6	15	11	33	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 142.1 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 135 Distribution of support/oppose direct CE election among best party that represents respondent (All respondents)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't Know	total
DAB	6	14	25	33	12	14
DP	23	17	9	0	6	15
LSD	14	4	3	0	3	5
LP	3	2	4	0	2	3
CivP	18	10	8	7	4	10
All	1	3	1	0	3	2
None	27	39	43	60	43	39
Don't Know	9	10	8	0	29	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 168.2 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 136 Distribution of support/oppose direct CE election among best party that represents respondent (Registered voters only)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't Know	total
DAB	6	14	26	39	14	15
DP	22	18	7	0	7	15
LSD	14	5	3	0	4	6
LP	3	2	3	0	1	2
CivP	19	12	7	0	6	12
All	1	4	1	0	4	3
None	27	39	47	62	38	38
Don't Know	8	8	5	0	27	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

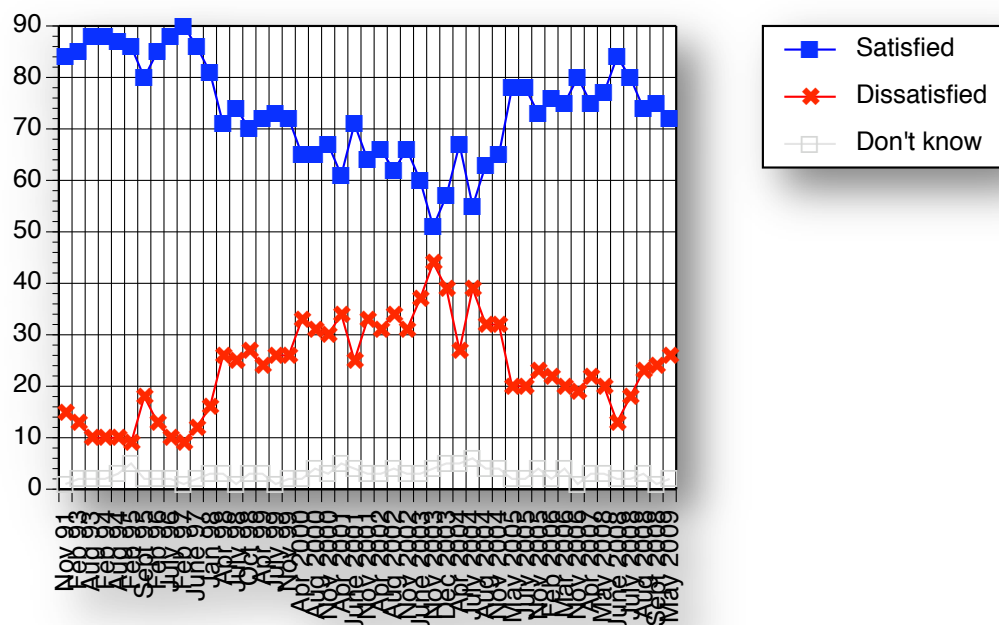
table contents: Percent of Column Total Chi-square = 142.1 with 28 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Satisfaction with government performance

Research has shown links between satisfaction with life and satisfaction with the government.

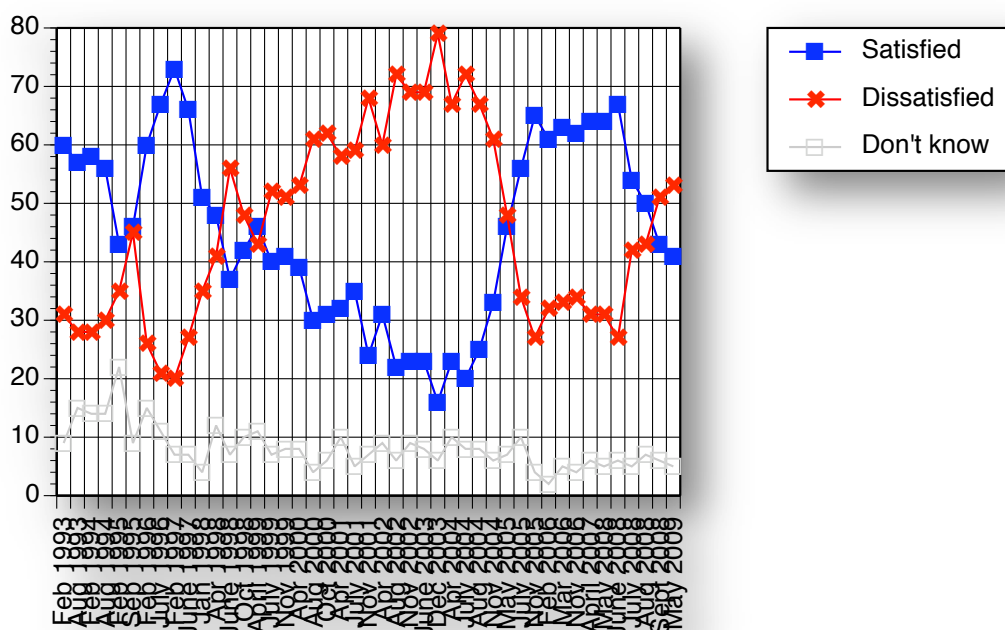
FINDING: *Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong is now at the lowest mark under Chief Executive Donald Tsang, though that mark of 72 percent satisfied was the high point for his predecessor.*

Chart 137 Are you currently satisfied/dissatisfied with your life in Hong Kong?



Just as satisfaction with life has dropped, so has satisfaction with the government.

Chart 138 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of Hong Kong Government?



FINDING: A majority are now dissatisfied with the general performance of the Hong Kong Government.

As seen below, the CE has yet to recover from a government-business collusion dispute in summer 2008. This dispute involved a recently retired senior housing official who had made a controversial decision to award a never occupied public funded housing bloc at a knock down price to a developer after housing market prices collapsed (recovered nicely since), taking a job with that developer. Fury ensued, and with results in this survey demonstrating widespread feelings policy making is unfair, that a majority are dissatisfied with his performance is no surprise.

Chart/Table 139 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with performance of **C. E. Donald Tsang?**

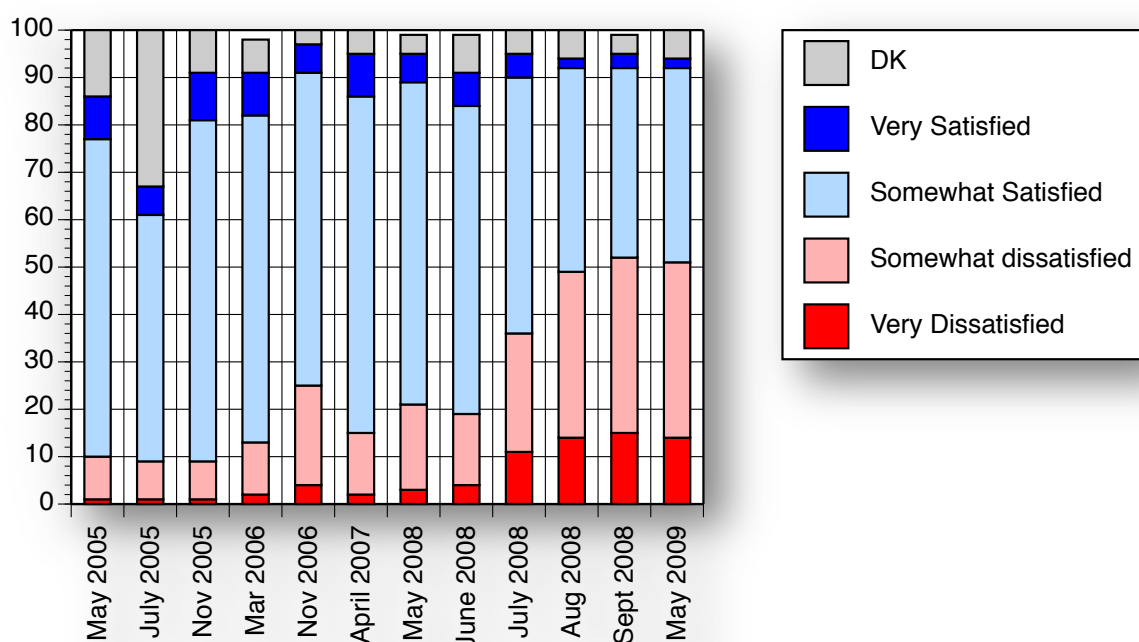


Table 139

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
May 2005	1	9	67	9	15
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
May 2008	3	18	68	6	4
June 2008	4	15	65	7	8
July 2008	11	25	54	5	6
Aug 2008	14	35	43	2	6
Sept 2008	15	37	40	3	4
May 2009	14	37	41	2	6

FINDING: There is deterioration in satisfaction with the Hong Kong Government's handling of relations with Mainland China. But whereas once these were largely attributable to issues of political reform, today they are more matters of Hong Kong being left out of mainland economic planning and the Government not being aggressive enough in cooperating with mainland development. There has been no drop in satisfaction, for example, with how Beijing handles Hong Kong affairs or in how it rules China. The problem appears to be on the Hong Kong side.

Chart 140 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong Government (SAR government) in dealing with the PRC Government?

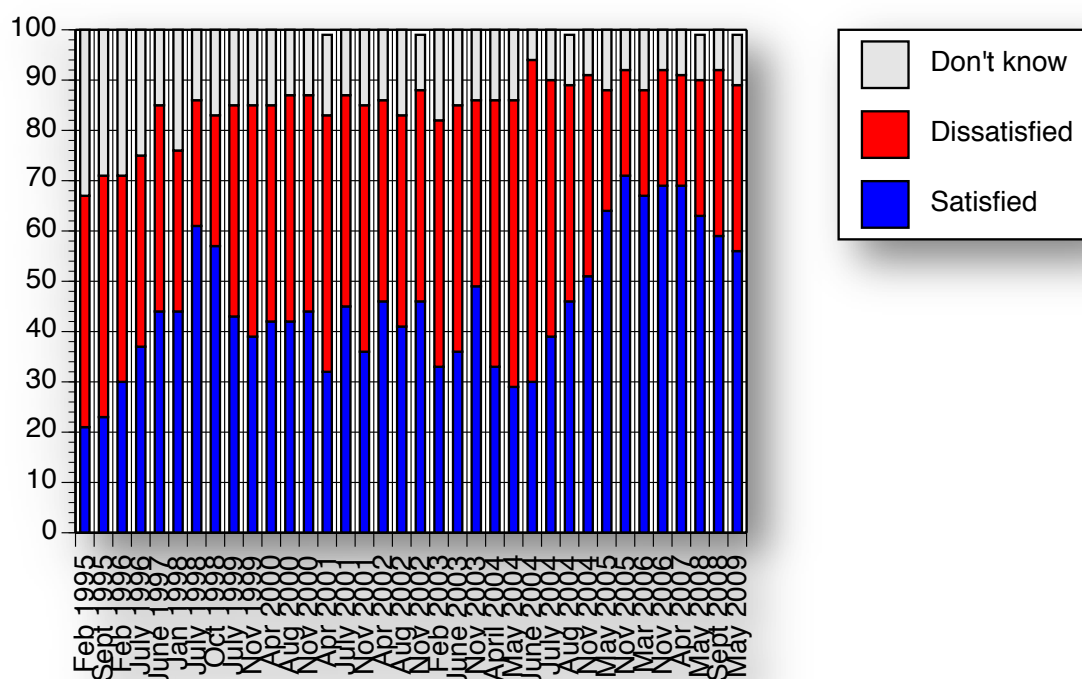


Table 140

	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
May 2008	63	27	9
Sept 2008	59	33	8
May 2009	56	33	10

Chart/Table 141 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC GOV in dealing with Hong Kong affairs

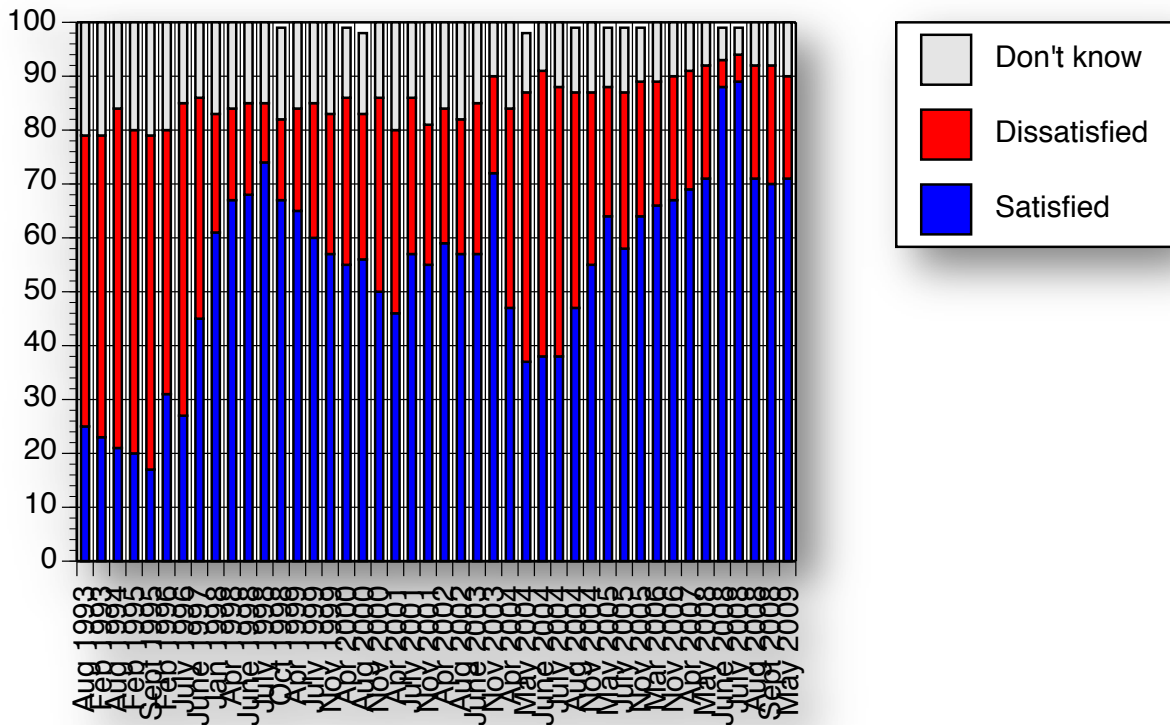
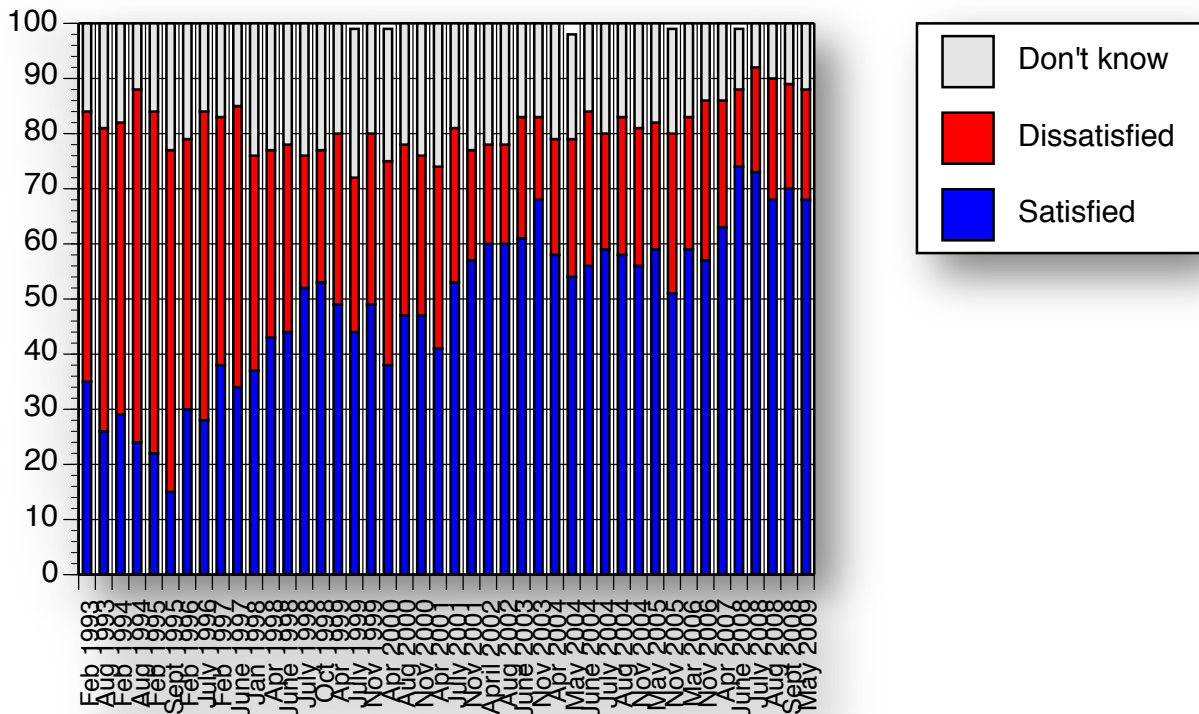


Chart 142 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC GOV in ruling China?



Levels of concern with specific issues

Table 143 and Chart/Table 144 compare levels of concern. The items in red in the tables are those which show significant change between August and May.

Table 143 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong (Aug 2008):

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Corruption in Hong Kong	66	21	7	3	2
Your employment situation	67	19	7	6	2
Social unrest & street protests	55	27	12	5	1
The rule of law	58	21	12	7	3
Free press	55	26	11	7	1
Overpopulation	40	25	18	15	2
Competitiveness of Hong Kong	30	36	21	11	2
Air & water pollution	10	24	33	31	1

Chart/Table 144 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong (May 2009):

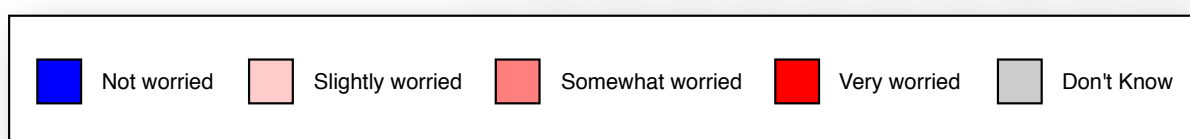
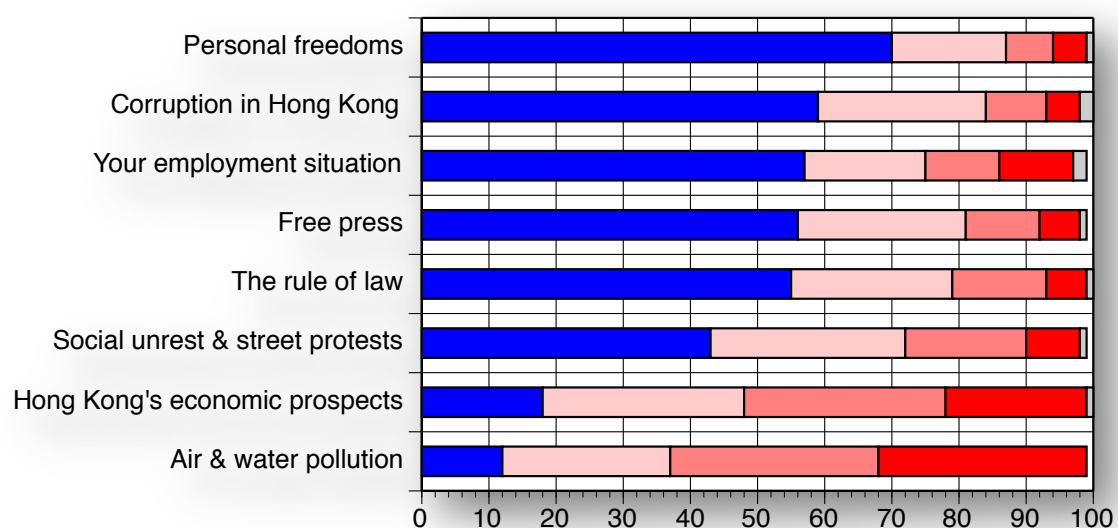


Table 144

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Corruption in Hong Kong	59	25	9	5	2
Your employment situation	57	18	11	11	2
Social unrest & street protests	43	29	18	8	1
The rule of law	55	24	14	6	1
Free press	56	25	11	6	1
Overpopulation (not asked in May)	-	-	-	-	-
Hong Kong's economic prospects	18	30	30	21	1
Personal freedoms	70	17	7	5	1
Air & water pollution	12	25	31	31	--

Table 145 shows that while worry about corruption has risen from August 2008, it comes last in the rank of worries, with only 1 percent of respondents putting it as their greatest worry.

Table 145 Of the worries mentioned, which worries you the most?

	Not worried
Hong Kong's economic prospects	34
The rule of law	22
Your employment situation	17
Air and water pollution	9
Free press	3
Personal freedoms	3
Crime	2
Corruption in Hong Kong	1
Don't Know	5

Finding: *The concern ranked number one, Hong Kong's economic prospects, and the concern ranked number two, the rule of law (with crime and corruption rankings last by a negligible number) indicate great anxiety about the Hong Kong Government's primary claim to legitimacy: ensuring rule of law and economic opportunity for its citizens. Consequently, for the Government and people of Hong Kong, working out how to cooperate with mainland China on constitutional reform to protect and promote rule of law and achieving cooperation with the only major economy growing significantly despite the greatest global economic crisis since the Great Depression are both challenges and opportunities of paramount importance.*

X Participation and Patriotism: Citizenship and Identity in Hong Kong

Measuring participation and citizenship

The Hong Kong Transition Project and its members have long focused on questions of how the transition from colonial British to Special Administrative Region Chinese rule would affect the self-identity of Hong Kong people. Would they come to see themselves as simply Chinese and China as their mother country, or would Hong Kongers retain that sense of alienation from the rest of China developed during the years of isolation and Cold War?

This is not just a question of academic interest. Identity and patriotism are often closely linked, and patriotism and citizenship—the willingness of people to sacrifice their self interest for the greater good, their willingness to participate voluntarily in the life of the community, their willingness to participate in governance decision-making in order to make their community a better place for themselves, their neighbors and their children—are at the heart of building a stable, legitimate governing structure. In Hong Kong attitudes toward local and national government have been complex and mixed. Events have driven spikes of identity changes one way and another. Following June 4, 1989 for example, while a wave of patriotism toward China and pride of being Chinese

erupted, it was followed by an exodus of nearly half a million Hong Kongers fleeing overseas to get foreign Right of Abode. While about half returned after 1997 (most of those waiting until 1998 and later to do so) many did not. But today, there are many children of these former Hong Kongers coming here to explore their roots.

In psychology one of the signs of mental health is participation and engagement with others. When people began to distance themselves and withdraw from normal activities, it can be a signal of danger. Similarly, the Hong Kong Transition Project has taken various measurements over the years to see if civic participation is weakening or strengthening. Chart/Table 146 shows that participation continues at a healthy level (several indicators were not polled in May 2009 due to length of this questionnaire). The last three columns of Chart/Table 146 show the responses of all questioned, of those registered to vote, and then of those who are voters in the FCs or who require a certificate or registration to practice their livelihood (see Part One above for discussion of these new professions and registered persons).

FINDING: *Those who vote and particularly those who are members of the FCs and new professions show a higher propensity to participate in the organized civic life of the community.*

Chart/Table 146 Have you attended any meetings or activities of one of the following groups in the last six months? (Read list, Yes answers in chart and table)

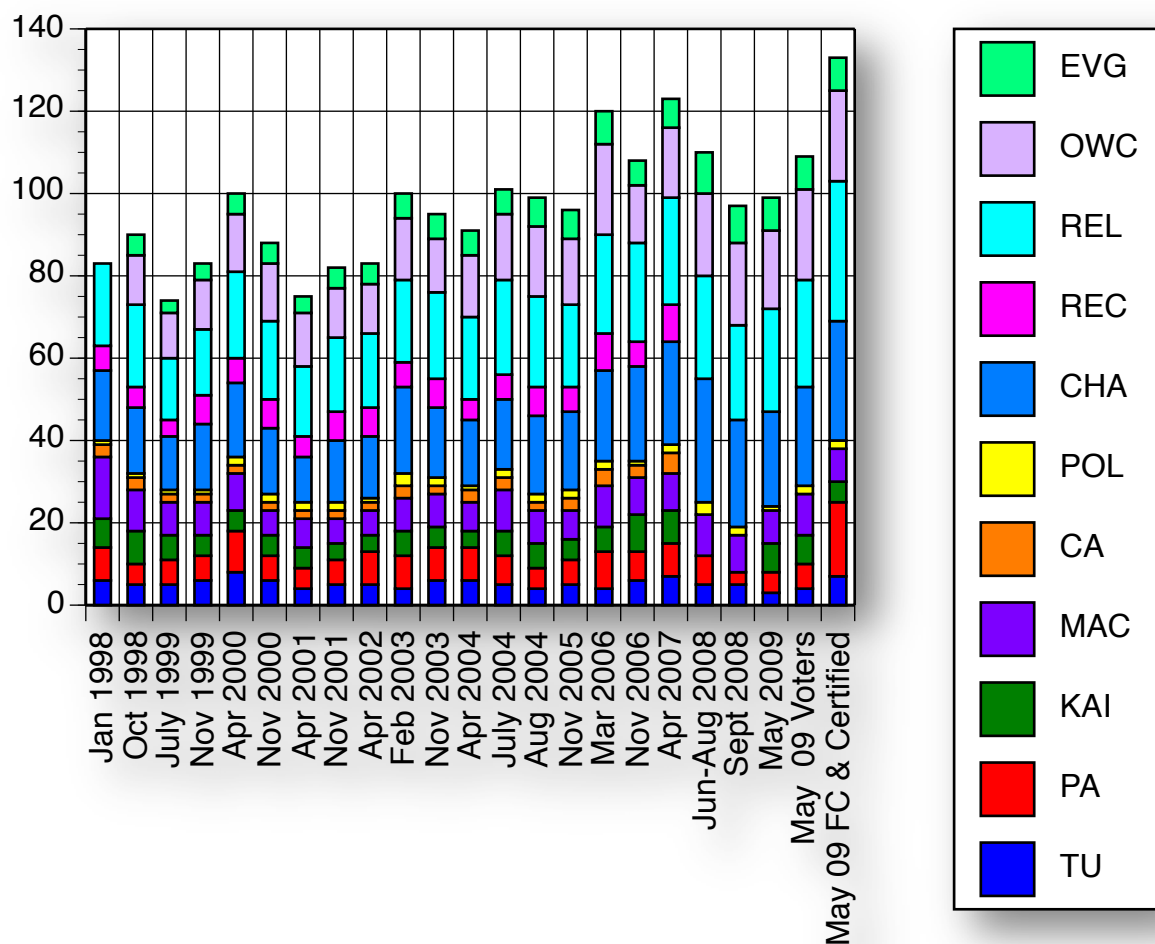


Table 146 Have you attended any meetings or activities of one of the following groups in the last six months? (Percentage reporting membership/ attendance)

	TU	PA	KAI	MAC	CA	POL	CHA	REC	REL	OWC	EVG
Jan 1998	6	8	7	15	3	1	17	6	20		
Oct 1998	5	5	8	10	3	1	16	5	20	12	5
July 1999	5	6	6	8	2	1	13	4	15	11	3
Nov 1999	6	6	5	8	2	1	16	7	16	12	4
Apr 2000	8	10	5	9	2	2	18	6	21	14	5
Nov 2000	6	6	5	6	2	2	16	7	19	14	5
Apr 2001	4	5	5	7	2	2	11	5	17	13	4
Nov 2001	5	6	4	6	2	2	15	7	18	12	5
Apr 2002	5	8	4	6	2	1	15	7	18	12	5
Feb 2003	4	8	6	8	3	3	21	6	20	15	6
Nov 2003	6	8	5	8	2	2	17	7	21	13	6
Apr 2004	6	8	4	7	3	1	16	5	20	15	6
July 2004	5	7	6	10	3	2	17	6	23	16	6
Aug 2004	4	5	6	8	2	2	19	7	22	17	7
Nov 2005	5	6	5	7	3	2	19	6	20	16	7
Mar 2006	4	9	6	10	4	2	22	9	24	22	8
Nov 2006	6	7	9	9	3	1	23	6	24	14	6
Apr 2007	7	8	8	9	5	2	25	9	26	17	7
Jun-Aug 2008	5	7	NA	10	NA	3	30	NA	25	20	10
Sept 2008	5	3	NA	9	NA	2	26	NA	23	20	9
May 2009	3	5	7	8	NA	1	23	NA	25	19	8
May 09 Voters	4	6	7	10	NA	2	24	NA	26	22	8
May 09 FC & Certified	7	18	5	8	NA	2	29	NA	34	22	8

KEY	ABBREV.
Trade Union	TU
Professional association	PA
Kaifong	KAI
Mutual Aid Committee	MAC
Clan Association	CA
Political/pressure group	POL
Charitable Association	CHA
Recreational & cultural group	REC
Religious group or church	REL
Owner's corporation	OWC
Environmental group	EVG

Similarly to the bank of questions above, Chart/Table 147 has results of a series of questions that examine the health of the formal and informal systems of governance. A withdrawal of participation in contacting government departments or Legco members for help or to express concern would be a symptom to watch. A rise in informal processes such as demonstrations and contacting the media matching a fall in formal processes would signal trouble. We saw a very steep drop in signature campaign participation the year prior to the July 2003 crisis (which saw a huge leap in participation in protests). Signature campaigns are supported when people feel the government will listen to them. Protests and marches are supported when people feel government will not.

The last two columns of the chart and table compare all respondents to the FC voter and certified persons responses. These show higher rates of contacting government departments, signing petitions, and marching in protests than the average person among the FC registered voters and those most like them.

Chart/Table 147 Did you express concern or seek help from any of the following groups in the past 12 months? (% Yes responses only)

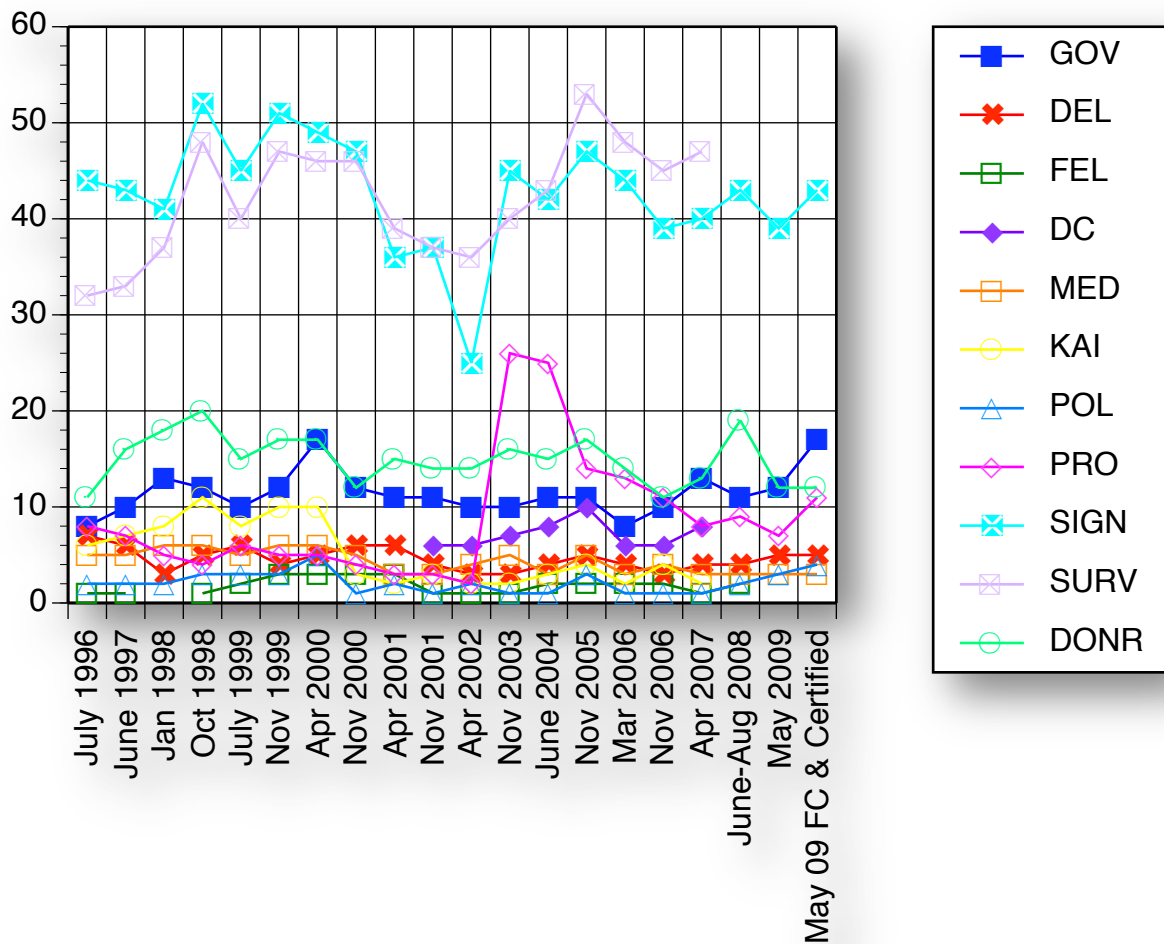


Table 147

	GOV	DEL	FEL	DC	MED	KAI	POL	PRO	SIGN	SURV	DONR
July 1996	8	7	1		5	6	2	8	44	32	11
June 1997	10	6	1		5	7	2	7	43	33	16
Jan 1998	13	3	--		6	8	2	5	41	37	18
Oct 1998	12	5	1		6	11	3	4	52	48	20
July 1999	10	6	2		5	8	3	6	45	40	15
Nov 1999	12	4	3		6	10	3	5	51	47	17
Apr 2000	17	5	3		6	10	5	5	49	46	17
Nov 2000	12	6	3		5	3	1	4	47	46	12
Apr 2001	11	6	3		3	2	2	3	36	39	15
Nov 2001	11	4	1	6	3	3	1	3	37	37	14
Apr 2002	10	3	1	6	4	2	2	2	25	36	14
Nov 2003	10	3	1	7	5	2	1	26	45	40	16
June 2004	11	4	2	8	3	3	1	25	42	43	15
Nov 2005	11	5	2	10	5	4	3	14	47	53	17
Mar 2006	8	4	2	6	3	2	1	13	44	48	14
Nov 2006	10	3	2	6	4	4	1	11	39	45	11
Apr 2007	13	4	1	8	3	2	1	8	40	47	13
June-Aug 2008	11	4	2		3		2	9	43		19
May 2009	12	5	NA	NA	3	NA	3	7	39	NA	12
May 09 FC & Certified	17	5	NA	NA	3	NA	4	11	43	NA	12

*Key on next page

KEY Table 66	ABBREVIATION
Contact Government Dept.	GOV
Contact Direct Elected Legco rep.	DEL
Contact Legco Funct Rep.	FEL
Contact District Council/Dist officer	DC
Contact Mass Media	MED
Contact local group/Kaifong	KAI
Contact pressure/pol. group	POL
Demonstrate/protest	PRO
Signature Campaign	SIGN
Opinion survey	SURV
Donate to pol. party/pol group	DONR

Measuring attitudes and citizenship

The two tables above show results for questions that probe actions respondents take. Just as important are attitudes, and few are more important in the life of a community than feelings of patriotism and its love of country, community, and culture. Chart/Table 148 probes the condition of attitudes toward China's national day while Chart/Table 149 examines identity. This section then examines the intersection and interaction of feelings of patriotism and identity with other aspects.

Chart/Table 148 How does the celebration of 1st Oct National Day make you feel?

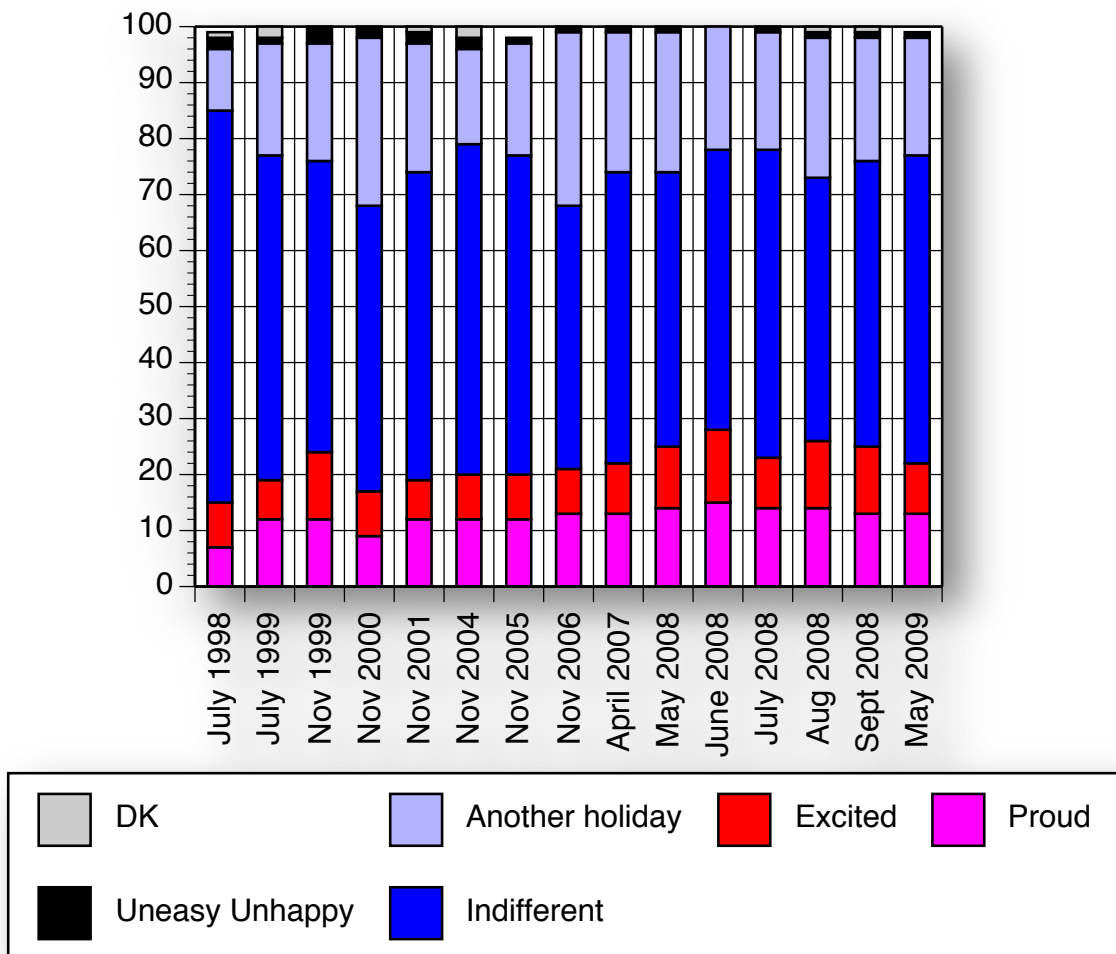
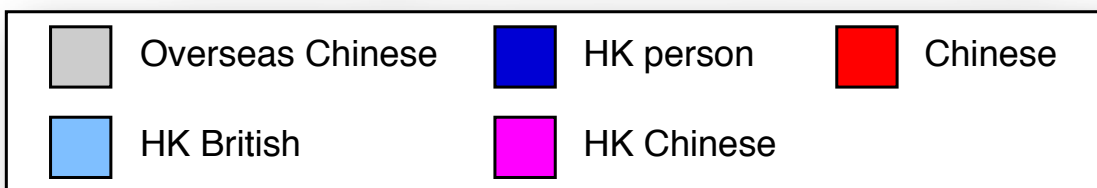
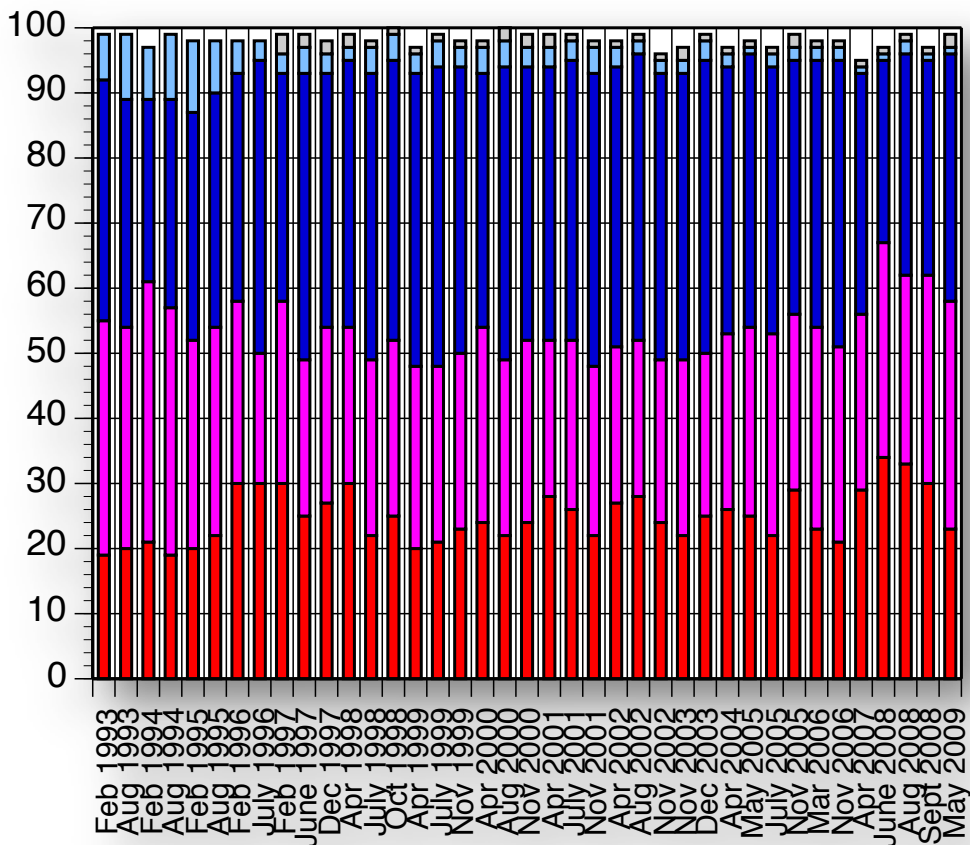


Table 148

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	Uneasy Unhappy	DK
July 1998	70	7	8	11	2	1
July 1999	58	12	7	20	1	2
Nov 1999	52	12	12	21	2	1
Nov 2000	51	9	8	30	2	-
Nov 2001	55	12	7	23	2	1
Nov 2004	59	12	8	17	2	2
Nov 2005	57	12	8	20	1	--
Nov 2006	47	13	8	31	1	2
April 2007	52	13	9	25	1	1
May 2008	49	14	11	25	1	1
June 2008	50	15	13	22	1	--
July 2008	55	14	9	21	1	--
Aug 2008	47	14	12	25	1	1
Sept 2008	51	13	12	22	1	1
May 2009	55	13	9	21	1	--

Chart/Table 149 The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you?



*Others removed in chart

Table 149

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Others
Feb 1993	19	36	37	7		1
Aug 1993	20	34	35	10		1
Feb 1994	21	40	28	8		1
Aug 1994	19	38	32	10		1
Feb 1995	20	32	35	11		1
Aug 1995	22	32	36	8		1
Feb 1996	30	28	35	5		2
July 1996	30	20	45	3		2
Feb 1997	30	28	35	3	3	1
June 1997	25	24	44	4	2	1
Dec 1997	27	27	39	3	2	2
Apr 1998	30	24	41	2	2	2
July 1998	22	27	44	4	1	1
Oct 1998	25	27	43	4	1	1
Apr 1999	20	28	45	3	1	2
July 1999	21	27	46	4	1	1
Nov 1999	23	27	44	3	1	2
Apr 2000	24	30	39	4	1	2
Aug 2000	22	27	45	4	2	1
Nov 2000	24	28	42	3	2	2
Apr 2001	28	24	42	3	2	2
July 2001	26	26	43	3	1	2
Nov 2001	22	26	45	4	1	2
Apr 2002	27	24	43	3	1	2
Aug 2002	28	24	44	2	1	1
Nov 2002	24	25	44	2	1	3
Nov 2003	22	27	44	2	2	4
Dec 2003	25	25	45	3	1	2
Apr 2004	26	27	41	2	1	2
May 2005	25	29	42	1	1	1
July 2005	22	31	41	2	1	2
Nov 2005	29	27	39	2	2	2
Mar 2006	23	31	41	2	1	3
Nov 2006	21	30	44	2	1	2
Apr 2007	29	27	37	1	1	4
June 2008	34	33	28	1	1	2
Aug 2008	33	29	34	2	1	2
Sept 2008	30	32	33	1	1	3
May 2009	23	35	38	1	2	2

Chart/Table 150 How does the celebration of 1st Oct National Day make you feel? May 09

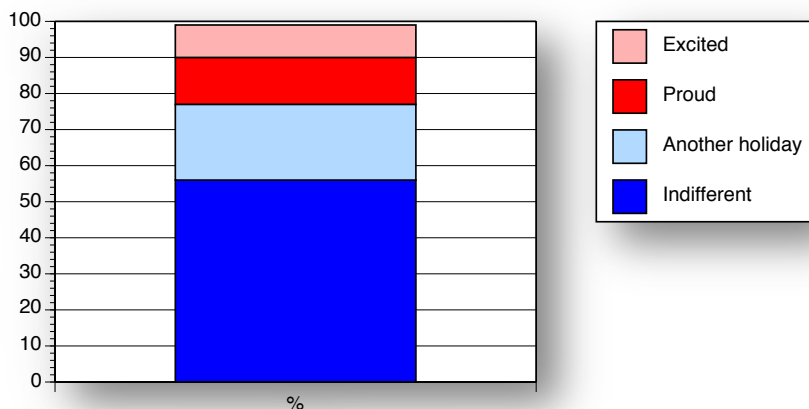


Table 150

Group	Count	%
Indifferent	680	56
Proud	159	13
Excited	108	9
Another holiday	257	21

FINDING: *Choosing to describe one’s identity as Chinese correlates most strongly with descriptions of feeling proud and excited on China’s National Day. However, even among those saying they are Chinese, such feelings are in the minority with 37 percent of self described Chinese identity feeling proud and excited. Among those describing themselves as a Hong Kong person such feelings occur among 13 percent.*

Chart/Table 151 Identity BY Feelings on China’s National Day

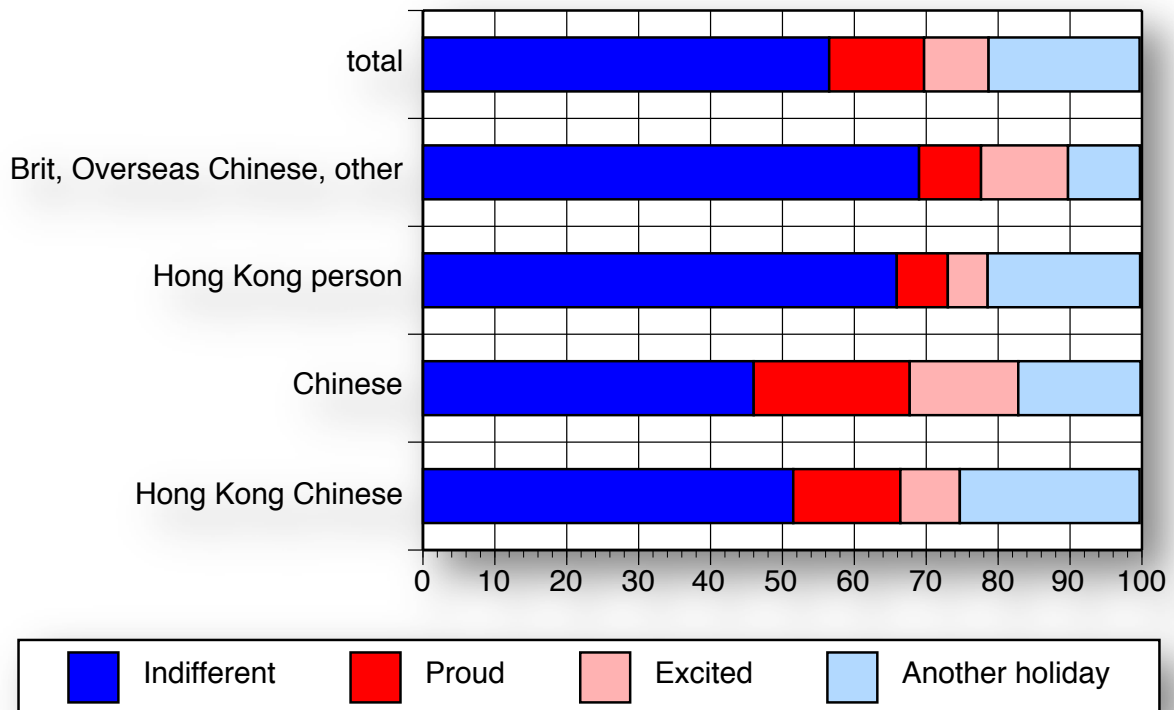


Table 151

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Brit, Overseas Chinese, other	total
Indifferent	52	46	66	69	57
Proud	15	22	7	9	13
Excited	8	15	6	12	9
Another holiday	25	17	22	10	21
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 71.74 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

In part, the feelings above among those calling themselves Hong Kong person can be explained by birthplace, for where and when one is born affects emotions. Most Hong Kongers were born when China was not their official mother country. And while few born before 1997 felt Britain was their mother country, many fastened upon Hong Kong as its own unique place. But even many born on Mainland China show little emotional

response to China's National Day, so clearly for most respondents, feelings depend or derive from something more than birthplace. Identity shows stronger association with birthplace than emotions toward National Day, so there appears to be some distinction between a cultural affinity and a political one.

Chart/Table 152 Feelings on China's National Day BY Birthplace

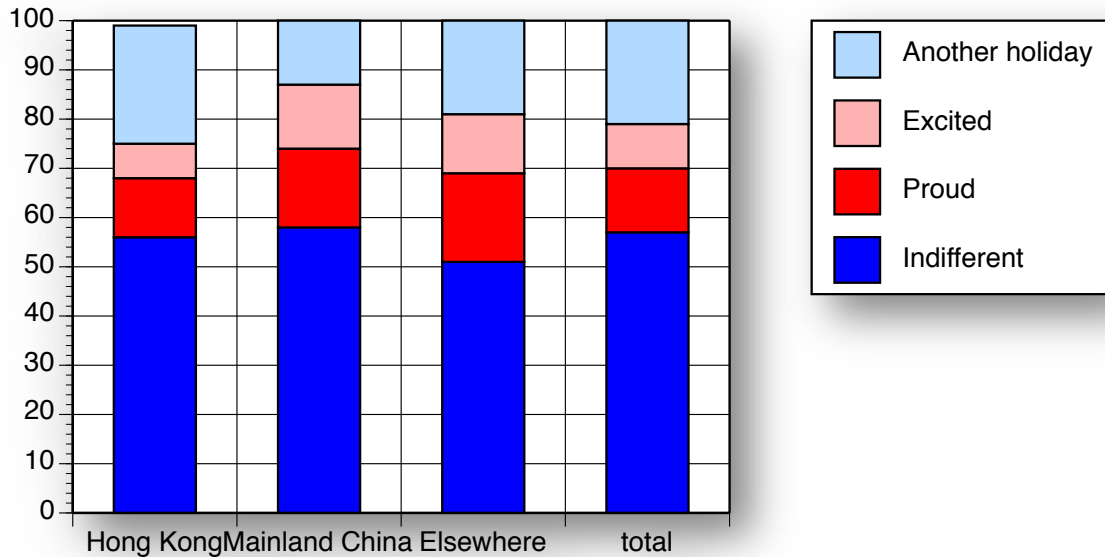


Table 152

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Indifferent	56	58	51	57
Proud	12	16	18	13
Excited	7	13	12	9
Another holiday	24	13	20	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 22.93 with 6 df p = 0.0008

Chart/Table 153 Identity BY Birthplace

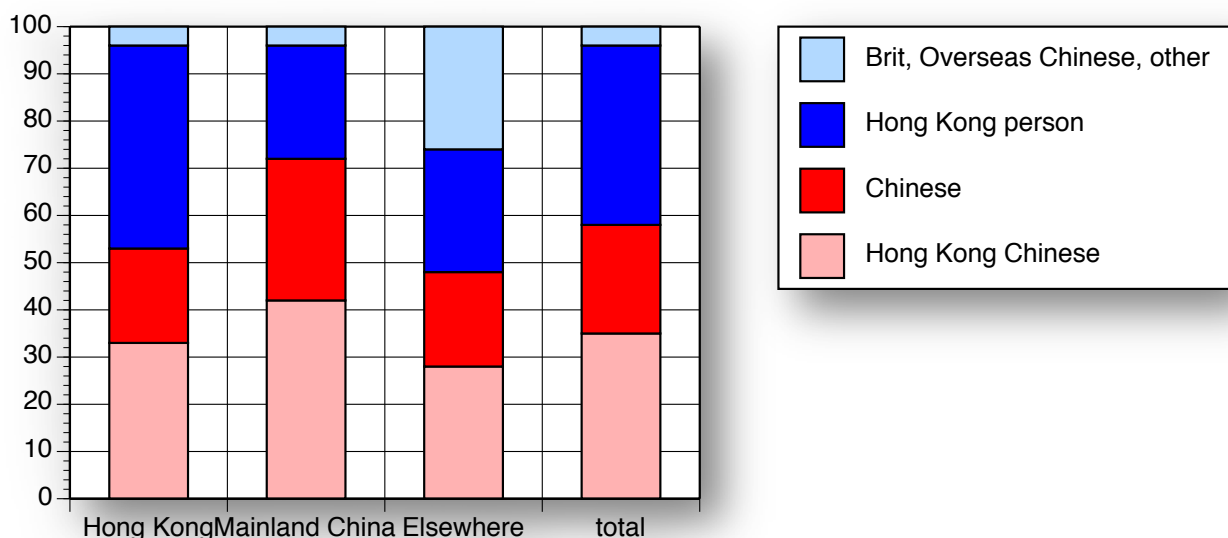


Table 153

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Hong Kong Chinese	33	42	28	35
Chinese	20	30	20	23
Hong Kong person	43	24	26	38
Brit, Overseas Chinese, other	4	4	28	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 94.36 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

In many countries there is what is called identity politics. How people identify themselves whether by sexual orientation, ethnicity, origin, religion and so on plays a big role in which political party they choose to join or support. What is the case in Hong Kong?

FINDING: *There appears to be a very limited degree of identity politics going on between the DAB and the DP, but not among other parties though the LSD shows stronger support among those describing themselves as Hong Kong British or Overseas Chinese.*

Chart/Table 154 Which party best represents BY Identity choices

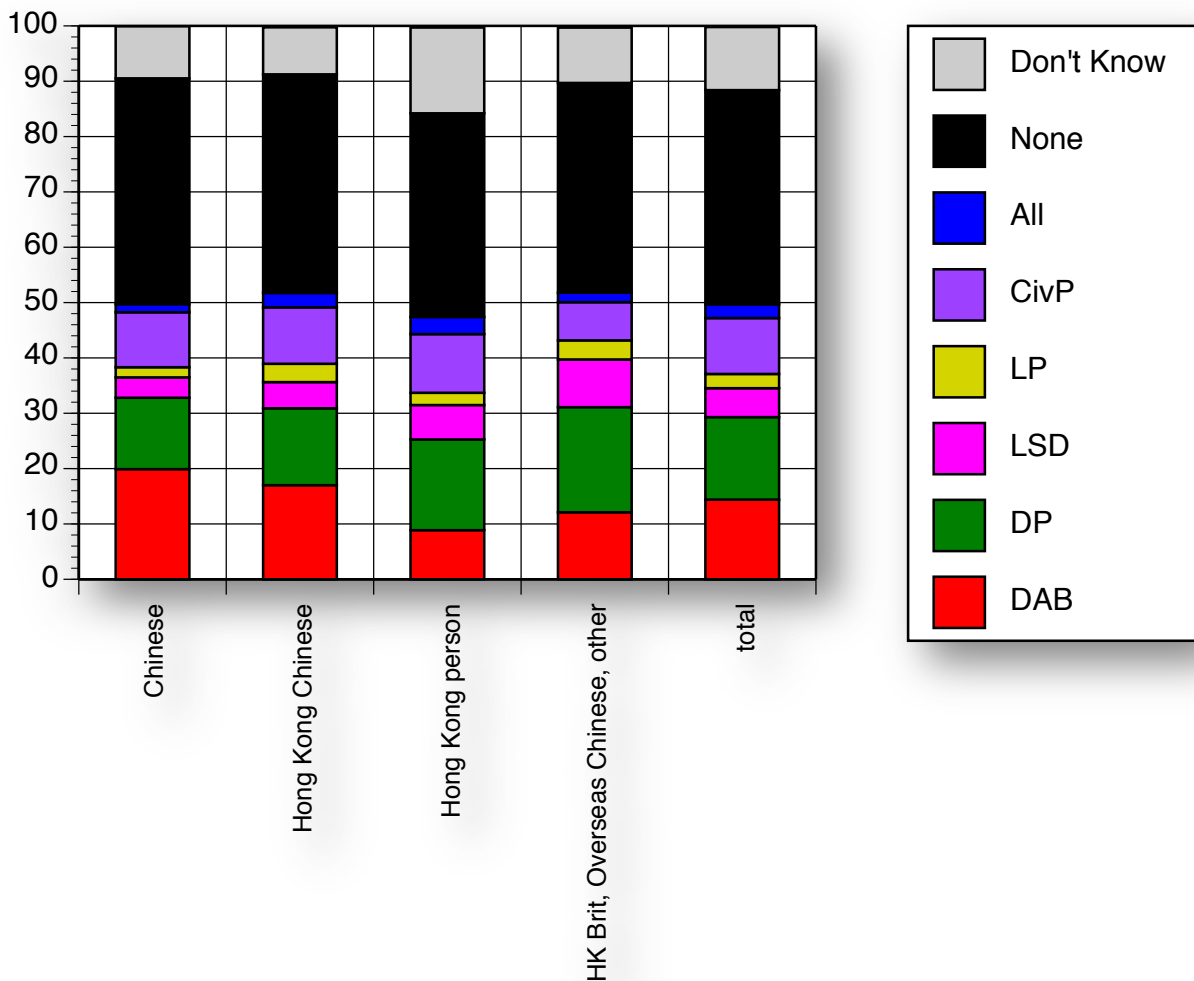


Table 154

	Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Hong Kong person	Hong Kong British, Overseas Chinese, other	total
DAB	20	17	9	12	14
DP	13	14	16	19	15
LSD	4	5	6	9	5
LP	2	3	2	3	3
CivP	10	10	11	7	10
All	1	3	3	2	2
None	41	40	37	38	39
Don't Know	10	9	16	10	12
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 39.41 with 21 df p = 0.0088

The order of responses for Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese is switched place in Table 154 and the Chart to heighten contrast between those describing themselves as Chinese versus those as Hong Kong person. Chart/Table 154 showed the distribution of party choice by identity. Chart/Table 155 shows the distribution by party of identity choice. So is there a “Chinese” party or a “Hong Kong person” party in Hong Kong? Even the DAB, the supposedly most “pro-China” party, shows less than a third of people who see it as best representing them say their identity is Chinese. Only “Don't Know” respondents show a majority calling themselves by an identity: Hong Kong persons.

Chart/Table 155 Distribution of Identities BY Party best represents

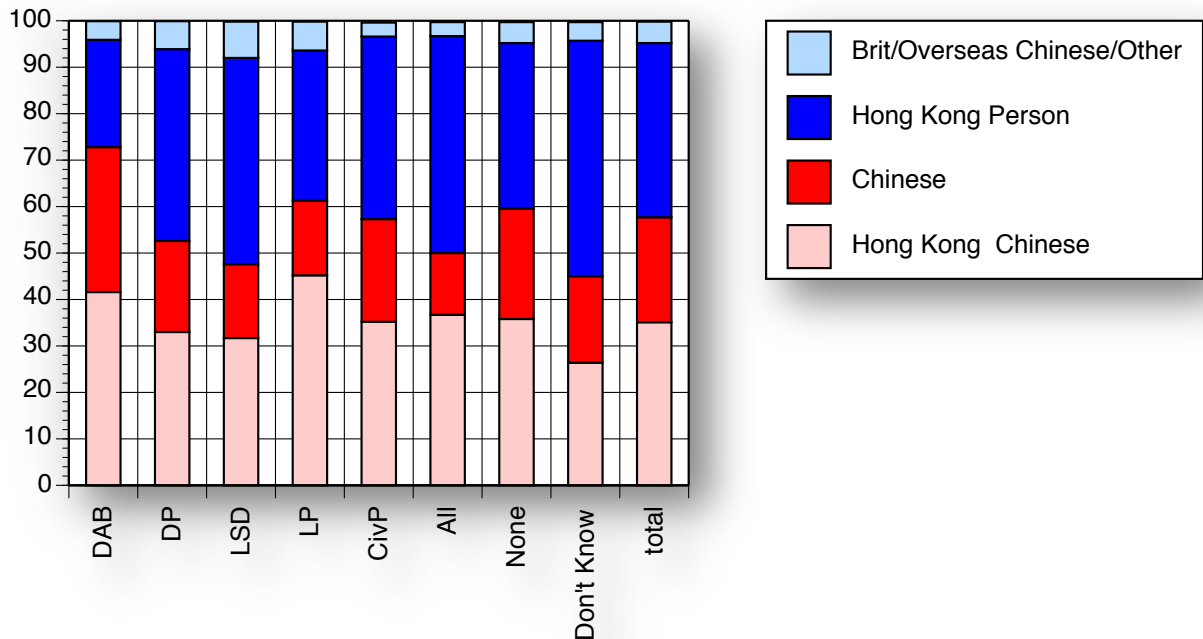


Table 155

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CivP	All	None	Don't Know	total
Hong Kong Chinese	42	33	32	45	35	37	36	26	35
Chinese	31	20	16	16	22	13	24	19	23
Hong Kong Person	23	41	44	32	39	47	36	51	38
Brit/Overseas Chinese/Other	4	6	8	6	3	3	5	4	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 39.41 with 21 df p = 0.0088

Chart/Table 156 Satisfaction with DAB BY Feelings on National Day

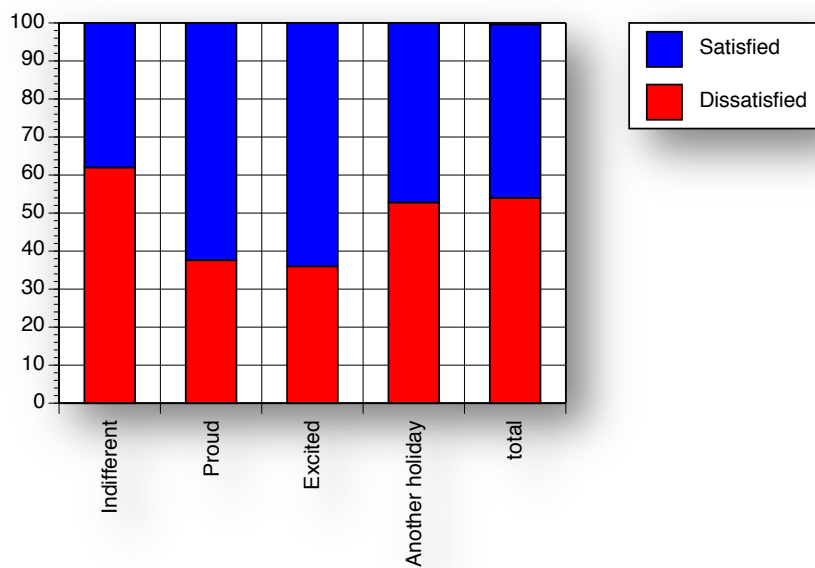


Table 156

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	62	38	36	53	54
Satisfied	38	62	64	47	46
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 41.09 with 3 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 157 Satisfaction with FTU BY Feelings on National Day

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	49	26	35	41	43
Satisfied	51	74	65	59	57
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 24.64 with 3 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart/Table 158 Satisfaction with LP BY Feelings on National Day

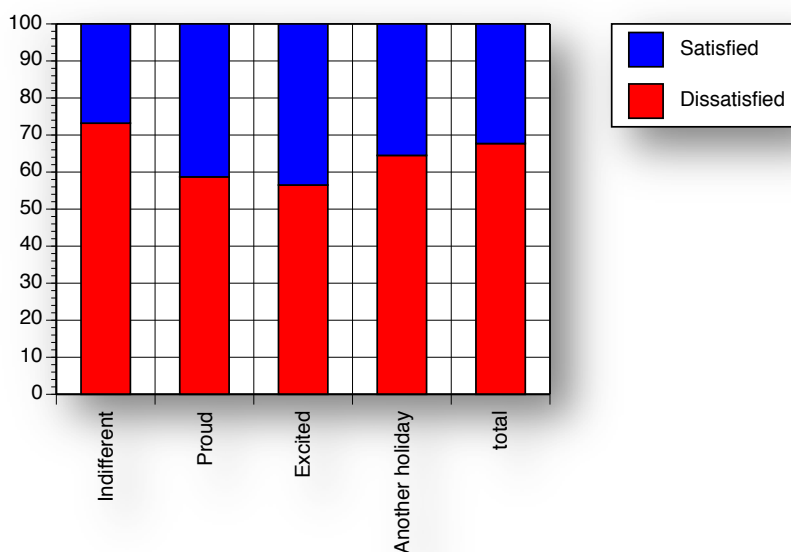


Table 158

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	73	59	57	65	68
Satisfied	27	41	44	36	32
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 17.35 with 3 df p = 0.0006

FINDING: *The pro-government parties DAB, FTU and LP show some relationship between satisfaction with their performance and feelings on China’s National Day, with those describing themselves proud or excited tending to be more satisfied. The opposite is the case for pro-democracy parties.*

Chart/Table 159 Satisfaction with DP BY Feelings on National Day

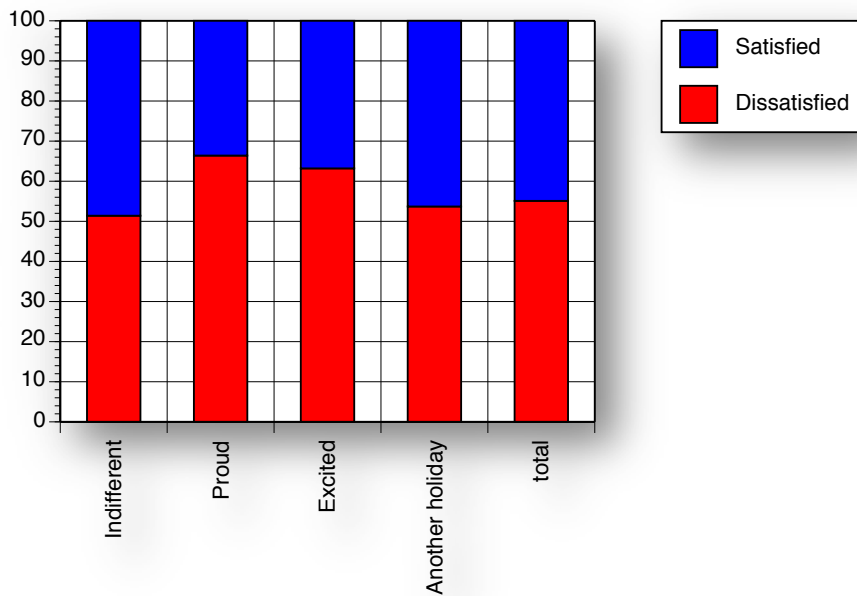


Table 159

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	51	66	63	54	55
Satisfied	49	34	37	46	45
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 13.23 with 3 df p = 0.0042

Table 160 Satisfaction with CTU BY Feelings on National Day

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	44	55	50	42	45
Satisfied	56	45	50	58	55
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 7.345 with 3 df p = 0.0617

Chart/Table 161 Satisfaction with LSD BY Feelings on National Day

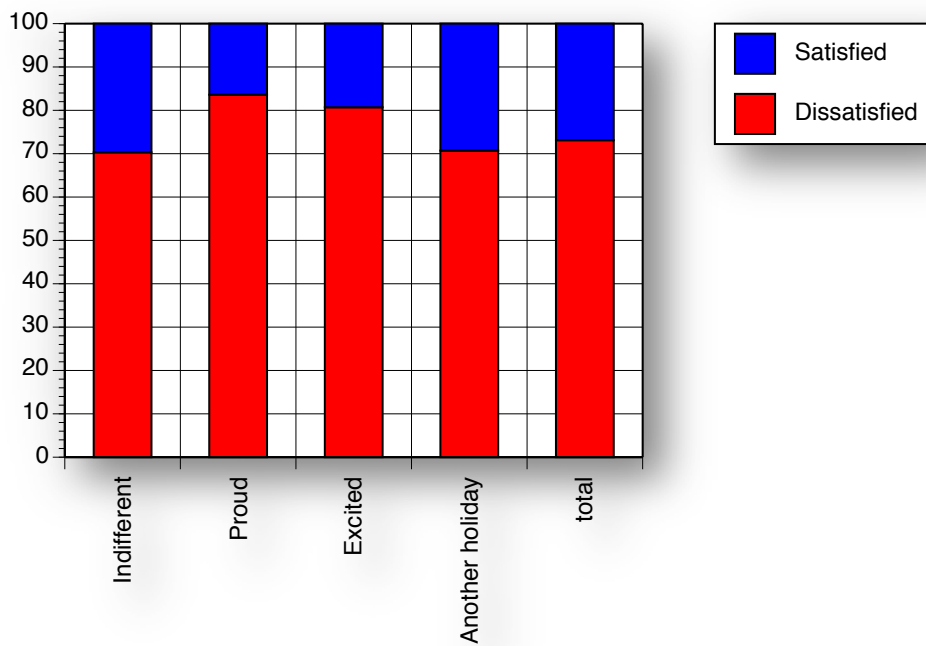


Table 161

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	70	84	81	71	73
Satisfied	30	16	19	29	27
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.25 with 3 df p = 0.0041

Chart/Table 162 Satisfaction with CivP BY Feelings on National Day

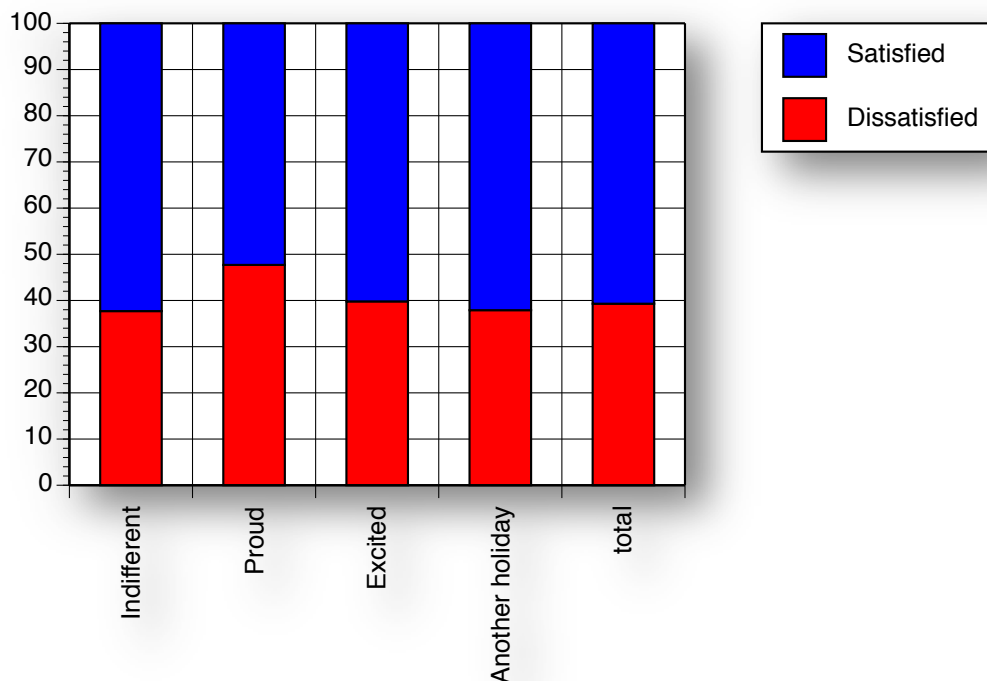


Table 162

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Dissatisfied	38	48	40	38	39
Satisfied	62	52	60	62	61
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 4.544 with 3 df p = 0.2084

While feelings on National Day has a discernable but not major effect on satisfaction with most political parties, what other demographic factors are associated? Gender and Religion do show some association, with Buddhists and Taoist adherents showing somewhat higher proportions feeling proud and excited than other groups.

Table 163 Feelings on National Day BY Gender

	Male	Female	total
Indifferent	57	56	57
Proud	16	11	13
Excited	8	10	9
Another holiday	19	24	21
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 8.774 with 3 df p = 0.0325

Chart/Table 164 Feelings on National Day BY Religion

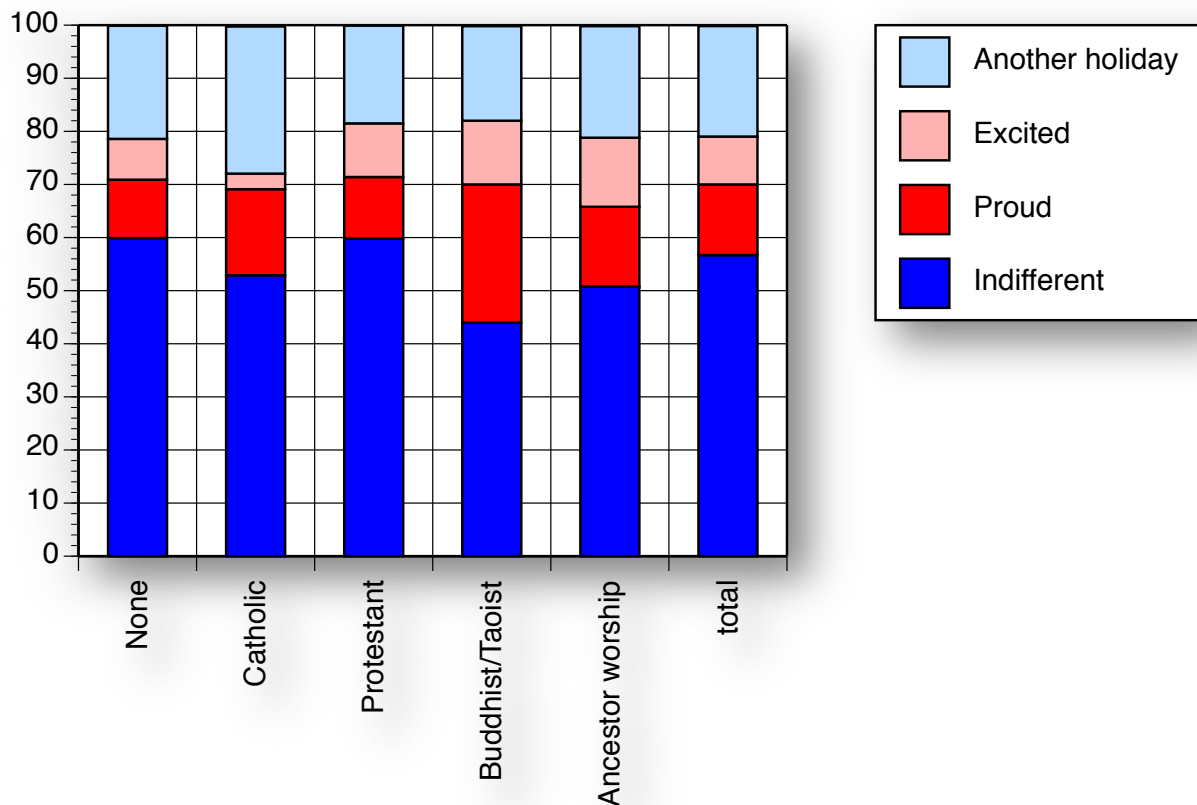


Table 164

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/Taoist	Ancestor worship	total
Indifferent	60	53	60	44	51	57
Proud	11	16	12	26	15	13
Excited	8	3	10	12	13	9
Another holiday	22	28	19	18	21	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.95 with 12 df p = 0.0010

Chart/Table 165 shows there is a much higher proportion of respondents over age 50 than under who have feelings of pride and excitement on China's National Day. Feelings of pride and excitement also tend to diminish as education level goes up. (Table 166)

Chart/Table 165 Feelings on National Day BY Age group Under/Over 50

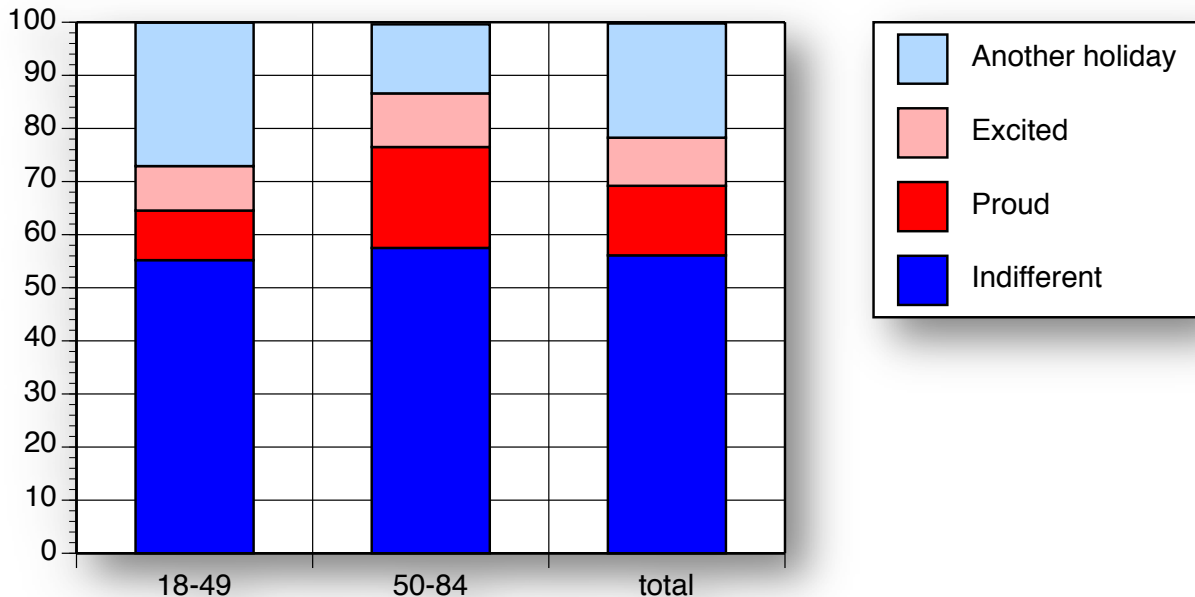


Table 165

	18-49	50-84	total
Indifferent	55	58	56
Proud	9	19	13
Excited	8	10	9
Another holiday	27	13	22
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 45.47 with 3 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 166 Feelings on National Day BY Years of Education

	0-6	7-8-9	10-11	12-13	14-15-16	17-18	total
Indifferent	55	60	59	56	53	63	56
Proud	20	16	11	14	12	13	13
Excited	14	9	9	10	8	2	9
Another holiday	12	15	22	20	28	22	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.04 with 15 df p = 0.0024

FINDING: Retirees feel most proud on National Day, Students feel least pride and excitement. There is no relationship between feelings on National Day and income.

Chart/Table 167 Feelings on National Day BY Occupation (Ranked by Proud)

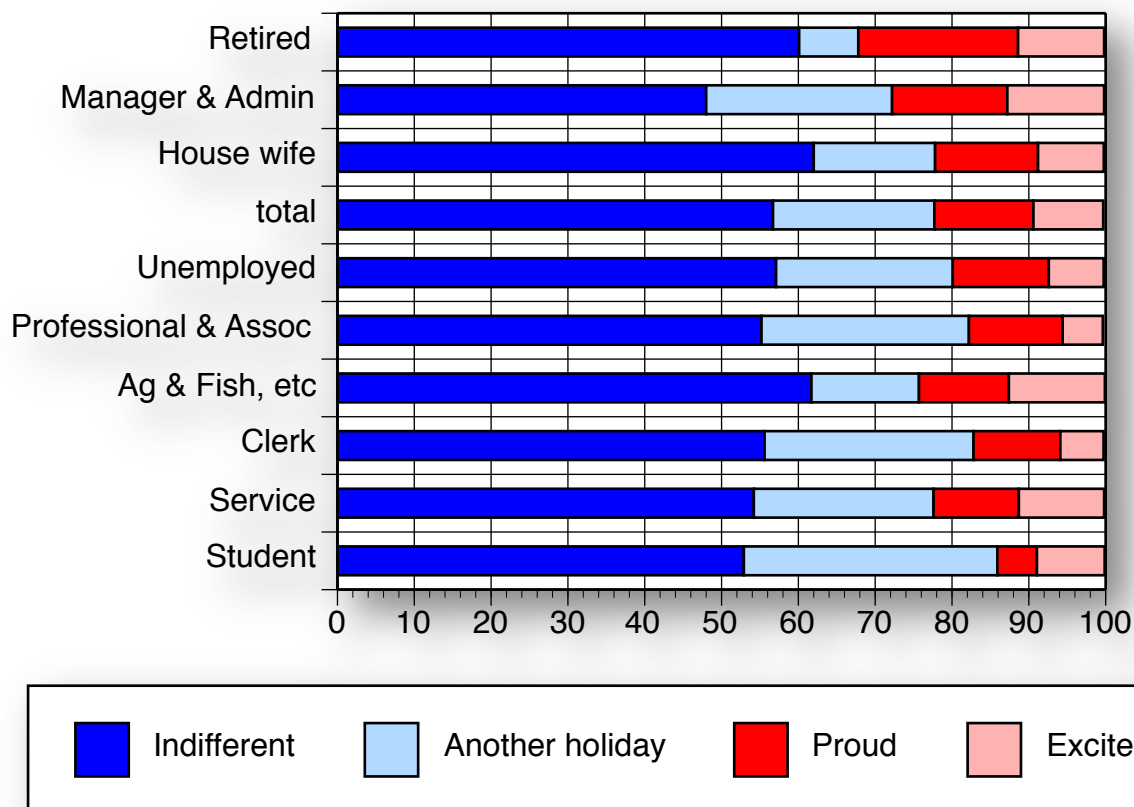


Table 167

	Manager & Admin	Profesinal & Assoc	Clerk	Service	Ag & Fish, etc	House wife	Retired	Un employed	Student	total
Indifferent	48	55	56	54	62	62	60	57	53	57
Proud	15	12	11	11	12	13	21	13	5	13
Excited	13	5	6	11	13	9	11	7	9	9
Another holiday	24	27	28	24	14	16	8	23	33	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 65.14 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001

The rich are no more patriotic than the poor, nor the opposite.

Table 168 Feelings on National Day by Income Group

	Under \$50,000 p month	Over \$50,000 p month	Refused to say	total
Indifferent	57	55	57	57
Proud	14	11	12	13
Excited	9	9	8	9
Another holiday	21	24	23	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 2.012 with 6 df p = 0.9186 NO ASSOCIATION

FINDING: *Feelings on National Day of Pride and Excitement tend to be associated with higher levels of satisfaction with the performance of the Government and with the CE.*

Chart/Table 169 Feelings on National Day BY Satisfaction with performance of Hong Kong Government

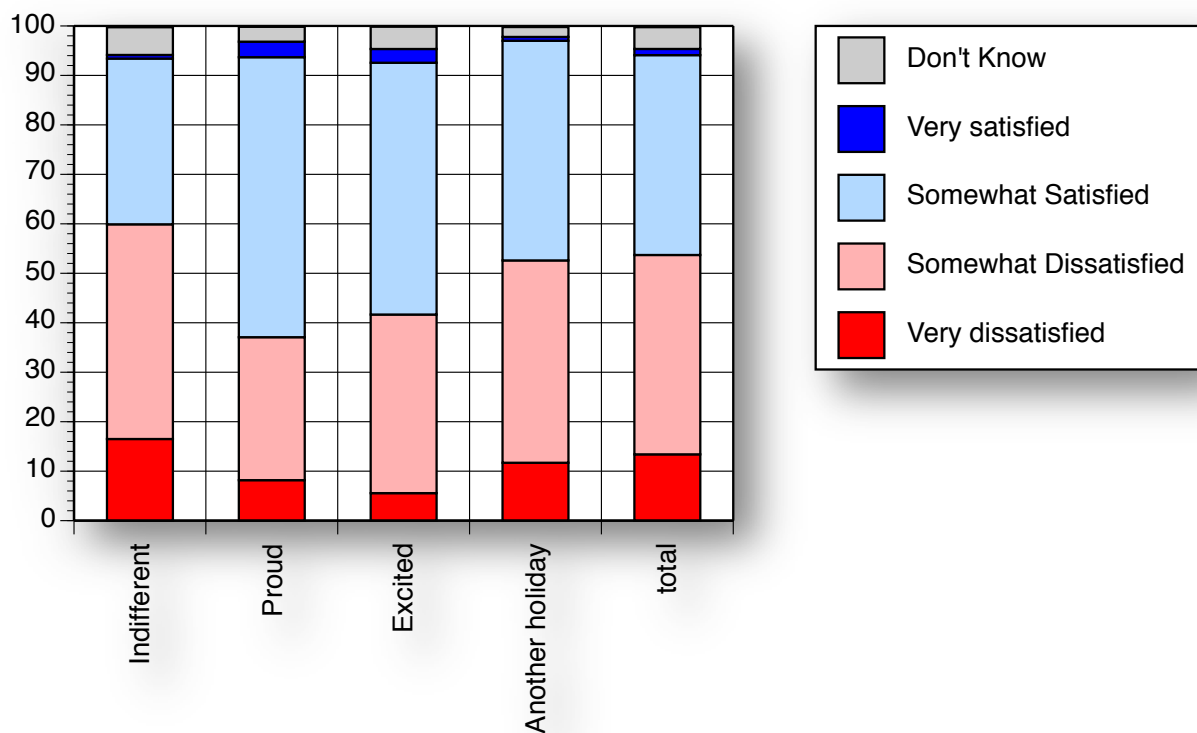


Table 169

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	17	8	6	12	13
Somewhat Dissatisfied	43	29	36	41	40
Somewhat Satisfied	34	57	51	44	40
Very satisfied	1	3	3	1	1
Don't Know	6	3	5	2	5
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 57.45 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart/Table 170 Feelings on National Day BY Satisfaction with performance of Chief Executive Donald Tsang

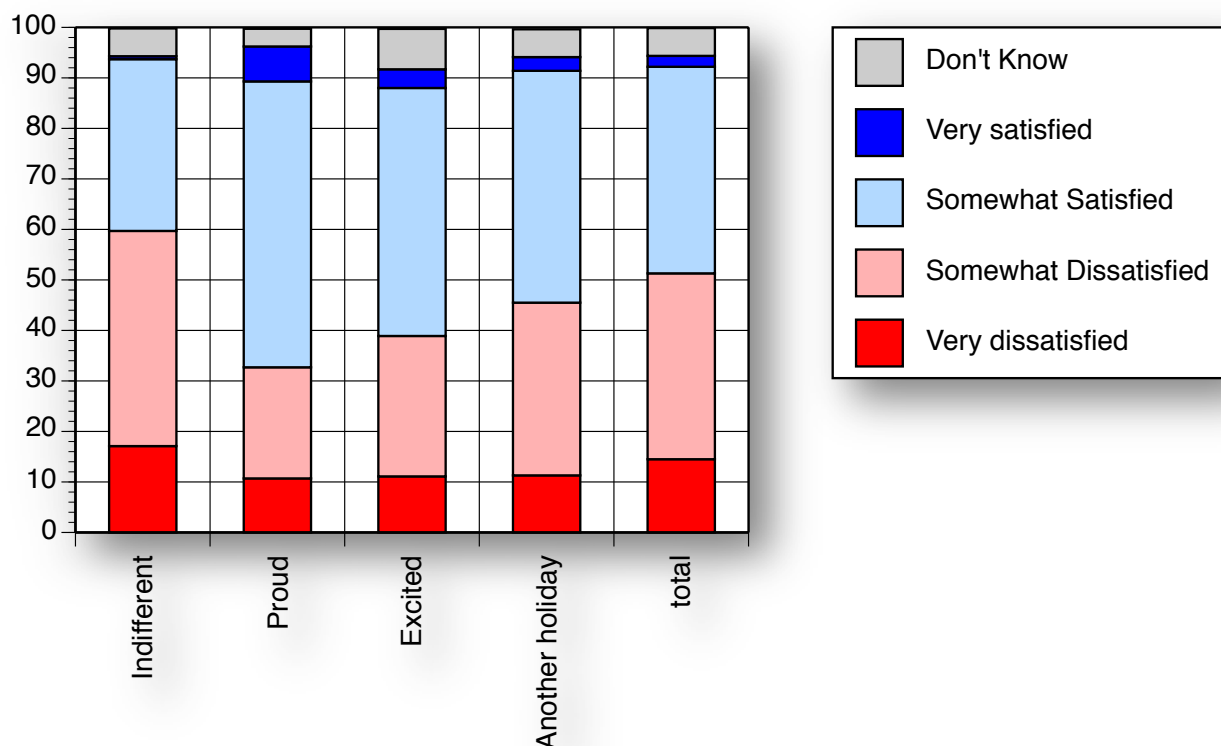


Table 170

	Indifferent	Proud	Excited	Another holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	17	11	11	11	15
Somewhat Dissatisfied	43	22	28	34	37
Somewhat Satisfied	34	57	49	46	41
Very satisfied	1	7	4	3	2
Don't Know	6	4	8	6	6
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 75.28 with 12 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Feelings of pride and excitement on China's National Day, one measure of patriotism, show solid relationships with satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong Government and Chief Executive. It is in their interest to encourage and call on those sentiments by building trust and confidence in the One Country, Two Systems structure established in 1997. *Feelings of patriotism are currently narrowly based and most prominent among the aged, less educated, and retired. This is not a base for future growth.* Constitutional Reform presents this system its severest test and these feelings of pride and excitement their greatest challenge, for clearly the great majority of Hong Kong people believe the present policy making system is unfair and that expanded direct elections will help fix it. *By promoting fair, frank negotiations of the final form of democracy and fully backing the timetable for direct elections it set down in December 2007, the local and national governments could go some way toward encouraging feelings on China's National Day of pride and excitement among the young, the educated, and the workers: the base of Hong Kong's and China's future.*

XI Demographics of the respondents

Gender

Group	Count	%
Male	585	49
Female	619	51

Age Group

Group	Count	%
18-19	66	6
20-29	171	14
30-39	180	15
40-49	300	25
50-59	260	22
60-69	127	11
70-84	77	7

Marital Status

Group	Count	%
Never married	376	31
Married	802	67
Widowed	6	1
Divorced	16	1
Other	4	--

Religion

Group	Count	%
None	638	53
Catholic	68	6
Protestant	199	17
Buddhist	94	8
Taoist	6	1
Ancestor worship	193	16
Other	6	1

Years of Education

Years of Education	Count	%
0 No schooling	20	2
1	5	--
2	11	2
3	13	2
4	7	2
5	16	2
Primary 6	67	6
7	13	1
8	20	2
9	118	10
10	17	1
11	287	24
12	31	3
13 First Yr Univ	132	11
14	21	2
15	29	2
16 Univ grad (3&4yr courses)	344	29
17 MA	40	3
18 PhD	6	1

Years of Education/Recoded

Group	Count	%
0-6 Primary 6 grad	139	12
7-8-9 F1-F3	151	13
10-11 F4-F5	304	25
12-13 F6-F7 4yr Univ Freshman	163	14
14-15-16 Univ grad	394	33
17-18 Post-grads	46	4

Type of Living Quarters

Group	Count	%
Villa or bungalow	13	1
Private, owner	519	43
Private, rental	81	7
Gov HOS	199	17
Public Housing block	333	28
Mod Village Hse	21	2
Trad Village Hse	20	2
Temporary Hse	3	--
Employer provided	13	1
Other	2	--

Occupation (According to Hong Kong Government categories)

Group	Count	%
Manager & Administrator	127	11
Professional	107	9
Assoc Professional	30	2
Clerks/Secretary	142	12
Service & Sales	72	6
Skilled Ag & Fishery	1	--
Craft, performers	18	1
Plant and machine operators	77	6
Elementary occupation	24	2
Housewife	187	16
Retired	178	15
Unemployed	56	5
Student	136	11
Education sector	35	3
Other	3	--
Refused	11	1

Occupation, Recoded

Group	Count	%
Managers & Admin	127	11
Professionals & Assoc Profession	172	14
Clerks	142	12
Service	72	6
Ag & Fish, Craft, Mach Op, Elementary	120	10
Housewife	187	16
Retired	178	15
Unemployed	56	5
Student	136	11

Work Sector

Group	Count	%
Civil servant	92	8
Privatized public (Housing, Airport Authority)	28	2
Private sector	503	42
Non-profit	14	1
Refuse	10	1
Non-working	557	46

Work Sector Recoded

Group	Count	%
Public (incl non-profit)	134	11
Private	503	42
Non-working	557	47

Income

Group	Count	%
None	82	7
Under 5,000	39	3
5,000-9,999	85	7
10,000-14,999	141	12
15,000-19,999	112	9
20,000-24,999	143	12
25,000-29,999	75	6
30,000-34,999	99	8
35,000-39,999	45	4
40,000-49,999*	74	6
50,000-59,999	58	5
60,000-69,999	34	3
70,000-79,999	17	1
80,000-89,999	13	1
90,000-99,999	11	1
100,000 +	44	4
Refuse	132	11

Identity

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong Chinese	423	35
Chinese	272	23
Hong Kong person	451	37
Hong Kong British	18	1
Overseas Chinese	16	1
Other	24	2

Experience of 1 Year or more living outside Hong Kong

Group	Count	%
Yes	226	19
No	975	81
Refuse	3	--

Location of Experience Outside Hong Kong

Group	Count	%
Not indicated	31	3
UK	36	3
US	20	2
Australia	20	2
Canada	32	3
New Zealand	5	--
Singapore	9	1
Mainland China	52	4
Taiwan	9	1
Macau	12	1
Other	29	2
Refuse	2	--
No experience abroad	947	79

Right of Abode

Group	Count	%
Yes	128	11
No	1073	89
Don't Know	3	--

Methods and contact details

Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer

Survey administration and Chinese translation: P.K. Cheung

At the 95% confidence level, range of error is plus or minus 3 points for surveys 900-1,200 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.hktp.org>

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																
	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																
	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																
	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																
	May 08 GC	714	May 08 FC**	409	June 08 GC	710	June FC	300	July 08 GC	710	July 08 FC	300								
	Aug 08 GC	705	Aug 08 FC	305	Sept 08 GC	721	Sept FC	304												
	May 09	1,205																		

*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.

72 surveys in 19 years for the Hong Kong Transition Project. Other surveys conducted on air pollution (2), mental health, Canadian citizens in Hong Kong, Perspectives of the EU in Hong Kong, and a series on housing prices and expectations.

†All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated. The Hong Kong Transition Project is funded via a competitive grant from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of the Hong Kong Government (HKBU 2168/04H) and since January 2009 by a grant from the Community Development Initiative Foundation. Some of the surveys above during Legco election years 2004 and 2008 were funded or co-funded by Civic Exchange, and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. None of the institutions mentioned above is responsible for any of the views expressed herein.