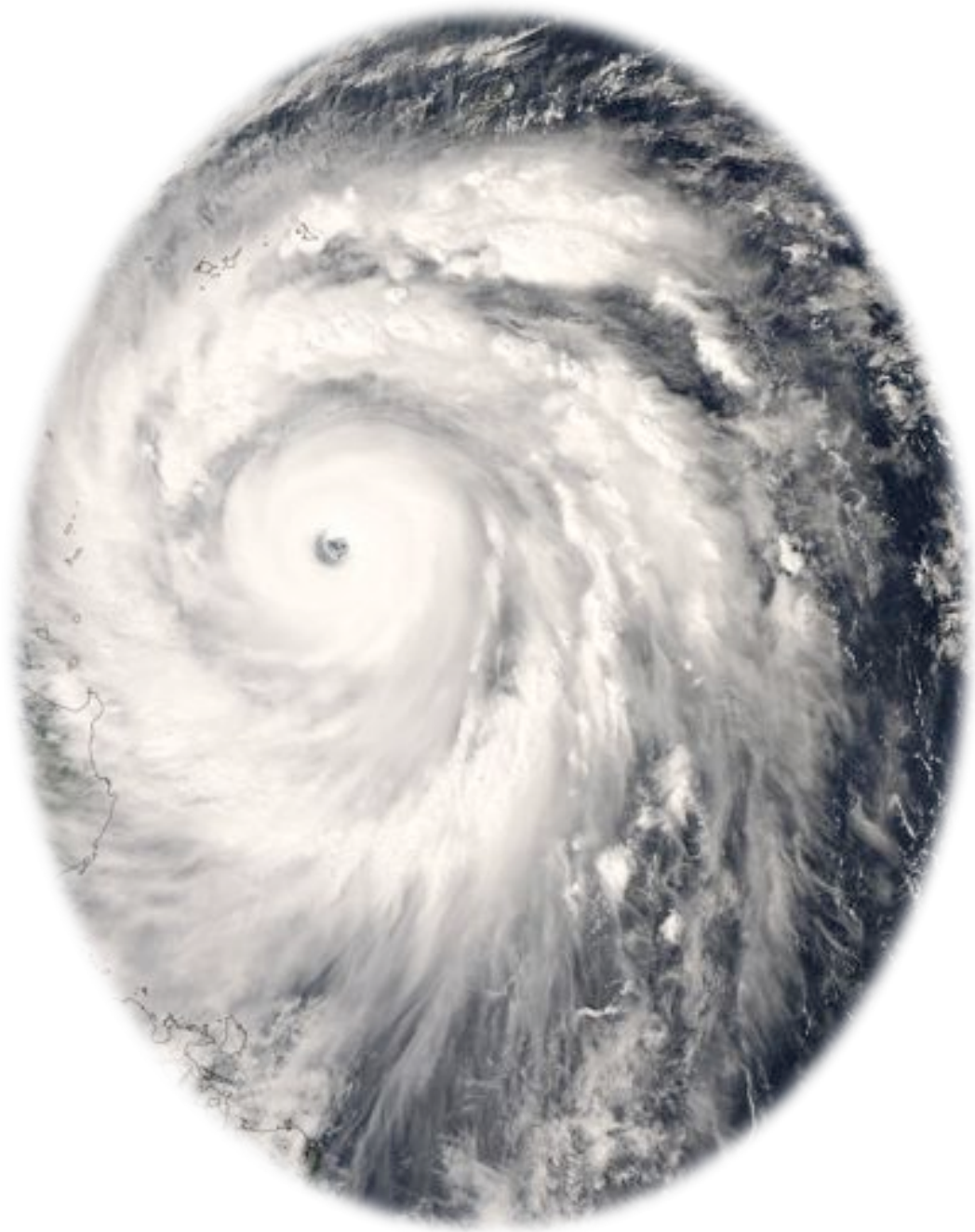


Calm After the Storm?

Hong Kong people respond to reform
(October 2010)



Background to the principals

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. Since 1997, NDI has conducted a series of assessment missions to Hong Kong to consider the development of the HKSAR's "post-reversion" election framework, the status of autonomy, rule of law and civil liberties under Chinese sovereignty, and the prospects for democratization beyond the 10-year transition period set forth in the Basic Law. In conjunction with the assessment missions, NDI has published an ongoing series entitled, "The Promise of Democratization in Hong Kong," that assesses the prospects for the development of a democratic electoral framework and identifies the obstacles that impede further democratization in Hong Kong.

NDI works with political parties and civil society organizations to encourage public discussion and debate on political reform. The Institute shares information with and provides technical assistance to Hong Kong political parties, political groups, and civil society organizations seeking to increase their ability to increase citizen participation in the HKSAR's political life. NDI has sponsored professional public opinion polls to determine public perceptions about political parties and various political issues in the HKSAR. NDI also actively supports civil society efforts to address good governance.

The Hong Kong Transition Project¹ is a long-term study of Hong Kong people's transition from British subjects to SAR citizens. Citizenship requires citizens have the power to elect their leaders and amend or approve their constitutional documents. The project focuses on the period beginning in 1982, when negotiations for Hong Kong's return commenced without Hong Kong people's participation as British colonial subjects, until when under the Basic Law, elections under new election rules decided by Hong Kong people themselves are scheduled to take place. This is expected to be 2017 for Chief Executive and 2020 for all members of the Legislative Council. This is the first report by the Hong Kong Transition Project since the approval of constitutional reform in June 2010. This is the first amendment of the Basic Law by vote of the representatives of the people of Hong Kong.

Community Development Initiative Foundation (CDIF) is a nonprofit organization that incubates ventures facilitating community and social development. It provides a platform for NGOs, think-tanks and activist groups to collaborate for a common purpose of enhancing the well-being of citizens in the community. CDIF engages in both research and education, by designing, hosting, and facilitating creative programs to support its community partners with the training, tools and resources necessary to facilitate the social development process in Hong Kong. CDIF has provided ongoing funding for the Hong Kong Transition Project since 2009.



¹ The Hong Kong Transition Project, established in 1988, (<http://www.hktp.org>) has been funded via competitive grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of the Hong Kong Government and is currently funded by the Community Development Initiative (<http://www.cdiorg.hk>) and by commissioned research with various NGOs and foundations. It is a founding member of the Comparative Governance and Policy Research Centre in the Government and International Studies Department at Hong Kong Baptist University. This commissioned research report was funded by NDI (<http://www.ndi.org>). None of the institutions mentioned are responsible for any of the views expressed herein.

Executive Summary

Hong Kong appeared to be heading toward potential unrest prior to the vote on constitutional reform 24 June 2010. The last minute changes proposed by moderates led by the Democratic Party and accepted by Beijing delivered more than the required 40 votes in Legco to pass, and hence political development begins to move forward toward more democratic forms of governance in 2012, with prospects for further reforms for 2016 and 2017 strengthened. Belief that government currently makes policies unfairly is up despite the reform vote, however. In August 2010 65 percent believed government made policies unfairly. Men of working age and those in the 20s are most deeply disaffected. When Donald Tsang took office in May 2005 54 percent felt government made policy unfairly. In February 2003, before the huge 1 July 2003 march, 67 percent held this view.

But a majority, 51 percent, now believe constitutional reforms will make government policy making fairer after they go into effect in 2012. The passage of reform has bought a breathing space for government to address the beliefs of a strong majority that government makes policy unfairly. About a fourth, 28 percent, think the reforms will make policy making less fair. Service workers are most pessimistic, with 46 percent holding the reforms will make policy making less fair. Business administrators and managers are most hopeful, with 57 percent thinking reforms will make policy making fairer. But the belief that the current unfair policy making will change after reforms go into effect has calmed emotions down. Nevertheless, the traditional pro-democracy march of 1 July 2010 saw opponents of the government's reform package attack fellow democrats, and the LSD after the reform vote vowed no further cooperation with the Democratic Party. The pan-democratic coalition is now dead.

Before the vote, only government surveys reported a majority supported the reform proposals. The amendments delivered a net swing of 6 percentage points toward support for the package, delivering a majority in support, and now, after the vote, 59 percent say they generally support the reforms while opposition has dropped to 30 percent. Over three out of four approved of the Democratic Party and other moderates negotiating with Beijing. For the first time ever, majorities of those age 40 and up are satisfied with the performance of the Democratic Party, and for the first time ever, the Democratic Party satisfaction rate is above the DAB's in all those older age groups, including those over 60. Every age group but those in the 20s show a majority in support of the reforms. Support for further reform has gone up, with clear majorities in support of abolishing corporate voting, abolishing functional constituencies, and directly electing the Chief Executive and all members of Legco.

Yet middle income groups along with working men and those in their 20s appear the most disaffected, both believing that current government policy making is unfair and in proportions opposing the reforms. Clerks and secretaries are most opposed to reforms and least believing they will make policy making fairer after 2012. Pessimism about Hong Kong's future as a part of China is up, despite the vote, and appears related to economic issues, particularly opportunity for those under age 30. While the outlook is brighter after the reform vote for Hong Kong's stability, much remains to be addressed in terms of improving governance to the satisfaction of Hong Kong's citizens.

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Introduction

To say that Hong Kong experienced controversy over constitutional reform in 2010 would be similar to saying New Orleans experienced flooding after Hurricane Katrina. Like flooding, “controversy” describes what happened. But the deep rifts that opened between friends and colleagues both among the pan-democratic camp and among pro-Beijing loyalists over the twists and turns and final compromises before the first reform since Hong Kong became part of the Peoples Republic of China hardly fits the term. Martin Lee, one of the founders of the Democratic Party, the oldest party in Hong Kong, the party once considered by all as the flagship of the pro-democracy movement, publicly broke with his colleagues over the deal. His friend and co-founder, Szeto Wah dismissed Lee’s rejection of the reform compromise as politically foolish and even naive. Lee withdrew to ponder over the summer, he said, whether or not to resign altogether from the Democratic Party.

The “conscience of Hong Kong” as the *Economist* and other reporters and commentators frequently dubbed former Chief Secretary for Administration Anson Chan, denounced the Democratic Party and other members of an alliance of moderates who brokered the compromise for negotiating directly with Beijing officials. By “going around” the Chief Executive they had undercut Hong Kong’s autonomy and the authority of the Chief Executive to negotiate with Beijing as the leader of all Hong Kong people, she argued. After years of attacking businessmen and pro-Beijing loyalists for doing the same end-run around local officials, pro-democrats could hardly indulge in the same behavior yet hail the results as a success. And among the parties, feelings ran so high that former partners in the pan-democratic alliance, the League of Social Democrats, refused any further cooperation with the Democratic Party. On the now traditional July 1 pro-democracy march, LSD supporters spent more energy attacking Democratic Party participants for conceding to Beijing than they spent criticizing the government for not conceding to their demands for full direct elections now. June 2010 marked both the start of constitutional reform and the end of the pan-democratic movement.

Pro-Beijing loyalists also felt betrayed though they kept their feelings a little more private. But instead of dividing like the pan-democrats, they were as unified in their support for Beijing as in their discontent with the way Beijing took their loyalty for granted and, as they saw it, abused that loyalty. Barely a fortnight before the dramatic announcement that Beijing approved of the moderates’ and Democratic Party’s proposals for reform, the Vice President of the PRC in charge of Hong Kong affairs announced that Beijing had considered and firmly rejected those proposals to amend the government’s package. What was on offer, he insisted, was what would be voted on in Legco, nothing else and nothing more. The loyalists loyally defended Beijing’s stance as perfectly reasonable and that of the pan-democrats as perfectly unreasonable. They argued that what was on offer was acceptable to the public, even when every poll but the government’s own showed less than a majority supported the unamended government package. Then, without warning, Beijing officials abruptly switched position, accepted the moderate’s proposals, praised the moderates and the Democratic Party for their “reasonableness,” and the loyalists, loyally, followed suit in supporting the amendments, but not without dark mutterings about how they had been treated and not, according to the results of this survey, without some repercussions from their own normally strongly supportive voter bloc.

So after years of rancorous dispute, one veto in 2005, resignations from and re-elections to Legco which were boycotted by all loyalist groups and most voters, and the end of some lifelong friendships, Hong Kong got agreement on reform. In the end, hardly anyone celebrated. Now all sides are fully engaged in preparing for newly important District Council (DC) elections in November 2011.

Under the agreed reforms the District Councils go from one seat in a 60 member Legco returned by a vote among the 534 members, including the votes of 102 government appointees and 27 ex officio rural committee chairmen, to six seats in a 70 member Legco, with those six DC seats elected by all voters who do not already have a Functional Constituency vote. Candidates for these 6 seats will be nominated by the elected members of the District Councils. These nominations will likely be highly competitive, as will the contests for each of the 405 elected seats on the DCs. The reforms also added five seats to the Geographic Constituencies (GC) which are already highly contested and open to vote by everyone who lives in those constituencies. In effect, the Functional Constituencies (FC) went from a franchise of just over 200,000 voters filling 30 seats, with 80 percent of those 200,000 voters crowded into the franchises for just 6 of the 30, to where everyone can vote in an FC seat, and 12 of the 35 seats will have fairly large franchises.

The FC franchise overall will expand from 200,000 to 3.4 million, about the same number as GC registered voters. There are indications the 23 tiny franchise seats may see an expansion of their franchises and the end of designated corporate voters when the enabling legislation is introduced for the 2012 elections. Trying to track and limit corporate voters who are designated to vote for their corporations by boards to voting only in those FCs and not in the DC seats will likely be enough of a bureaucratic hassle and government cost factor to discourage government from continuing the practice. The other 24 tiny franchises in the, up to now, business and professional dominated FCs have also up to now provided plenty of votes for the 15 members needed to veto actions by the whole Legco. Now, with 35 FC seats, 18 votes are needed to veto and things get a little tougher since business groups and firms dominate exactly 18 FC seats. And with all voters voting for FC seats, and voting for action on their very local level District affairs, the tendency of FC elites to exercise their disproportionate power and escape scrutiny because the average GC voter pays little to no attention to FC affairs (because they can't vote for them) has ended.

This survey shows that the reform campaign has already led to significant changes in views toward the FCs. These are likely to continue, especially once these newly enfranchised voters see "their" DC representative in Legco being frustrated in exercising the will of the vast majority by the vetoes sustained by the very few votes of the business and professional dominated FC seats. The likelihood is strong, and there are grounds in this survey for concluding, that the appetite for reform has been whetted, not slacked, by the reforms taken in 2010. Pressure on the Hong Kong government to continue and even accelerate political reform looks set to increase. And now, the Premier of China's Central Peoples Government is talking publicly and frequently about increasing democracy and political reform elsewhere in China. This vote in 2010 may turn out to be a date as marked for its historic significance to democratic development in China as the 1911 revolution that began the long and winding process of establishing rule of, by and for the people in this most populous country on earth.

1. Reactions to reform: Analytical framework

When social divisions lead to disruptive frequent protests and ugly confrontations it becomes important to determine what divides a polarized society. By the time riots or arms have appeared it is sometimes too late for the state to survive such levels of discord. The phenomenon of “failed states” has become widespread enough to have even become a standard category of classification in international and security studies. The causes of rifts in society have long been recognized. Popular expression talks of rich versus poor, young versus old, educated versus uneducated, urban versus rural, and any number of ethnic, religious, linguistic or regional divides depending on the country. While dissent from prevailing views or having different customs or beliefs are healthy and even to be encouraged, deep differences that foster discrimination and/or which create a growing sense of unfairness can lead, and have led, to internal conflicts up to and including civil wars and collapse of a state. Serious, prolonged divisions can build up resentments until almost anything sparks confrontations. If particular groups feel they have been singled out for exclusion or exploitation, the legitimacy of the governance system or even of the state itself can come into question. And when people in general in large enough numbers feel they have no say and have little or nothing to lose and no hope of change within the present system, then the legitimacy of the system itself becomes open to challenge. When challenges are met not with reforms but force, then violence begets violence in a vicious cycle. Fairness and inclusion are not fantasy ideals; they are solutions to real problems.

While no society has ever or will ever achieve perfect equality and fairness in all things, all societies that achieve stability and prosperity make continuous attempts to ensure that, as much as possible on crucial things like food, water, shelter, education, and law, most people most of the time can get a share fair enough and treatment equal enough for them to survive, to have some security of person and of what property they have obtained, and to have a chance to compete in and contribute to their society. Often it is true that political leaders of countries will either stir these divisions up as a means to sectarian power or calm them down, as a means to wider, and shared, prosperity. The fundamental issue is that political leaders have a choice: do they recognize and address sources of unrest, or do they curry them into perhaps, for a time, personal power but at the cost ultimately to the stability and prosperity, or even survival, of their country?

A society cannot be sustained by force alone—we have learnt that lesson time and again—but no society has ever failed because it was too fair or gave too many people too many opportunities to make the best of themselves. The crucial challenge is to recognize when the degree of unfairness and sense of alienation are becoming dangerous, who it is that are most alienated, and what needs to be done to redress their grievances. Metrics to measure and track the effects of social unfairness have been invented. Perhaps one of the most comprehensive is the Human Development Index first published in 1990. Its focus on life expectancy, education measured in literacy and enrollment of children in school, and GDP was largely used to create the Millennium Development Goals to reduce poverty—the major cause of social schisms—by lowering child mortality, raising basic education levels for all, improving treatment of minorities, increasing access to basic healthcare for all, especially women and children, and improving means for less developed states to compete on a fairer basis with developed countries. But in developed countries or entities like Hong Kong, while these “developmental” issues still apply at the margin and to minorities, the major issue for most is opportunity—the opportunity to raise one’s standard of living and that of one’s children—and participation in the decision making on policies important to one’s interests as

well as in allocation of shares in bearing the burden of modern governance. As long as people feel they have opportunity to better themselves and their families, and as long as they feel they are not completely helpless in making their views and needs known to decision-makers and having those taken into account, that is, as long as they feel the burdens and benefits of modern life are roughly shared proportionately to one’s wealth, education and other capabilities, then society can achieve stability and prosperity. This is the essence of the “fairness” assessment in this report.

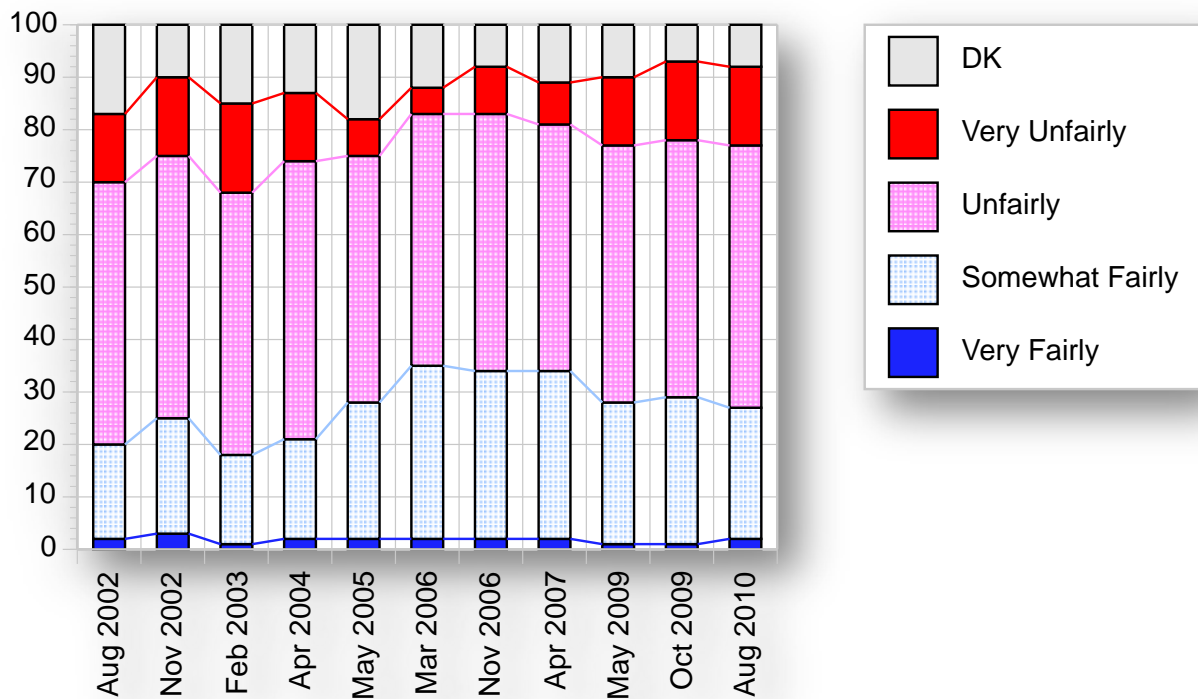
In order to assess this measure in terms of who feels what and why about the fairness of the Hong Kong governance system, we employ the usual demographic variables of age, income, education, home ownership, marital status and having children and so on. But we also include “political” measures of participation which also become variables in assessing social stability, such as voter registration, home ownership, membership in a charitable group, environmental group, or party, and attitudes toward the nation and government. In this report we also use these variables to assess the impact of the constitutional reforms approved in June 2010 (but not yet implemented until 2012) and to determine the overall health of the Hong Kong governance system and its prospects going forward.

We first look at the trends concerning fairness in policy making. The effect of reforms on this issue going forward, and then at how different demographic and political variables affect these assessments. Chart/Table 1 uses different font colors to divide the period under the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa (results from August 2002 to April 2004) from the period under the current Chief Executive Donald Tsang (May 2005 to the present). The chart on the following page makes clear that intensity of feelings of unfairness grew under Tung Chee-hwa, resulting in the huge demonstrations in Hong Kong in 2003 and 2004 when over half a million people out of a population of less than 6 million adults and permanent residents marched in protests. Those feelings lessened in amount and degree (“very unfairly responses) until 2009 (other indicators track this shift to May 2008 when a scandal over housing policy transformed the dynamic of the 2008 Legco elections—see earlier NDI/HKTP reports in this series).

Chart/Table 1 Do you think government currently makes policies in general fairly, helping or hurting all parties equally, or unfairly, favoring the interests of some over others?

	Very Fairly	Somewhat Fairly	Unfairly	Very Unfairly	DK
Aug 2002	2	18	50	13	16
Nov 2002	3	22	50	15	10
Feb 2003	1	17	50	17	14
Apr 2004	2	19	53	13	13
May 2005	2	26	47	7	17
Mar 2006	2	33	48	5	12
Nov 2006	2	32	49	9	8
Apr 2007	2	32	47	8	10
May 2009	1	27	49	13	10
Oct 2009	1	28	49	15	6
Aug 2010	2	25	50	15	8

Chart of Table 1: Fairness in government policy making



As Chart/Table 1 shows, the degree and intensity of feeling about unfairness in government policy-making is approaching that last seen in November 2002. It took only a spark a few months later—the introduction of Article 23 legislation and remarks by the then Secretary for Security Regina Ip in the first half of 2003—to provoke massive protests and fears of social instability.

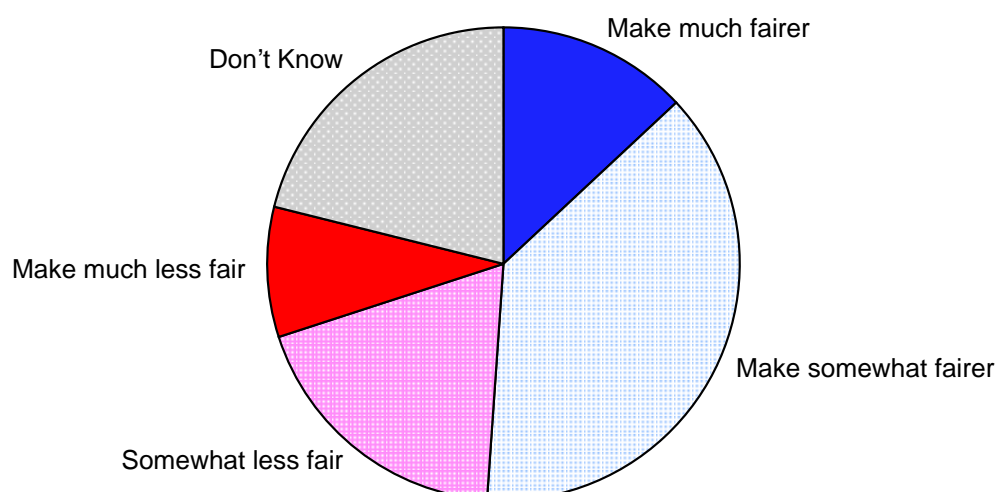
Chart/Table 2 shows that by a margin of almost two to one—51 percent versus 28 percent—people think (or hope) that the reforms passed in June 2010 will make government policies fairer.

Chart/Table 2 Do you think the reforms (passed in June) will make government policies fairer or less fair after they go into effect in 2012?²

	%
Make much fairer	13
Make somewhat fairer	38
Somewhat less fair	19
Make much less fair	9
Don't Know	21

² All references are to the survey of 816 permanent residents conducted in August 2010 unless otherwise indicated. All results are rounded to the nearest whole number as recommended by WAPOR and AAPOR guidelines. In surveys of this size (816), the range of error is +/-3.5 points at the 95 percent confidence interval. See Note on Methods at end of report for further details and sample sizes of other surveys referenced.

Chart of Table 2: Effect on fairness of 2010 reforms



In Tables 3 and 4 we show the collapsed categories (Very fairly and Somewhat fairly collapsed into simply Fairly, and so on). These collapsed categories make the analysis both more reliable statistically and somewhat easier to read the results. In many cases, subcategories are too small to analyze with confidence (as a rule of thumb, you need about 100 cases, at the very least 50 cases, to run a crosstab to test for association, but the larger the better the reliability of the result).

Table 3 Do you think government currently makes policies in general fairly, helping or hurting all parties equally, or unfairly, favoring the interests of some over others? (collapsed categories)

Group	Count	%
Fairly	221	27
Unfairly	528	65
Don't Know	67	8

Table 4 Do you think the reforms (passed in June) will make government policies fairer or less fair after they go into effect in 2012? (collapsed categories)

Group	Count	%
Make fairer	408	50
Make less fair	233	29
Don't Know	175	21

Analysis by Demographic variables

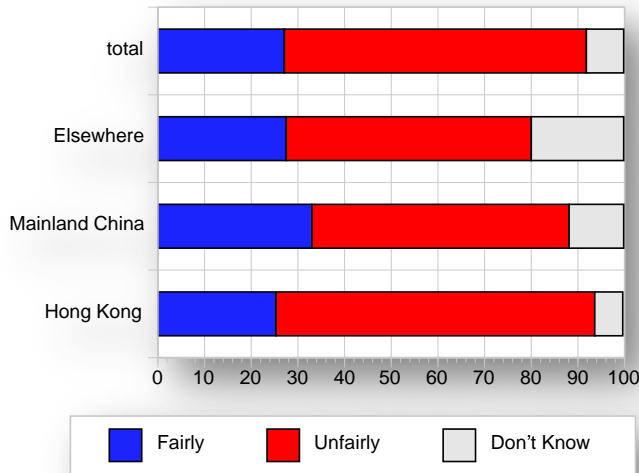
Chart/Table 5 shows that those born in mainland China tend to consider policy making as somewhat fairer than those born in Hong Kong. Those born in mainland China and elsewhere also are much more likely to respond Don't Know to this question. But in all categories, a clear majority to a bare majority deem government policy-making in Hong Kong unfair.

Chart/Table 5 Does government make policies fairly BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Fairly	25	33	28	27
Unfairly	68	55	53	65
Don't Know	6	12	20	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.88 with 4 df p = 0.0005



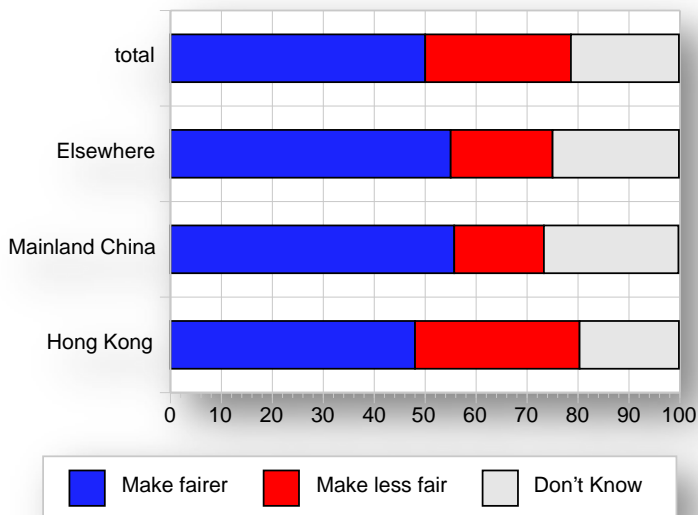
Chart/Table 6 shows that most in every birthplace group believe the reforms will make policy making fairer in 2012 when they go into effect, but about a third of Hong Kong born respondents believe the reforms will make policy making less fair.

Chart/Table 6 Will 2010 reforms make policy fairer in 2012 BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Make fairer	48	56	55	50
Make less fair	32	18	20	29
Don't Know	20	27	25	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.61 with 4 df p = 0.0023



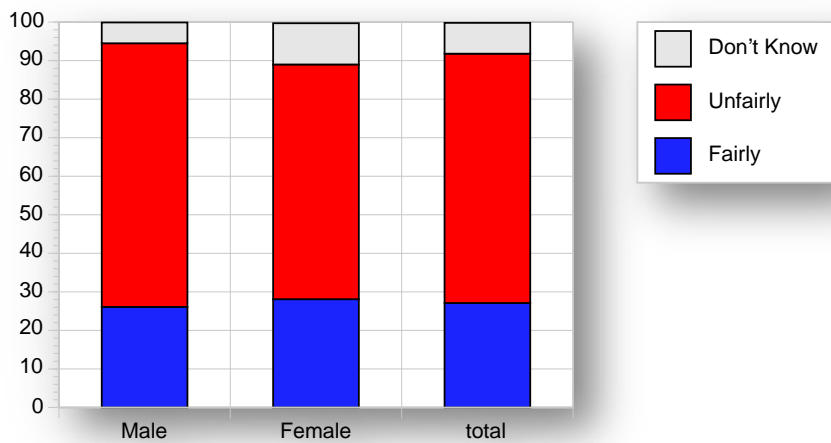
Perceptions of unfairness are significantly higher among men. And people in the prime of working age, 20 to 60 (see Chart/Table 8) are the most convinced that government makes policies unfairly.

Chart/Table 7 Does government make policies fairly BY Sex

	Male	Female	total
Fairly	26	28	27
Unfairly	68	61	65
Don't Know	6	11	8
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 9.256 with 2 df p = 0.0098

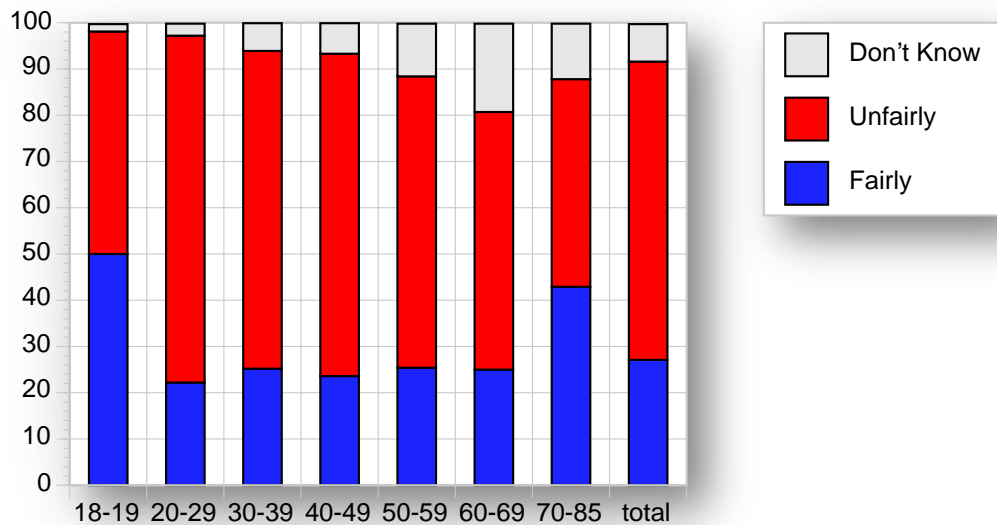


Chart/Table 8 Does government make policies fairly BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Fairly	50	22	25	24	25	25	43	27
Unfairly	48	75	69	70	63	56	45	65
Don't Know	2	3	6	7	12	19	12	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 52.27 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001



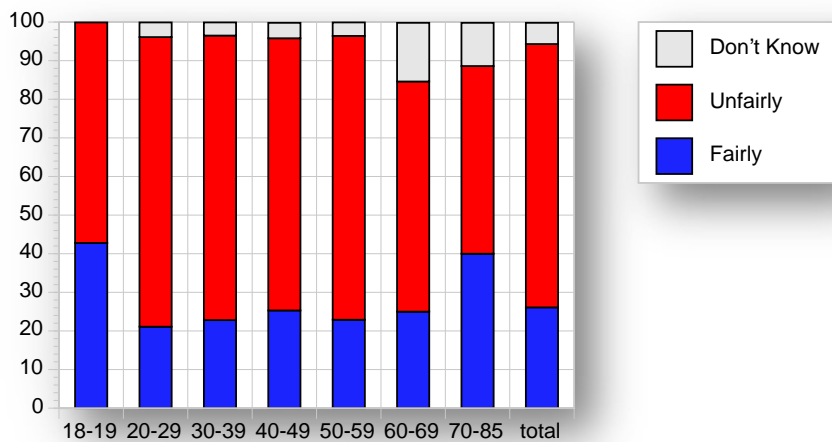
But there is more within the sex/age responses. Among men between 20 and 60 more than 7 in 10 feel policies are made unfairly. This is an extraordinary uniformity of view. Among women (Chart/Table 10), only those in their 20s match the men on unfairness. And women in the 20s, in another extraordinary result, have significantly fewer Don't Know responses than men, a very unusual result for women versus men in general.

Chart/Table 9 Does government make policies fairly BY Age (Males only)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Fairly	43	21	23	25	23	25	40	26
Unfairly	57	75	74	71	74	60	49	68
Don't Know	0	4	4	4	4	15	11	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.32 with 12 df p = 0.0134

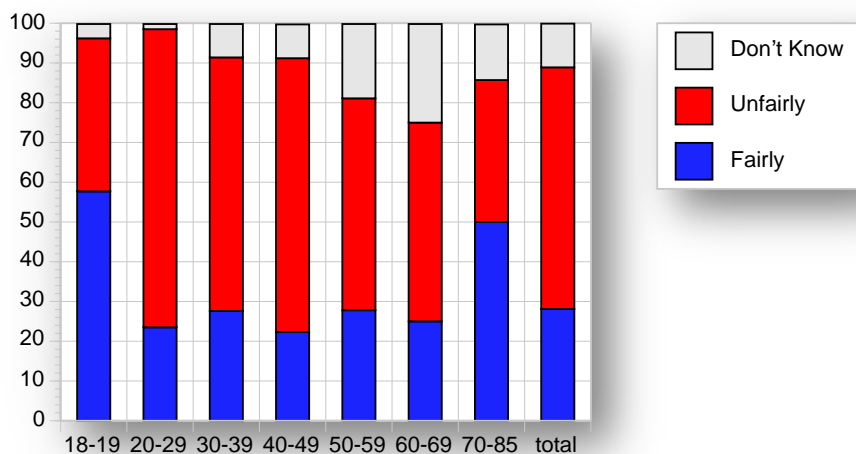


Chart/Table 10 Does government make policies fairly BY Age (Females only)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Fairly	58	24	28	22	28	25	50	28
Unfairly	39	75	64	69	53	50	36	61
Don't Know	4	1	9	9	19	25	14	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 39.91 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001



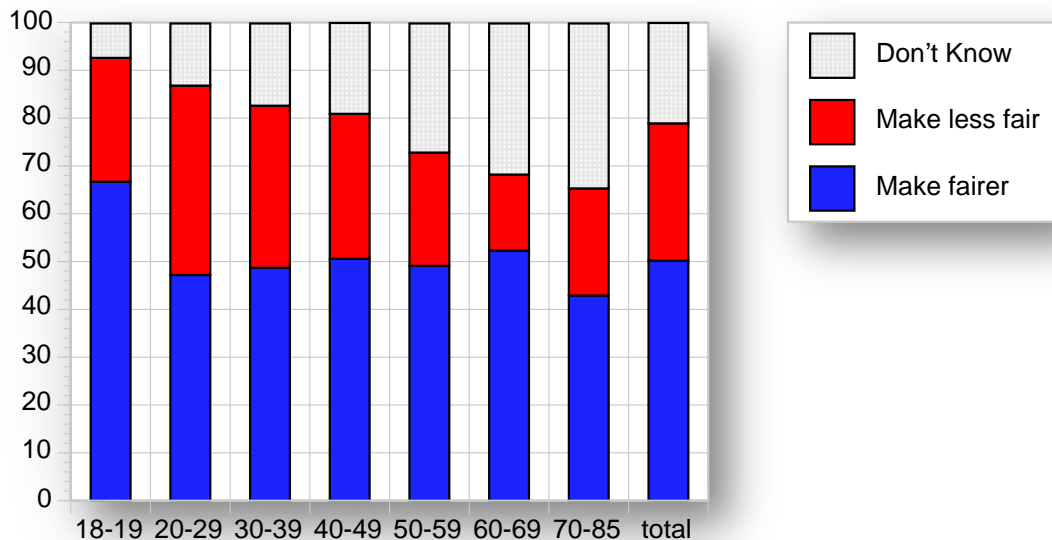
The issues of unfairness and frustration among men and those in their 20s noted in two previous Hong Kong Transition Project reports in the run-up to the reform vote in June 2010, *Protest and Post-80s Youth* and *To the Brink?* (available at <http://www.hktp.org>) appear still serious, which makes the passage of reform and the hopes for change it has raised both greatly encouraging and, at the same time, troubling. It is very clear from the results in Chart/Table 11 that the expectations that constitutional reforms will make government policy making fairer are high. By almost two to one people think the reforms will make policy-making fairer and many, one in five, appear willing to abate judgment for the moment (the Don't Know responses are up significantly which is a normal response for changes in government structure or leadership in Hong Kong). The danger, of course, is that if hopes are raised then dashed, the reaction of anger and frustration could be significantly greater than before. And looking at Chart/Table 9 and 10, or Chart/Table 1, and recalling the events of 2003-04 when frustration and anger nearly boiled over, Hong Kong is at significant risk if the reforms do not deliver on fairer governance.

Chart/Table 11 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Make fairer	67	47	49	51	49	52	43	50
Make less fair	26	40	34	30	24	16	22	29
Don't Know	7	13	17	19	27	32	35	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 40.65 with 12 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Those who are married tend to consider policies as unfairly made (63 percent) somewhat less than those who are unmarried (69 percent), but this is more a function of age than marital status, since more young people are unmarried and more young people are convinced government policy making is unfair than among older cohorts. But there is one result testing by whether people have children or not that shows that marriage alone does not explain all response differences. Those who are married and have children are less likely than those who are married with no kids to respond Don't Know rather than to say policy-making is unfair (Chart/Table 12). And the same holds true for whether the reforms will make policy-making fairer (Chart/Table 13). One in ten of those with children respond Don't Know on fairness, and 27 percent say Don't Know to the effect of reforms on fair policy making. Perhaps people with children have less time to form an opinion.

Chart/Table 12 Does government make policies fairly BY Children in family

	Married, no children	Married, 1-5 children	Not married	total
Fairly	29	28	26	27
Unfairly	67	62	69	65
Don't Know	3	10	5	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 7.916 with 4 df p = 0.0947

Chart/Table 13 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Children in family

	Married, no children	Married, 1-5 children	Not married	total
Make fairer	55	51	48	50
Make less fair	28	23	38	29
Don't Know	17	27	14	21
total	100	100	100	100

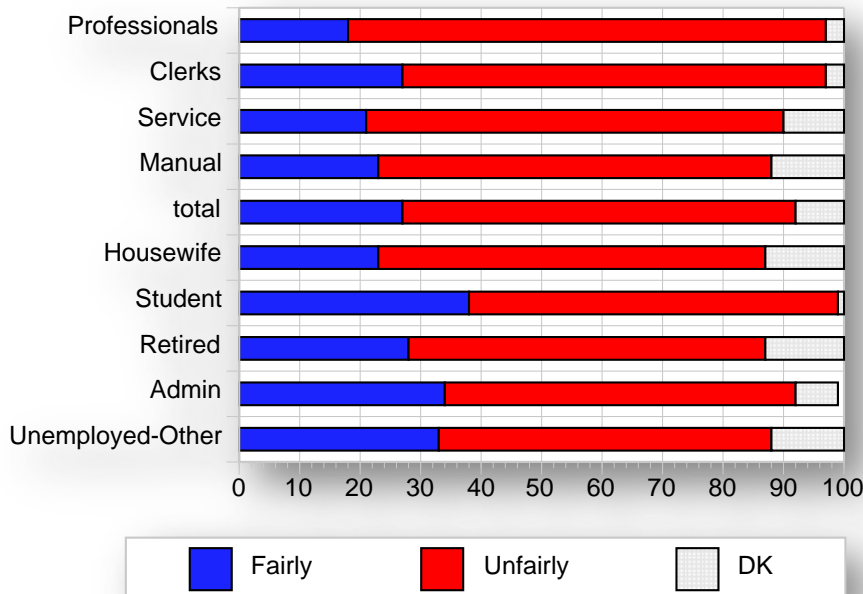
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 29.71 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart/Table 14 shows professionals and associate professionals have the highest level of “unfairly” responses while unemployed and other categories have the lowest “unfair” response. The total category is the average for all, so everything above that responded with higher degrees of unfairness and all below with less than the average.

Chart/Table 14 Does government make policies fairly BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Fairly	34	18	27	21	23	23	28	33	38	27
Unfairly	58	79	70	69	65	64	59	55	61	65
DK	7	3	4	10	13	14	14	13	1	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 41.27 with 16 df p = 0.0005



Chart/Table 15 shows responses by occupation for those in the workforce only, and sorts the responses by “unfairly” replies to the question. This clarifies the results of

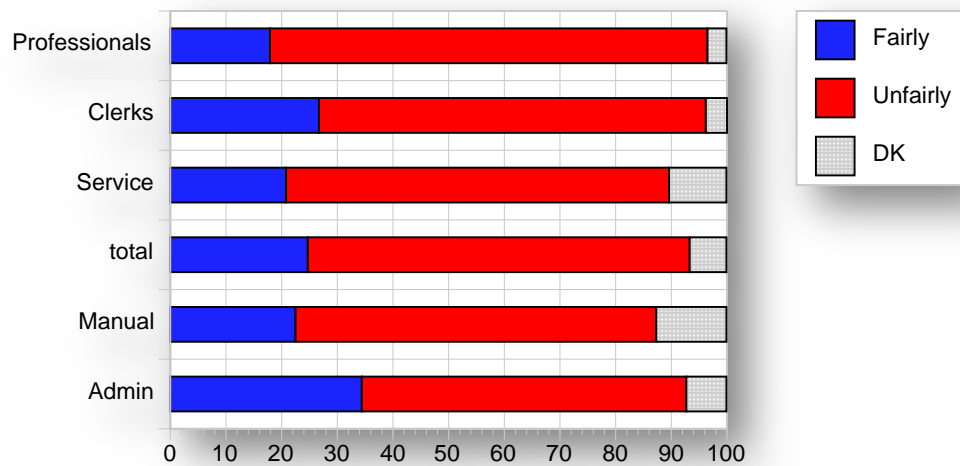
Chart/Table 14 in those terms, indicating that professionals, clerks and service workers have higher than average responses of unfair than manual and especially administrative workers. While there is clearly a gap between the business sector and others in the workforce on unfairness in policy making, that a clear majority of business related administrators feel that policy making is unfair, is interesting. Is this response pattern *despite* business sectors having disproportional influence in Legco (18 seats set aside for business), or *because* of such disproportional influence?

Chart/Table 15 Does government make policies fairly BY Workforce Occupation only (sorted by unfairly responses)

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	total
Fairly	34	18	27	21	23	25
Unfairly	58	79	70	69	65	69
DK	7	3	4	10	13	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.82 with 8 df p = 0.0226



Business related administrators (and managers), students, manual workers, professionals and housewives all are above the average in expecting the reforms will make government policy-making fairer. Service workers are the most convinced the reforms will make policy-making less fair.

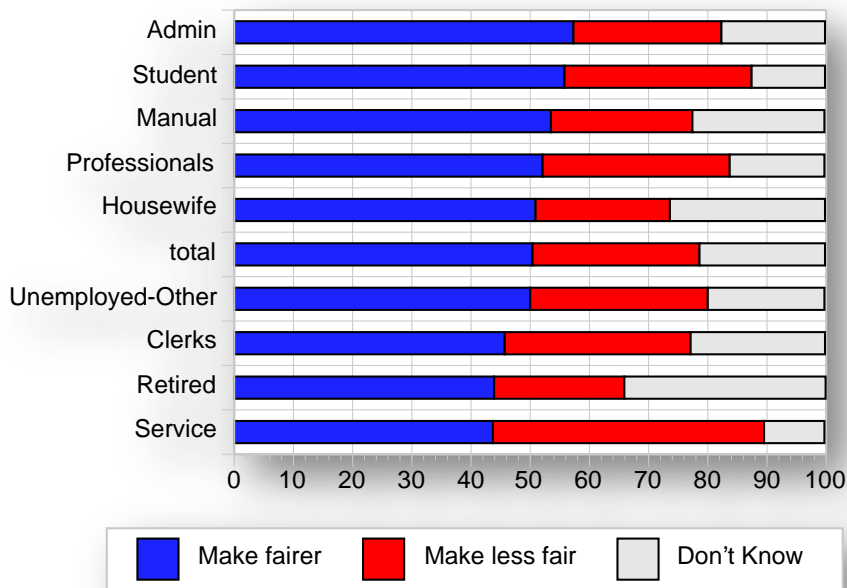
Chart/Table 16 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Make fairer	57	52	46	44	54	51	44	50	56	50
Make less fair	25	32	31	46	24	23	22	30	32	28
Don't Know	18	16	23	10	23	26	34	20	13	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.85 with 16 df p = 0.0077

Chart of Table 16 Will reforms make government policies fairer by Occupation

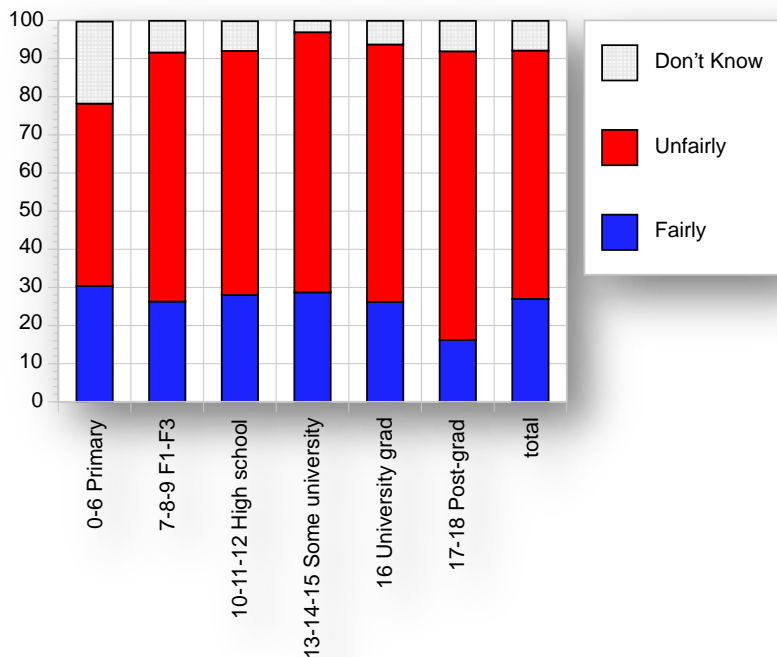


Perceptions of unfairness tend to rise by primary or less, high school or less, or some university or more education levels.

Chart/Table 17 Does government make policies fairly BY Education

	0-6 Primary	7-8-9 F1-F3	10-11-12 High school	13-14-15 Some university	16 University grad	17-18 Post-grad	total
Fairly	30	26	28	29	26	16	27
Unfairly	48	65	64	68	68	76	65
Don't Know	22	8	8	3	6	8	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 27.65 with 10 df p = 0.0021



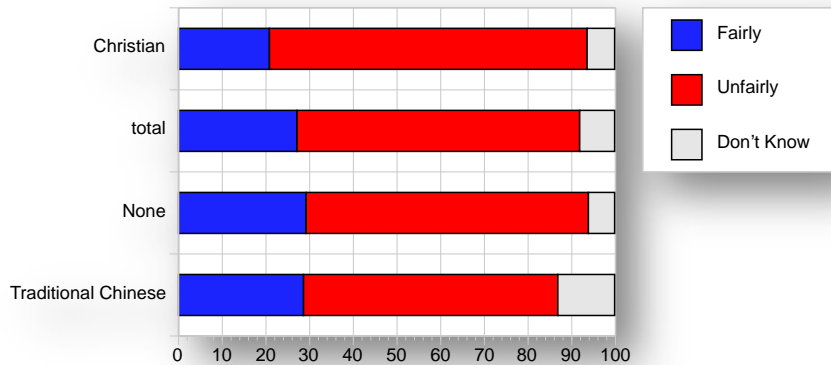
Christians are more likely to consider government policy making unfair than other religions or those of no religion.

Chart/Table 18 Does government make policies fairly BY Religion

	None	Christian	Traditional Chinese	total
Fairly	29	21	29	27
Unfairly	65	73	58	65
Don't Know	6	7	13	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.64 with 4 df p = 0.0035



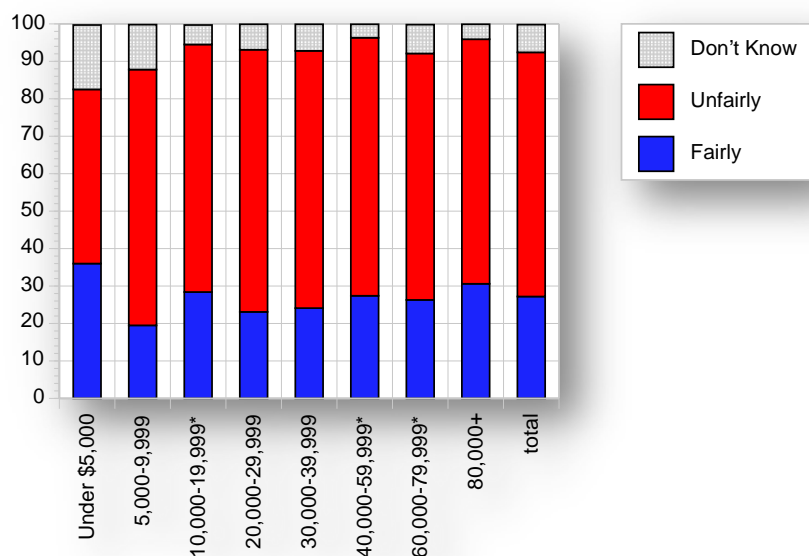
Those whose monthly family income falls below \$5,000 feel least that current policy making is unfair (Chart/Table 18). Belief that the reforms will make policy making fairer after 2012 rises with income (Chart/Table 19).

Chart/Table 19 Does government make policies fairly BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Fairly	36	20	28	23	24	27	26	31	27
Unfairly	47	68	66	70	69	69	66	65	65
Don't Know	17	12	5	7	7	4	8	4	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.57 with 14 df p = 0.0219

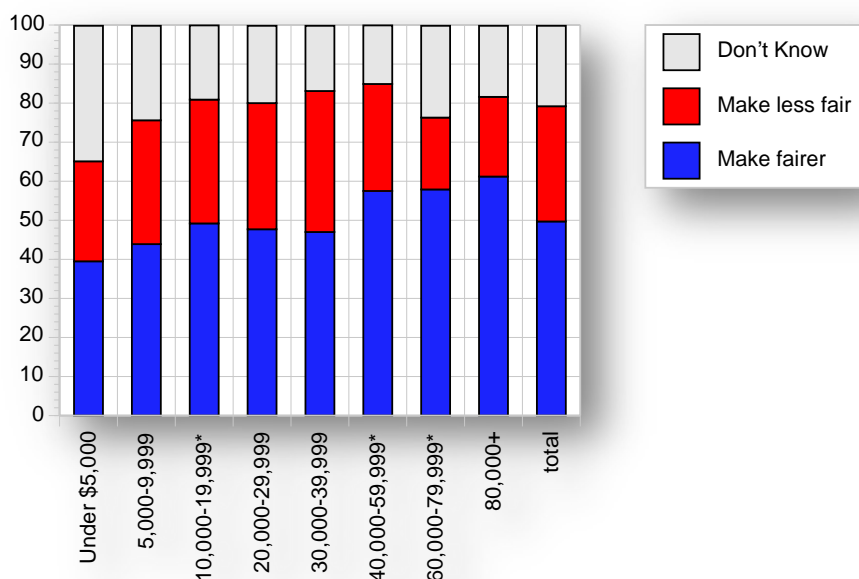


Chart/Table 20 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Make fairer	40	44	49	48	47	58	58	61	50
Make less fair	26	32	32	32	36	27	18	20	30
Don't Know	35	24	19	20	17	15	24	18	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 22.27 with 14 df p = 0.0733



The official median monthly household income at the end of 2009 as determined by the General Household Survey of the Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Government was \$17,500. The most comprehensive description of income/lifestyle breakdowns in Hong Kong is compiled by the Hong Kong Post, for the use of classified advertisers (see Appendix One of this report).

Analysis by Political variables:

In this section we look at fairness in “political” terms, that is, in terms of participation in policy decision making such as voting, demonstrating, contacting government, media, etc. and in terms of interests involved with government policies, such as home ownership and charitable work. We also consider attitudes toward parties and toward the nation as well as personal identity, and include experience with traveling in Mainland China or living abroad or having right of abode abroad.

Table 21 Are you currently registered to vote in the Geographic AND/OR Functional constituency elections?

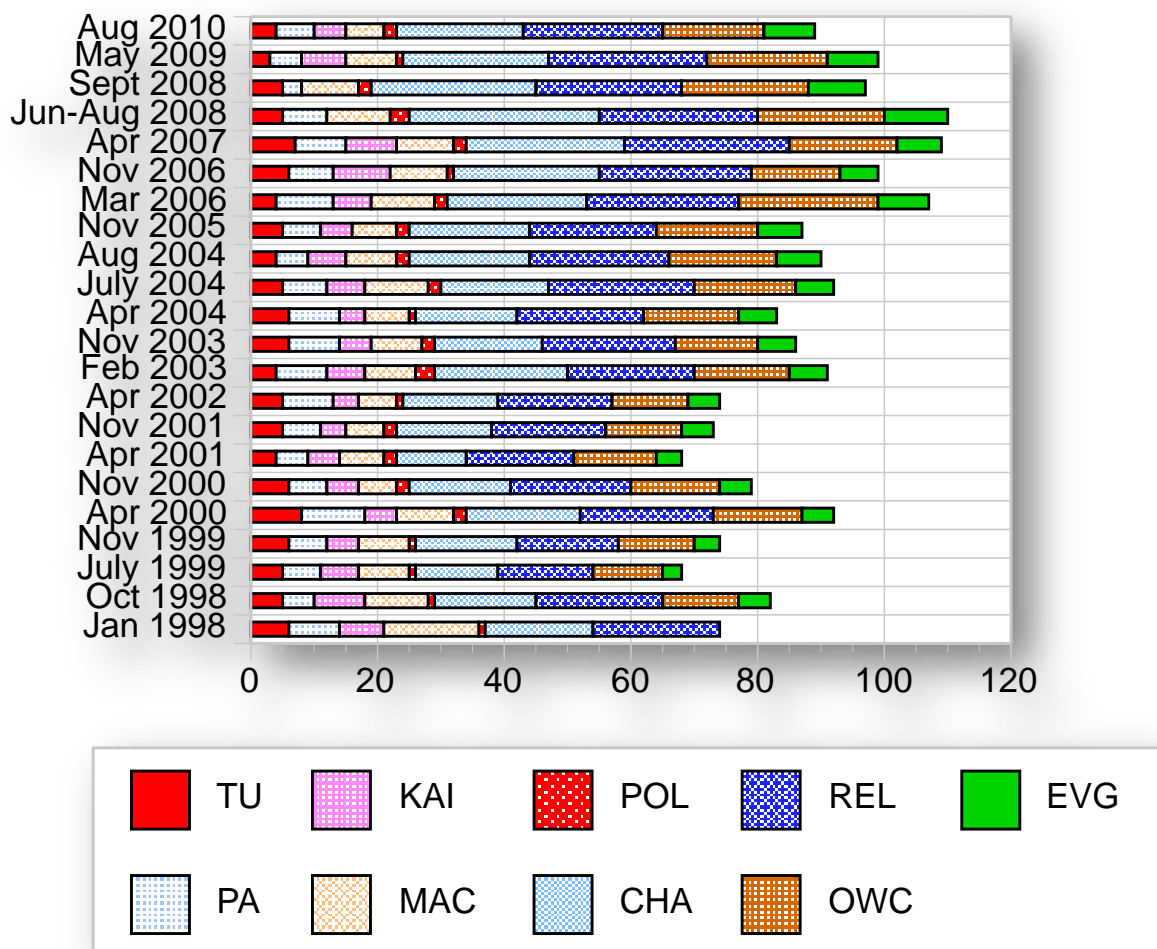
Group	Count	%
Geographic only	546	67
Functional only	8	1
Both	71	9
Not registered to vote	187	23
Don't Know	4	--

Table 22 Voters reclassified

Group	Count	%
GC voter	546	67
FC voter	79	10
Non-registered	187	23

There are no significant differences on fairness of policy making or the effect of reforms by voter classifications. FC voters and non-voters do not have different views on fairness from GC voters. Chart/Table 23 shows participation in the following groups, all of which have regularly expressed or advocated policy changes affecting their interests/activities.

Chart/Table 23 Have you attended any meetings or activities of one of the following groups in the last six months? (Percentage reporting attendance in table next page)



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

The percentages do not sum to 100 percent and some respondents indicate activity in one or more groups named. The overall indicator shows some growth in environmental activism over time since the late 1990s, a possible drop in union and professional activity since the 1990s (a consequence of these groups becoming “politicized” when given Functional Constituency seats?), and a possible drop in owner’s corporation activity since the 2008 Legco campaign (there appears to be a slight rise in owner’s corporation attendance in 2000, 2004 and 2008, Legco election years).

Table 23 Percentage reporting activity in previous 6 months in:

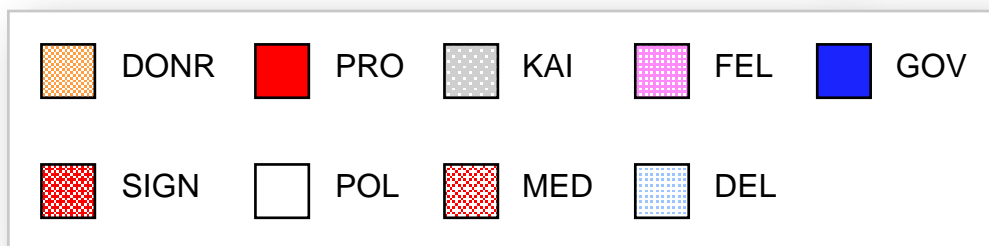
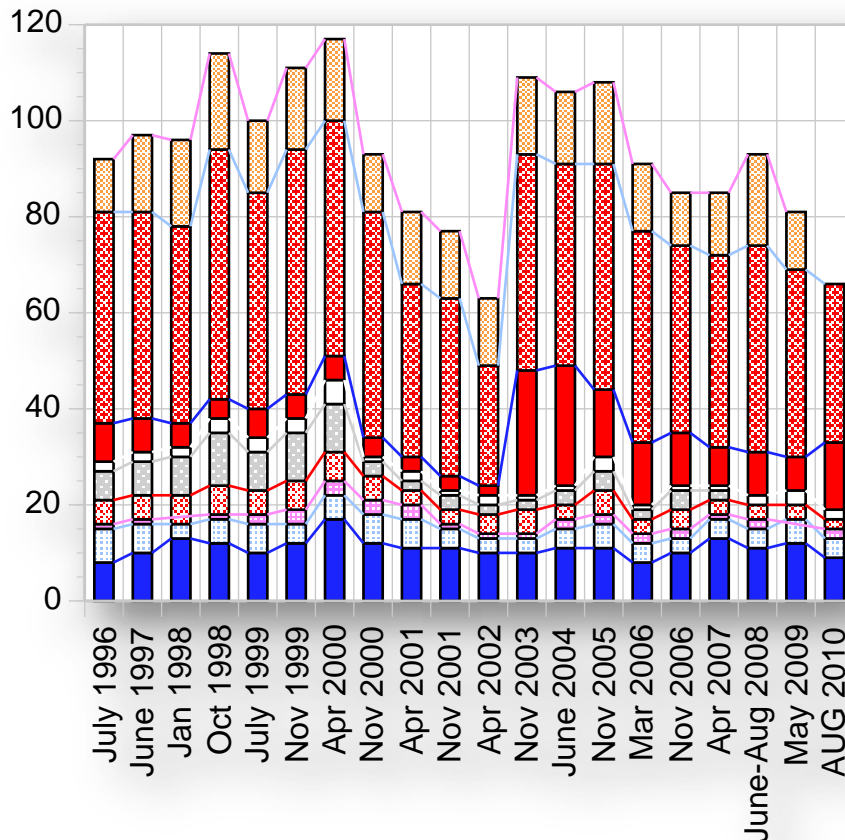
	TU	PA	KAI	MAC	POL	CHA	REL	OWC	EVG
Jan 1998	6	8	7	15	1	17	20		
Oct 1998	5	5	8	10	1	16	20	12	5
July 1999	5	6	6	8	1	13	15	11	3
Nov 1999	6	6	5	8	1	16	16	12	4
Apr 2000	8	10	5	9	2	18	21	14	5
Nov 2000	6	6	5	6	2	16	19	14	5
Apr 2001	4	5	5	7	2	11	17	13	4
Nov 2001	5	6	4	6	2	15	18	12	5
Apr 2002	5	8	4	6	1	15	18	12	5
Feb 2003	4	8	6	8	3	21	20	15	6
Nov 2003	6	8	5	8	2	17	21	13	6
Apr 2004	6	8	4	7	1	16	20	15	6
July 2004	5	7	6	10	2	17	23	16	6
Aug 2004	4	5	6	8	2	19	22	17	7
Nov 2005	5	6	5	7	2	19	20	16	7
Mar 2006	4	9	6	10	2	22	24	22	8
Nov 2006	6	7	9	9	1	23	24	14	6
Apr 2007	7	8	8	9	2	25	26	17	7
Jun-Aug 2008	5	7	NA	10	3	30	25	20	10
Sept 2008	5	3	NA	9	2	26	23	20	9
May 2009	3	5	7	8	1	23	25	19	8
Aug 2010	4	6	5	6	2	20	22	16	8

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

Chart/Table 24 tracks those who have actively sought to express a view to or get help from one of the named resources, such as a government department, Legco member, the media or a political group. It also tracks active expressions of respondents giving a view on policy such as signing a petition or joining a protest or march. The chart shows the “cooling down” of political activism the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa attempted during his first term, and then the effects of the Principal Accountability System reforms and the disastrous introduction of Article 23 related legislation which triggered a strong response in 2003-2004. (See earlier reports in this series at <http://www.hktp.org>) Things have never quieted down as much as in 2002 (the “donor” question was not asked in August 2010 due to the many questions on reform taking priority, but there are no indications that donations to political

groups have fallen off). The rise in participation in protests up to higher levels gives some indication of the polarization caused by the reform controversies in 2010.

Chart/Table 24 Within the past 12 months, did you express your concern or seek help from the following groups? (Express your concern includes using telephone, in person, by writing, fax or email). Yes responses only.



KEY	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
Donate to pol. party/pol group	DONR

See table next page for details of responses

Chart/Table 24 Expressions of concern to:

	GOV	DEL	FEL	DC	MED	KAI	POL	PRO	SIGN	DONR
July 1996	8	7	1		5	6	2	8	44	11
June 1997	10	6	1		5	7	2	7	43	16
Jan 1998	13	3	--		6	8	2	5	41	18
Oct 1998	12	5	1		6	11	3	4	52	20
July 1999	10	6	2		5	8	3	6	45	15
Nov 1999	12	4	3		6	10	3	5	51	17
Apr 2000	17	5	3		6	10	5	5	49	17
Nov 2000	12	6	3		5	3	1	4	47	12
Apr 2001	11	6	3		3	2	2	3	36	15
Nov 2001	11	4	1	6	3	3	1	3	37	14
Apr 2002	10	3	1	6	4	2	2	2	25	14
Nov 2003	10	3	1	7	5	2	1	26	45	16
June 2004	11	4	2	8	3	3	1	25	42	15
Nov 2005	11	5	2	10	5	4	3	14	47	17
Mar 2006	8	4	2	6	3	2	1	13	44	14
Nov 2006	10	3	2	6	4	4	1	11	39	11
Apr 2007	13	4	1	8	3	2	1	8	40	13
June-Aug 2008	11	4	2		3		2	9	43	19
May 2009	12	5	NA	NA	3	NA	3	7	39	12
AUG 2010	9	4	2	NA	2	NA	2	14	33	NA

KEY	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
Donate to pol. party/pol group	DONR

The measures in the previous two tables provide not just trends for overall activism and participation, but also where sufficient numbers of persons indicate action, measures which can be examined against responses to other questions. There are sufficient responses to analyze the results by contact with government department, joining a rally, a charitable group, attending a home owner's corporation meeting and an environmental group meeting. We begin with those contacting a government department, and assess their responses to the questions on fairness of government policy making currently and in the future after reform.

Table 25 Have you contacted a Government Department in past 12 months

Group	Count	%
Yes	73	9
No	743	91

There are some differences in terms of those who have contacted a government department in the previous 12 months to express concern of seeking help, with those who have contacted the government feeling at marginally higher levels that the government makes policies unfairly. The major effect appears to be on Don't Know responses, with those who have contacted a government department much less likely to answer Don't Know to the issue of fairness.

Table 26 Does government make policies fairly BY Contacted Government Dept.

	No	Yes	total
Fairly	27	27	27
Unfairly	64	69	65
Don't Know	9	4	8
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 1.823 with 2 df p = 0.4019

The controversy over constitutional reform has raised the proportion of people who have joined a rally or demonstration from 7 percent in May 2009 before the controversy began to 14 percent in August 2010, just after the controversy ended. The National Peoples Congress ratified the reform legislation on 28 August, 2010.

Table 27 Have you joined any rally, demonstration, protest in past 12 months

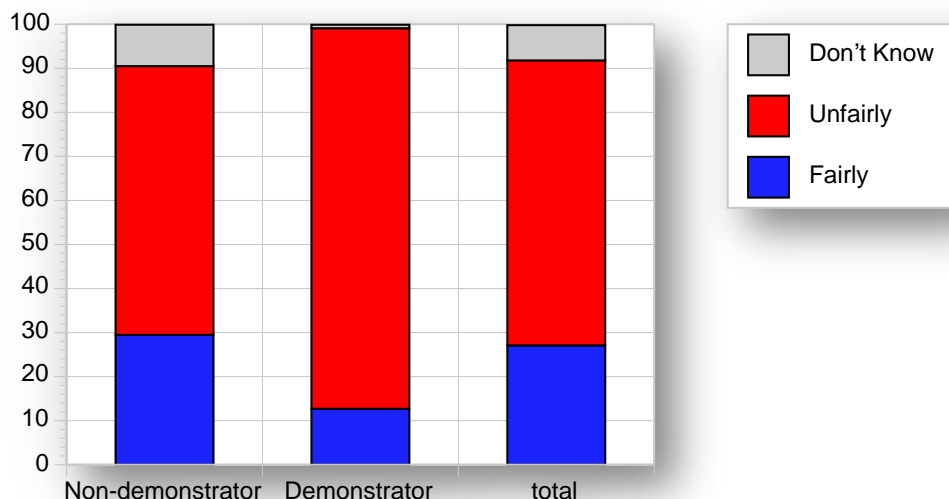
Group	Count	%
Yes	118	14
No	698	86

While majorities of both demonstrators and non-demonstrators feel government currently makes policy unfairly, the proportion is nearly 9 out of 10 among demonstrators, and the Don't Know responses are significantly lower as well among them.

Chart/Table 28 Does government make policies fairly BY Joined demonstration/protest

	Non-demonstrator	Demonstrator	total
Fairly	30	13	27
Unfairly	61	86	65
Don't Know	9	1	8
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 29.70 with 2 df p ≤ 0.0001



A majority of non-demonstrators believes the constitutional reforms will render government policy making fairer, but a majority of demonstrators disagree. However, the Don't Know responses are significantly larger among demonstrators than with the previous question and

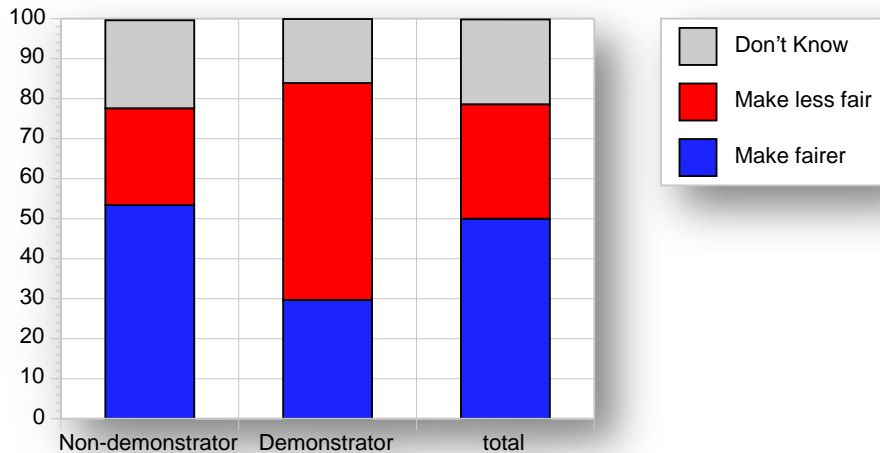
also the less fair responses are much reduced (54 percent) from the proportion of demonstrators who deem current policy making as unfair (86 percent).

Chart/Table 29 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Joined demonstration

	Non-demonstrator	Demonstrator	total
Make fairer	53	30	50
Make less fair	24	54	29
Don't Know	22	16	21
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 45.12 with 2 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Attending an Owner's corporation meeting makes no significant difference in responses (the numbers of attendees are too small and the differences in responses are too small to determine if these differences have happened by chance).

Table 30 Have you attended an Owner's Corporation in past 12 months

Group	Count	%
Yes	134	16
No	682	84

Table 31 Does government make policies fairly BY Owners Corporation attendance

	Not attend	Attended	total
Fairly	26	32	27
Unfairly	66	60	65
Don't Know	8	8	8
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 2.104 with 2 df $p = 0.3492$ NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

The same is true for participants in charitable groups, where the difference is even less than with owners corporation attendees, and even more with environmental group attendance. ($p = 0.6170$ so chance distribution large and $p = 0.9659$ among environmental attendees.)

Table 32 Have you attended a charitable group meeting in the past 12 months

Group	Count	%
Yes	165	20
No	651	80

Table 34 Have you attended an Environmental group meeting in past 12 months

Group	Count	%
Yes	63	8
No	753	92

One may tentatively conclude that homeownership, social awareness in terms of charity and environmental group participation has no discernable effect on assessments of the fairness or unfairness of government policy making. These groups are not particularly alienated or affiliated more than other groups whereas demonstrators clearly are more convinced government policy making is unfair. Most demonstrations in the past 12 months have been focused on constitutional reform or related issues. While participation in the above terms, except for joining a demonstration and going to a government department, has little effect on attitudes toward the fairness of policy making, those who discuss politics with friends more often do feel government policy making is unfair (Chart/Table 38).

Chart/Table 35 How frequently do you discuss politics and public affairs with friends?

Group	Count	%
Never	140	17
Seldom (few times a year)	208	25
Occasionally (once a month)	318	39
Often (once a week)	137	17
Very often (nearly every day)	13	2

Chart/Table 36 Frequency of discussion with friends (reclassified)

Group	Count	%
Never	140	17
Seldom (few times a year)	208	25
Occasionally (once a month)	318	39
Often	150	18

The more often people discuss politics the more likely they are to join a demonstration. And as Chart/Table 38 shows, those who discuss politics more frequently also by higher proportions believe that policy making is unfair. In sum, people are not motivated by particular policies on the environment, home ownership or poverty and other social issues subject to charitable action; they are motivated to protest and discuss politics by a sense that government in general is unfair. It appears to be a structural issue, one directly addressed by reform, and hence the dampening down of dissent proportional to the extent reform promises increased fairness. This also means there is a danger that if the reforms do not produce improved fairness in policy making, then disappointment and frustration could rebound and even shoot past previous levels that sparked the massive demonstrations of 2003-2004.

Chart/Table 37 Discuss politics with friends BY Joined demonstration in past 12 months

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	total
Non-demonstrator	94	91	86	69	86
Demonstrator	6	9	14	31	15
total	100	100	100	100	100

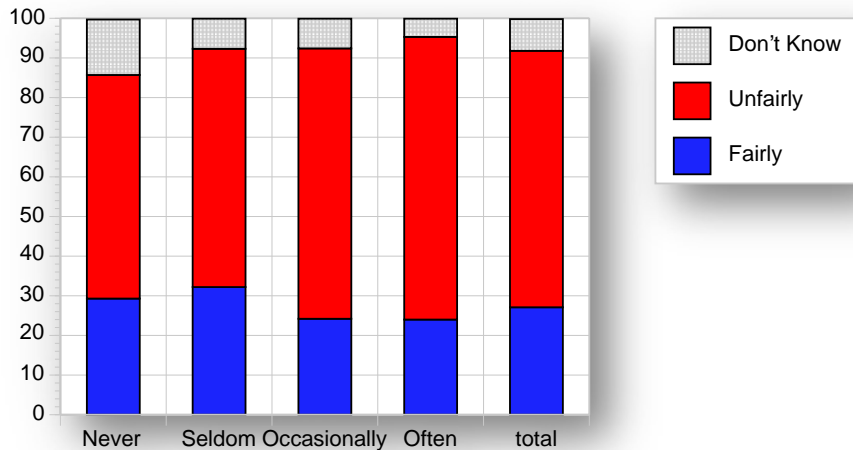
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 48.05 with 3 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart/Table 38 Does government make policies fairly BY Discuss politics with friends

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	total
Fairly	29	32	24	24	27
Unfairly	56	60	68	71	65
Don't Know	14	8	8	5	8
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.39 with 6 df p = 0.0118



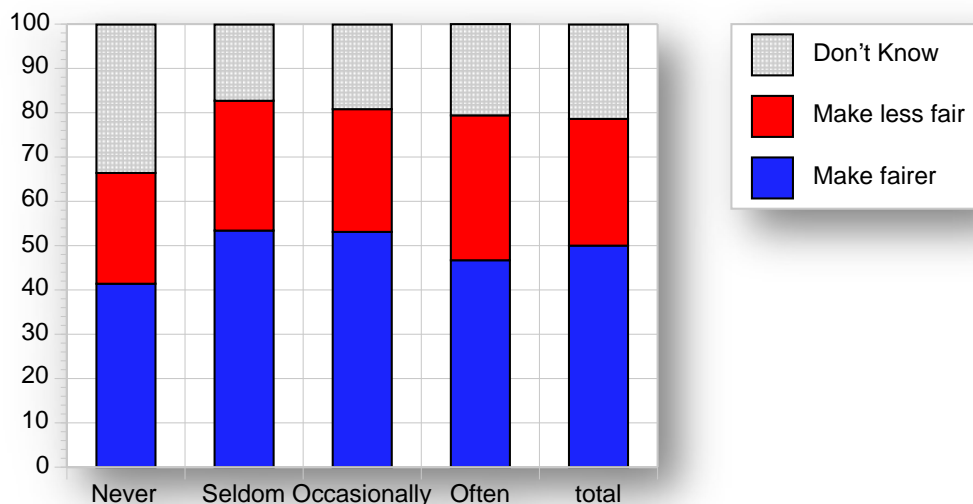
As with previous variables, on this one also those who think policy making is currently unfair diminishes after reforms go into effect. Among those who discuss politics with friends frequently, the drop is from 71 percent deeming policy making unfair to 33 percent who think the reforms will make things less fair.

Chart/Table 39 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Discuss politics with friends

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	total
Make fairer	41	53	53	47	50
Make less fair	25	29	28	33	29
Don't Know	34	17	19	21	21
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.19 with 6 df p = 0.0086



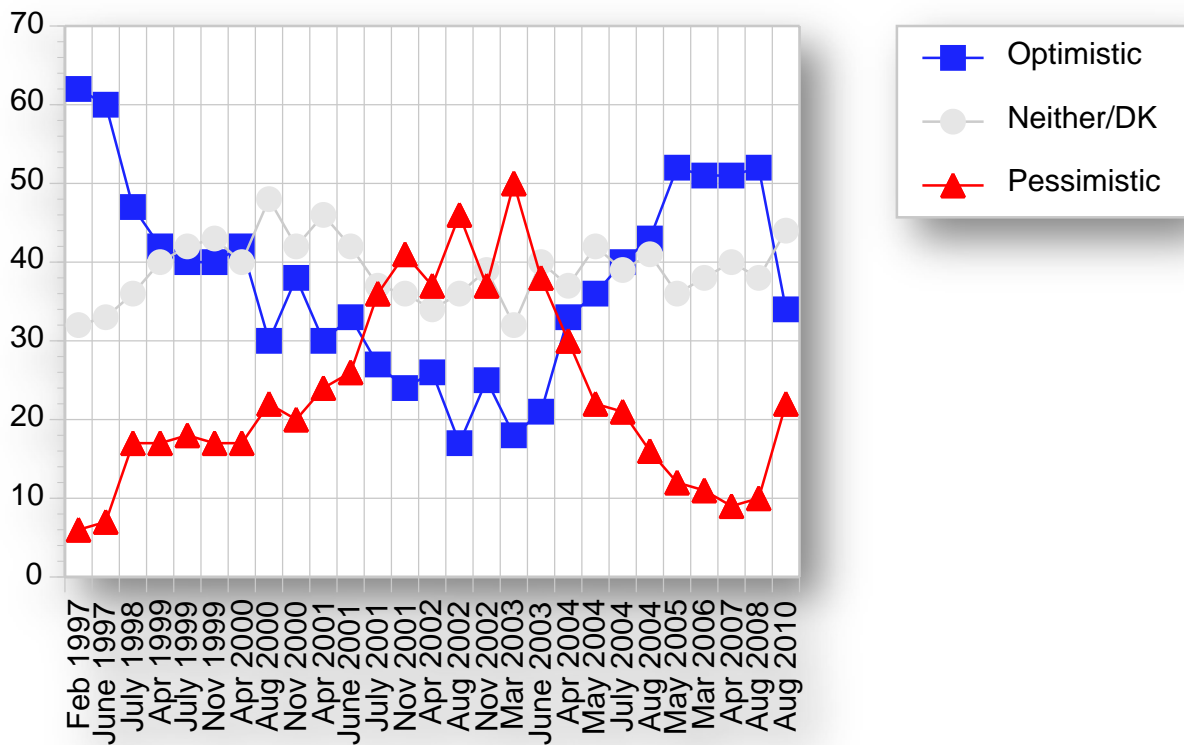
While the vote to approve reforms promises to give some breathing space to address the felt inequities within the Hong Kong governance system and while that vote has apparently made people more hopeful about the future fairness of Hong Kong governance, the vote for reform does not seem to have affected feelings about Hong Kong's future. Indeed, since the 2008 Beijing Olympics feelings about Hong Kong's future as a part of China have turned decidedly downward. This is not from dissatisfaction with, for example the performance of President Hu Jintao. About three in four are satisfied. And a majority, 54 percent, are satisfied with the Chinese government's performance in dealing with Hong Kong affairs while 56 percent are satisfied with its performance in ruling China (see below for details). Tables 42 and following examine how travel to the mainland, patriotic feelings (or lack thereof) on China's National Day, and identity of oneself relate to both optimism or pessimism about Hong Kong's future and about fairness.

Chart/Table 40 presents the trends on this issue since 1997. While pessimism has been considerably higher, it has also been much lower. And optimism about Hong Kong's future with China has not been this low since 2004, a year characterized by major demonstrations.

Chart/Table 40 How do you feel currently about Hong Kong's future prospects as a part of China?

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimistic
Feb 1997	62	32	6
June 1997	60	33	7
July 1998	47	36	17
Apr 1999	42	40	17
July 1999	40	42	18
Nov 1999	40	43	17
Apr 2000	42	40	17
Aug 2000	30	48	22
Nov 2000	38	42	20
Apr 2001	30	46	24
June 2001	33	42	26
July 2001	27	37	36
Nov 2001	24	36	41
Apr 2002	26	34	37
Aug 2002	17	36	46
Nov 2002	25	39	37
Mar 2003	18	32	50
June 2003	21	40	38
Apr 2004	33	37	30
May 2004	36	42	22
July 2004	40	39	21
Aug 2004	43	41	16
May 2005	52	36	12
Mar 2006	51	38	11
Apr 2007	51	40	9
Aug 2008	52	38	10
Aug 2010	34	44	22

Chart of Table 40

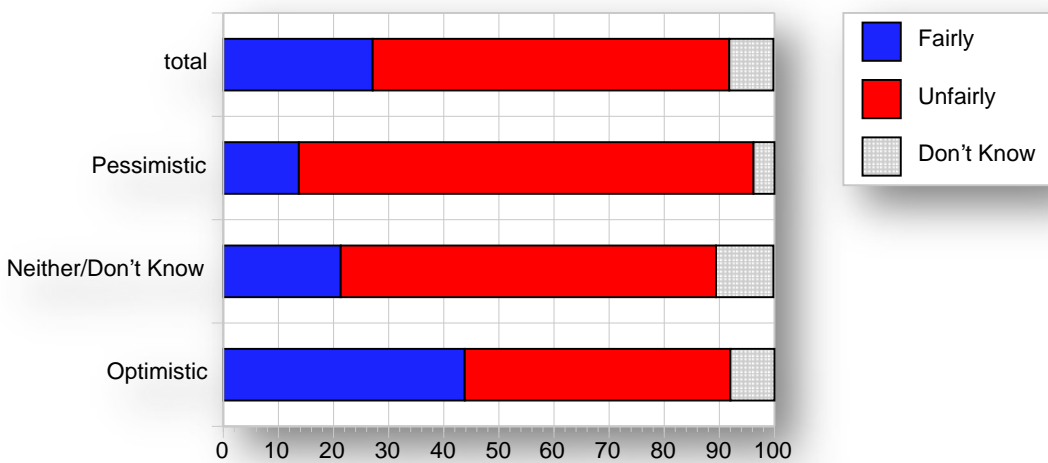


Chart/Table 41 shows this issue affects both assessments of current policy making fairness and Chart/Table 42 shows association with assessments of the future effect of reforms on fairness.

Chart/Table 41 Does government make policies fairly BY Hong Kong's future with China

	Optimistic	Neither/Don't Know	Pessimistic	total
Fairly	44	21	14	27
Unfairly	48	68	83	65
Don't Know	8	11	4	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 72.27 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

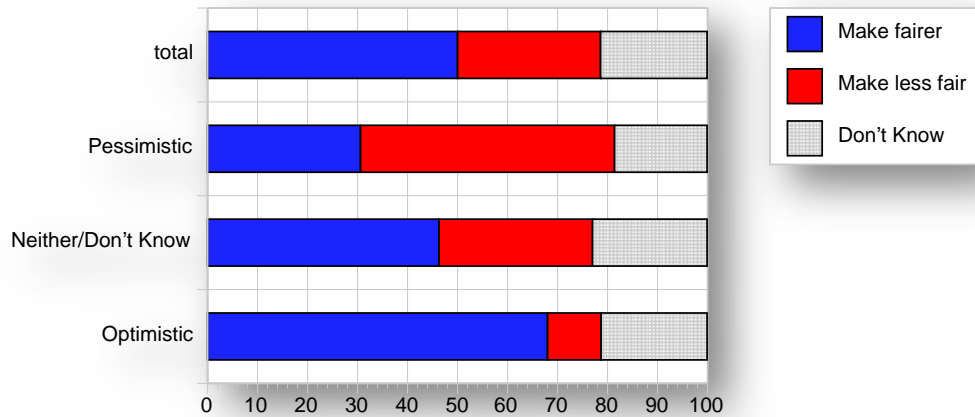


Chart/Table 42 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Hong Kong’s future with China

	Optimistic	Neither/Don't Know	Pessimistic	total
Make fairer	68	46	31	50
Make less fair	11	31	51	29
Don't Know	21	23	19	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 96.42 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001

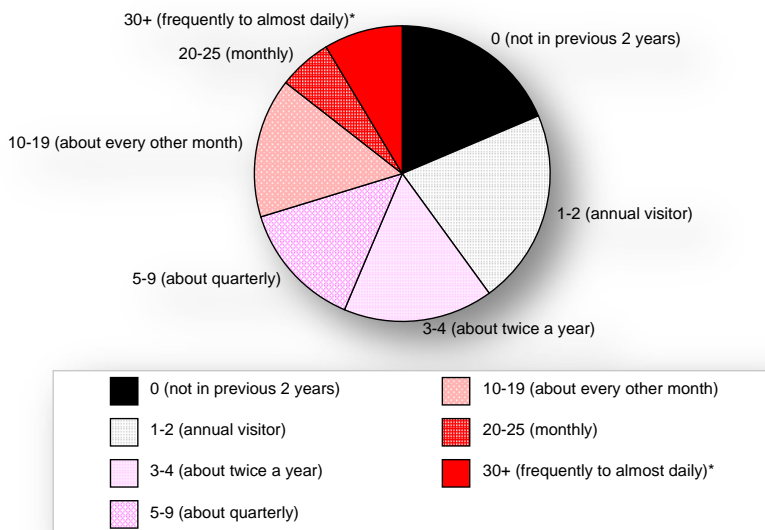


These assessments of fairness and of the future for Hong Kong are affected by experience of traveling to Mainland China. Chart/Table 43 shows about 18 percent of Hong Kong permanent residents have not traveled to Mainland China in the previous two years.

Chart/Table 43 Times visiting Mainland China in previous 2 years:

Times	Count	%
0 (not in previous 2 years)	147	18
1-2 (annual visitor)	171	21
3-4 (about twice a year)	130	16
5-9 (about quarterly)	111	14
10-19 (about every other month)	121	15
20-25 (monthly)	47	6
30+ (frequently to almost daily)*	69	9

*See uncollapsed responses in Demographics section of this report



Pessimism about Hong Kong’s future as a part of China diminishes with number of trips to the Mainland until the group that travels there most frequently (many of these people live or work there whereas others are visiting or infrequently traveling for work there).

Table 44 Feelings about Hong Kong’s future BY Number of visits to mainland China in prior 2 years

	0	1-2	3-4	5-9	10-19	20-25	30+	total
Optimistic	20	37	29	34	42	51	32	33
Neither/DK	51	40	51	42	41	36	39	44
Pessimistic	29	23	20	23	17	13	29	23
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.75 with 12 df p = 0.0043

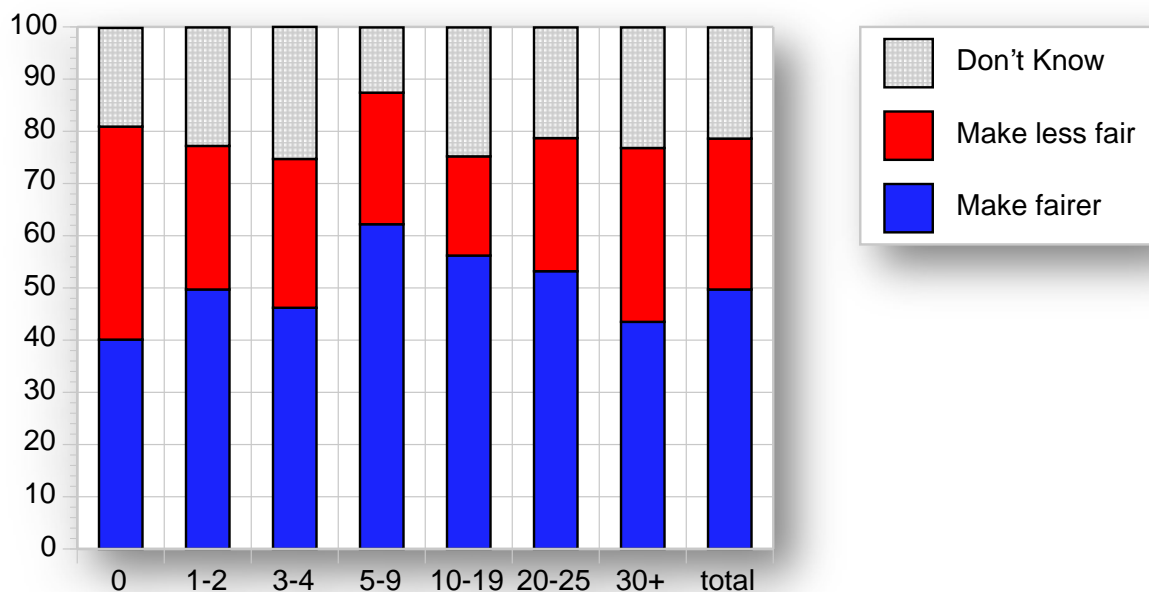
There is no association of assessments of current policy making fairness with frequency of travel to the mainland. However, assessments of reform making policy making fairer are associated, with those who traveled there none the most pessimistic about reform affecting fairness positively.

Chart/Table 45 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Times visiting Mainland China in previous 2 years

	0	1-2	3-4	5-9	10-19	20-25	30+	total
Make fairer	40	50	46	62	56	53	44	50
Make less fair	41	28	29	25	19	26	33	29
Don't Know	19	23	25	13	25	21	23	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.07 with 12 df p = 0.0075



While travel on the mainland is only weakly associated with hopes for greater fairness and none with assessments of current government policy making as fair, feelings toward the mainland that can be characterized as patriotic feelings certainly are related to both conclusions about fairness in policy making. Chart/Table 46 shows the long term responses. Those of excited and proud are classified as patriotic feelings.

Chart/Table 46 How does the celebration of 1st October National Day make you feel?

	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	--
Aug 2010	47	13	9	28	2	1

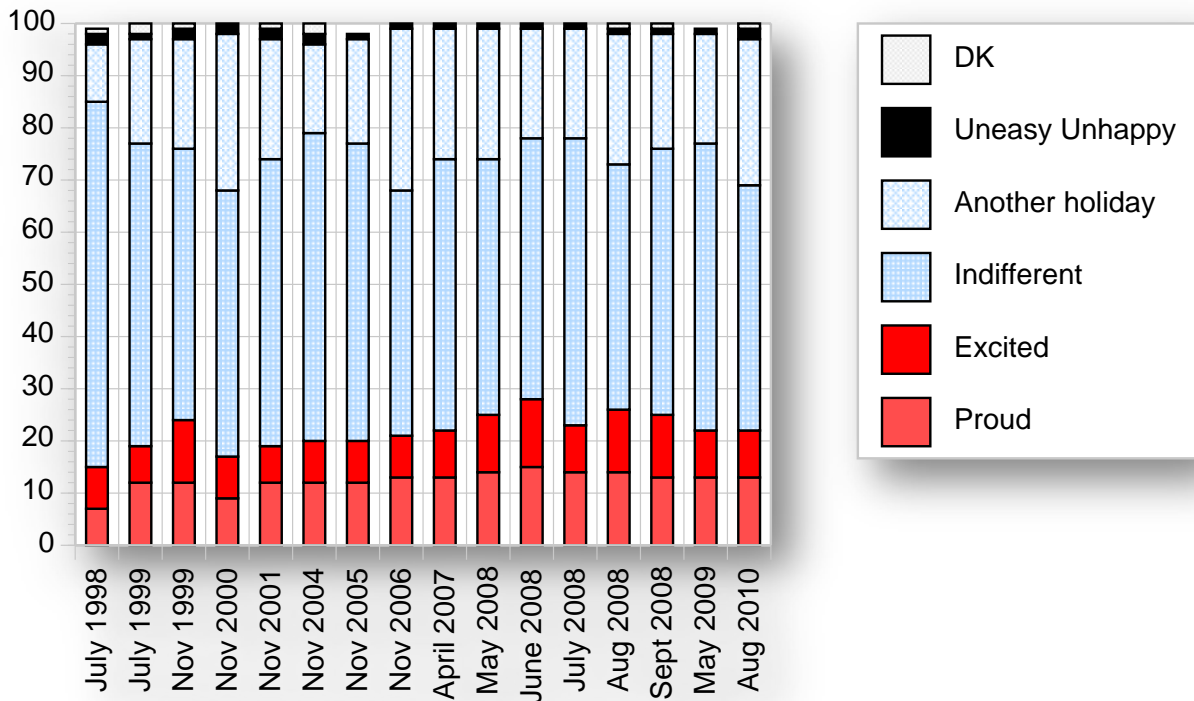


Table 47 reclassifies these responses.

Table 47 How does the celebration of 1st October National Day make you feel?

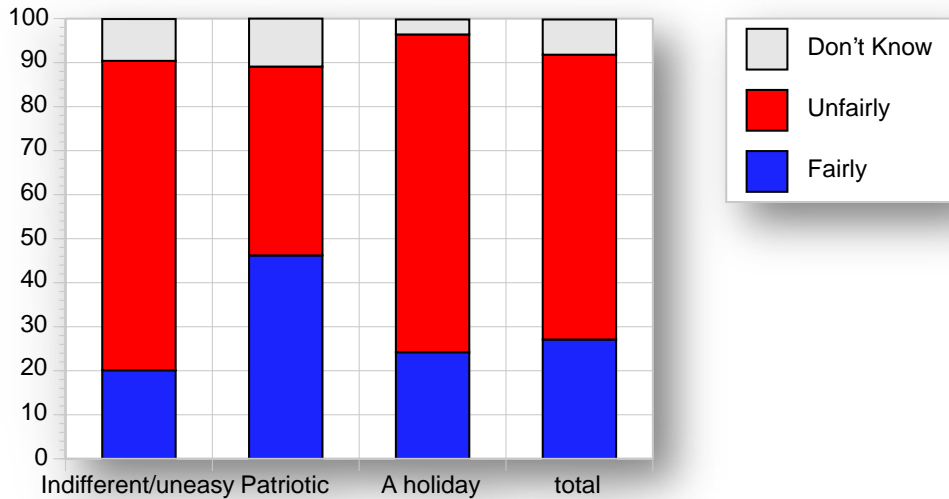
Group	Count	%
Indifferent/uneasy	407	50
Patriotic	182	22
A holiday	227	28

Chart/Table 48 shows that those who have patriotic feelings are more likely to consider government policy making fair than others, but even they do not show a majority consider policy making currently as fair. Chart/Table 49 shows a majority of both patriots and those considering National Day as just another holiday think policy making will be fairer after reform, but those with an indifferent or uneasy response are evenly split.

Chart/Table 48 Does government make policies fairly BY Attitudes toward PRC Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Fairly	20	46	24	27
Unfairly	70	43	72	65
Don't Know	10	11	4	8
total	100	100	100	100

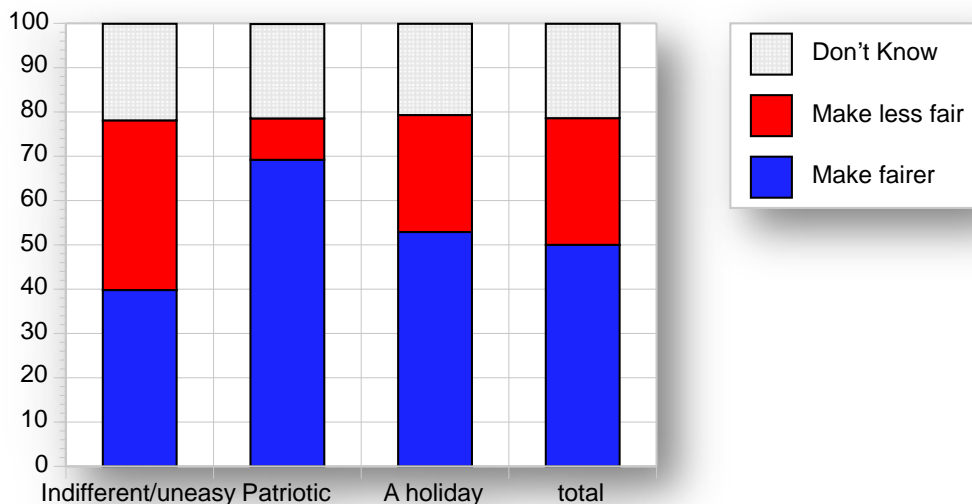
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 58.44 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001



Chart/Table 49 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Attitudes toward PRC Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Make fairer	40	69	53	50
Make less fair	38	9	26	29
Don't Know	22	21	21	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 59.90 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001



Feelings toward a country raise questions of identity with that state. Identity is a complex issue, and a greatly important issue. The Hong Kong Transition Project uses two main questions in addition to the one above to probe this issue. Chart/Table 50 shows one

approach, which might be characterized as a question on personal identity. We read a list of descriptions, and ask respondents to choose the most appropriate for themselves. Previous research has shown that respondents choosing simply “Chinese” as their identity are also the most likely to evince patriotic feelings and to feel positive toward the central government. Those choosing Hong Kong Chinese are next most likely to feel patriotism. These respondents are also more likely to have been born on the mainland, then moved to Hong Kong, though the longer they have been here, the more likely they are to consider themselves as a Hong Kong person. (See below). The trends chart shows that these self-chosen descriptors have varied some over time, with a definite spike in “Chinese” self identity in the Olympic year of 2008, but considering all the events before and since 1997, these descriptors also show a remarkable degree of stability.

Chart/Table 50 The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you?

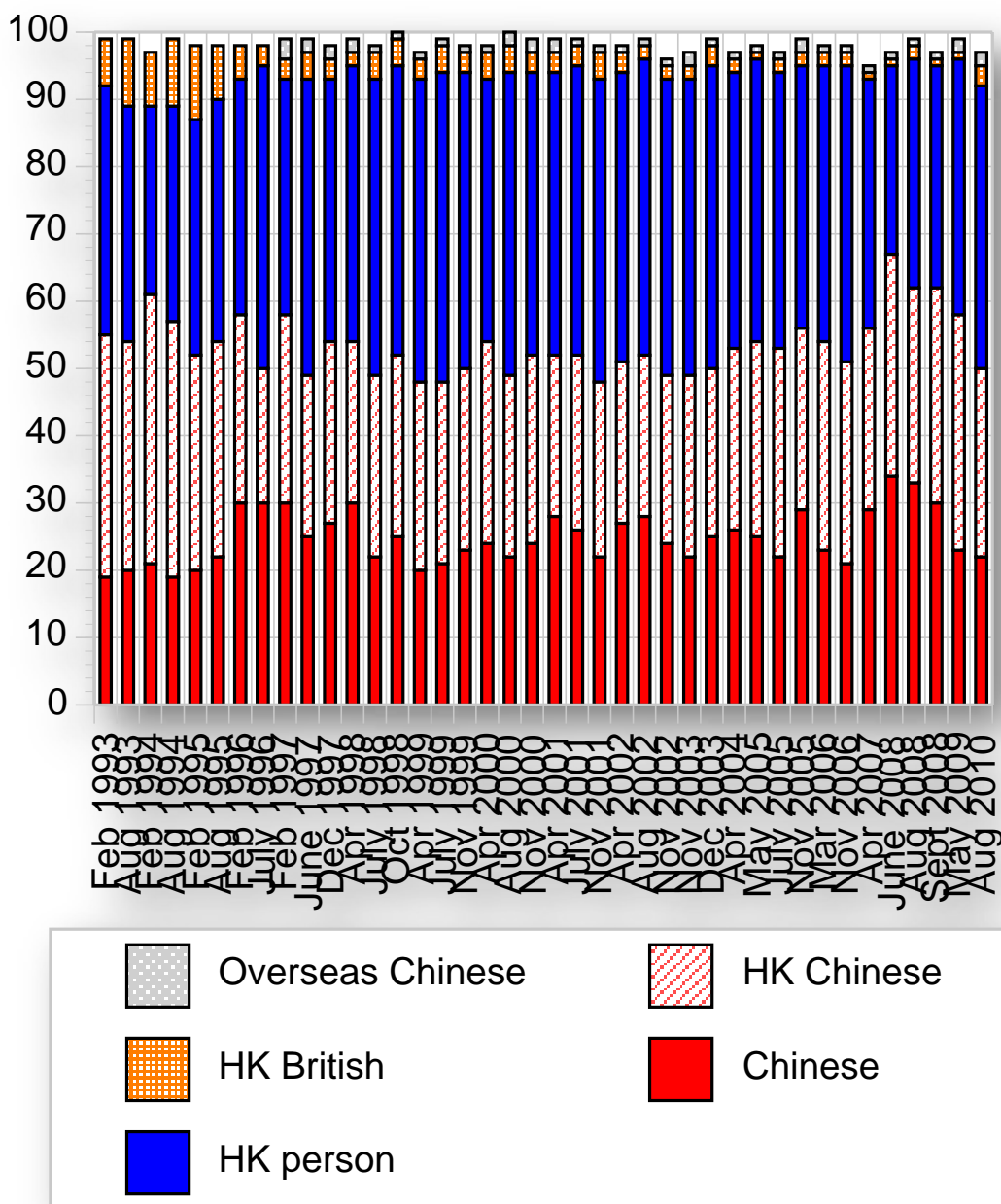


Table 50: Which is the most appropriate description of you?

	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
Aug 2010	22	28	42	3	2	3

Overseas Chinese in this form of identity choice are often those born elsewhere but even those born outside Hong Kong will often choose one of the other forms of identity, emphasizing the personal choice nature of this approach to the issue of identity. Hence we refer to it as “personal identity” whereas the other form is place identity (discussed below).

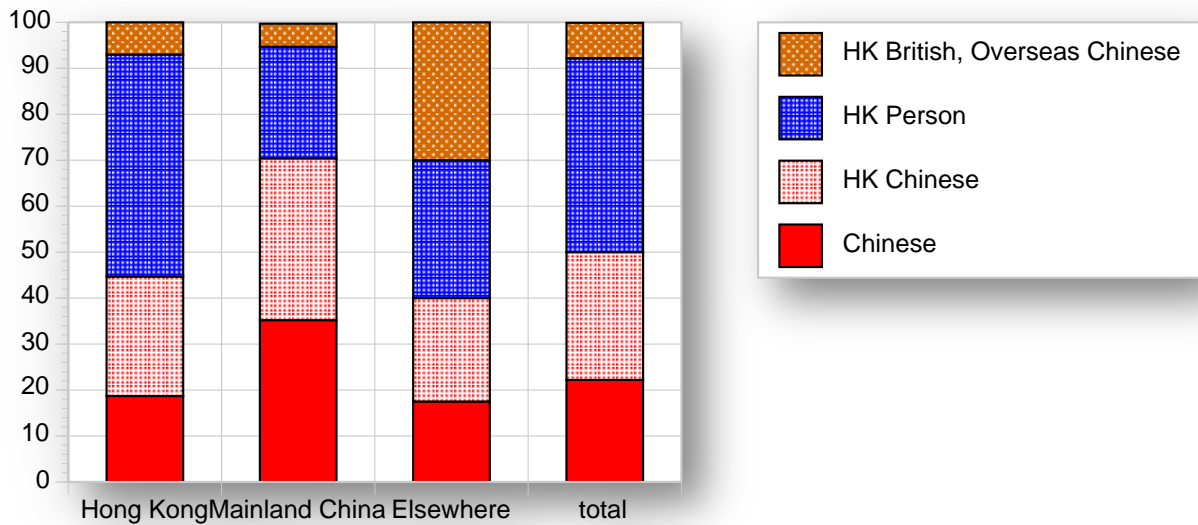
Chart/Table 51 Personal identity BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
HK Chinese	26	35	23	28
Chinese	19	35	18	22
HK Person	48	24	30	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	7	5	30	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 69.39 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart of Table 51 Personal identity by Birthplace



Those who move to Hong Kong tend to hold their personal identity choice for long periods. Only after 40 years do we see a significant shift of those born outside Hong Kong choosing to identify themselves either simply as Chinese or a Hong Kong person.

Table 52 Personal identity BY Time in Hong Kong (for those born outside Hong Kong)

	1-19	20-39	40+	Born in Hong Kong	total
HK Chinese	40	41	17	26	28
Chinese	30	26	41	19	22
HK Person	20	21	36	48	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	10	13	6	7	8
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 55.31 with 9 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Women tend to choose a Hong Kong identity more often than men, but this is not necessarily due to birthplace. While more women were born in Hong Kong than men, the difference is so small as to be statistically insignificant (Table 53).

Table 52 Personal identity BY Sex

	Male	Female	total
HK Chinese	27	29	28
Chinese	27	17	22
HK Person	39	46	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	7	8	8
total	100	100	100

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

Table 53 Birthplace BY Sex

	Male	Female	total
Hong Kong	71	76	74
Mainland China	23	20	22
Elsewhere	6	4	5
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 2.805 with 2 df $p = 0.2460$ NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

Personal identity by age shows those who came of age in the anti-colonial 1960s (60 and up) tend much more to identify as Chinese or Hong Kong Chinese (these ages also have more born in mainland China, see Demographics). Table 55 shows occupational breakdowns.

Chart/Table 54 Personal identity BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
HK Chinese	32	26	22	30	28	26	39	28
Chinese	22	18	27	19	18	28	39	22
HK Person	39	49	44	42	47	39	16	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	7	8	7	10	7	7	6	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 28.88 with 18 df p = 0.0498

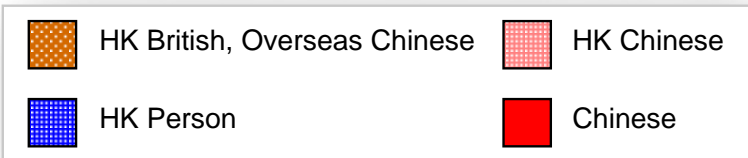
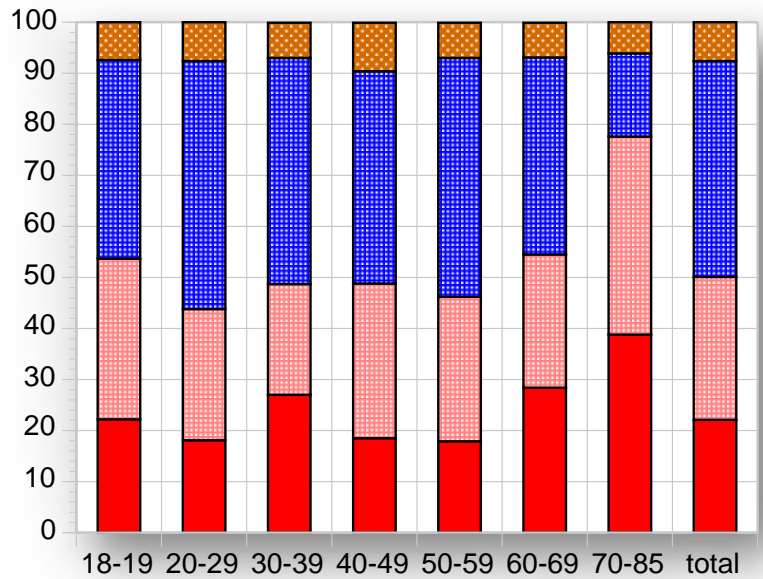


Table 55 Personal identity BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	House wife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
HK Chinese	28	27	34	21	17	24	31	40	27	28
Chinese	17	21	12	25	35	24	26	18	24	22
HK Person	42	43	48	52	42	45	34	38	41	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	14	9	6	2	6	8	9	5	7	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 33.64 with 24 df p = 0.0913

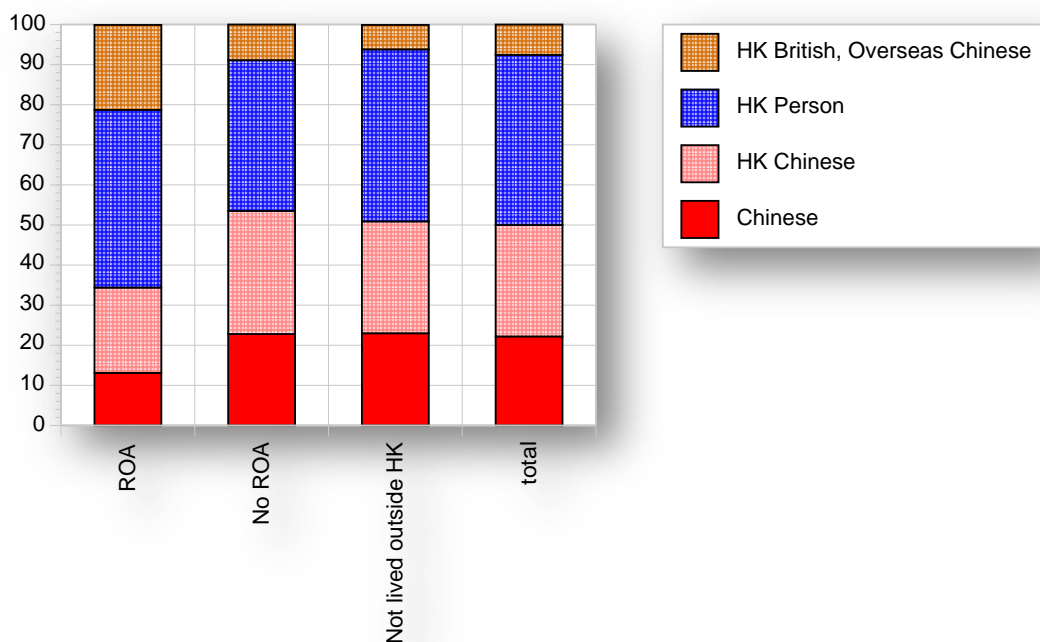
Chart/Table 56 shows that while about one in five of those with ROA do tend to select Hong Kong British or Overseas Chinese as an identity, most choose one of the other forms. Even among those who have experienced living outside Hong Kong for a year or more, many do not have ROA and choose identities almost along the same lines as those who have never lived outside Hong Kong.

Chart/Table 56 Personal identity BY Right of Abode

	ROA	No ROA	Not lived outside Hong Kong	total
HK Chinese	21	31	28	28
Chinese	13	23	23	22
HK Person	44	38	43	42
HK British, Overseas Chinese	21	9	6	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 21.46 with 6 df p = 0.0015



The second form of identity used by the Hong Kong Transition Project refers to affinity to place, with respondents asked: Which of the following categories do you think you fall in? They are then given the choices of Expatriate, Chinese mainland migrant, Mainland professional working in Hong Kong, a person who returned to Hong Kong from overseas within the past 10 years, Chinese born overseas with Hong Kong family connections, Hong Konger, or other. Effectively this form of identity puts Hong Kong firmly at the center whereas the other form of identity puts relationship to China or cultural Chineseness in contrast to Hong Kong identity, either in its purely local form or its colonial Hong Kong British form. The affinity to place query gives three main groups, with by far the largest affiliating with Hong Kong.

Table 57 Place Identity

Group	Count	%
Mainlander	47	6
Overseas Chinese	52	7
Hong Konger	699	88

These two forms of identity choice show relations with responses to fairness in policy making, but in surprising ways. Those who choose Chinese or Hong Kong person both show higher levels of considering government policy making as unfair. Hong Kong British/Overseas Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese choices show about the same level of perception of unfairness.

Table 58 Does government make policies fairly BY Personal identity

	HK Chinese	Chinese	HK person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Fairly	34	27	22	27	27
Unfairly	58	63	71	59	65
Don't Know	7	10	7	14	8
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.03 with 6 df p = 0.0136

In terms of reforms affecting this, Hong Kong Chinese and Chinese choices show the same degree of a majority expectation that policy making will be fairer while Hong Kong person and Hong Kong British/Overseas Chinese choices show nearly the same, less than majority belief reform will increase fairness. This is more along the lines of expected responses than those in Table 58.

Table 59 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Personal identity

	HK Chinese	Chinese	HK person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Make fairer	55	55	45	44.4	50
Make less fair	27	19	34	32	29
Don't Know	18	26	21	24	21
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.64 with 6 df p = 0.0072

Place identity choices show no association with assessments of reforms affecting fairness, and on assessments of current fairness in policy making the pattern of response is exactly along the lines expected, with Mainlander choices choosing unfairly responses much less than Hong Konger identity.

Table 60 Does government make policies fairly BY Place identity

	Mainlander	Overseas Chinese	Hong Konger	total
Fairly	38	35	26	27
Unfairly	49	62	67	65
Don't Know	13	4	8	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

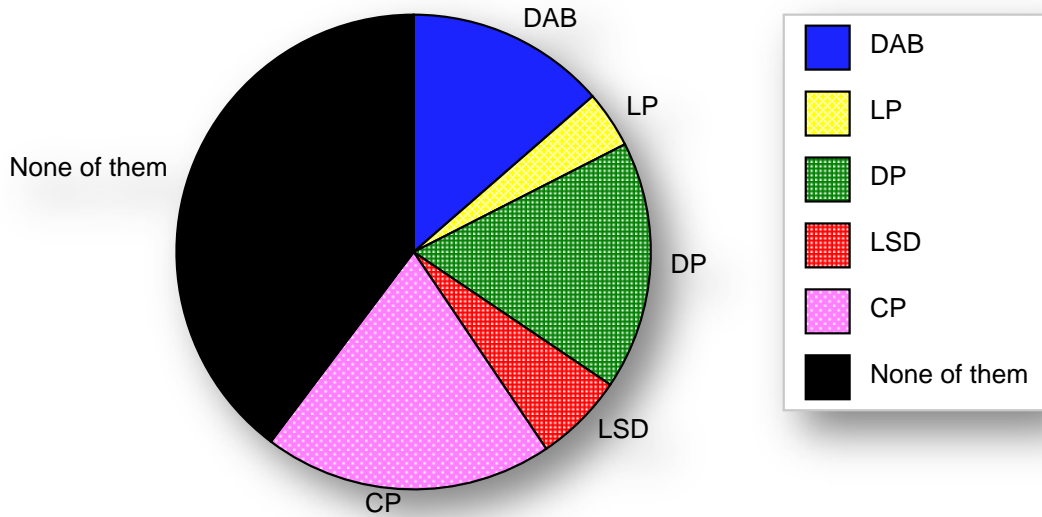
Chi-square = 8.724 with 4 df p = 0.0684

Another form of identity is interest identity, and identifying those who share and/or protect your interests. The controversy over reform had significant impact on who respondents felt protected their interests best. Chart/Table 61 shows the responses in August after the vote and controversy. Chart/Table 62 shows the responses in May 2009 before debate over the reform package began. Chart 63 compares the two; discussion is on that page below.

Chart/Table 61 Of the 5 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? (Aug 2010)

Group	Count	%
DAB	100	14
DP	124	17
LSD	46	6
LP	28	4
CP	144	20
None of them	291	40

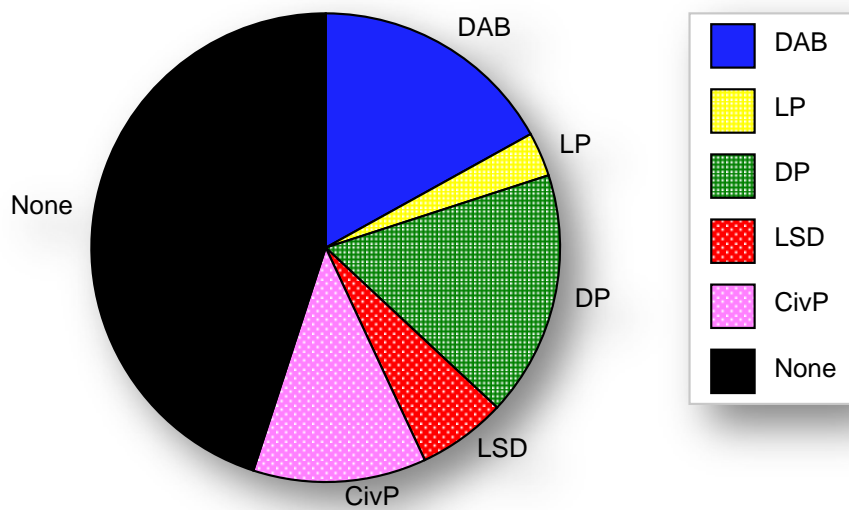
*Don't Know responses removed for analysis (originally 8 percent)



Chart/Table 62 Responses in May 2009

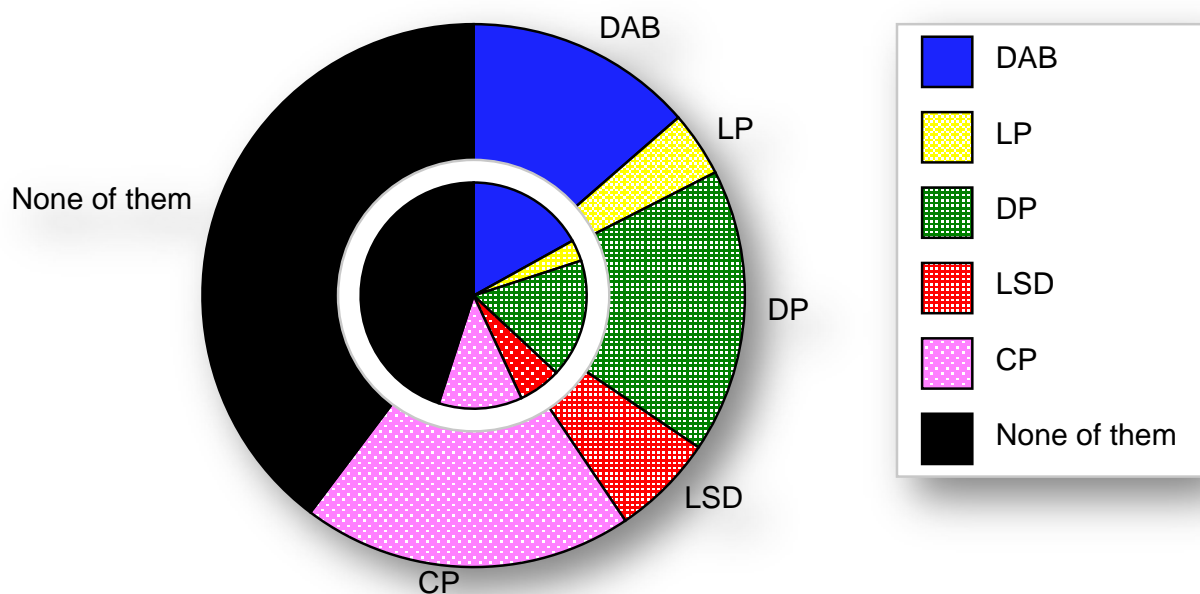
Group	Count	%
DAB	173	17
DP	179	17
LSD	63	6
LP	31	3
CivP	122	12
None	466	45

*Don't Know responses originally 12 percent



The controversy over reform appears to have increased the proportion who feel the Civic Party best represents their interests from 12 percent in May 2009 to 20 percent in August 2010. LSD has seen no change nor has the Democratic Party. The 3 percent drop in DAB support is right on the edge of the margin of error (3.5 points +/-) so it is not possible to say support diminished for the DAB, but other measures, such as satisfaction with a party's performance, does show changes in satisfaction with the DAB. The drop in "no party" represents their interest from 45 percent in May 2009 to 40 percent in August is large enough to conclude that as a result of the controversy over reform, more people see a party as representing or protecting their interest than before, but as seen in Table 69 below, those who consider themselves supporters or members of a political party (a stronger indicator of party affiliation) has not changed outside the margin of error since 2009.

Chart 63 Which party represents best, May 2009 compared to August 2010



Inner circle: May 2009
Outer ring: August 2010

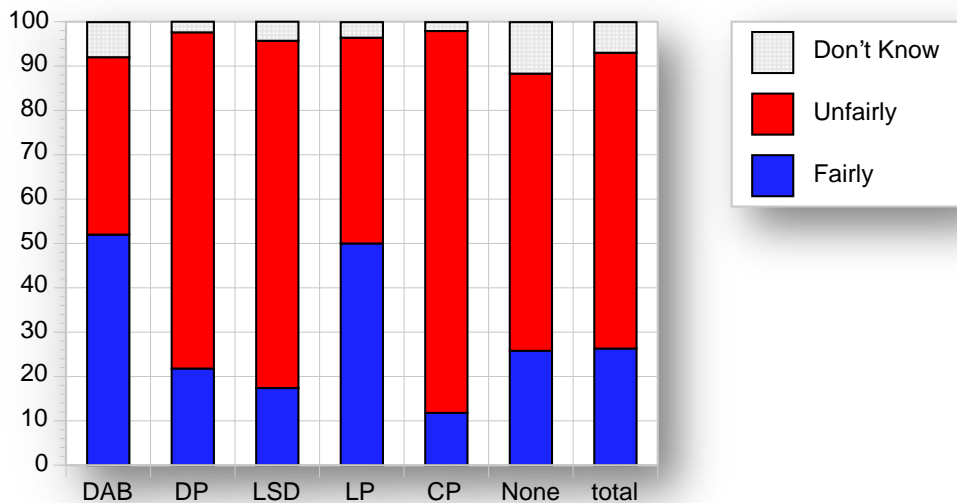
It is also clear from Chart/Table 64 that views on government policy making fairness differ among those who identify a party as protecting their interest best. The vast majority of Civic Party identifiers feel government policy making is unfair, followed in proportions by LSD and DP identifiers. DAB and LP identifiers are split on the issue, with more considering policy making fair than unfair, but even those pro-government parties show bare or very small majorities who see policy making as fair.

Chart/Table 64 Does government make policies fairly BY Which party represents best

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CP	None	total
Fairly	52	22	17	50	12	26	26
Unfairly	40	76	78	46	86	63	67
Don't Know	8	2	4	4	2	12	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 87.69 with 10 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart of Table 64 Fairness BY Which party represents best

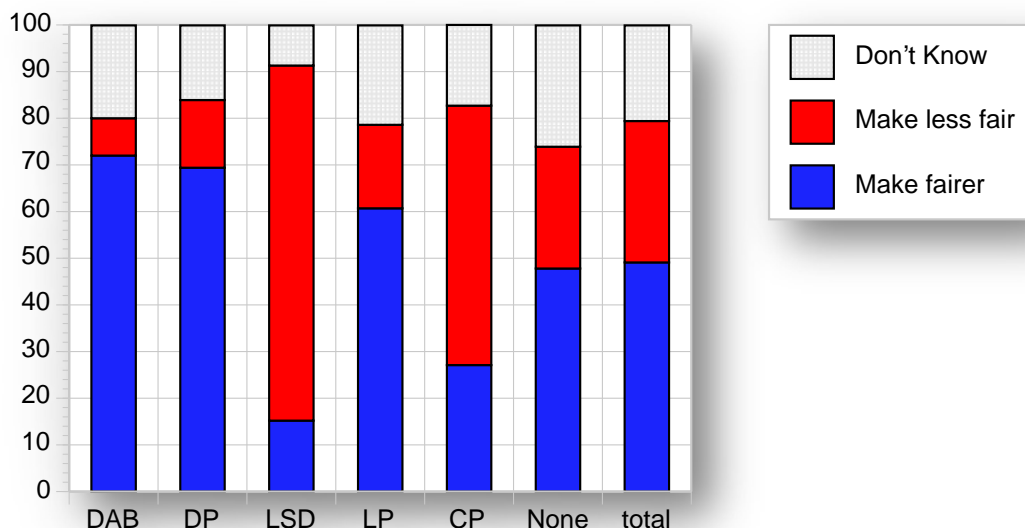


Chart/Table 65 shows that DP and DAB identifiers hold almost the same view as each other on how the reforms will affect fairness once they go into effect in 2012, while LSD identifiers are by far the most dubious about improvements in fairness from reforms.

Chart/Table 65 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Which party represents best

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CP	None	total
Make fairer	72	69	15	61	27	48	49
Make less fair	8	15	76	18	56	26	30
Don't Know	20	16	9	21	17	26	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 148.2 with 10 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Chart/Table 66 reclassifies the results above into the two groups for and against reform, with the DP as the compromising element and “no party” respondents separately considered. This regrouping shows more clearly the contrast in views on fairness and how the DP stands in the

median position, closest in view on this issue to the “silent plurality” that sees no party as representing their interests (See Chart/Table 67 and 68).

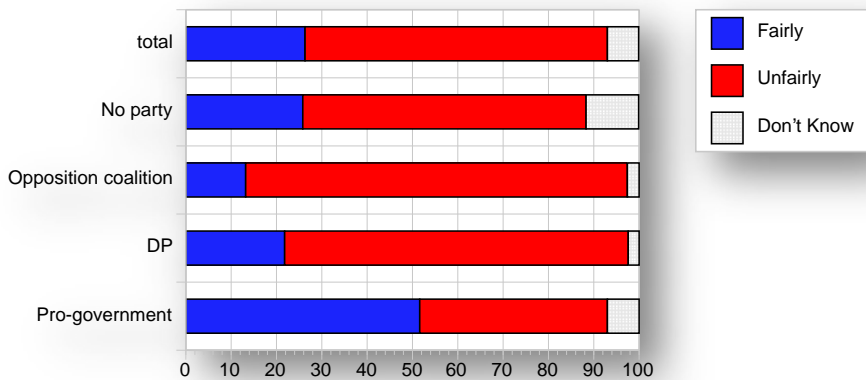
Chart/Table 66 Which party represents best, reclassified into Pro/Anti reform coalitions

Group	Count	%
Pro-government (DAB&LP)	128	17
DP	124	17
Anti-reform (LSD&CP)	190	26
None of them	291	40

Chart/Table 67 Does government make policies fairly BY Which party represents best (regrouped)

	Pro-government	DP	Opposition coalition	No party	total
Fairly	52	22	13	26	26
Unfairly	41	76	84	63	67
Don't Know	7	2	3	12	7
total	100	100	100	100	100

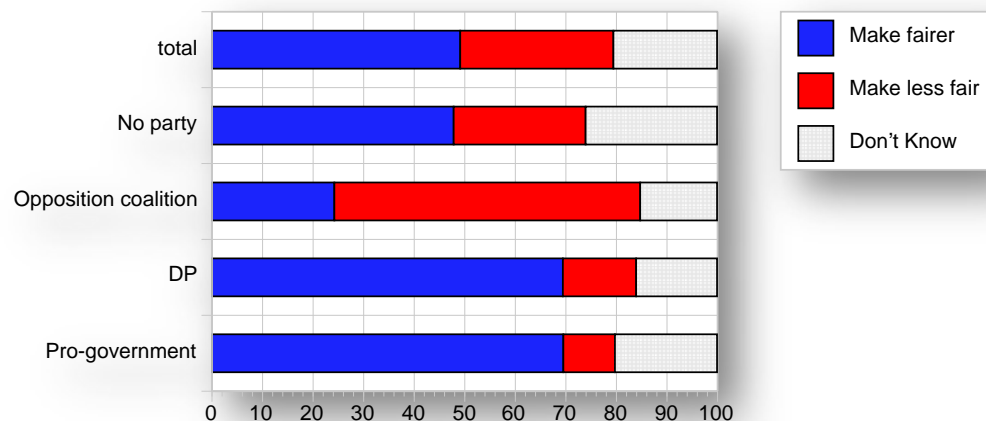
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 85.91 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Chart/Table 68 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Which party represents best (regrouped)

	Pro-government	DP	Opposition coalition	No party	total
Make fairer	70	69	24	48	49
Make less fair	10	15	61	26	30
Don't Know	20	16	15	26	21
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 139.8 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



While identification of a party as protecting one's interest best has risen, there has been no change in the proportion who consider themselves supporters or members of a political party, though the "maybe" responses have possibly increased.

Table 69 Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong? (Aug 2010)

Group	Count	%
Yes	98	12
No	681	83
Maybe	25	3
Don't Know	10	1

Table 70 Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong? (May 2009)

Group	Count	%
Yes	150	12
No	1025	85
Maybe	13	1
Don't Know	14	1

Table 71 shows that about 10 percent of respondents changed their minds about the reform proposals after they were amended to accept the DP proposed plan. About 8 percent became supporters, 2 percent opponents, with the result that 56 percent supported the reforms, 30 percent opposed. Later, when asked about whether they approved the reforms now, 59 percent indicated support (see next section below). The 48 percent who indicated that they had "always supported" the government's plan is only slightly higher than the average of support (42-45 percent) found in pre-vote surveys (see next section below). The bottom line, this survey finds that the vote of Legco in support of the amended reform package reflected the majority view of the public, and that approving those amendments delivered the crucial support needed to make that constitutional amendment reflect the will of the majority.

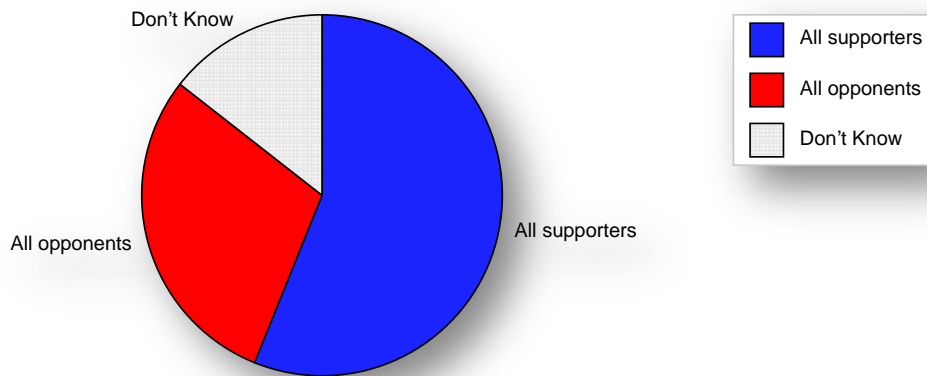
Table 71 Did you change your view on the reform proposals after the government proposals were amended to accept the Democratic Party's idea of one person, two votes for the new DC seats?

Group	Count	%
No change, still supported	393	48
No change, still opposed	222	27
Changed to approve reform plan	64	8
Changed to oppose reform plan	19	2
Don't Know	118	14

Chart/Table 72 Reclassified results of Table 71 Support/oppose after amendment

Group	Count	%
All supporters	457	56
All opponents	241	30
Don't Know	118	14

Chart of Table 72 Reclassified results of Table 71 Support/oppose after amendment



The views of those who changed their position on the fairness of government policy making falls between those who always supported and always opposed.

Table 73 Does government make policies fairly BY Changed views after reforms amended

	Always supported	Always opposed	Changed	total
Fairly	40	9	19	28
Unfairly	51	89	80	66
Don't Know	9	2	1	6
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 100.7 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

The net effect of the amended reform package on views about policy fairness can be seen in Table 74. Obviously some who believed government made policy fairly now became opponents (thus the net drop in “unfairly” responses among opponents from 89 percent to 87 percent) and some who believed government made policy unfairly became supporters (with the rise in “unfairly” responses among supporters going from 51 percent to 55 percent). It appears that a crucial number of people felt that on the whole, the reforms addressed this issue of unfairness enough to be supported. Those who feel the present system is fair and who became opponents to the package: half of these respondents are retirees or housewives, and three out of four were from the non-work sector. Those who changed to support the amended reform package were mainly unmarried men in their 20s or men in their 40s, of university or particularly post-graduate educational levels.

Table 74 Does government make policies fairly BY Changed views after reforms amended (regrouped)

	All supporters	All opponents	Don't Know	total
Fairly	37	11	22	27
Unfairly	55	87	56	65
Don't Know	8	2	22	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 103.6 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

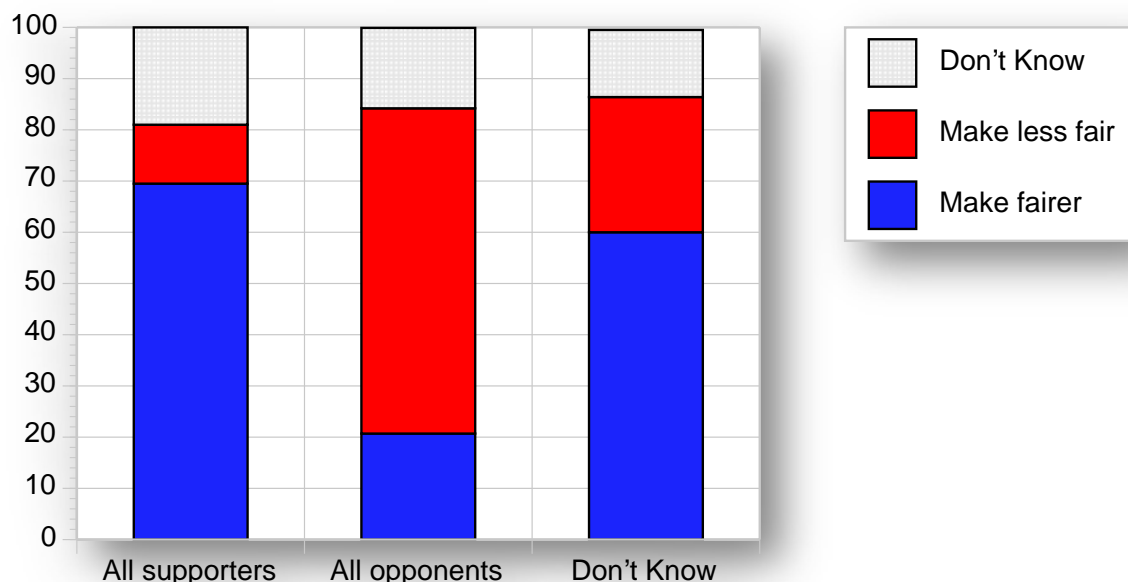
Supporters and opponents are almost mirror opposites in believing the reforms will make government policy making fairer or less fair. Clearly, fairness is the key measure going forward in whether or not these reforms will be deemed a success in future.

Chart/Table 75 Will reforms make government policies fairer BY Combined support/oppose

	All supporters	All opponents	Don't Know	total
Make fairer	70	21	60	53
Make less fair	12	64	27	30
Don't Know	19	16	13	17
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 195.9 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$



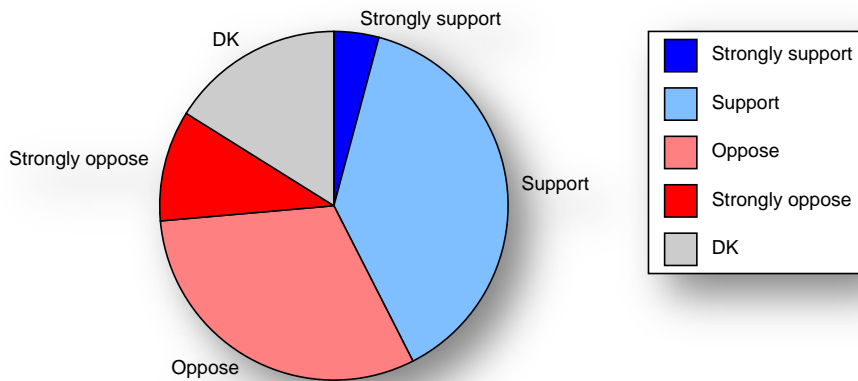
2. Reactions to reforms: Responses to the vote

The surveys in May 2010 before the 24 June vote and before the DP proposed and Beijing and Hong Kong government officials accepted amendments show that no matter how phrased, a majority did not support the government plan as originally presented. Various other university polls in Hong Kong all showed less than majority support.

Chart/Table 76 Do you generally support or oppose the Hong Kong government's proposal for constitutional reform? (Registered voters May 2010)

Group	Count	%	Combined %
Strongly support	22	4	
Support	233	38	42
Oppose	190	31	
Strongly oppose	62	10	41
DK	99	16	

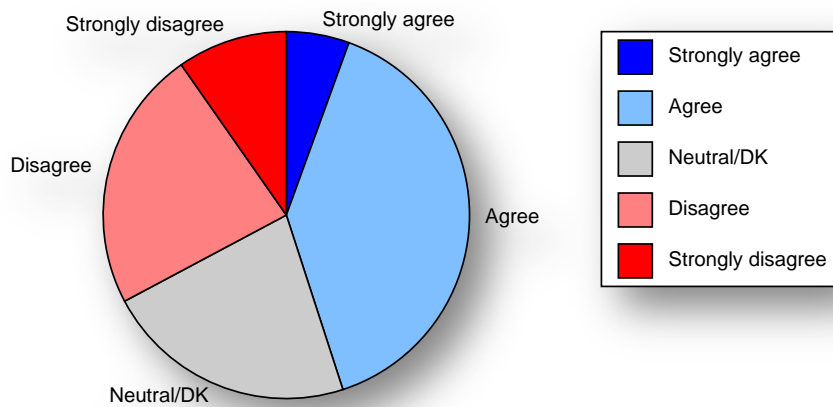
Chart of Table 76 Support/Oppose government’s plan in May 2010



While accepting the government’s reform proposal was higher than supporting the package, as Chart/Table 77 shows, neither “support” nor “accept” garnered a clear majority of backing for the unamended government plan.

Chart/Table 77 How strongly would you agree or disagree with the statement: “The government’s reform plan is acceptable to me” (All Respondents May 2010)

Group	Count	%	Combined
Strongly agree	40	6	45
Agree	279	39	
Neutral/DK	160	22	33
Disagree	168	23	
Strongly disagree	68	10	



Now that the plan has been amended and the vote taken, a clear majority support the reform plan, as Chart/Table 78 shows, and there are no statistical differences among GC or FC voters or even those who are not registered to vote, as seen in Table 80.

Chart/Table 78 Do you generally support or oppose the reforms Legco approved in June for the 2012 elections? (AUGUST 2010)

	%
Strongly support	9
Support	50
Oppose	23
Strongly oppose	7
Don’t Know	12

Chart of Table 78 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June for 2012

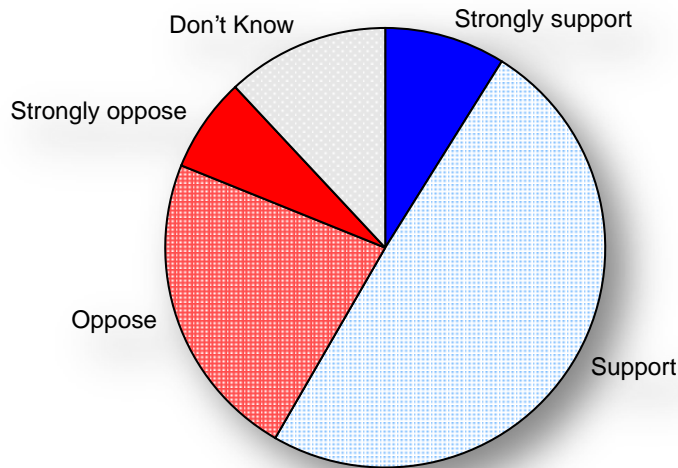


Table 79 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 (reclassified)

Group	Count	%
Support	474	58
Oppose	240	29
Don't Know	102	13

Table 80 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Voter status

	GC voter	FC voter	Not registered	total
Support	57	58	61	58
Oppose	31	32	24	29
Don't Know	12	110	16	12
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 5.322 with 4 df p = 0.2558 NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

Table 80 shows clearly that the reforms do not pit geographic constituency voters against functional constituency voters. While those not registered to vote appear to support the reforms slightly more and oppose them slightly less, the number of unregistered permanent residents age 18 and up is quite small, too small to make these differences significant statistically.

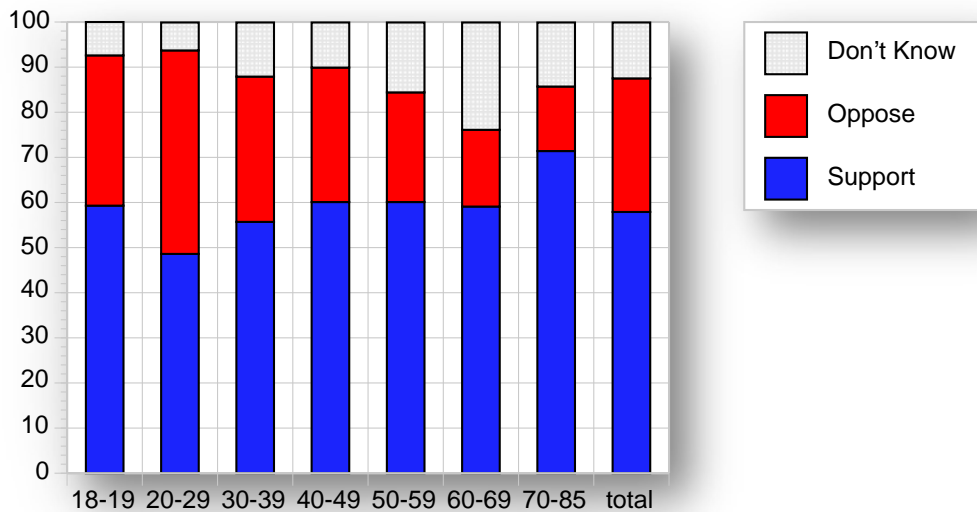
Table 81 shows that among the age groups, opposition drops with age except for the 20-29 age group. This cohort has been, and continues to be, the least placated by reform. Even so, the 20s are nearly evenly split while all other age groups show clear majorities in support.

Table 81 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Support	59	49	56	60	60	59	71	58
Oppose	33	45	32	30	24	17	14	30
Don't Know	7	6	12	10	16	24	14	13
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 43.64 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart of Table 81 Support/Oppose reforms by Age

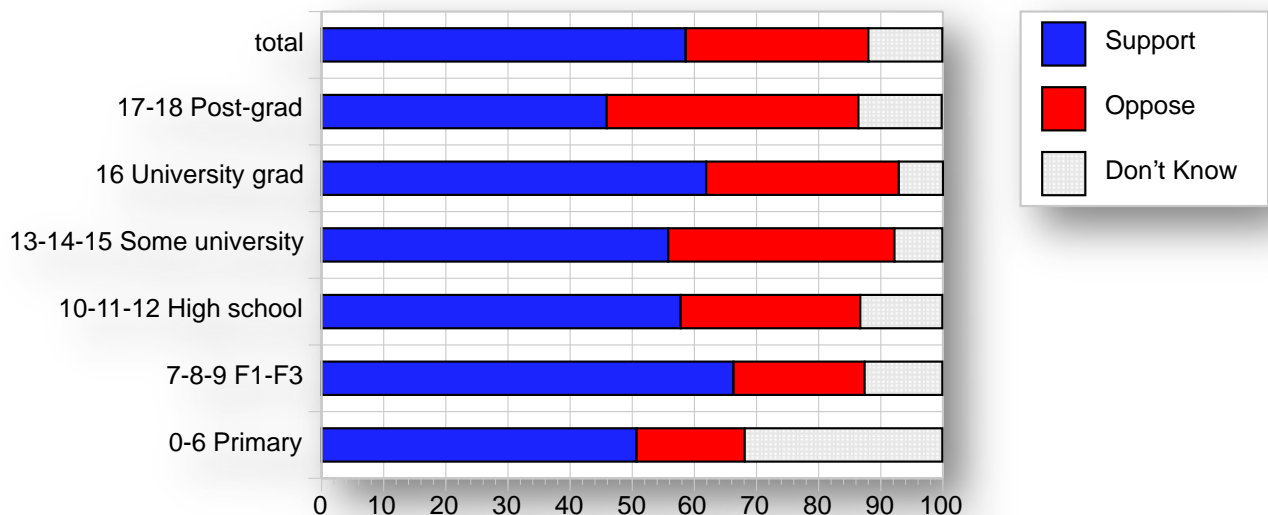


Those with primary or less, “some university” (two year diplomas and some post-secondary, including but not mainly current students) and those with post-graduate degrees are least supportive, but all but post-graduates show a majority in support.

Table 82 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Education

	0-6 Primary	7-8-9 F1-F3	10-11-12 High school	13-14-15 Some university	16 University grad	17-18 Post-grad	total
Support	51	66	58	56	62	46	59
Oppose	17	21	29	36	31	41	29
Don't Know	32	13	13	8	7	14	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 42.99 with 10 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Those making between \$20,000 and \$60,000 family income per month, making up 45 percent of all the respondents in the August 2010 survey, are also less supportive than other income groups. The 7 percent of respondents whose families make \$80,000 per month and up are mainly aged 30 to 60 (See Table 85)

Table 83 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Support	66	51	55	50	55	65	61	67	58
Oppose	15	27	31	39	36	29	26	22	30
Don't Know	19	22	14	11	8	6	13	10	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.97 with 14 df p = 0.0105

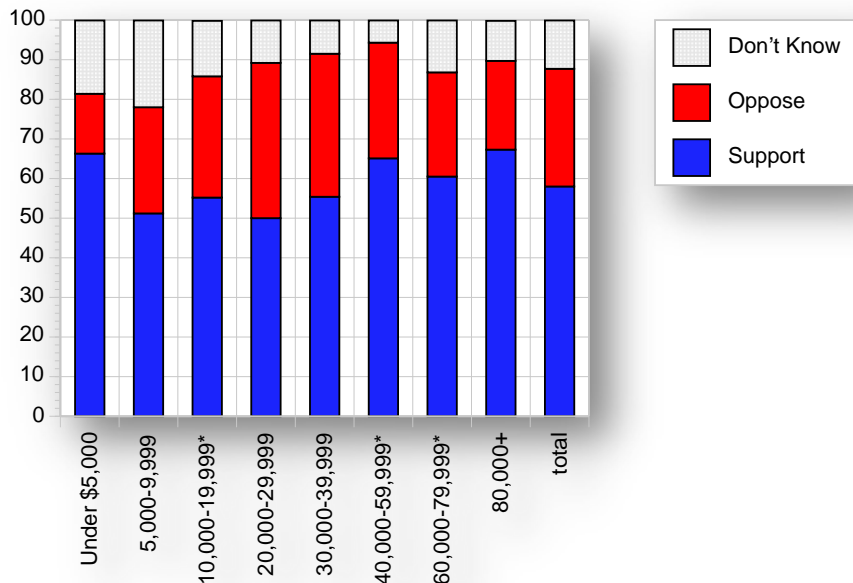


Table 84 Income of respondents to Aug 2010 survey

Group	Count	%
Under \$5,000	86	12
5,000-9,999	41	6
10,000-19,999	183	26
20,000-29,999	130	18
30,000-39,999	83	12
40,000-59,999*	106	15
60,000-79,999*	38	5
80,000+	49	7

*Note change in categories

Table 85 Income groups, proportion by age

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
18-19	4	8	9	8	1	6	8	2	6
20-29	2	15	22	19	25	25	8	4	18
30-39	0	3	13	16	16	27	16	27	15
40-49	7	20	25	25	25	22	42	27	23
50-59	15	25	22	23	27	20	16	29	22
60-69	40	20	5	9	5	1	8	8	10
70-85	32	10	3	2	1	0	3	2	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 295.8 with 42 df p ≤ 0.0001

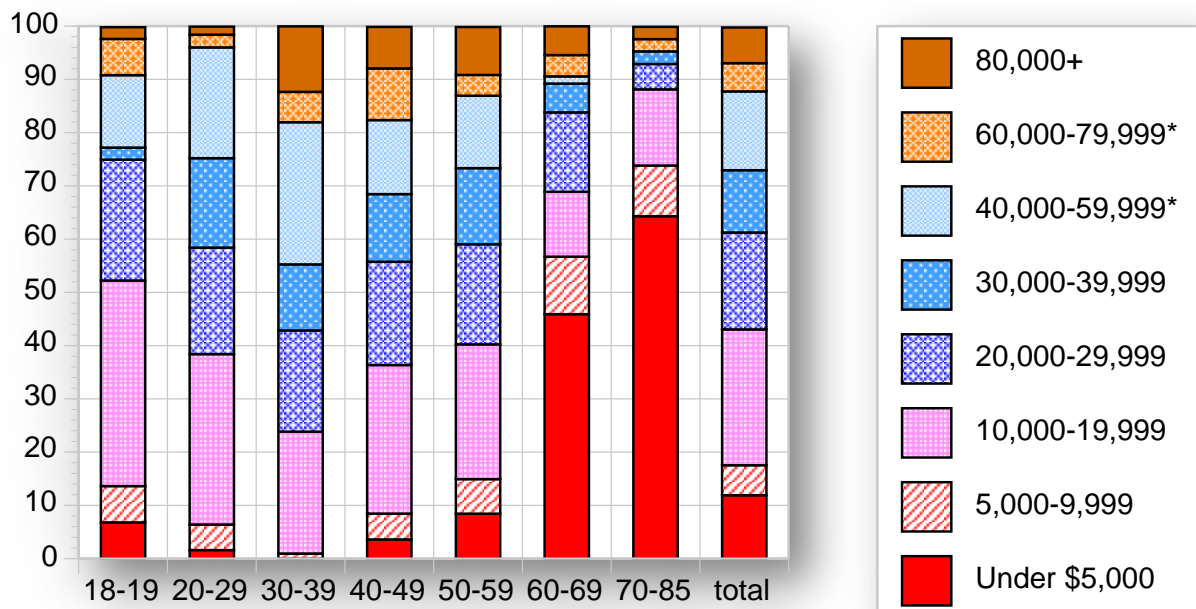
Many people in their 20s and 30s, and their parents in their 40s and 50s, make between \$20,000 per month and \$59,999. Those in this range have had increasing problems in buying a home as prices have surged since nearly collapsing in 2001-2003. The supply of new homes entering the market hit a historic low in 2010.

Chart/Table 86 Income distribution among Age groups

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Under \$5,000	7	2	0	4	8	46	64	12
5,000-9,999	7	5	1	5	6	11	10	6
10,000-19,999	39	32	23	28	25	12	14	26
20,000-29,999	23	20	19	19	19	15	5	18
30,000-39,999	2	17	12	13	14	5	2	12
40,000-59,999*	14	21	27	14	14	1	0	15
60,000-79,999*	7	2	6	10	4	4	2	5
80,000+	2	2	12	8	9	5	2	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 295.8 with 42 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Those with the “blues” in the chart above make enough money to have aspirations but not enough to fulfill them, particularly as the housing market became more expensive and as education went up in cost but not in access or in outcome in terms of a well paying job or a job with prospects of increased pay.

Table 87 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	House wife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Support	65	56	51	54	66	55	67	58	52	58
Oppose	30	36	39	29	17	24	18	23	43	29
Don't Know	5	8	11	17	17	22	15	20	5	13
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 50.18 with 16 df $p \leq 0.0001$

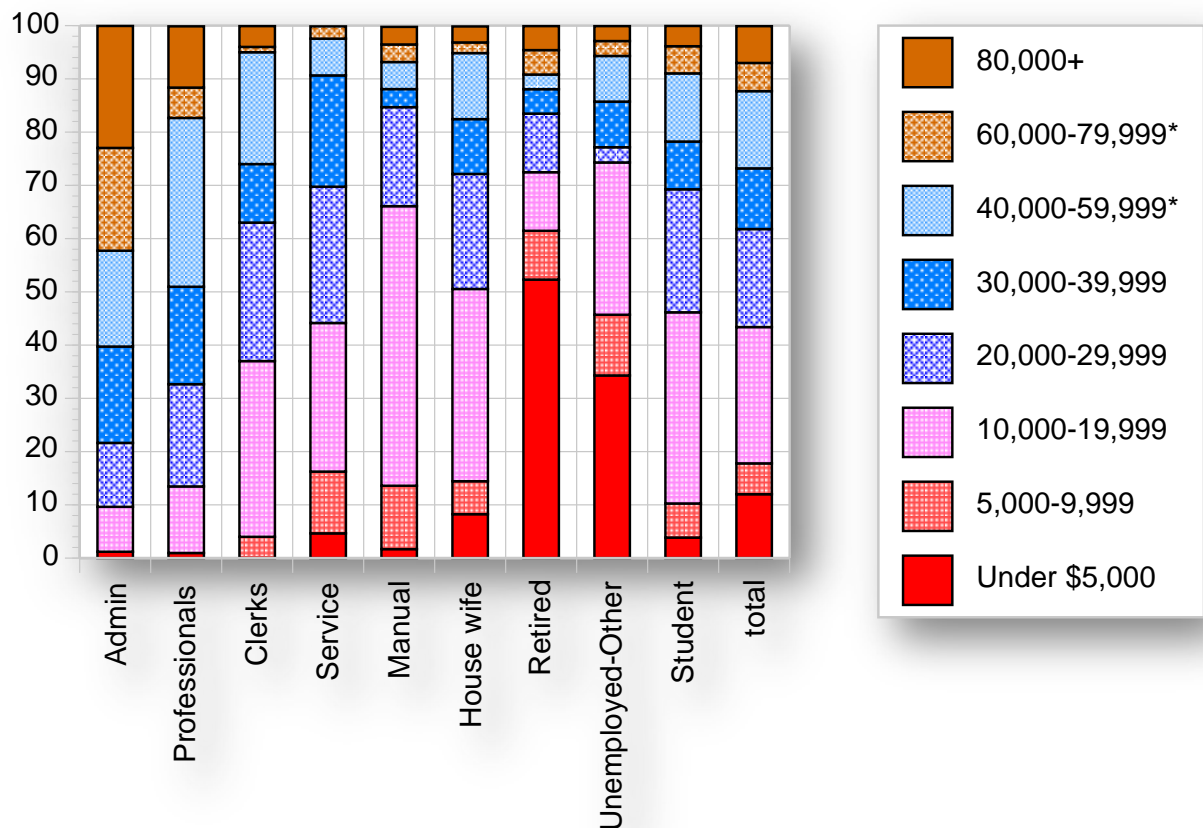
Chart/Table 88 shows that the proportion of opposition to reforms by occupation is almost the same as proportions of each occupation in the “blue” categories. A much finer breakdown of income/aspiration and lifestyle groups may be found in Appendix One.

Chart/Table 88 Income distributions among Occupations

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	House wife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Under \$5,000	1	1	0	5	2	8	52	34	4	12
5,000-9,999	0	0	4	12	12	6	9	11	6	6
10,000-19,999	8	13	33	28	53	36	11	29	36	26
20,000-29,999	12	19	26	26	19	22	11	3	23	18
30,000-39,999	18	18	11	21	3	10	5	9	9	11
40,000-59,999*	18	32	21	7	5	12	3	9	13	15
60,000-79,999*	19	6	1	2	3	2	5	3	5	5
80,000+	23	12	4	0	3	3	5	3	4	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 436.9 with 56 df p ≤ 0.0001



Opposition to reform is highest among the public and non-profit sector as Table 89 shows.

Table 89 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Work sector

	Public/NGO	Private	Non-work	total
Support	50	60	58	58
Oppose	37	30	27	30
Don't Know	13	10	15	12
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 7.965 with 4 df p = 0.0929

Those who are married also support reforms more than the unmarried, as do those who have attended a home owners corporation meeting recently (Table 91). Improving access to housing (and improving pay and prospects for those in their 20s and 30s) should also increase support for the reforms and likely lower the strong feelings of policy making unfairness that currently dominate.

Table 90 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Marital status

	Not married	Married	total
Support	50	63	58
Oppose	41	23	30
Don't Know	9	15	13
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 31.13 with 2 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 91 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Attend Home owner's corporation meeting

	Not attend	Attend Owner's Corporation	total
Support	56	68	58
Oppose	31	22	29
Don't Know	13	10	13
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 6.494 with 2 df p = 0.0389

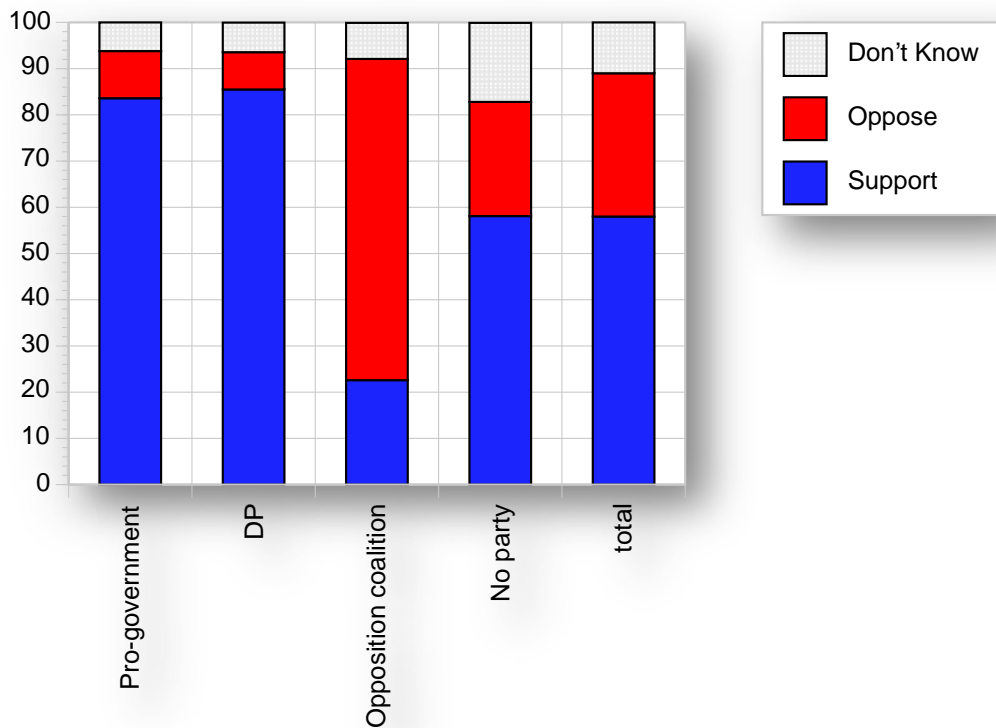
Support for reform among those who cite the Democratic Party (DP) as the party that represents their interests best is possibly higher than among those who cite the DAB or LP, classified as the pro-government coalition, as parties best representing them. But even between one in five and one in four of the CP/LSD opposition coalition support the reforms.

Chart/Table 92 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Which party represents best (in coalition groupings)

	Pro-government	DP	Opposition coalition	No party	total
Support	84	86	23	58	58
Oppose	40	8	70	25	31
Don't Know	6	6	8	17	11
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 221.8 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart of Table 92 Support/oppose reforms by Which party represents best

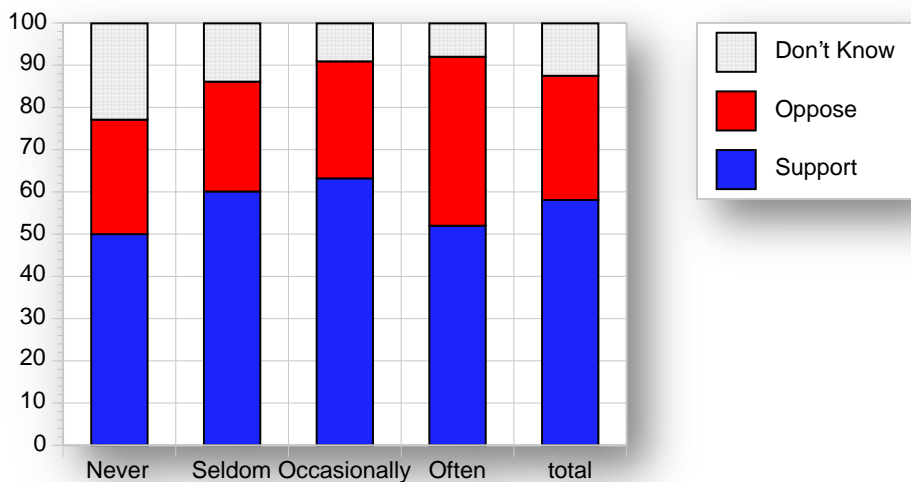


Those who discuss politics most frequently with friends support the reforms by 52 to 40 percent, while all other groups show wider margins of support.

Table 93 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Frequency of discuss politics with friends

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	total
Support	50	60	63	52	58
Oppose	27	26	28	40	29
Don't Know	23	14	9	8	13
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 28.94 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Only among those who have joined a demonstration in the previous 12 months does opposition to reform significantly outpace support, by two to one.

Table 94 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY

	Non-demonstrators	Demonstrators	total
Support	63	31	58
Oppose	23	65	29
Don't Know	14	4	13
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 85.85 with 2 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Mainland born respondents are more likely to support reform, but a majority of all groups support reform. The largest opposition is among those born in Hong Kong. Support and opposition by birthplace and by personal identification for both “Hong Kong person” and “Chinese” is almost the same. (See Table 96)

Table 95 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Support	54	68	70	58
Oppose	33	19	18	29
Don't Know	12	13	13	13
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.45 with 4 df $p = 0.0016$

Table 96 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY Personal identification

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	HKBritish, Overseas Chinese	total
Support	65	69	51	41	58
Oppose	24	20	35	43	29
Don't Know	11	11	14	16	13
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.44 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Support for reforms in Hong Kong tends to rise with increased frequency of visits to the mainland until the most frequent level of visiting. Only among those who have not visited the mainland in the previous two years at all does less than a majority support reforms.

Table 97 Support/Oppose reforms approved in June 2010 BY times visiting Mainland China in previous 2 years

	0	1-2	3-4	5-9	10-19	20-25	30+	total
Support	46	56	62	66	60	68	57	58
Oppose	39	30	27	24	22	26	38	30
Don't Know	15	14	11	10	17	6	6	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 23.88 with 12 df $p = 0.0211$

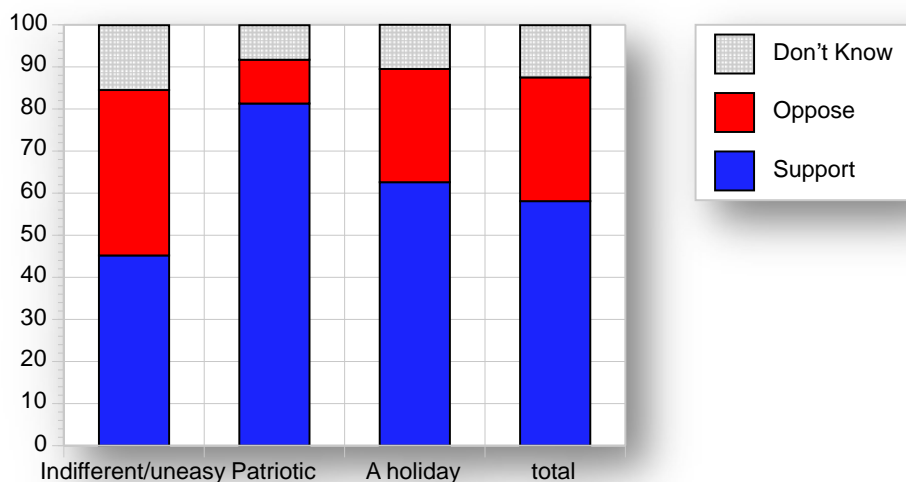
Those who are indifferent/uneasy on PRC National Day October 1 are most likely to oppose the reforms and those who are patriotic are most supportive, while those who are pessimistic about Hong Kong's future are also most opposed to the reforms (see Chart/Table 99).

Chart/Table 98 Support reforms approved in June 2010 BY Feelings on PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Support	45	81	63	58
Oppose	39	10	28	29
Don't Know	16	8	11	13
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 71.85 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

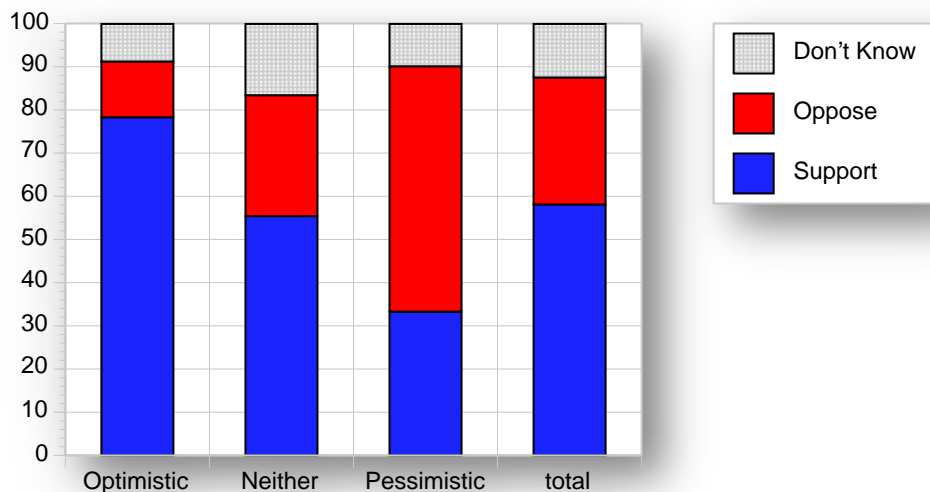


Chart/Table 99 Support reforms approved in June 2010 BY Views on Hong Kong's future as a part of China

	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Support	78	55	33	58
Oppose	13	28	57	29
Don't Know	9	17	10	13
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 120.1 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

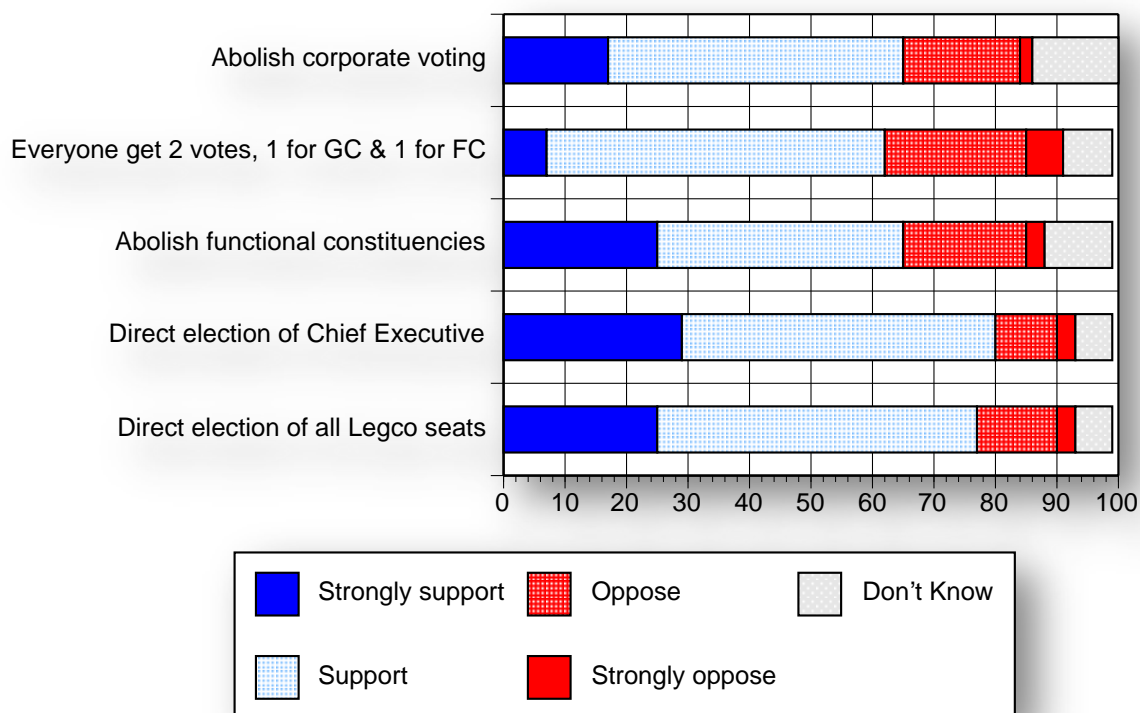


Effect of Reform Passage on Support for Further Reforms

One of the reasons voiced by opponents of the government's reform package for their opposition was the fear that if such small incremental reforms as originally proposed were passed, the demand for reform would be diminished and support for further change would lessen. All the evidence so far points to the contrary effect. This may be that the Democratic Party and moderates' amendments proved that more progress toward greater democracy could be made than expected, and that Beijing and the Hong Kong Government were willing to accept ideas from democrats. In any case, the passage of reform clearly appears to have strengthened support for further reforms, and in most cases, particularly by lessening the intensity and often amount of opposition to further reforms.

Chart/Table 100 In principle, do you support or oppose

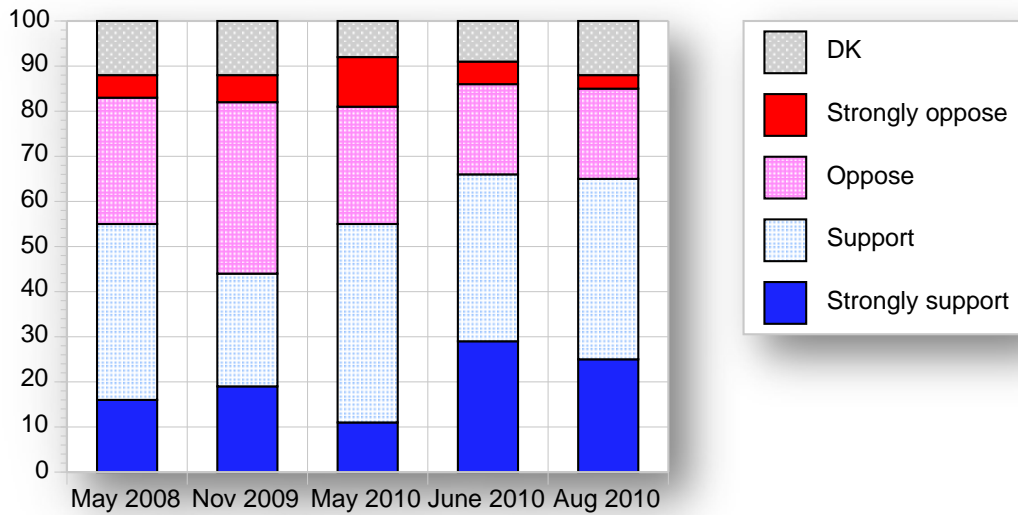
	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't Know
Direct election of all Legco seats	25	52	13	3	7
Direct election of Chief Executive	29	51	10	3	7
Abolish functional constituencies	25	40	20	3	12
Everyone get 2 votes, 1 for GC & 1 for FC	7	55	23	6	9
Abolish corporate voting	17	48	19	2	15



The tactic of forcing a “referendum” vote by legislators resigning and triggering a by-election (held in May 2010) was criticized by Ma Ngok of Chinese University as very likely to be a tactic diverting attention from, rather than focusing attention on, the issues most in contention during the reform debate. It appears that he was correct. Chart/Table 101 shows that while overall opposition to abolishing the FCs diminished between November 2009 and May 2010 (survey conducted before the by-election vote), those strongly opposed increased significantly. The same pattern, even more pronounced, can be seen in Chart/Table 102.

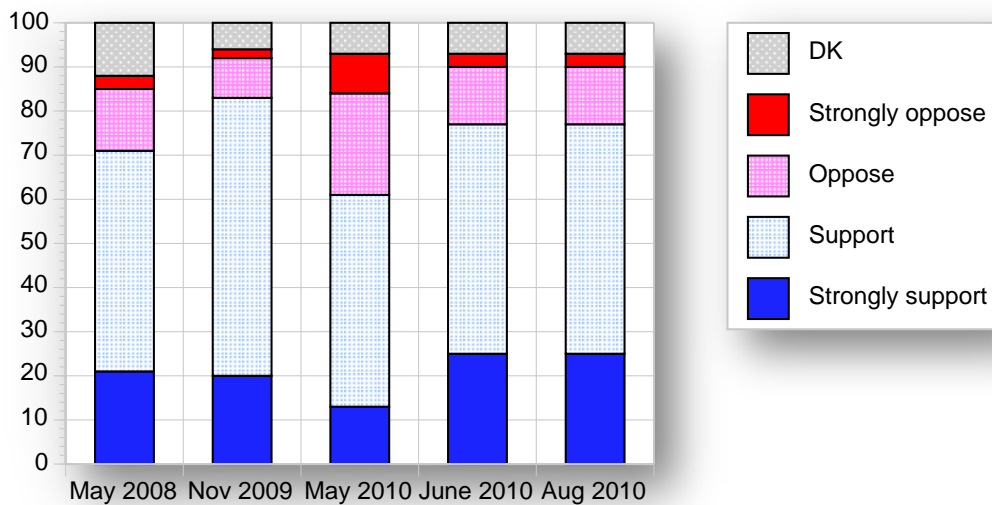
Chart/Table 101 In principle, do you support or oppose: Abolishing functional constituencies

Group	May 2008	Nov 2009	May 2010	June 2010	Aug 2010
Strongly support	16	19	11	29	25
Support	39	25	44	37	40
Oppose	28	38	26	20	20
Strongly oppose	5	6	11	5	3
DK	12	12	8	9	12



Chart/Table 102 In principle, do you support or oppose: Directly electing all Legco members

	May 2008	Nov 2009	May 2010	June 2010	Aug 2010
Strongly support	21	20	13	25	25
Support	50	63	48	52	52
Oppose	14	9	23	13	13
Strongly oppose	3	2	9	3	3
DK	12	6	7	7	7

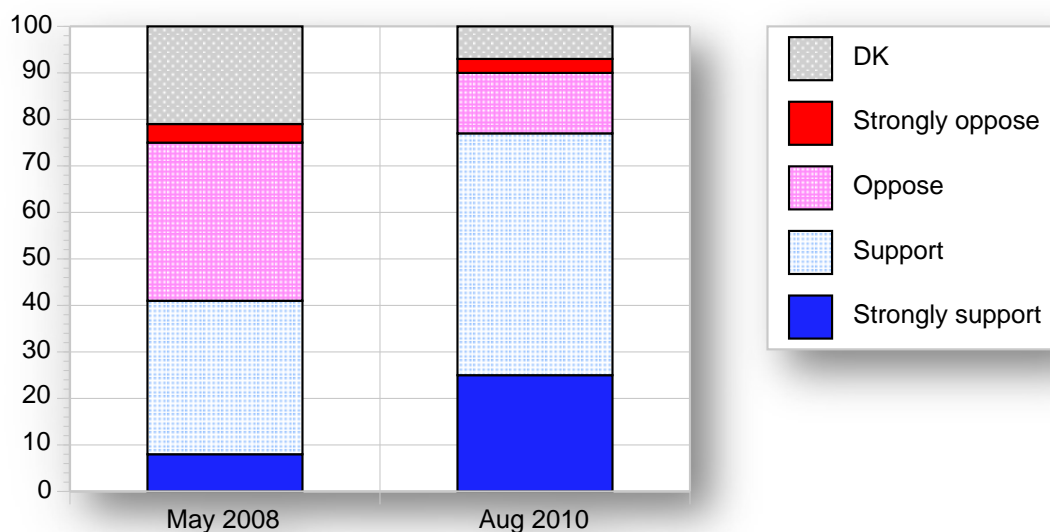


The debate over reform has changed attitudes toward the small circle elections in which corporations rather than persons vote. There has been a substantial shift since May 2008

(when the last Legco election campaigning commenced) and August 2010 (after reforms passed and were formally registered with and thus ratified by the NPC. This certainly appears to support, and form, substantially increased pressure on the Hong Kong Government to address this issue, an issue on which before the reform vote it felt little urge to address.

Chart/Table 103 In principle, do you support or oppose: Abolishing corporate voting

Group	May 2008	Aug 2010
Strongly support	8	25
Support	33	52
Oppose	34	13
Strongly oppose	4	3
DK	22	7

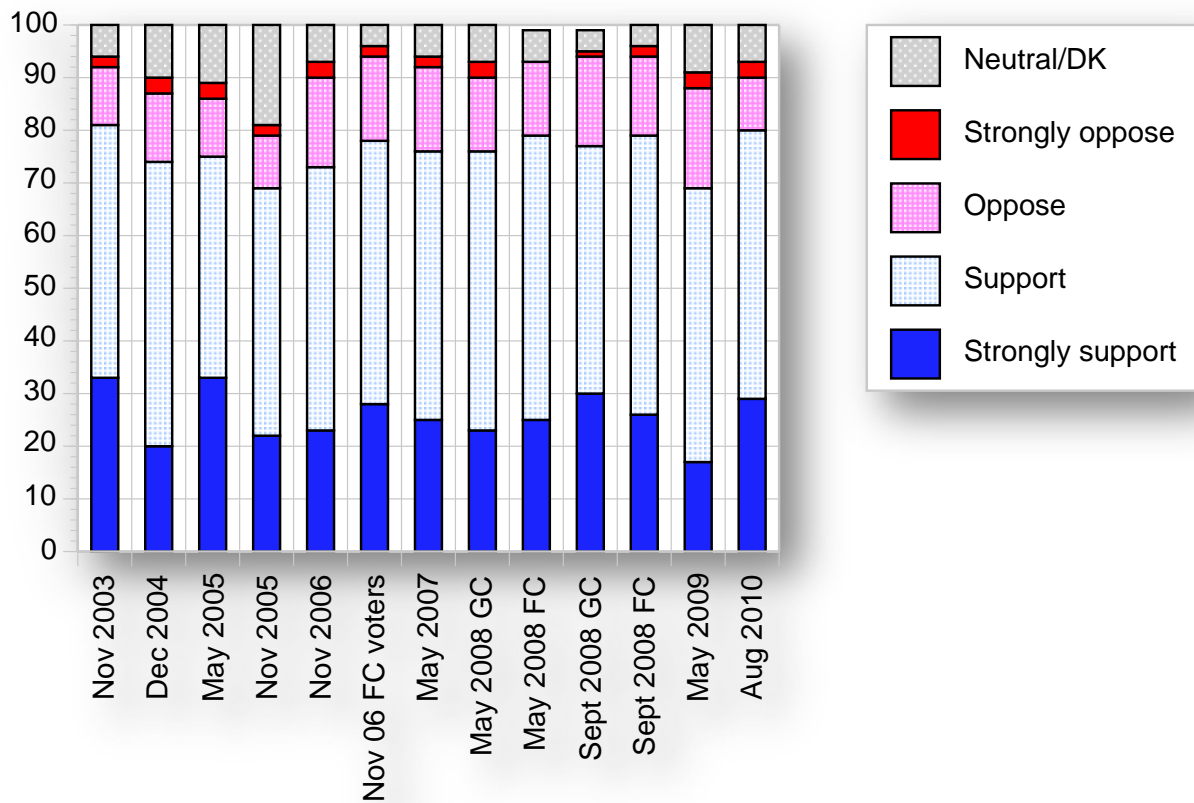


Chart/Table 104 shows that support for and opposition to directly electing the Chief Executive is about back where it was in November 2003. The debate over constitutional reform made significant differences. In May 2009 just 17 percent strongly supported directly electing the Chief Executive and 22 percent opposed. In August 2010 29 percent strongly support direct election of the Chief Executive and just 13 percent opposed.

Chart/Table 104 Support/oppose directly electing the Chief Executive

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral/DK	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Nov 2003	33	48	6	11	2
Dec 2004	20	54	10	13	3
May 2005	33	42	11	11	3
Nov 2005	22	47	19	10	2
Nov 2006	23	50	7	17	3
Nov 06 FC voters	28	50	4	16	2
May 2007	25	51	6	16	2
May 2008 GC	23	53	8	14	3
May 2008 FC	25	54	6	14	--
Sept 2008 GC	30	47	4	17	1
Sept 2008 FC	26	53	5	15	2
May 2009	17	52	10	19	3
Aug 2010	29	51	7	10	3

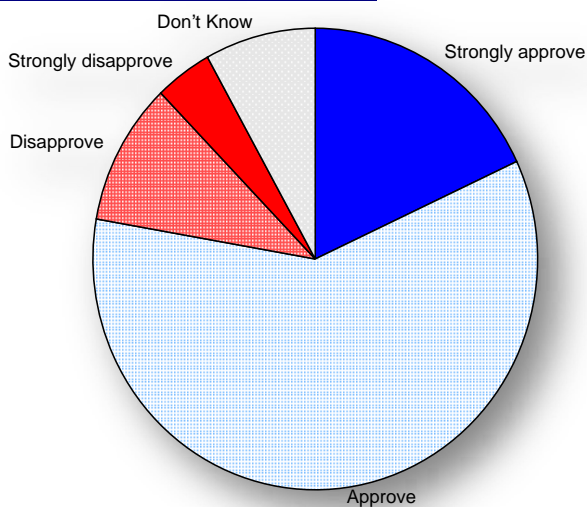
Chart of Table 104 Support for directly electing the Chief Executive



Bottom line, overwhelming approval of the DP and moderates' course of action.

Chart/Table 105 Do you approve or disapprove of the Democratic Party and other moderates negotiating with Beijing authorities over reform?

	%
Strongly approve	18
Approve	59
Disapprove	10
Strongly disapprove	4
Don't Know	8



But not everyone was happy with various players in the reform process. We asked respondents an open-ended question to determine who they were most happy and most unhappy with. Table 106 lists party results and shows that 19 percent of respondents named a particular person they were most unhappy with. Table 107 gives that list of persons named.

Table 106 Are you most unhappy with any particular person or party because of their performance on constitutional reform? (Open ended. List not read)

Group	Count	%
DP	53	6
DAB	133	16
CTU	2	0.2
FTU	5	1
CP	14	2
LSD	288	35
LP	12	1
Named person	152	19
Don't Know/None	157	19

Table 107 Open ended responses, most unhappy with this person: (Total Cases: 152)

Group	Count	%
Tsang Yok-sing (DAB)	5	3
Albert Ho (DP)	6	4
Emily Lau (DP)	4	3
Lee Cheuk Yan (CTU/DP)	1	1
Fredrick Fung (ADPL/DP)	1	1
Chan Kan Lam (DAB)	1	1
Lau Kong Wah (DAB)	3	2
Tam Yiu Chung (DAB)	9	6
Audrey Eu (CP)	2	1
Raymond Wong (LSD)	64	42
Leung Kwok Heung (LSD)	44	29
Albert Chan (LSD)	2	1
Miriam Lau (LP)	1	1
Cheung Man Kwong (DP)	1	1
Philip Wong (Bus/LP)	4	3
Chim Pui Chung (Bus/LP)	1	1
Timothy Fok (Bus/LP)	2	1
Tommy Cheung (LP)	1	1

Raymond Wong and “Long Hair” Leung Kwok Heung lead the unhappy list, named far more frequently than anyone else. We then took the list in Table 107 above and reclassified the persons named according to the notation in parentheses beside each name. Table 108 shows this consolidated list.

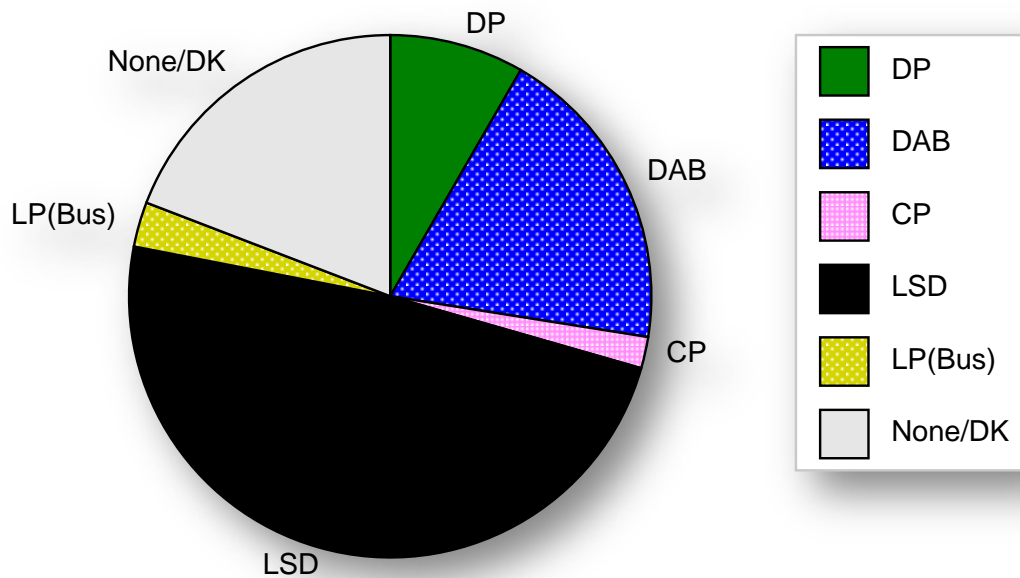
Table 108 Reclassified named list: Total Cases 152

Group	Count	%
DP	13	9
DAB	18	12
CP	2	1
LSD	110	72
LP/Bus	9	6

Integrating Table 108 with Table 106 gives this overall result:

Chart/Table 109 Party respondents name as most unhappy with over reform performance (combined reclassified)

Group	Count	%
DP	68	8
DAB	156	19
CP	16	2
LSD	398	49
LP(Bus)	21	3
None/DK	157	19



The League of Social Democrats and DAB come out at the top of the unhappy list with the DP offending less than one in 10 and the CP offending just 2 out of 100. We then perform the same operation with those who respondents were most happy with.

Table 110 Anyone you are most happy with because of their performance on constitutional reform?

Group	Count	%
DP	129	16
DAB	43	5
CTU	5	1
FTU	15	2
CP	128	16
LSD	27	3
LP	12	1
Named person	142	17
None/DK	315	39

The open ended category got slightly fewer responses, 142 for who made them most happy versus 152 who named someone who made them most unhappy, with Audrey Eu of the CP

leading the pack by far, followed by Albert Ho of the Democrats. This question also garnered a substantially larger proportion who named no one.

Table 111 Open-ended responses, Most happy with this person: (Total cases: 142)

Group	Count	%
Albert Ho (DP)	20	14
Emily Lau (DP)	1	1
Andrew Cheng Ka Foo (DP)	5	4
Lee Cheuk Yan (CTU/DP)	6	4
Wong Kwok Hing	1	1
Fredrick Fung (ADPL)	1	1
Regina Ip (Savantas)	11	8
Tam Yiu Chung (DAB)	3	2
Audrey Eu (CP)	67	47
Alan Leong (CP)	3	2
Tanya Chan (CP)	7	5
Raymond Wong (LSD)	4	3
Leung Kwok Heung (LSD)	5	4
Miriam Lau (LP)	1	1
Cheung Man Kwong (DP)	1	1
Margaret Ng (CP)	1	1
Paul Tse (Ind Dem/Bus)	1	1
Lam Tai Fai (Ind Bus)	1	1
Chim Pui Chung (Ind Bus)	3	2

The CP leads the table of named persons category with Eu named by 47 percent and all other CP members adding up to 8 percent for a total of 55 percent of the named person list). Fredrick Fung and other independent democrats (named by 5 people all up) who cooperated with the DP and moderates are reclassified with the DP in Table 112.

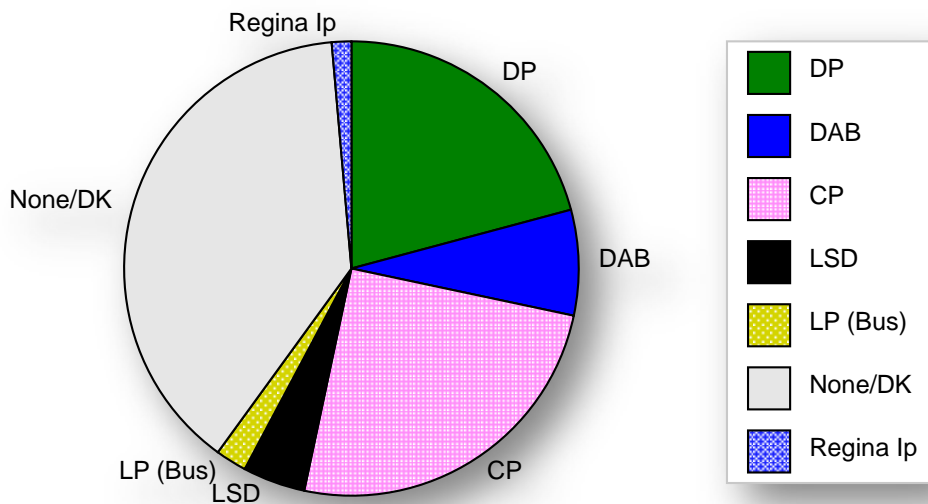
Table 112 shows Table 111 reclassified (except for Eu of the CP) Total Cases 142

Group	Count	%
DP	35	25
DAB	4	3
CP	11	8
Audrey Eu (CP)	67	47
LSD	9	6
LP (Bus)	5	4
Regina Ip	11	8

Chart/Table 113 Combined reclassified list of who makes respondents most happy with their performance on constitutional reform

Group	Count	%
DP	169	21
DAB	62	8
CP	206	25
LSD	36	4
LP (Bus)	17	2
None/DK	315	39
Regina Ip	11	1

Chart of Table 113 Combined reclassified list



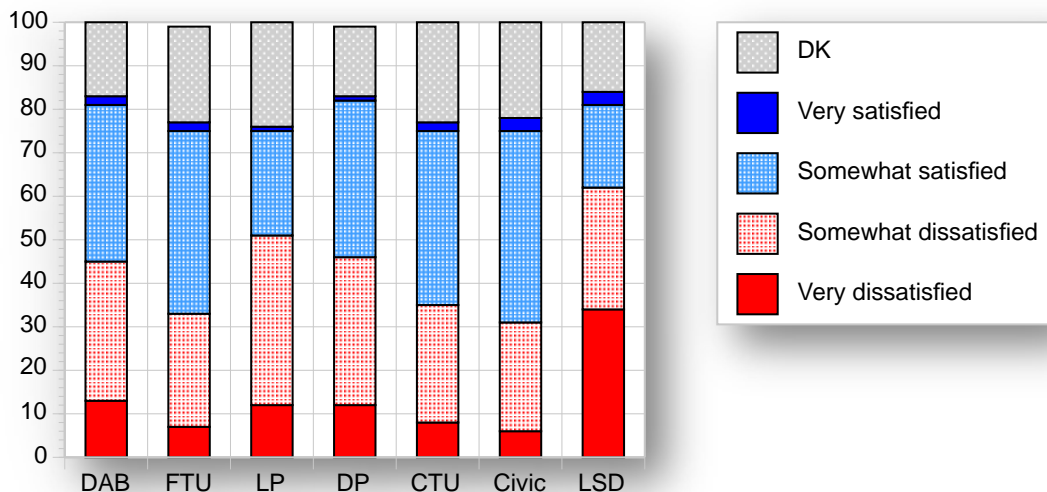
The proportion naming no one or Don't Know on this question was higher than for who made respondents unhappy with their performance. The next section examines the results on satisfaction with the performance of parties of the whole constitutional reform period.

Satisfaction with Party Performance

In May 2009, before the government introduced its reform package, satisfaction with parties was as shown in Chart/Table 114.

Table 114 Satisfaction with Party performance May 2009

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	13	32	36	2	17
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	22
LSD	34	28	19	3	16

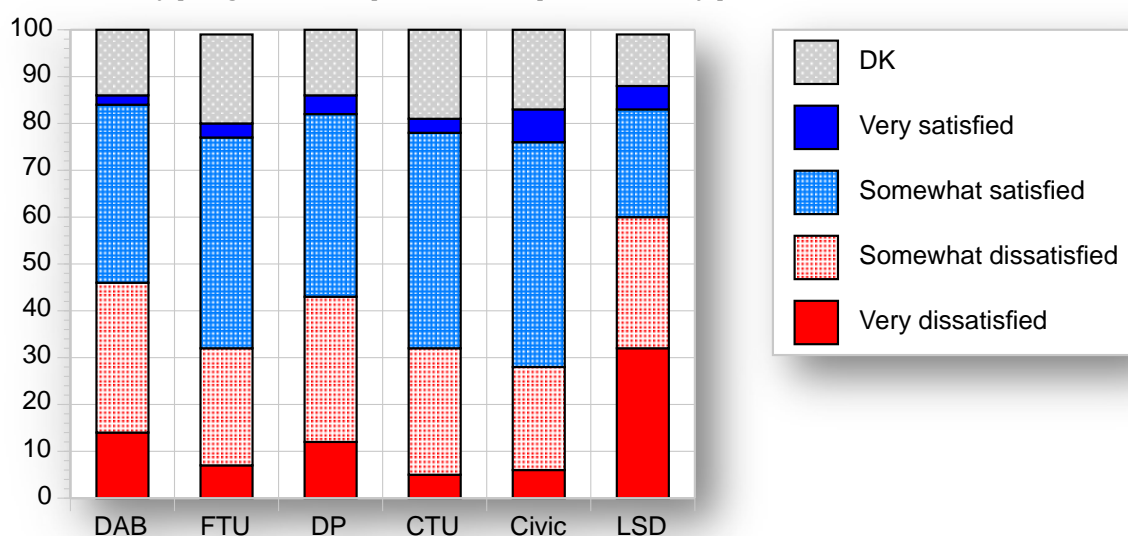


In January 2010, after the package had been introduced to Legco but before the decision of 5 legislators to resign and force a by-election, a move that split the DP from the rest of the pan-democrats, satisfaction was as in Chart/Table 115. At that point, every party showed rises in satisfaction with their performance from May 2009.

Table 115 Satisfaction with party performance January 2010

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	14	32	38	2	14
FTU	7	25	45	3	19
DP	12	31	39	4	14
CTU	5	27	46	3	19
Civic	6	22	48	7	17
LSD	32	28	23	5	11

*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



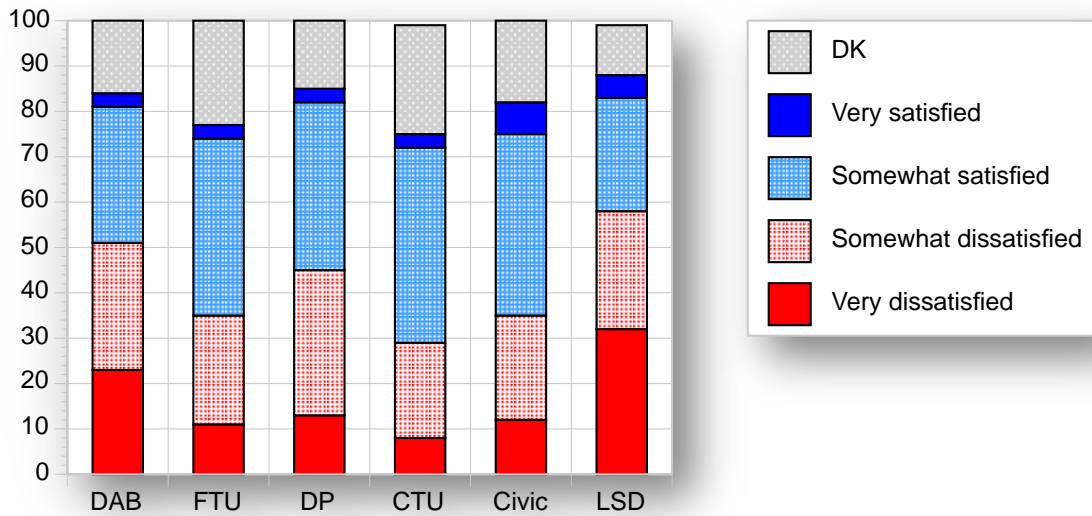
By May 2010, just after the by-election but before the vote on the reforms had taken place, and before the DP proposals had been accepted by Beijing, it was already clear that the by-election dispute had pushed satisfaction with many parties down from January 2010, with the possible exception of the LSD. The LSD continued as the party with the highest negatives (greatest level of dissatisfaction), however.

Table 116 Satisfaction with party performance May 2010

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	23*	28	30*	3	16
FTU	11*	24	39*	3	23
DP	13	32	37	3	15
CTU	8	21	43	3	24
Civic	12*	23	40*	7	19
LSD	32	26	25	5	11

**Indicates significant differences from January 2010 survey Parties not sorted as the pro-democracy front began to break down in May 2010

Chart of Table 116 Satisfaction with party performance May 2010

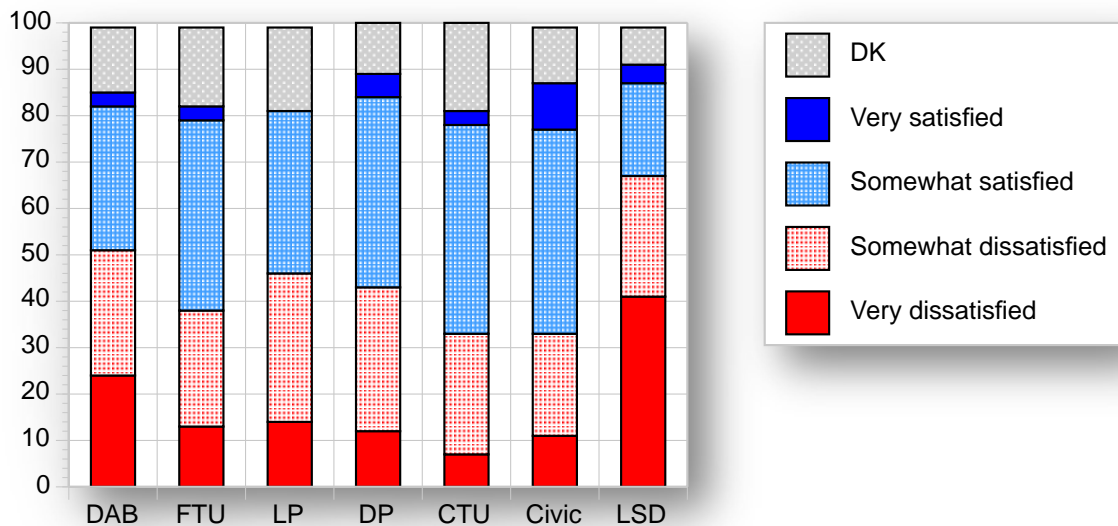


After the vote, dissatisfaction rose significantly with LSD, both overall and in intensity, as Chart/Table 117 shows. Satisfaction rose with both the DP and the Civic Party.

Chart/Table 117 Satisfaction with party performance Aug 2010

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	24	27	31	3	14
FTU	13	25	41	3	17
LP	14	32	35	--	18
DP	12	31	41	5	11
CTU	7	26	45	3	19
Civic	11	22	44	10	12
LSD	41	26	20	4	8

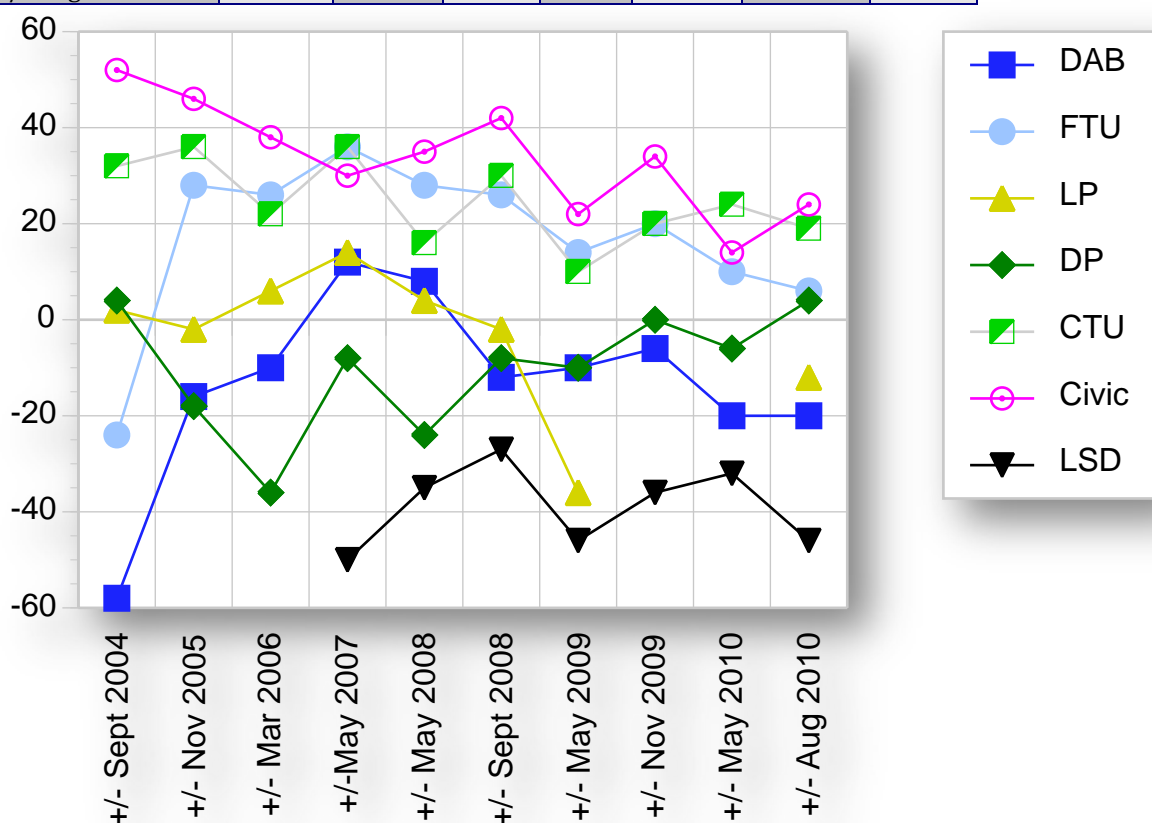
**Indicates significant differences from January 2010 survey



Chart/Table 118 shows the overall trends in satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the parties since the elections of September 2004. If a party shows a more satisfaction than dissatisfaction, the number is positive. If more dissatisfaction than satisfaction, the number is negative. So the number in the table is the net difference between those satisfied and those dissatisfied once the Don't Know responses are removed (to allow comparison).

Chart/Table 118 Trend Analysis: Difference between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with performance

Difference	DAB	FTU	LP	DP	CTU	Civic	LSD
+/- Sept 2004	-58	-24	+2	+4	+32	+52	--
+/- Nov 2005	-16	+28	-2	-18	+36	+46	--
+/- Mar 2006	-10	+26	+6	-36	+22	+38	--
+/- May 2007	+12	+36	+14	-8	+36	+30	-50
+/- May 2008	+8	+28	+4	-24	+16	+35	-35
+/- Sept 2008	-12	+26	-2	-8	+30	+42	-27
+/- May 2009	-10	+14	-36	-10	+10	+22	-46
+/- Nov 2009	-6	+20	**	0	+20	+34	-36
+/- May 2010	-20	+10	**	-6	+24	+14	-32
+/- Aug 2010	-20	+6	-12	+4	+19	+24	-46



Besides the overall and comparative satisfaction rates with the parties, there were also changes with satisfaction by various demographic variables, especially by age groups, and particularly with the DP as the comparative charts next page show dramatically.

Chart/Table 119 How satisfied are you with the performance of the Democratic Party led by Albert Ho?

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	12	13	15	16	10	14	7	13
Dissatisfied	37	47	40	35	25	32	20	34
Satisfied	49	38	39	45	55	45	67	47
Very satisfied	2	2	6	5	10	9	7	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.65 with 18 df p = 0.0043

Chart of Table 119 Satisfaction with the DP (August 2010)

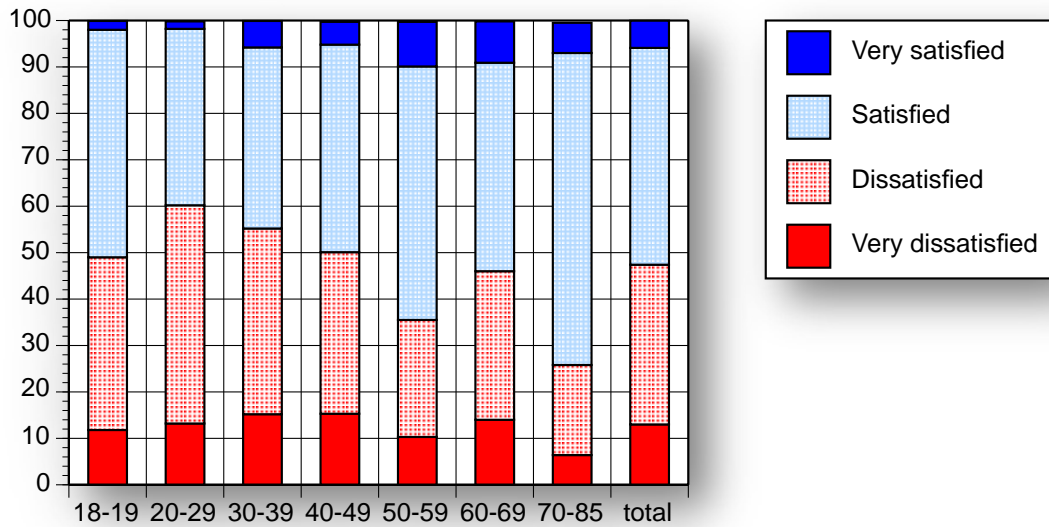
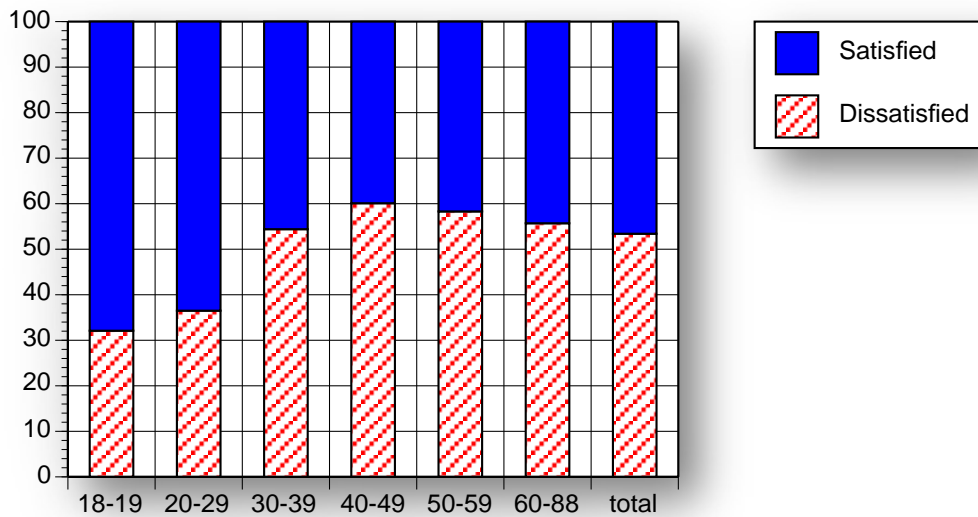


Chart 120 How satisfied are you with the performance of the Democratic Party led by Albert Ho? (May 2010) Before reform proposal of DP accepted by Beijing officials



As might be expected, satisfaction with the DP is much higher among those who support reforms than with those who opposed them. Reform appears for the DP to be a realignment of its position, especially in terms of age groups.

Table 121 Support/oppose reforms BY Satisfaction with: DP

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Very dissatisfied	5	29	10	13
Dissatisfied	26	48	45	35
Satisfied	59	23	43	46
Very satisfied	9	0.4	3	6
total	100	100	100	100

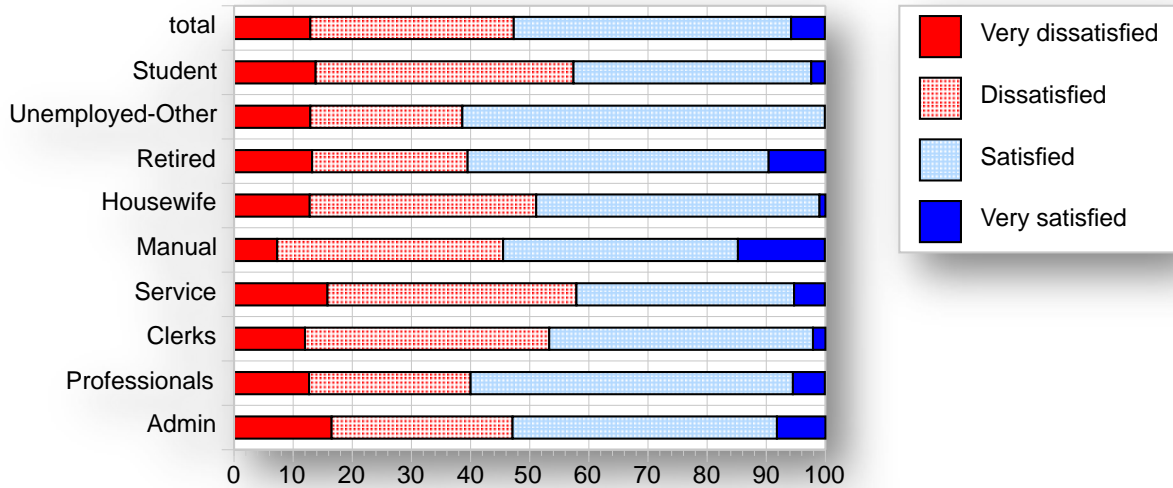
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 149.8 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

There are no significant associations of satisfaction with the DP, CP or LSD by whether respondents are GC or FC voters or not registered to vote.

Chart/Table 122 Satisfaction with performance of DP BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	16.5	12.7	12.0	15.8	7.35	12.8	13.2	12.9	13.8	12.9
Dissatisfied	30.6	27.3	41.3	42.1	38.2	38.3	26.3	25.8	43.7	34.5
Satisfied	44.7	54.5	44.6	36.8	39.7	47.9	50.9	61.3	40.2	46.9
Very satisfied	8.24	5.45	2.17	5.26	14.7	1.06	9.65	0	2.30	5.70
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 41.02 with 24 df p = 0.0166



Chart/Table 122 Satisfaction with performance of DP BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Very dissatisfied	20	9	10	12	14	15	17	9	13
Dissatisfied	24	30	37	46	30	31	28	27	34
Satisfied	49	58	49	37	51	51	53	47	48
Very satisfied	8	3	3	5	5	3	3	18	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 36.81 with 21 df p = 0.0177

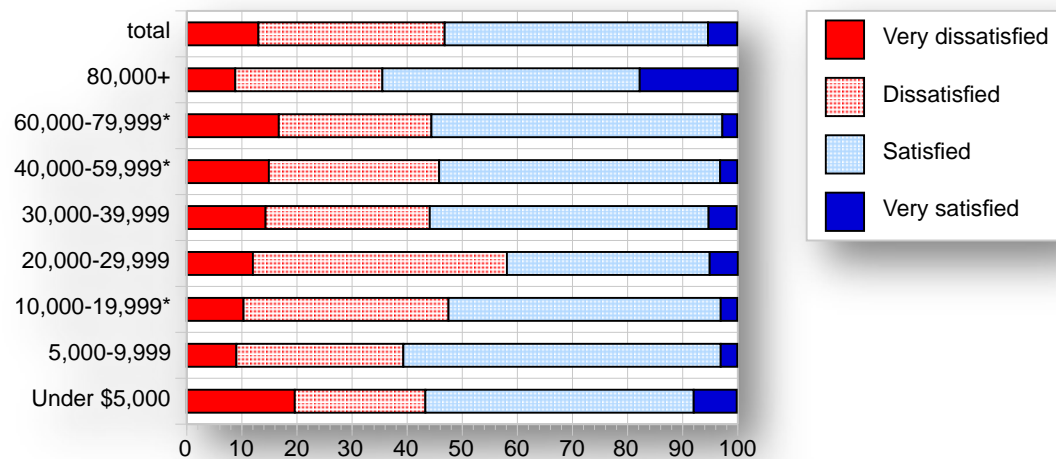


Table 123 Satisfaction with performance of DP BY Personal identity

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Very dissatisfied	9	13	14	27	13
Dissatisfied	31	40	33	38	35
Satisfied	53	40	48	36	46
Very satisfied	7	8	5	0	6
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 23.27 with 9 df p = 0.0056

Table 124 Satisfaction with performance of DP BY Attitudes toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	17	9	9	13
Dissatisfied	35	30	38	35
Satisfied	42	52	49	46
Very satisfied	6	8	4	6
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.04 with 6 df p = 0.0135

Age has no association with satisfaction with the performance of the Confederation of Trade Unions (CTU) nor does support for reforms or voter status.

Table 125 Satisfaction with performance of CTU BY Attitudes toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	10	13	5	9
Dissatisfied	34	35	26	32
Satisfied	55	48	64	56
Very satisfied	2	4	5	3
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.25 with 6 df p = 0.0184

For the first time ever there is no association of age with satisfaction with the DAB. Normally older groups tend to view the DAB more favorably than younger groups. This is due to the older age groups having more members born on the mainland and with lower education levels and being dominantly retirees, and all these groups have tended to have higher levels of support for the DAB. But this pattern appears to have changed enough to make the differences (which appear only among those over age 70, see table and chart below) so small that overall there is no effect large enough not to be the result of chance.

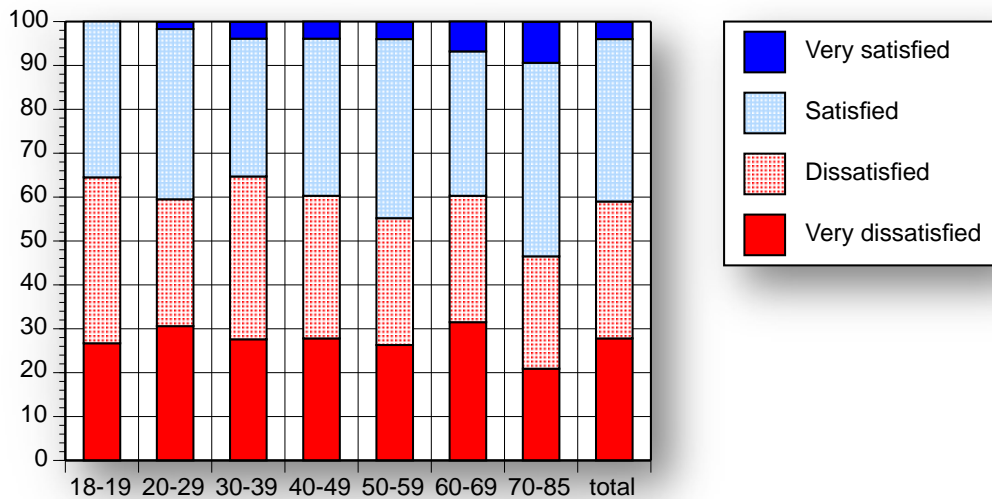
Chart/Table 126 How satisfied are you with the performance of the DAB led by Tam Yiu-chung?

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	27	31	28	28	26	32	21	28
Dissatisfied	38	29	37	33	29	29	26	31
Satisfied	36	39	31	36	41	33	44	37
Very satisfied	0	2	4	4	4	7	9	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.22 with 18 df p = 0.6469 NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

Chart of Table 126 Satisfaction with performance of the DAB BY Age



There is a very clear association with positions on reform and satisfaction with the DAB. Those opposed to reform are dissatisfied with the DAB in very large proportions. Surprisingly, only 59 percent of those who support reform are satisfied with the DAB. Clearly, the amendment of the reforms at the suggestion of the DP took the issue of supporting reform largely away from being identified with the pro-government parties (see LP associations below).

Chart/Table 127 Satisfaction with performance of DAB BY Support reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Very dissatisfied	13	60	19	28
Dissatisfied	29	31	46	31
Satisfied	53	8	32	37
Very satisfied	5	1	3	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 209.0 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

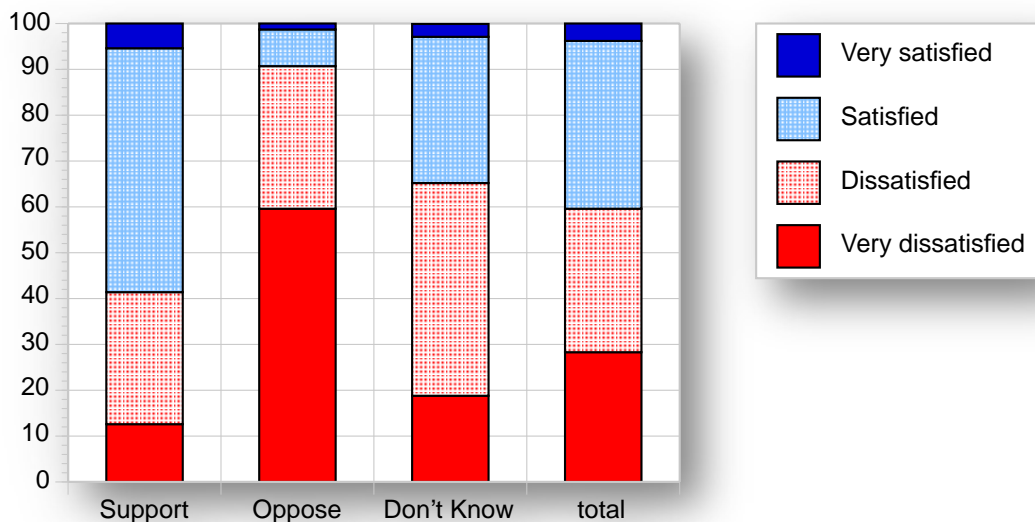


Table 128 Satisfaction with performance of DAB BY Voter status

	GC	FC	Not registered	total
Very dissatisfied	30	38	19	28
Dissatisfied	30	36	33	31
Satisfied	35	23	47	37
Very satisfied	5	3	2	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.28 with 6 df p = 0.0037

Chart/Table 129 Satisfaction with performance of DAB BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	30	38	28	26	20	22	24	23	35	28
Dissatisfied	31	27	43	29	33	33	30	13	30	31
Satisfied	35	31	30	37	39	42	40	57	36	37
Very satisfied	3	4	0	8	8	3	6	7	0	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 36.08 with 24 df p = 0.0539

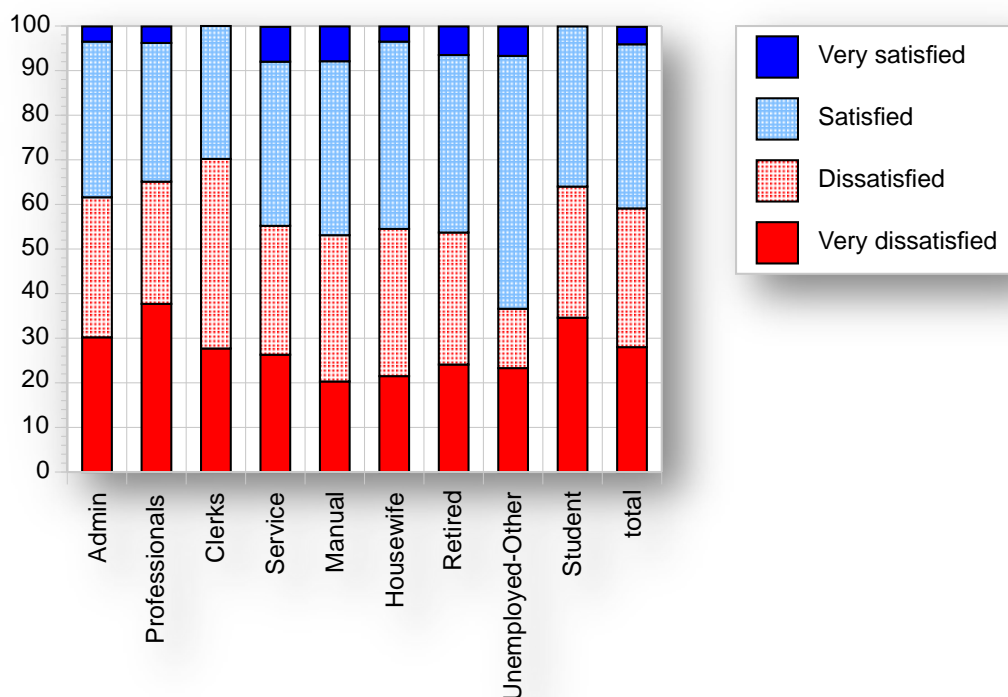


Table 130 Satisfaction with performance of DAB BY Personal Identity

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Very dissatisfied	25	26	30	37	28
Dissatisfied	30	29	33	33	31
Satisfied	43	36	34	29	37
Very satisfied	2	8	3	0	4
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

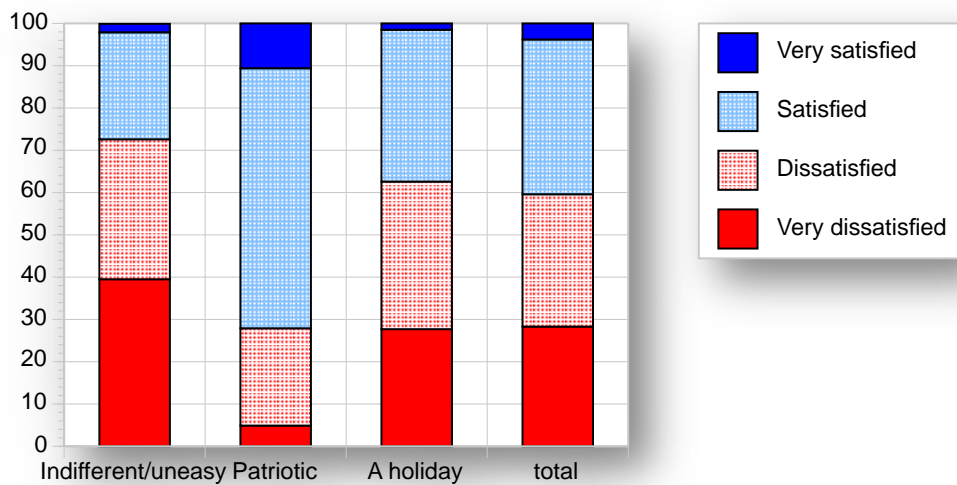
Chi-square = 18.74 with 9 df p = 0.0275

Not all who have patriotic feelings on China’s National Day are satisfied with the performance of the DAB. Notions that the patriots and loyalists all support the DAB (and vice versa) does not appear to be fully reciprocated. At least one in four “patriotic” feeling respondents were dissatisfied with the DAB.

Chart/Table 131 Satisfaction with performance of DAB BY Attitudes toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	40	5	28	28
Dissatisfied	33	23	35	31
Satisfied	25	62	36	37
Very satisfied	2	11	2	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 114.8 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



Allies of the DAB the Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) also showed no association of satisfaction with age, and as with the DAB, there appears to be a significant minority of those with patriotic feelings on China’s National Day who are dissatisfied with the FTU.

Table 132 Satisfaction with performance of FTU BY Support reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don’t Know	total
Very dissatisfied	10	28	16	16
Dissatisfied	24	41	36	31
Satisfied	61	29	46	50
Very satisfied	5	1	1	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 75.83 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 133 Satisfaction with performance of FTU BY Voter status

	GC	FC	Not registered	total
Very dissatisfied	19	17	8	16
Dissatisfied	30	45	25	31
Satisfied	48	35	63	50
Very satisfied	4	3	3	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 23.42 with 6 df $p = 0.0007$

Table 134 Satisfaction with performance of FTU BY Attitude toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	23	4	14	16
Dissatisfied	35	22	29	31
Satisfied	40	66	53	50
Very satisfied	2	8	3	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 61.70 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

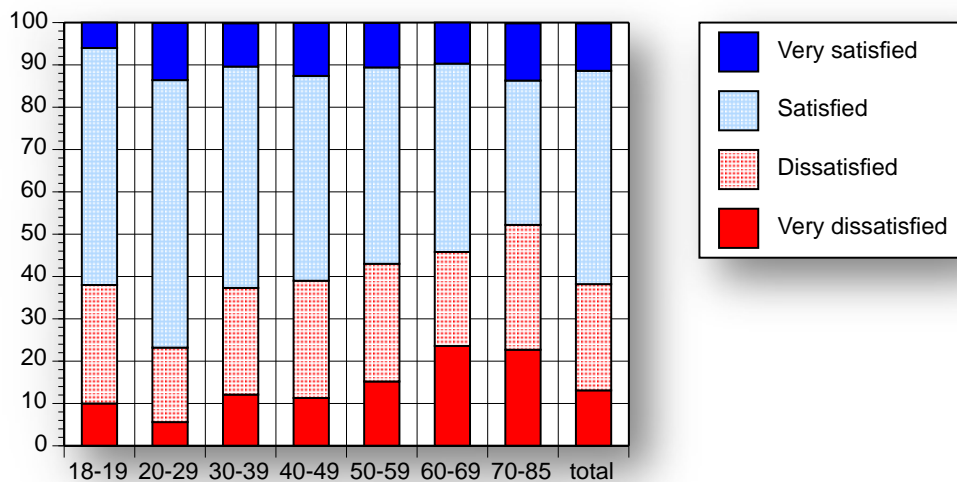
The CP is the only party with a very high approval rate among those in their 20s. And only those 70 and older show a majority dissatisfied.

Chart/Table 135 How satisfied are you with the performance of the Civic Party led by Audrey Eu?

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	10	6	12	11	15	24	23	13
Dissatisfied	28	18	25	28	28	22	30	25
Satisfied	56	63	52	48	46	44	34	50
Very satisfied	6	14	10	13	11	10	14	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.75 with 18 df $p = 0.0307$



Even after the CP's strong disapproval of the reform package, almost a majority, 47 percent, of those who supported reform are also satisfied with the performance of the CP.

Table 136 Satisfaction with performance of CP BY Support reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Very dissatisfied	18	3	14	13
Dissatisfied	35	8	25	25
Satisfied	42	64	59	50
Very satisfied	5	25	3	11
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 138.8 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

CP satisfaction among professionals continues to be very high despite, or indeed likely because, of the CP's call to abolish the FCs and address the unfairness of the present policy making system. Audrey Eu's debate with the Chief Executive over the reform package also played a role in convincing the government it needed to go further on reform this round, and public reaction to the debate which heavily favored Ms Eu's arguments may have been an important factor in persuading Beijing it needed to accept the DPs proposals. The DP and CP appear to have been the parties that benefitted most from the reform debates and passage, while the long-time faithful government ally, the DAB, which has supported any and all stances taken by Beijing on reform has been the party most damaged by the reform dispute. Table 138 shows satisfaction with CP peaks in the middle income groups, the locus of opposition to reform and feelings policy making is unfair.

Chart/Table 137 Satisfaction with performance of CP BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	17	8	10	11	16	11	24	9	6	13
Dissatisfied	32	17	28	26	26	24	25	27	24	25
Satisfied	40	62	46	58	43	56	36	61	62	51
Very satisfied	10	13	16	5	15	9	14	3	8	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 45.55 with 24 df p = 0.0050

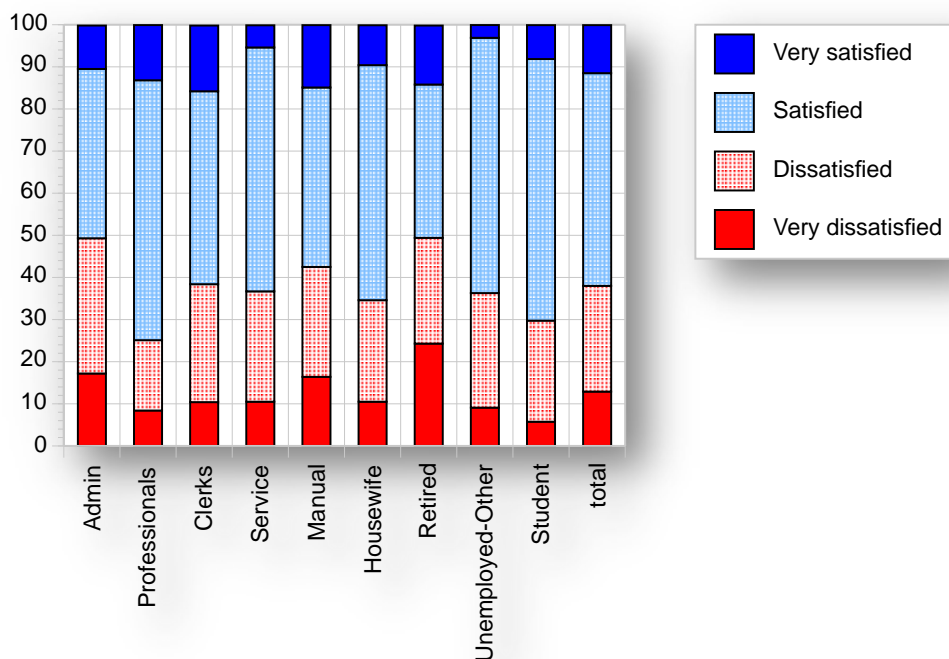


Table 138 Satisfaction with performance of CP BY Income

	0-19,999	20,000-59,999	60,000+	total
Very dissatisfied	14	10	22	13
Dissatisfied	23	27	22	25
Satisfied	51	54	43	52
Very satisfied	12	9	12	11
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.69 with 6 df p = 0.0984

CP also does best among the respondents who identify themselves as a Hong Kong person or Hong Kong British but majorities of the other identity groups also express satisfaction with the performance of the CP.

Table 139 Satisfaction with performance of CP BY Personal Identity

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Very dissatisfied	17	22	6	9	13
Dissatisfied	29	26	23	22	25
Satisfied	45	44	57	51	50
Very satisfied	9	7	14	18	11
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 39.61 with 9 df $p \leq 0.0001$

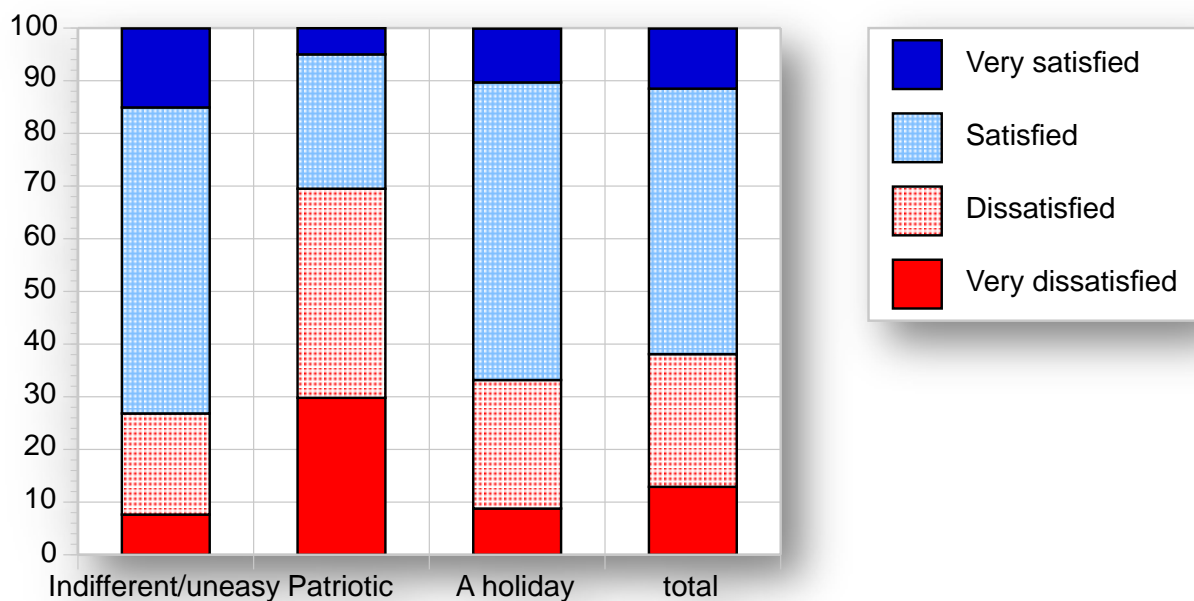
But among those having patriotic feelings on National Day, 7 in 10 express dissatisfaction with the CP.

Chart/Table 140 Satisfaction with performance of CP BY Attitude toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	8	30	9	13
Dissatisfied	19	40	24	25
Satisfied	58	26	57	50
Very satisfied	18	5	10	11
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 100.3 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



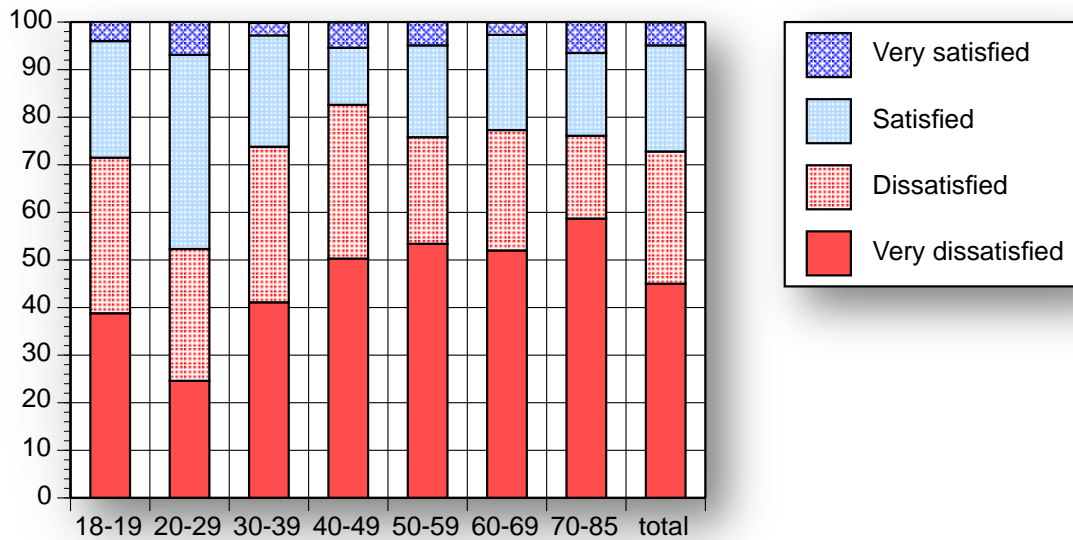
Only among those in their 20s do we find a near majority satisfied with the performance of the LSD. Among those aged 40 and up, a majority are very dissatisfied with the LSD.

Chart/Table 141 How satisfied are you with the performance of the LSD led by Wong Yuk Man?

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	39	25	41	50	53	52	59	45
Dissatisfied	33	28	33	32	22	25	17	28
Satisfied	25	41	23	12	19	50	17	22
Very satisfied	4	7	3	5	5	3	7	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 57.90 with 18 df $p \leq 0.0001$



And only 1 in 10 of those who supported reforms are satisfied with the performance of the LSD, and even 42 percent of those who opposed the reforms are dissatisfied with the LSD. Opposition to the LSD is not, therefore, just a matter of the policies it supports or opposes.

Table 142 Satisfaction with performance of LSD BY Support reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Very dissatisfied	61	12	48	45
Dissatisfied	28	30	24	28
Satisfied	10	44	26	22
Very satisfied	--	14	3	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 216.0 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

The occupational groups with the highest levels of satisfaction with the performance of the LSD are, as might be expected, students and unemployed, but perhaps unexpectedly, professionals and associate professionals are very close to the same level of support. The most dissatisfied with the LSD are housewives and business people, and as Table 144 shows, the rich.

Chart/Table 143 Satisfaction with performance of LSD BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	51	41	37	40	48	51	57	44	30	45
Dissatisfied	30	25	35	30	26	31	20	19	33	28
Satisfied	13	29	23	25	22	15	20	28	32	22
Very satisfied	7	5	5	5	5	3	3	8	5	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.15 with 24 df p = 0.0662

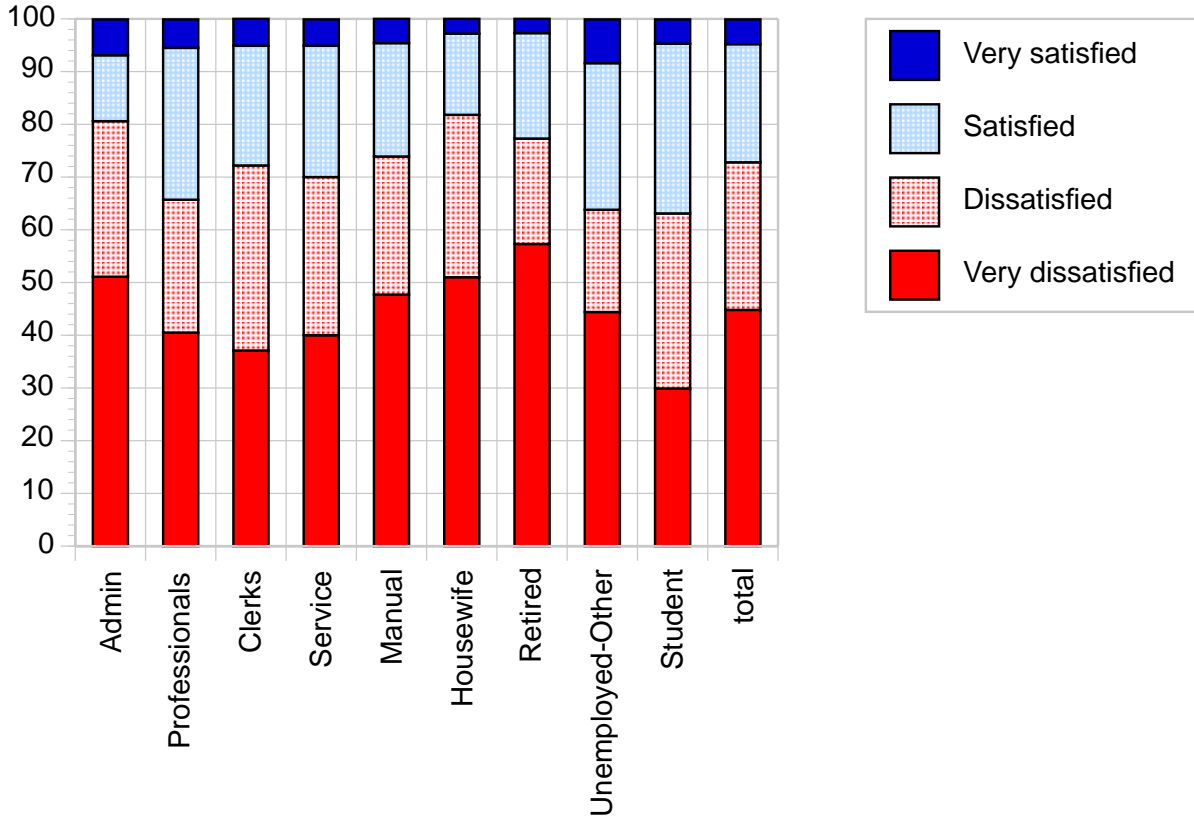


Table 144 Satisfaction with performance of LSD BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Very dissatisfied	55	37	37	42	49	41	44	65	44
Dissatisfied	18	37	32	28	24	30	36	33	29
Satisfied	17	23	27	24	24	27	14	0	22
Very satisfied	10	3	5	6	4	3	6	2	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 36.91 with 21 df p = 0.0173

A majority who identify themselves as Chinese or Hong Kong Chinese are very dissatisfied with the LSD. And just 8 percent of those with patriotic feelings on National Day express satisfaction (Table 146)

Chart/Table 145 Satisfaction with performance of LSD BY Personal Identity

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Very dissatisfied	50	53	39	33	45
Dissatisfied	28	25	28	35	28
Satisfied	19	19	26	25	22
Very satisfied	3	2	7	8	5
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.56 with 9 df p = 0.0209

Table 146 Satisfaction with performance of LSD BY Attitude toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	35	69	44	45
Dissatisfied	28	24	31	28
Satisfied	29	7	23	22
Very satisfied	8	1	2	8
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 72.59 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

The Liberal Party shows no significant association of satisfaction with age.

Table 147 How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the: Liberal Party led by Miriam Lau?

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	111	17
Dissatisfied	264	40
Satisfied	289	43
Very satisfied	4	1

Reform appears to be an issue with some effect on satisfaction with the LP, but by no means of the same significant effect as with other parties above.

Table 148 Satisfaction with performance of LP BY Support reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Very dissatisfied	10	28	18	17
Dissatisfied	36	49	32	40
Satisfied	53	23	50	43
Very satisfied	1	--	0	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 65.57 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

Nor does the LP have the same dominance it once enjoyed with FC voters or support among business associated administrators and professionals.

Chart/Table 149 Satisfaction with performance of LP BY Voter status

	GC	FC	Not registered	total
Very dissatisfied	18	21	10	17
Dissatisfied	39	48	38	40
Satisfied	42	31	52	43
Very satisfied	1	0	0	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 14.66 with 6 df p = 0.0231

Chart/Table 150 Satisfaction with performance of LP BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	19	16	19	3	20	19	19	10	14	17
Dissatisfied	49	48	46	50	38	31	29	33	36	40
Satisfied	31	36	36	44	42	51	50	57	50	43
Very satisfied	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

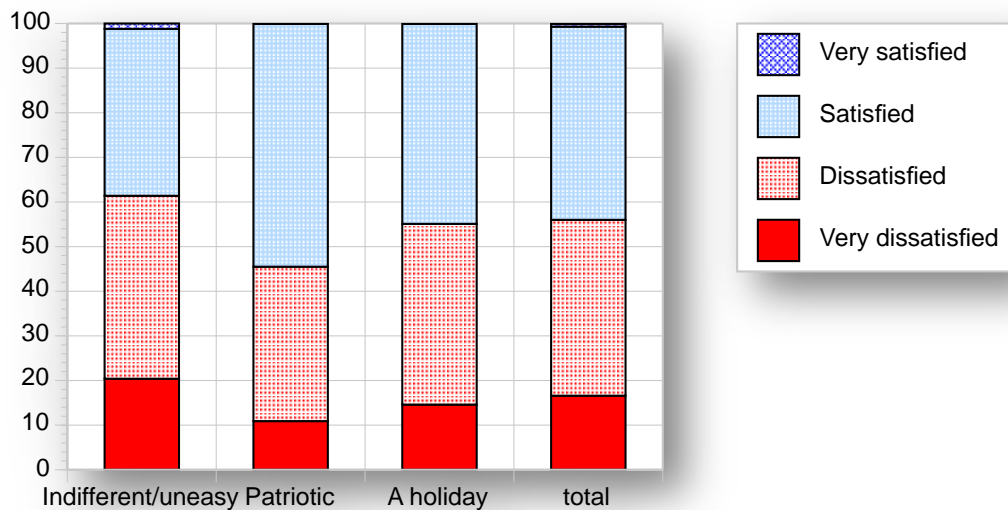
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 35.19 with 24 df p = 0.0656

Only among those who have patriotic feelings on National Day do we find a majority satisfied with the LP performance. Even then, the majority is small, 54 percent.

Chart/Table 160 Satisfaction with performance of LP BY Attitude toward PRC National Day

	Indifferent/uneasy	Patriotic	A holiday	total
Very dissatisfied	20	11	15	17
Dissatisfied	41	35	41	40
Satisfied	37	54	45	43
Very satisfied	1	0	0	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 18.37 with 6 df p = 0.0054



3. Context of reform: Governance issues

Sections 1 and 2 make clear that constitutional reform is taking place within a context of issues that go well beyond disputes over how many seats are added to the legislature or who gets to vote for whom in what constituency. Fairness, opportunity, identity, patriotism, occupational interests, and many other concerns and aspects play their part in who opposes and who supports specific reforms or even reforms in general. The shifts in satisfaction with different parties and the odd result of satisfaction rising with both the DP and CP despite their contradictory stances on compromising with Beijing to achieve reform, and the rise in dissatisfaction with the one party always loyal to Beijing and supportive of its policies, make clear that the dynamic of politics in Hong Kong is changing along with the dynamics of governance. The issues facing governance in Hong Kong and the repercussions of finally approving long-delayed reforms are the subject of the next two sections of this report.

This section looks directly at attitudes toward government and leadership. Initially, overall satisfaction with life in Hong Kong looks rather stable over the past five years.

Chart/Table 161 Are you currently satisfied/dissatisfied with your life in Hong Kong?

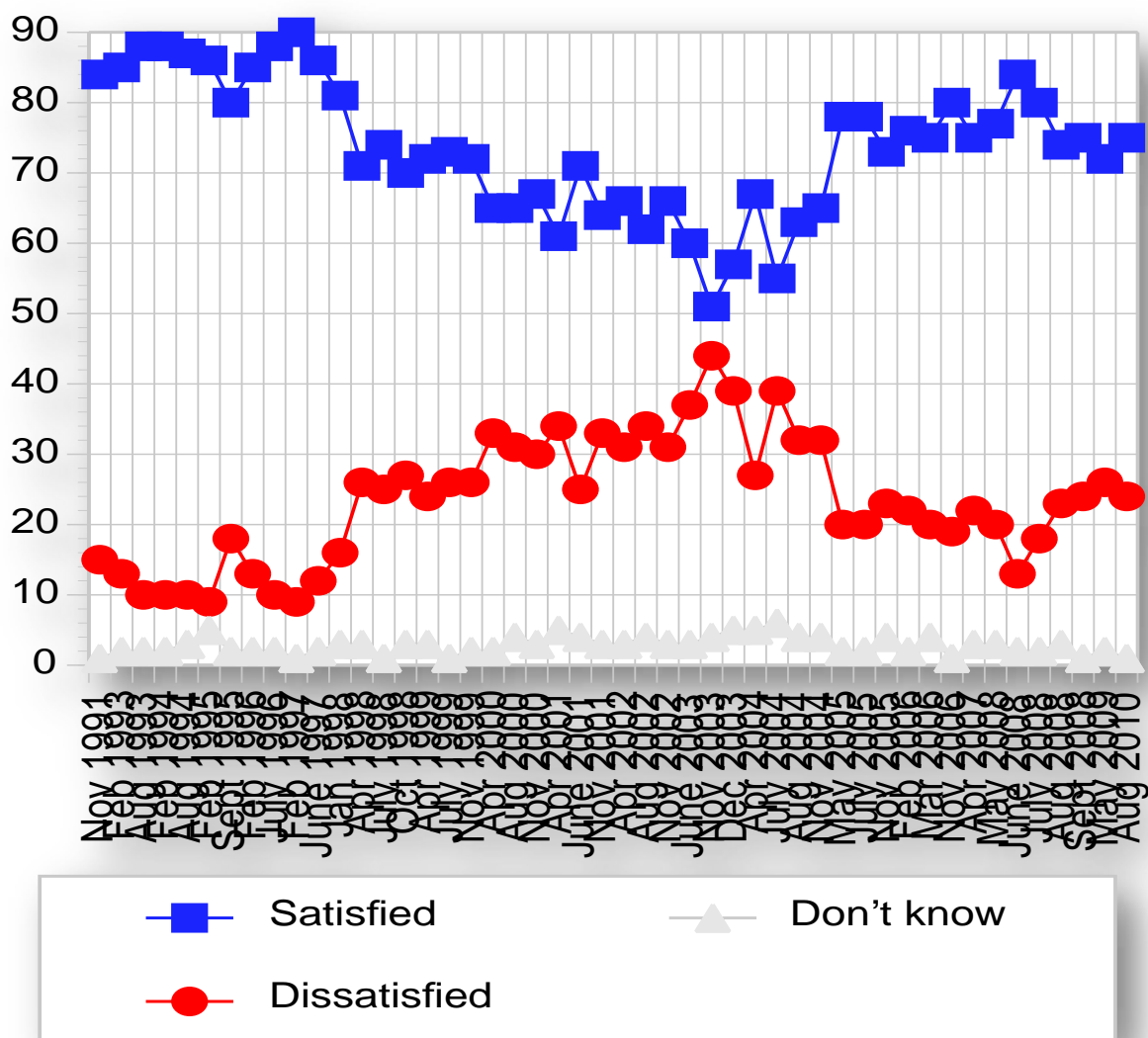


Table 161 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Nov 1991	84	15	1
Feb 1993	85	13	2
Aug 1993	88	10	2
Feb 1994	88	10	2
Aug 1994	87	10	3
Feb 1995	86	9	5
Sept 1995	80	18	2
Feb 1996	85	13	2
July 1996	88	10	2
Feb 1997	90	9	1
June 1997	86	12	2
Jan 1998	81	16	3
Apr 1998	71	26	3
July 1998	74	25	1
Oct 1998	70	27	3
Apr 1999	72	24	3
July 1999	73	26	1
Nov 1999	72	26	2
Apr 2000	65	33	2
Aug 2000	65	31	4
Nov 2000	67	30	3
Apr 2001	61	34	5
June 2001	71	25	4
Nov 2001	64	33	3
Apr 2002	66	31	3
Aug 2002	62	34	4
Nov 2002	66	31	3
June 2003	60	37	3
Nov 2003	51	44	4
Dec 2003	57	39	5
Apr 2004	67	27	5
July 2004	55	39	6
Aug 2004	63	32	4
Nov 2004	65	32	4
May 2005	78	20	2
July 2005	78	20	2
Nov 2005	73	23	4
Feb 2006	76	22	2
Mar 2006	75	20	4
Nov 2006	80	19	1
Apr 2007	75	22	3
May 2008	77	20	3
June 2008	84	13	2
July 2008	80	18	2
Aug 2008	74	23	3
Sept 2008	75	24	1
May 2009	72	26	2
Aug 2010	75	24	1

However, Table 162 shows the concentration of dissatisfaction among those aged 20 to 50.

Table 162 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Age

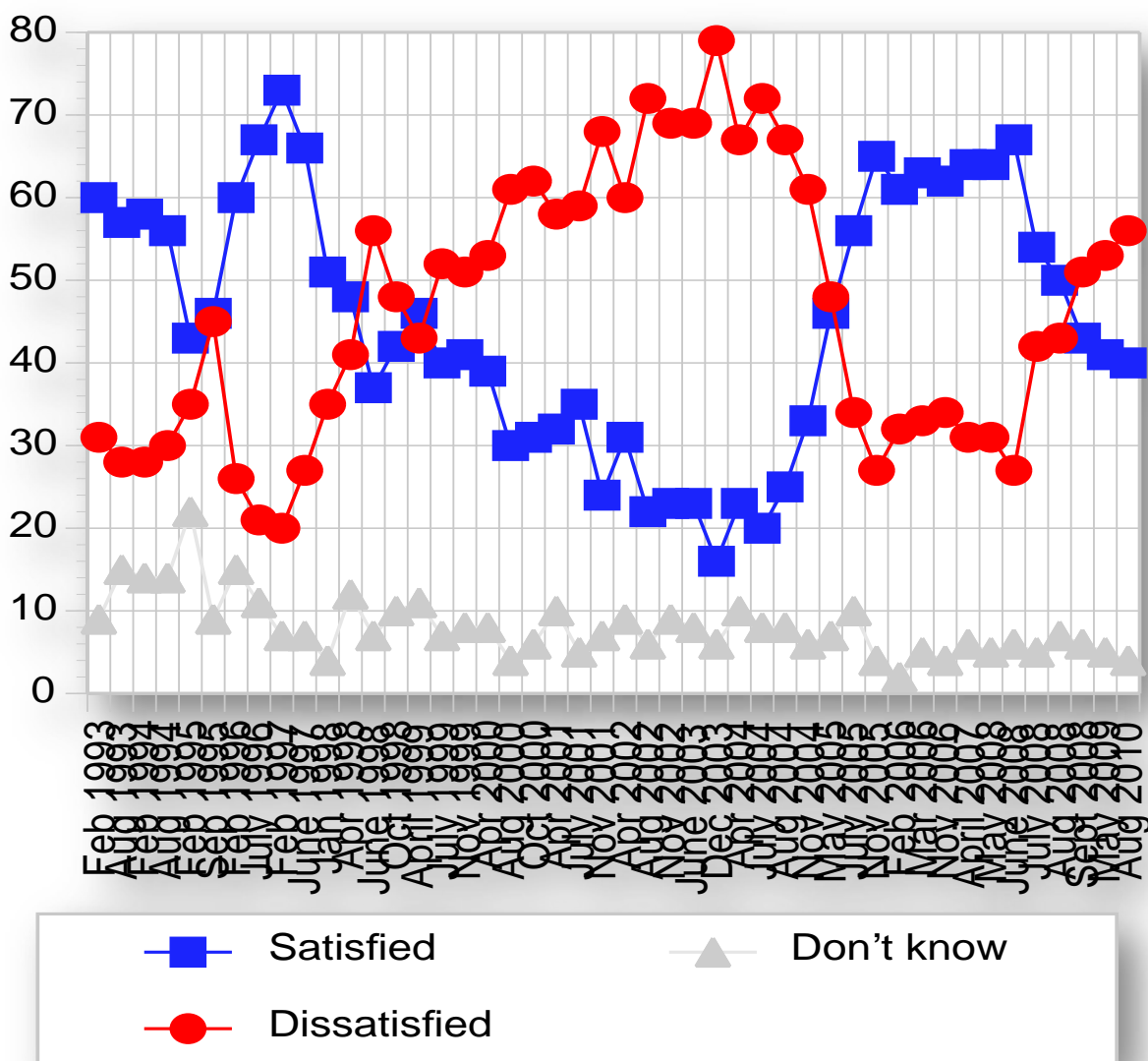
	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	0	4	7	3	5	3	0	4
Somewhat dissatisfied	19	31	20	22	14	18	4	20
Somewhat satisfied	78	57	63	62	68	68	76	65
Very satisfied	4	7	9	12	12	6	18	10
Don't Know	0	1	2	1	1	5	2	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 49.52 with 24 df p = 0.0016

Also, satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong government has deteriorated sharply since 2008. The initial recovery of satisfaction in the performance of the government when Chief Executive Donald Tsang first took office in 2005 began to fall in 2008 when a scandal over a retired housing official taking a lucrative job with a major property developer transformed the expected results of the 2008 Legco elections (see earlier NDI reports on Hong Kong politics in this series which began in 2007). This marked the start of a change in attitude toward the relationship between business and the government, and it marked the start of increasing public concern over the price of, and access to, housing. These are the major driving forces behind the issue of fairness explored in section 1 above.

Chart/Table 163 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of Hong Kong Government?



The same age distribution pattern can be seen with dissatisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong Government. Those between 20 and 50 show the highest levels of dissatisfaction (see Table 164)

Table 163 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of Hong Kong Government?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1993	60	31	9
Aug 1993	57	28	15
Feb 1994	58	28	14
Aug 1994	56	30	14
Feb 1995	43	35	22
Sep 1995	46	45	9
Feb 1996	60	26	15
July 1996	67	21	11
Feb 1997	73	20	7
June 1997	66	27	7
Jan 1998	51	35	4
Apr 1998	48	41	12
June 1998	37	56	7
Oct 1998	42	48	10
April 1999	46	43	11
July 1999	40	52	7
Nov 1999	41	51	8
Apr 2000	39	53	8
Aug 2000	30	61	4
Oct 2000	31	62	6
Apr 2001	32	58	10
July 2001	35	59	5
Nov 2001	24	68	7
Apr 2002	31	60	9
Aug 2002	22	72	6
Nov 2002	23	69	9
June 2003	23	69	8
Dec 2003	16	79	6
Apr 2004	23	67	10
July 2004	20	72	8
Aug 2004	25	67	8
Nov 2004	33	61	6
May 2005	46	48	7
July 2005	56	34	10
Nov 2005	65	27	4
Feb 2006	61	32	2
Mar 2006	63	33	5
Nov 2006	62	34	4
April 2007	64	31	6
May 2008	64	31	5
June 2008	67	27	6
July 2008	54	42	5
Aug 2008	50	43	7
Sept 2008	43	51	6
May 2009	41	53	5
Aug 2010	40	56	4

Table 164 Satisfaction with performance of the Hong Kong Government BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	11	20	17	21	19	17	12	18
Somewhat dissatisfied	30	41	43	39	34	36	22	37
Somewhat satisfied	57	33	32	32	41	36	51	38
Very satisfied	0	1	4	6	2	2	8	3
Don't Know	2	5	3	2	3	8	6	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 40.03 with 24 df p = 0.0212

When it comes to satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong SAR Government in dealing with the PRC Government, there are no demographic associations that show a significant relationship. There are, however, a number of political variables that show association, including how often respondents travel into the mainland (see below)

Chart/Table 165 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong Government (SAR government) in dealing with the PRC Government?

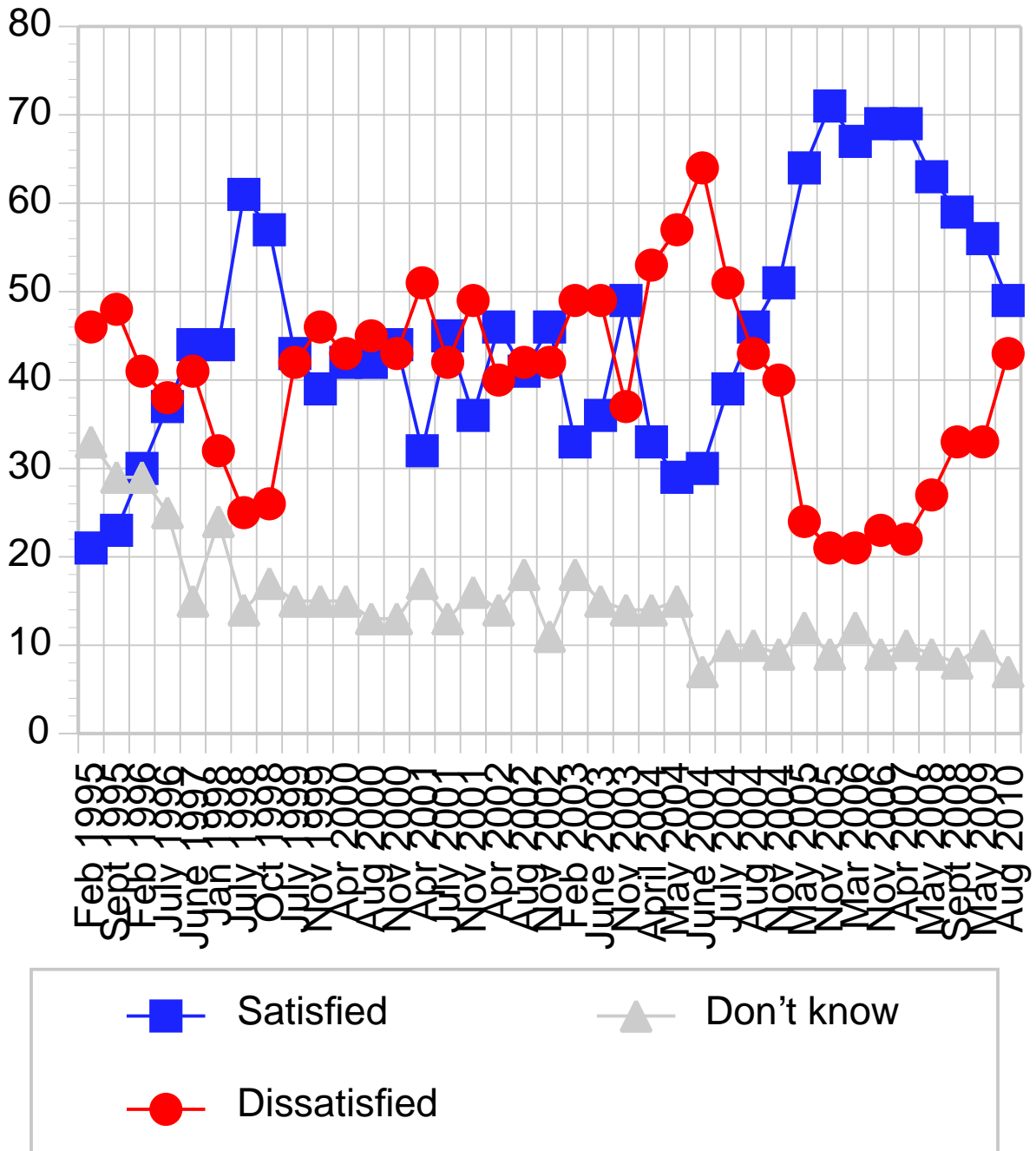


Table 165 Satisfaction with performance of the SAR government in dealing with the PRC government

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1995	21	46	33
Sept 1995	23	48	29
Feb 1996	30	41	29
July 1996	37	38	25
June 1997	44	41	15
Jan 1998	44	32	24
July 1998	61	25	14
Oct 1998	57	26	17
July 1999	43	42	15
Nov 1999	39	46	15
Apr 2000	42	43	15
Aug 2000	42	45	13
Nov 2000	44	43	13
Apr 2001	32	51	17
July 2001	45	42	13
Nov 2001	36	49	16
Apr 2002	46	40	14
Aug 2002	41	42	18
Nov 2002	46	42	11
Feb 2003	33	49	18
June 2003	36	49	15
Nov 2003	49	37	14
April 2004	33	53	14
May 2004	29	57	15
June 2004	30	64	7
July 2004	39	51	10
Aug 2004	46	43	10
Nov 2004	51	40	9
May 2005	64	24	12
Nov 2005	71	21	9
Mar 2006	67	21	12
Nov 2006	69	23	9
Apr 2007	69	22	10
May 2008	63	27	9
Sept 2008	59	33	8
May 2009	56	33	10
Aug 2010	49	43	7

Those who travel least to the mainland tend to have the highest levels of dissatisfaction with the relationship between the two governments, with the exception of those who travel most frequently across the border. And in Chart/Table 167, those who identify most closely with China (as Chinese) are more satisfied than those who identify least with it.

Table 166 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Government dealing with PRC Government BY times traveling to mainland in previous 2 years

	0	1-2	3-4	5-9	10-19	20-25	30+	total
Very dissatisfied	22	14	11	11	6	9	16	13
Somewhat dissatisfied	26	30	33	36	31	21	33	31
Somewhat satisfied	43	42	49	43	56	64	36	46
Very satisfied	2	5	2	4	3	6	1	3
Don't Know	7	9	5	6	4	0	13	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

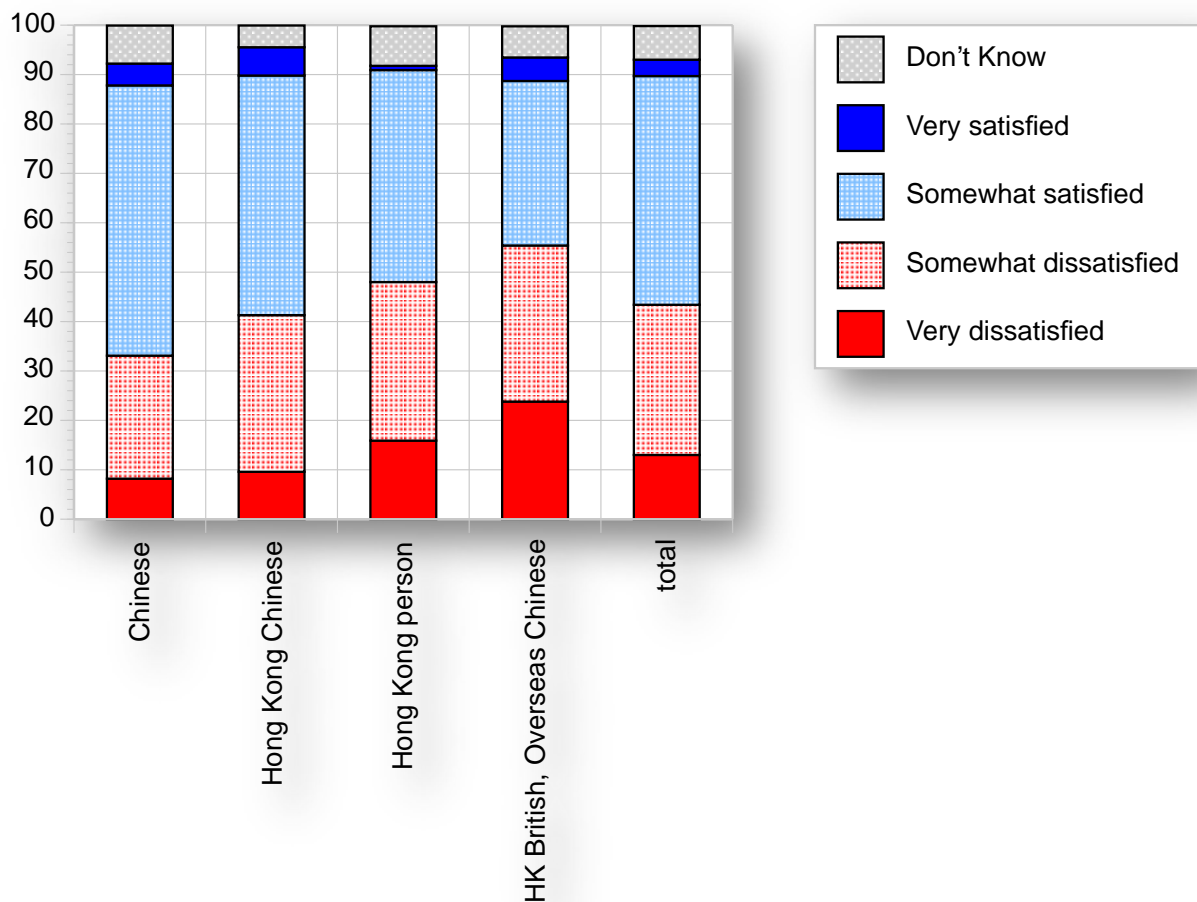
Chi-square = 45.41 with 24 df p = 0.0052

Chart/Table 167 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Government dealing with PRC Government BY Personal identity

	Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Hong Kong person	HK British, Overseas Chinese	total
Very dissatisfied	8	10	16	24	13
Somewhat dissatisfied	25	32	32	32	30
Somewhat satisfied	55	49	43	33	46
Very satisfied	4	6	1	5	3
Don't Know	8	4	8	6	7
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.63 with 12 df p = 0.0004



The LSD draws many of its supporters from those who are very dissatisfied with this relationship between the local and central government. Nearly half of those who say the LSD represents them best are very dissatisfied. They feel Hong Kong's autonomy was compromised by the DP, and hence, they feel they can no longer cooperate with those who have violated what to them is a fundamental principle. About one in four of the CP supporters also feels this strongly.

Table 168 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Government dealing with PRC Government BY Which party represents your interests best

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CP	None	total
Very dissatisfied	1	7	48	7	28	9	14
Somewhat dissatisfied	16	26	33	25	42	32	31
Somewhat satisfied	66	59	13	54	25	49	46
Very satisfied	12	2	2	11	1	2	4
Don't Know	5	6	4	4	4	8	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 168.3 with 20 df $p \leq 0.0001$

And these feelings matter. Those who are most dissatisfied also discuss politics most frequently with their friends. This fuels the perception of the LSD minority as both vocal critics, and as more numerous than their actual numbers of supporters.

Table 169 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Government dealing with PRC Government BY Frequency of discussion of politics with friends

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	total
Very dissatisfied	14	12	9	21	13
Somewhat dissatisfied	31	27	33	29	30
Somewhat satisfied	39	49	51	41	46
Very satisfied	5	3	2	5	3
Don't Know	11	9	5	1	7
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.92 with 12 df $p = 0.0029$

Fully 7 in 10 of those who are pessimistic about Hong Kong's future as a part of China are dissatisfied with the relationship between the governments. This is the fruit of the many interventions by the Central Government into Hong Kong affairs: a vocal, dissatisfied minority who reject even reforms that improve governance and advance democratization because they feel the pace of change is too slow, the cost to Hong Kong autonomy is too high, and the intervention of the mainland government into Hong Kong affairs is too frequent. The cost can also be seen in satisfaction with the performance of Chief Executive Donald Tsang.

Table 170 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Government dealing with PRC Government BY Attitude toward Hong Kong's future as a part of China

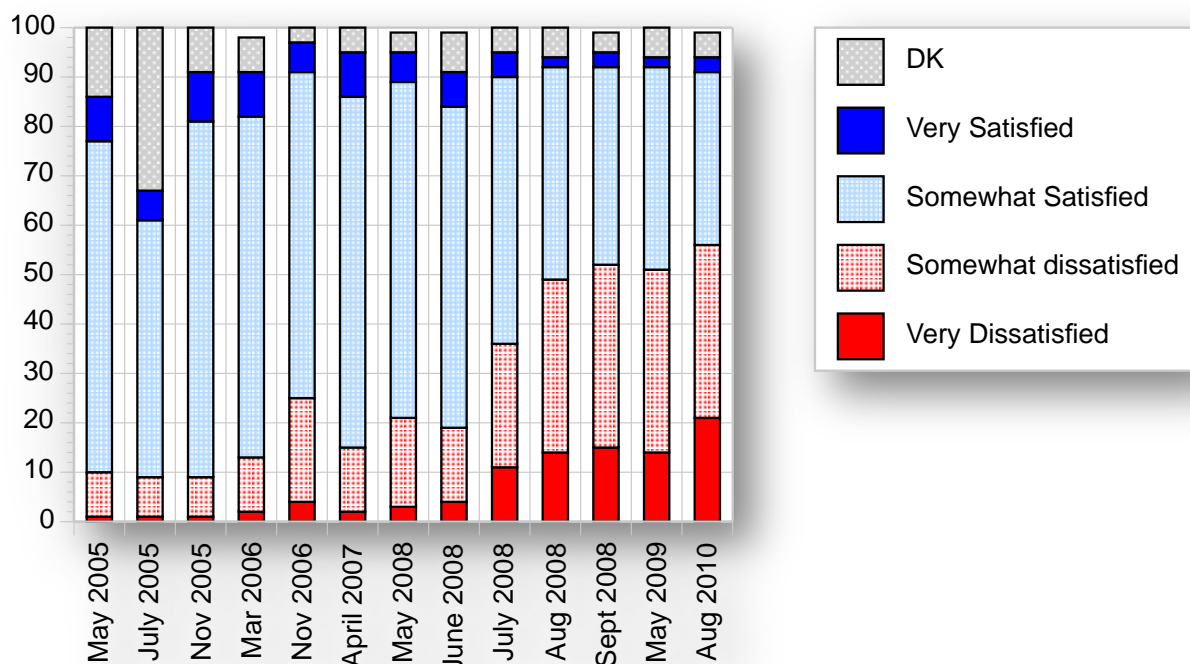
	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	total
Very dissatisfied	4	8	36	13
Somewhat dissatisfied	19	37	36	30
Somewhat satisfied	63	46	22	46
Very satisfied	8	1	2	3
Don't Know	6	8	5	7
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 180.7 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart/Table 167 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with performance of C. E. Donald Tsang?

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
May 2005	1	9	67	9	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
Aug 2010	21	35	35	3	5



One in four men are very dissatisfied with the Chief Executive's performance.

Table 168 Satisfaction with the performance of C.E. Tsang BY Sex

	Male	Female	total
Very dissatisfied	25	17	21
Somewhat dissatisfied	33	37	35
Somewhat satisfied	33	38	35
Very satisfied	4	2	3
Don't Know	5	5	5
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 11.52 with 4 df p = 0.0213

In terms of occupations, those very dissatisfied are highest in the service, professional, clerk and manual workers sectors.

Table 169 Satisfaction with the performance of C.E. Tsang BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	20	27	24	29	24	14	21	23	19	22
Somewhat dissatisfied	35	37	37	35	30	36	33	25	38	35
Somewhat satisfied	37	33	34	21	30	44	36	40	39	35
Very satisfied	6	3	3	4	4	2	3	3	3	3
Don't Know	2	2	2	10	13	5	7	10	1	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 43.64 with 32 df p = 0.0823

Dissatisfaction is also most intense among those who have lived overseas and have right of abode. Those who have lived outside Hong Kong but do not have ROA and those who have not lived outside Hong Kong show lower levels of intense dissatisfaction.

Table 170 Satisfaction with the performance of C.E. Tsang BY Right of Abode abroad

	ROA	No ROA	No experience outside HK	total
Very dissatisfied	31	21	21	21
Somewhat dissatisfied	23	38	36	35
Somewhat satisfied	36	31	36	36
Very satisfied	8	4	3	3
Don't Know	2	7	5	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.87 with 8 df p = 0.0851

Not surprisingly, those choosing the LSD as best representing their interests also show intense dissatisfaction with the Chief Executive. The second highest, again no surprise, are among those selecting the CP. Surprisingly, those saying no party represents them have higher levels of intense dissatisfaction than among those selecting the DP as best representing their interests. And one in four among DAB supporters and 43 percent of LP supporters are also dissatisfied with the Chief Executive's performance.

Table 171 Satisfaction with the performance of C.E. Tsang BY Which party represents best

	DAB	DP	LSD	LP	CP	None	total
Very dissatisfied	7	12	63	7	40	18	22
Somewhat dissatisfied	20	42	24	35	42	38	36
Somewhat satisfied	59	43	9	50	17	34	35
Very satisfied	10	0	2	7	0	3	3
Don't Know	4	3	2	0	1	7	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 164.5 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001

The controversy over reform certainly has made its mark on satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong Government. But it has also had a decided impact on satisfaction with the PRC Government as well. Chart/Table 172 marks a significant change in affairs since May 2009, and dissatisfaction increased after reform was passed. Clearly the manner of the last minute concession by Beijing has not satisfied respondents, despite their overwhelming approval of the DP pursuing negotiations with Beijing.

Chart/Table 172 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC GOV in dealing with Hong Kong affairs

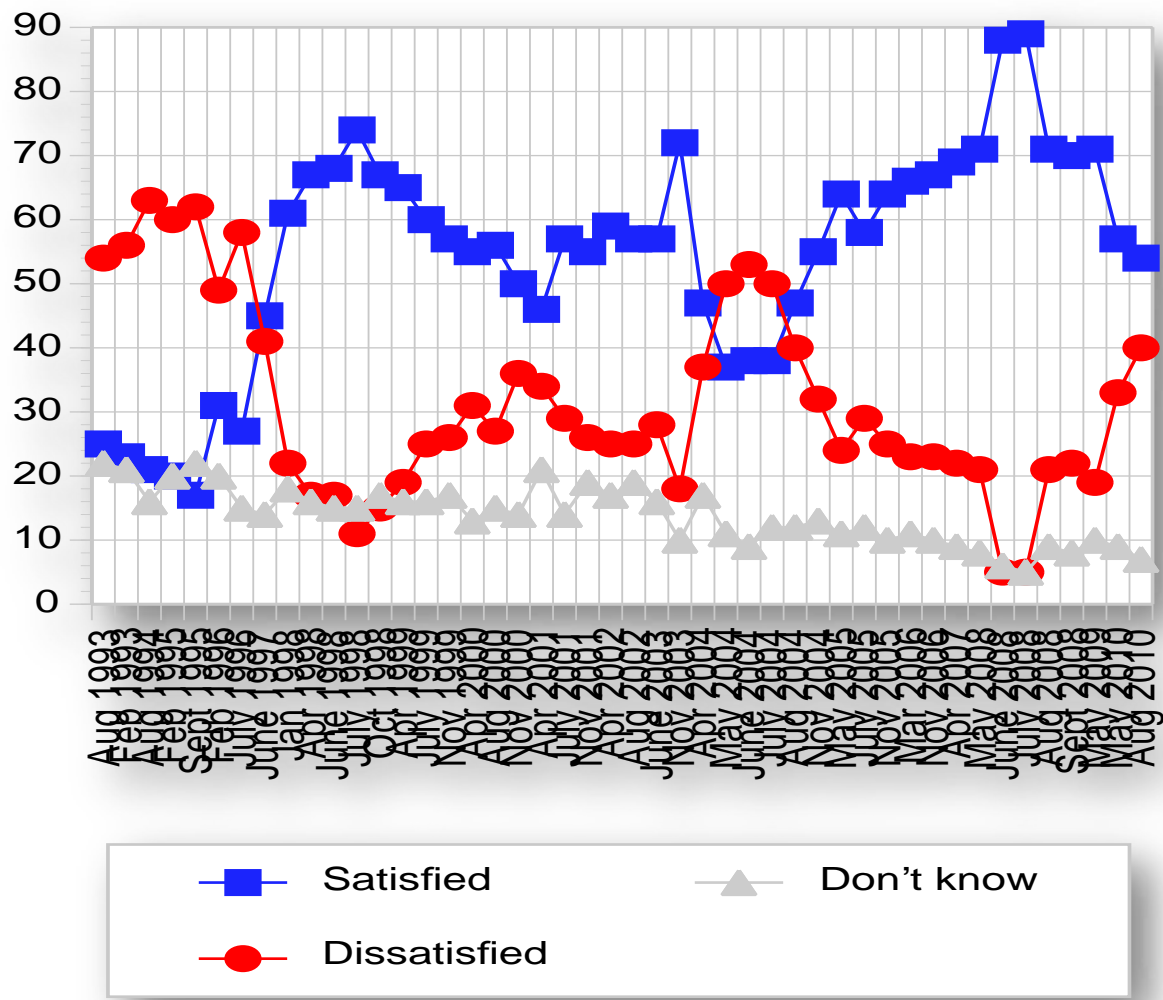


Table 172 Satisfaction with PRC Government dealing with Hong Kong affairs

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Aug 1993	25	54	22
Feb 1993	23	56	21
Aug 1994	21	63	16
Feb 1995	20	60	20
Sept 1995	17	62	22
Feb 1996	31	49	20
July 1996	27	58	15
June 1997	45	41	14
Jan 1998	61	22	18
Apr 1998	67	17	16
June 1998	68	17	15
July 1998	74	11	15
Oct 1998	67	15	17
Apr 1999	65	19	16
July 1999	60	25	16
Nov 1999	57	26	17
Apr 2000	55	31	13
Aug 2000	56	27	15
Nov 2000	50	36	14
Apr 2001	46	34	21
July 2001	57	29	14
Nov 2001	55	26	19
Apr 2002	59	25	17
Aug 2002	57	25	19
June 2003	57	28	16
Nov 2003	72	18	10
Apr 2004	47	37	17
May 2004	37	50	11
June 2004	38	53	9
July 2004	38	50	12
Aug 2004	47	40	12
Nov 2004	55	32	13
May 2005	64	24	11
July 2005	58	29	12
Nov 2005	64	25	10
Mar 2006	66	23	11
Nov 2006	67	23	10
Apr 2007	69	22	9
May 2008	71	21	8
June 2008	88	5	6
July 2008	89	5	5
Aug 2008	71	21	9
Sept 2008	70	22	8
May 2009	71	19	10
May 2010	57	33	9
Aug 2010	54	40	7

Intense dissatisfaction is again concentrated among the 20-40 age group.

Chart/Table 173 Satisfaction with performance of PRC Government dealing with Hong Kong affairs BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Very dissatisfied	9	15	17	8	8	10	10	11
Somewhat dissatisfied	35	38	27	33	26	21	10	29
Somewhat satisfied	50	38	46	49	51	53	59	48
Very satisfied	2	3	3	6	7	7	10	5
Don't Know	4	7	6	4	8	9	10	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 40.70 with 24 df p = 0.0180

Surprisingly, intense dissatisfaction with the PRC Government's handling of Hong Kong affairs is highest among clerks and service workers rather than professionals.

Chart/Table 174 Satisfaction with performance of PRC Government dealing with Hong Kong affairs BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Very dissatisfied	9	11	16	15	13	6	11	13	7	11
Somewhat dissatisfied	25	32	37	29	14	26	20	30	45	29
Somewhat satisfied	52	48	40	40	59	54	54	48	39	48
Very satisfied	10	3	4	6	3	5	8	8	3	5
Don't Know	3	7	3	10	11	9	8	3	5	7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 56.91 with 32 df p = 0.0043

However, overall it appears that satisfaction with the PRC rule of China has bounced from its May 2010 low.

Chart/Table 175 Satisfaction with the performance of the PRC Government in ruling China

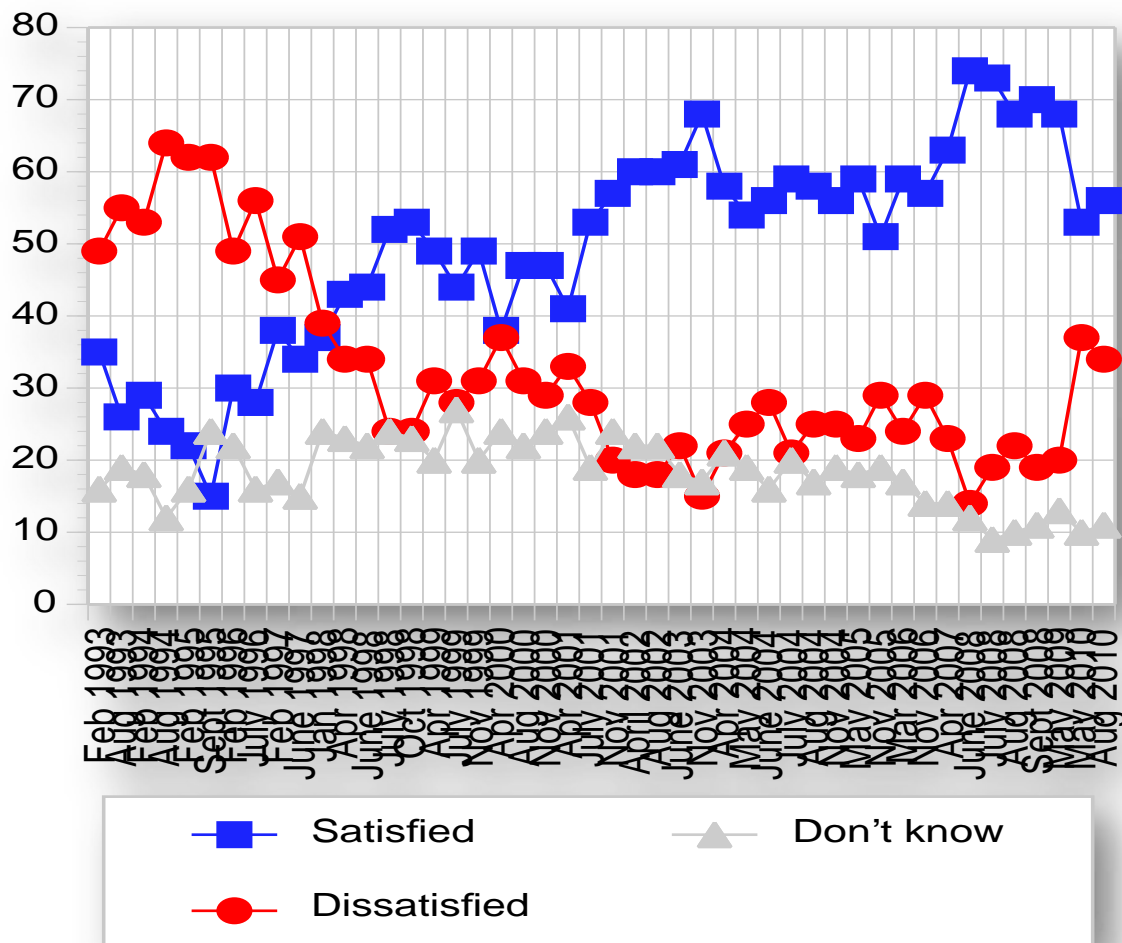


Table 175 Satisfaction with PRC rule of China

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1993	35	49	16
Aug 1993	26	55	19
Feb 1994	29	53	18
Aug 1994	24	64	12
Feb 1995	22	62	16
Sept 1995	15	62	24
Feb 1996	30	49	22
July 1996	28	56	16
Feb 1997	38	45	17
June 1997	34	51	15
Jan 1998	37	39	24
Apr 1998	43	34	23
June 1998	44	34	22
July 1998	52	24	24
Oct 1998	53	24	23
Apr 1999	49	31	20
July 1999	44	28	27
Nov 1999	49	31	20
Apr 2000	38	37	24
Aug 2000	47	31	22
Nov 2000	47	29	24
Apr 2001	41	33	26
July 2001	53	28	19
Nov 2001	57	20	24
April 2002	60	18	22
Aug 2002	60	18	22
June 2003	61	22	18
Nov 2003	68	15	17
Apr 2004	58	21	21
May 2004	54	25	19
June 2004	56	28	16
July 2004	59	21	20
Aug 2004	58	25	17
Nov 2004	56	25	19
May 2005	59	23	18
Nov 2005	51	29	19
Mar 2006	59	24	17
Nov 2006	57	29	14
Apr 2007	63	23	14
June 2008	74	14	12
July 2008	73	19	9
Aug 2008	68	22	10
Sept 2008	70	19	11
May 2009	68	20	13
May 2010	53	37	10
Aug 2010	56	34	11

And while no longer stratospheric (94 percent in 2007), satisfaction with President Hu Jintao's performance remains at 74 percent, a rate most western leaders would take great pleasure in.

Chart/Table 176 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of China's President Hu Jintao

	May 2007	Aug 2008	Aug 2010
Very dissatisfied	1	1	3
Somewhat Dissatisfied	5	6	11
Somewhat satisfied	74	67	60
Very satisfied	20	23	14
total	100	100	100

But Chart/Table 177 and Table 178 show the steepness of challenges as the next round of constitutional reform begins. In April 2007 the NPC issued a ruling that Hong Kong may directly elect the Chief Executive in 2017 and may directly elect all members of Legco in the subsequent Legco election, which has been taken to mean 2020. But clearly, many people do not believe the NPC timetable is a fixed timetable or even a firm promise, even after the passage of the first steps of reform since the timetable and steps specified in the Basic Law were completed in 2007. And the highest degree of belief that the timetable is an empty promise is among those of working age and particularly among those in their 20s.

Chart/Table 177 Do you consider the NPC's timetable for 2017 for direct election of the Chief Executive and of 2020 for all members of Legco (June 2010 before vote)

	June 2010 Before vote	Aug 2010 After vote
Firm promise & fixed deadline	18	12
Possible timeframe, not fixed	25	32
Optional timeframe, maybe sooner	12	13
Optional timeframe, maybe later	10	9
Empty promise	27	27
Don't Know	8	7
total	100	100

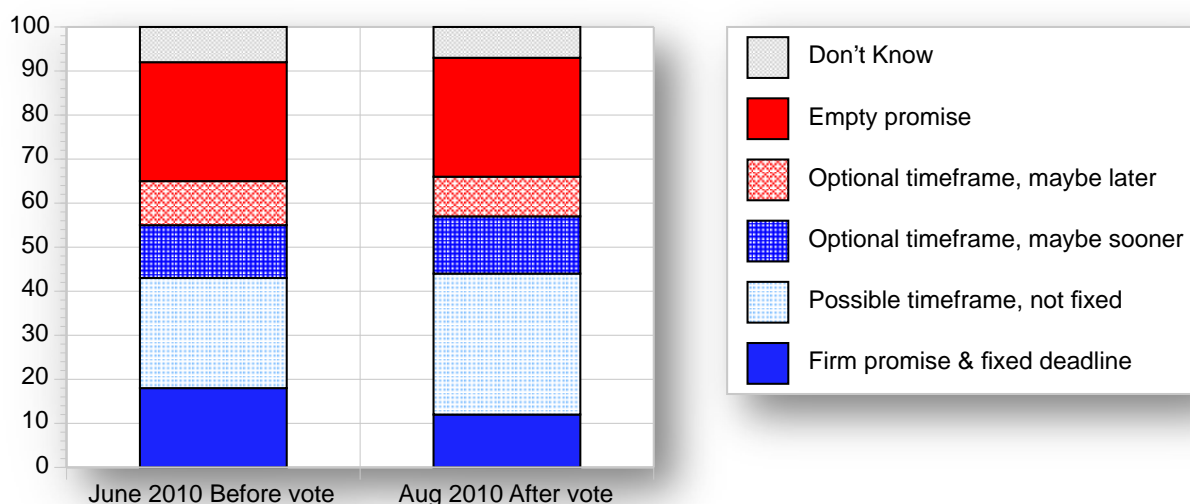


Table 178 Timetable is Empty Promise BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
All other options	87	70	77	82	76	82	88	79
Empty promise	13	30	23	19	24	18	12	22
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.87 with 6 df p = 0.0451

4. Challenges to reform: Hopes and fears going forward

Fundamentally, the Basic Law stipulates that government should protect people's freedoms, provide security for person and property via policing and rule of law, and promote prosperity by ensuring proper regulation and a level playing field. Hong Kong has won accolades for being the world's freest economy for nearly the past two decades. Tables 179-181 show the degrees of concern Hong Kong people have had toward some of these fundamental aspects, as well as key challenges to people's health and well being (and Hong Kong's continuing attractiveness to international business) such as air and water pollution.

Table 179 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 180 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong (May 2009):

	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	--

Chart/Table 181 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong (Aug 2010):

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Corruption in Hong Kong	61	22	10	5	2
Corruption in Mainland China	14	13	23	45	5
Your employment situation	61	19	11	8	2
Young graduate's employment situation	22	26	27	22	4
Social unrest & street protests	45	26	19	8	2
The rule of law & judge's fairness	53	23	13	9	2
Free speech	53	25	13	8	1
Free assembly	55	24	13	8	1
Air & water pollution	10	21	34	33	1

In August 2010 Hong Kong people are most worried by air and water pollution, corruption on the mainland, and young graduate's employment. But on every issue listed, even those more people are less worried about, the more worried people are about an issue, the more likely they are to have opposed the reform package, the more likely they are to think government makes policies unfairly, and the more likely they are to think reforms will make policies less fair.

Those who oppose reforms also have the highest level of being very worried about air and water pollution. While 40 percent of those who oppose reforms are most worried, 31 percent of supporters of reform and those who Don't Know about support or opposition to reforms are most worried. On this same issue, those who feel that government makes policy unfairly show the highest level of very worried, and those who think policy making will be less fair after reforms rank closely behind the Don't Know responses on this issue in being very worried about air and water pollution.

Table 182 Worry about Air & Water Pollution BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	12	7	11	10
Slightly worried	24	15	23	21
Somewhat worried	33	38	33	34
Very worried	31	40	31	34
Don't Know	1	1	2	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.06 with 8 df p = 0.0415

Table 183 Worry about Air & Water pollution BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	17	7	13	10
Slightly worried	31	18	18	21
Somewhat worried	29	37	30	34
Very worried	23	38	36	34
Don't Know	0	1	3	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 49.51 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 184 Worry about Air & Water pollution BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	11	8	12	10
Slightly worried	26	19	15	21
Somewhat worried	34	37	31	34
Very worried	30	36	39	34
Don't Know	0	1	3	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.09 with 8 df p = 0.0010

The same pattern appears on concern about corruption on the mainland. A majority of those who opposed the reforms are very worried about corruption on the mainland, more than

either those who support reforms and those who don't know. Also a majority of those who feel policy making is unfair are very worried, and a majority of those who think reforms will make policy making less fair are also very worried about mainland corruption.

Table 185 Worry about Corruption in Mainland China BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	14	10	24	14
Slightly worried	14	11	13	13
Somewhat worried	25	21	20	23
Very worried	42	54	33	45
Don't Know	5	4	11	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.83 with 8 df p = 0.0005

Table 186 Worry about Corruption in Mainland China BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	20	12	15	14
Slightly worried	20	9	18	13
Somewhat worried	23	24	16	23
Very worried	33	51	33	45
Don't Know	4	4	18	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 62.03 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 187 Worry about Corruption in Mainland China BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	13	12	19	14
Slightly worried	15	11	9	13
Somewhat worried	27	22	18	23
Very worried	41	52	43	45
Don't Know	4	4	10	5
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.95 with 8 df p = 0.0011

The gap between those who opposed reforms and who are very worried about rule of law is even larger, though the level of very worried is lower than with mainland corruption.

Table 188 Worry about Rule of law & judge's fairness BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	65	30	56	53
Slightly worried	22	26	20	23
Somewhat worried	8	22	14	13
Very worried	3	21	7	9
Don't Know	2	1	4	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 121.2 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 189 Worry about Rule of law & judge's fairness BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	73	44	63	53
Slightly worried	17	27	13	23
Somewhat worried	5	17	9	13
Very worried	4	12	3	9
Don't Know	2	--	12	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 116.9 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 190 Worry about Rule of law & judge's fairness BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	65	34	53	53
Slightly worried	22	25	22	23
Somewhat worried	7	21	15	13
Very worried	4	20	6	9
Don't Know	1	--	4	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 100.1 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Only on the issue of worry about social unrest do those who oppose and those who support reform show similar levels of worry, as well as similar levels of worry by policy making fairness, and similar levels of worry by assessments of the effect of reforms on making policy making fairer or not.

Table 191 Worry about Social unrest BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	46	41	51	45
Slightly worried	26	25	27	26
Somewhat worried	19	22	17	19
Very worried	9	9	2	8
Don't Know	1	3	4	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 16.04 with 8 df $p = 0.0418$

Table 192 Worry about Social unrest BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	50	42	49	45
Slightly worried	23	28	21	26
Somewhat worried	18	20	16	19
Very worried	9	8	7	8
Don't Know	--	2	6	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.49 with 8 df $p = 0.0960$

Table 193 Worry about Social unrest BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	45	42	47	45
Slightly worried	26	26	24	26
Somewhat worried	20	19	18	19
Very worried	8	10	6	8
Don't Know	--	6	5	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.59 with 8 df p = 0.0676

Those who oppose reforms show higher levels of worry about young graduates employment, and the same pattern continues with fairness and the effect of reform on policy making.

Table 194 Worry about Young graduates employment BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	28	10	20	22
Slightly worried	30	20	19	26
Somewhat worried	25	31	28	27
Very worried	14	36	24	22
Don't Know	3	4	10	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 84.01 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 195 Worry about Young graduates employment BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	34	15	37	22
Slightly worried	29	25	18	26
Somewhat worried	24	30	15	27
Very worried	10	27	18	22
Don't Know	4	3	12	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 78.75 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Table 196 Worry about Young graduates employment BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	27	12	22	22
Slightly worried	30	21	21	26
Somewhat worried	26	30	27	27
Very worried	14	34	24	22
Don't Know	3	3	6	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 51.22 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Those who opposed reforms also show higher levels of worry about their employment situation. But majorities among all views of fairness in policy making are not worried about

their employment. Those who consider reforms as making policy making less fair show more worries about their employment.

Table 197 Worry about Your employment situation BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	68	44	66	61
Slightly worried	17	24	14	19
Somewhat worried	9	16	7	11
Very worried	4	13	10	8
Don't Know	2	3	4	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 48.55 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 198 Worry about Your employment situation BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	71	56	64	61
Slightly worried	16	21	7	19
Somewhat worried	9	12	9	11
Very worried	3	9	13	8
Don't Know	2	2	6	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.91 with 8 df $p = 0.0005$

Table 199 Worry about Your employment situation BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	70	46	59	61
Slightly worried	16	23	19	19
Somewhat worried	9	12	11	11
Very worried	4	16	5	8
Don't Know	2	2	5	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 56.92 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Again, those who oppose reforms, consider policy making unfair and expect policy making to be less fair after reforms show higher levels of concern for free assembly and for free speech.

Table 200 Worry about Free assembly BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	67	25	66	55
Slightly worried	22	31	15	24
Somewhat worried	8	24	12	13
Very worried	3	20	3	8
Don't Know	1	0	5	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 179.3 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 201 Worry about Free assembly BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	76	44	69	55
Slightly worried	14	29	12	24
Somewhat worried	6	17	9	13
Very worried	4	10	3	8
Don't Know	--	--	7	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 107.5 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 202 Worry about Free Assembly BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	65	31	62	55
Slightly worried	23	30	17	24
Somewhat worried	9	21	13	13
Very worried	3	19	6	8
Don't Know	--	--	3	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 116.0 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 203 Worry about Free speech BY Support for reforms

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know	total
Not worried	67	24	59	53
Slightly worried	23	30	22	25
Somewhat worried	8	25	9	13
Very worried	3	20	7	8
Don't Know	1	--	4	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 167.0 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 204 Worry about Free speech BY Does government make policies fairly

	Fairly	Unfairly	Don't Know	total
Not worried	71	43	73	53
Slightly worried	20	28	12	25
Somewhat worried	6	17	7	13
Very worried	3	11	1	8
Don't Know	--	1	6	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 87.45 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 205 Worry about Free speech BY After reforms will policy making be fairer

	Fairer	Less fair	Don't Know	total
Not worried	65	29	59	53
Slightly worried	24	29	21	25
Somewhat worried	8	23	10	13
Very worried	2	19	9	8
Don't Know	1	1	2	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 114.1 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$

A large number of Hong Kong people do not feel their concerns are presently being either fairly addressed or well handled by the government. Since most people are most concerned about air and water pollution or about young graduate's employment, and these are problems which cannot be rhetorically allayed and on which action appears both slow and inadequate to many, the question of reform as solution or as making things worse surely causes anxiety. Those who are concerned about corruption on the mainland are hardly placated by the Central Government approving the reforms for Hong Kong it has, since political reform on the mainland is often apparently inadequate to redress the unfairness in policy making readily apparent and often protested there, as noted by frequent reports in the mainland press.

Table 206 Of the worries mentioned, which worries you the most?

Group	Count	%
Free press	71	9
Free assembly	9	1
Your employment situation	71	9
Young graduate's employment situation	128	16
Social unrest & street protests	80	10
The rule of law & judge's fairness	55	7
Free speech	11	1
Free assembly	77	9
Air & water pollution	275	34
Don't Know	39	5

All of this puts the issue of Hong Kong's future as a part of China squarely in the center of concerns about reform. And on this issue, the issue of Hong Kong's future, sentiments have turned down once again after recovering between 2004 and 2008 from the bottoms seen in 2002-2003.

Chart/Table 207 How do you feel currently about Hong Kong's future prospects as part of China?

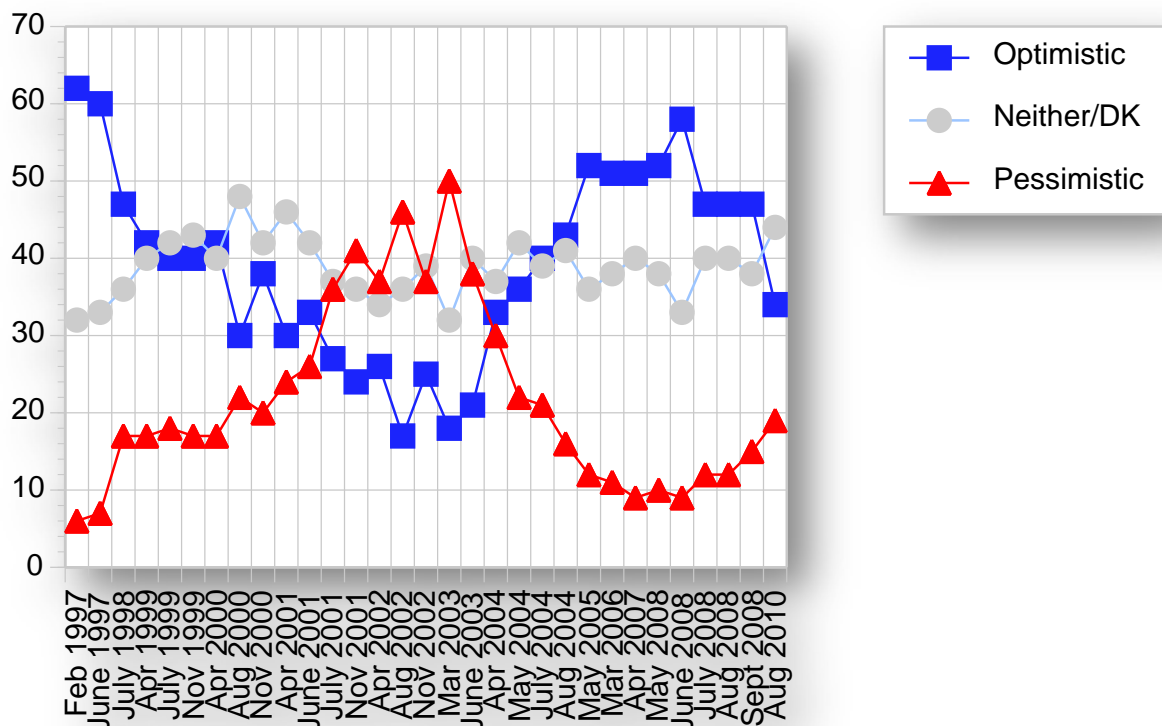


Table 207 Feelings about Hong Kong's future as a part of China

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimistic
Feb 1997	62	32	6
June 1997	60	33	7
July 1998	47	36	17
Apr 1999	42	40	17
July 1999	40	42	18
Nov 1999	40	43	17
Apr 2000	42	40	17
Aug 2000	30	48	22
Nov 2000	38	42	20
Apr 2001	30	46	24
June 2001	33	42	26
July 2001	27	37	36
Nov 2001	24	36	41
Apr 2002	26	34	37
Aug 2002	17	36	46
Nov 2002	25	39	37
Mar 2003	18	32	50
June 2003	21	40	38
Apr 2004	33	37	30
May 2004	36	42	22
July 2004	40	39	21
Aug 2004	43	41	16
May 2005	52	36	12
Mar 2006	51	38	11
Apr 2007	51	40	9
May 2008	52	38	10
June 2008	58	33	9
July 2008	47	40	12
Aug 2008	47	40	12
Sept 2008	47	38	15
Aug 2010	34	44	19

Chart/Table 208 shows these feelings about Hong Kong's future by income group. Clearly, as the Chart next page shows, those whose families make less than \$30,000 per month, a very large proportion of Hong Kong's population, feel much more pessimistic about the future than other groups. Optimism rises almost directly with income from the \$5,000 per month level onward. The high income inequality in Hong Kong, which has one of the highest Gini coefficients in a developed entity, is having a direct impact on people's confidence in Hong Kong's future, and as seen above, on its belief that reforms will improve matters.

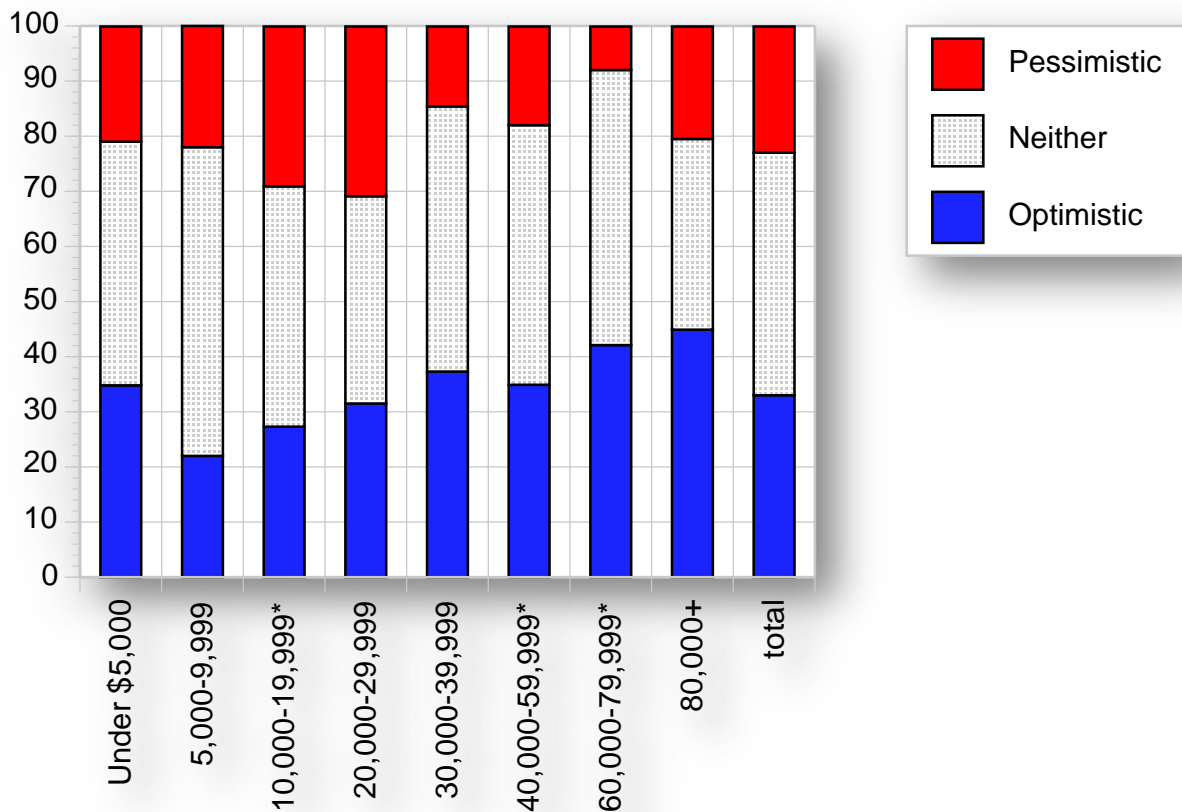
Chart/Table 208 Feelings about Hong Kong's Future BY Income

	Under \$5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999*	20,000-29,999	30,000-39,999	40,000-59,999*	60,000-79,999*	80,000+	total
Optimistic	35	22	27	32	37	35	42	45	33
Neither	44	56	44	38	48	47	50	35	44
Pessimistic	21	22	29	31	15	18	8	20	23
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.72 with 14 df p = 0.0281

Chart of Table 208 Feelings about Hong Kong's future



While business related administrators are more optimistic than any other occupational group, and while the unemployed have the highest level of pessimism about Hong Kong's future (as might be expected) that so many other occupational categories particularly in the working sector have high levels of pessimism or neither responses is concerning. No single category shows a majority optimistic about Hong Kong's future, though the administrators come the closest with 47 percent.

Chart/Table 209 Feelings about Hong Kong's Future BY Occupation

	Admin	Professionals	Clerks	Service	Manual	Housewife	Retired	Unemployed-Other	Student	total
Optimistic	47	35	26	23	31	33	40	15	34	33
Neither	37	45	50	46	45	49	37	53	43	44
Pessimistic	17	20	25	31	24	18	23	33	23	22
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 25.59 with 16 df p = 0.0600

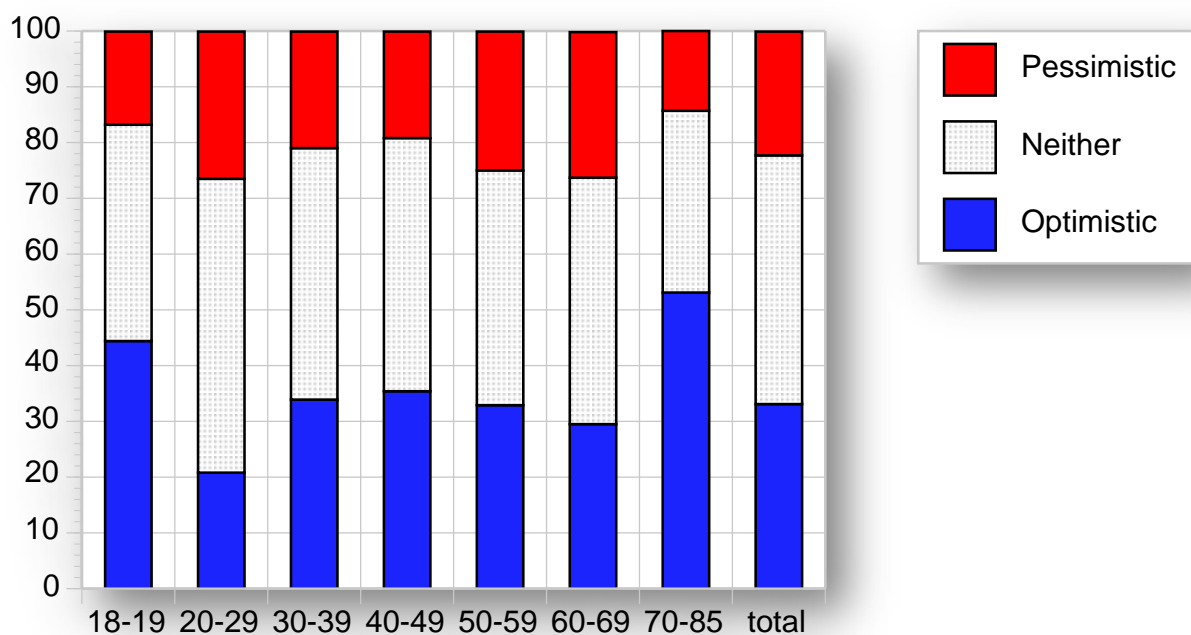
And there must be concern that those in their 20s, the people who are Hong Kong's future, show the lowest level of optimism. (Chart next page).

Chart/Table 210 Feelings about Hong Kong's Future BY Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Optimistic	44	21	34	35	33	30	53	33
Neither	39	53	45	46	42	44	33	45
Pessimistic	17	26	21	19	25	26	14	22
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 24.86 with 12 df p = 0.0155

Feelings about Hong Kong's future BY Age



Finally, when asked which problem in Hong Kong most concerned them personally, respondents answered as follows:

Table 211: Problems of most concern personally (open ended, reclassified)

Employment, salary cuts, negative growth rate, inflation	29
Wealth gap, welfare cuts, elderly, medical, education	13
Political stability, freedom	16
Pollution	7
No problems/non-government	10

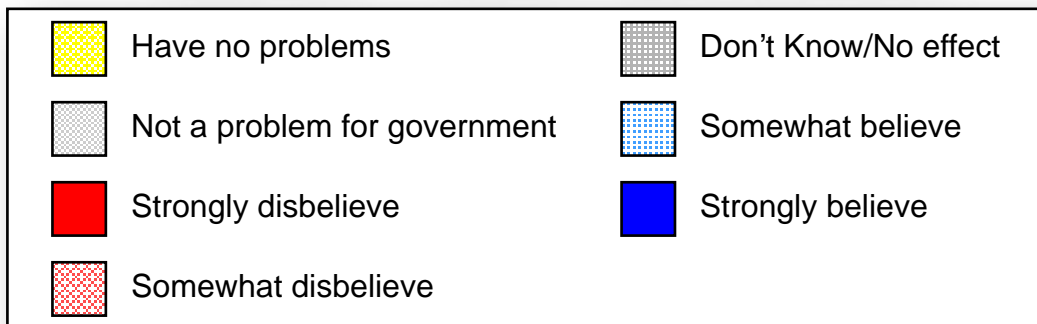
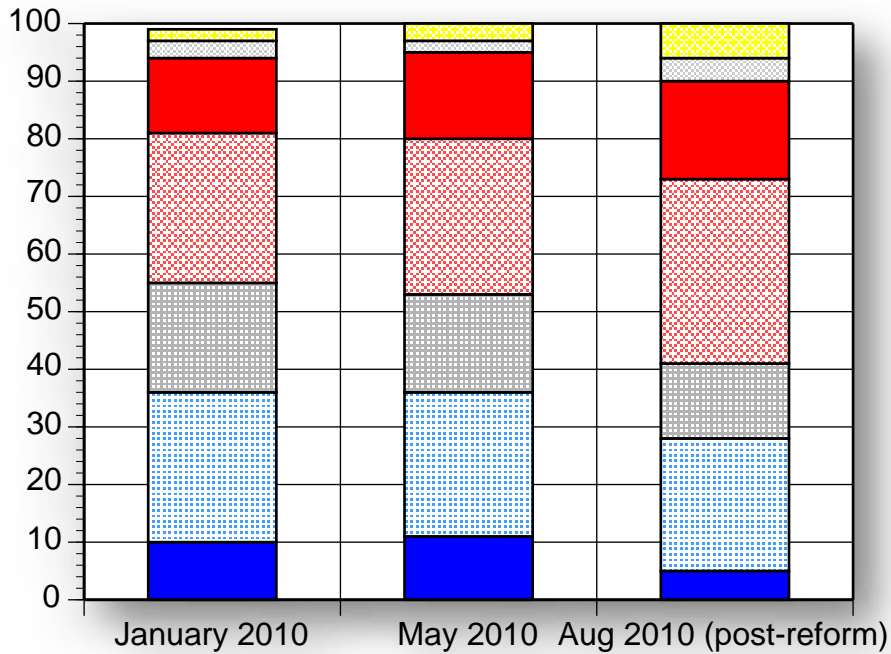
They were then asked:

Table 212 Do you believe making the Chief Executive and Legco members more accountable to voters with direct elections would improve performance on solving your problems?

	January 2010	May 2010	Aug 2010 (post-reform)
Strongly believe	10	11	5
Somewhat believe	26	25	23
Don't Know/No effect	19	17	13
Somewhat disbelieve	26	27	32
Strongly disbelieve	13	15	17
Not a problem for government	3	2	4
Have no problems	2	3	6
total	100	100	100

The chart on the next page makes it clear, after the vote on reform, an even larger proportion of Hong Kong people than before strongly disbelieve that direct elections will improve

government's performance on solving their problems of greatest personal concern. This is an indictment of the present system that stymies the impact of elections in improving accountability, but it is also a challenge to the system that reform by reform, Hong Kong is moving to put into place. The point is not reform for its own sake, not elections for their own sake, not politicians fighting for office for their own sake, but making government work for the people, for the sake of Hong Kong's future.



Demographics

Sex

Group	Count	%
Males	414	51
Females	402	49

Age

Group	Count	%
18-19	54	7
20-29	144	18
30-39	115	14
40-49	178	22
50-59	173	22
60-69	88	11
70-85	49	6

Age and Sex breakdown from Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department

Age and Sex Structure: At mid-2009, there were 889 males per 1 000 females. The median age of the total population was 40.7. The age and sex structure of the population was given as follows:

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	% [∇]	Number	% [∇]	Number	% [∇]
0-14	451 400	6.4	422 000	6.0	873 400	12.5
15-24	443 500	6.3	450 300	6.4	893 800	12.8
25-34	456 900	6.5	619 500	8.8	1 076 400	15.4
35-44	504 900	7.2	669 700	9.6	1 174 600	16.8
45-54	619 100	8.8	663 300	9.5	1 282 400	18.3
55-64	406 500	5.8	403 100	5.8	809 600	11.6
65 and over	413 900	5.9	479 600	6.8	893 500	12.8
Total	3 296 200	47.1	3 707 500	52.9	7 003 700	100.0

[∇] There may be a slight discrepancy between the sum of individual items and the total as shown in the table owing to rounding.

The Hong Kong government data does not break down figures according to permanent residency (requires birth in Hong Kong or minimum seven years residency and application). The male/female ratio of permanent residents has a higher proportion of males due to Hong Kong's large female domestic helper population which skews the figures above toward female population.

Birthplace

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong	600	74
Mainland China	176	22
Elsewhere	40	5

Birthplace by Age group

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	total
Hong Kong	80	85	77	84	74	42	35	73
Mainland China	19	12	17	13	21	47	59	22
Elsewhere	2	3	5	3	5	11	6	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 108.9 with 12 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Occupation

Group	Count	%
Manager & Admin	96	12
Professionals	73	9
Assoc. Professionals	17	2
Clerks	105	13
Service & Sales	48	6
Agriculture & Fish	1	0.1
Craft & related	22	3
Plant, Machine Operators	34	4
Elementary	14	2
Housewife	110	13
Retired	123	15
Unemployed	36	4
Student	95	12
Educators	27	3
Other	4	0.4
No answer	11	1

Occupation (regrouped)

Group	Count	%
Manager & Admin	96	12
Professionals & Assoc Prof	117	15
Clerks	105	13
Service & Sales	48	6
Craft/Machine/Elementary*	71	9
Housewife	110	14
Retired	123	15
Unemployed/Other	40	5
Student	95	12

*Recoded as Manual workers

Occupation with other categories removed (for comparison with government figures)

Group	Count	%
Manager & Admin	96	22
Professionals	73	17
Associate Professionals	44	10
Clerks	105	24
Service & Sales	48	11
Craft & related	23	5
Plant & machine operators	34	8
Elementary occupations	14	3
Others	4	1

Occupation of workforce by Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department

Occupation: The distribution of the employed population in Hong Kong by occupation for Q4 2009 was as follows:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>% of the employed population^v</i>
Managers and administrators	9.4
Professionals	6.4
Associate professionals	19.9
Clerks	15.9
Service workers and shop sales workers	15.9
Craft and related workers	7.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.6
Elementary occupations	19.3
Others	0.1
Total	100.0

Work Sector

Group	Count	%
Civil servant	49	6
Privatized Public (Housing Authority, Hosp. Auth. Etc)	22	3
Private sector	372	46
Non-profit sector	7	1
Non-work Sector	364	45

Work Sector (recoded)

Group	Count	%
Public/NGO	78	10
Private	372	46
Non-work	364	45

Marital status

Group	Count	%
Never married	298	37
Married	501	61
Widowed	5	1
Divorced/separated	9	1
Other	3	0.4

Marital (recoded)

Group	Count	%
Unmarried	298	37
Married	501	63

Children in family

Group	Count	%
0	58	7
1-5	449	56
Unmarried	298	37

Religion

Group	Count	%
None	415	51
Catholic	50	6
Protestant	133	16
Buddhist	58	7
Taoist	6	1
Ancestor worship/Chinese traditional	149	18
Other	5	1

Religion (regrouped)

Group	Count	%
None	415	51
Christian	183	23
Traditional Chinese	213	26

Years of Education

Group	Count	%
0 None	9	1
Primary 1	2	0.2
Primary 2	1	0.1
Primary 3	4	0.4
Primary 4	4	0.4
Primary 5	5	1
Primary 6	44	5
F1 Grade 7	9	1
F2 Grade 8	11	1
F3 Grade 9	75	9
F4/T1 (F3) Grade 10 High School	20	2
F5/T1 (F3) Grade 11 High School	169	21
F6/T1 (F5) Grade 12 High School graduate	36	4
F7/T1 (F7) graduate/university freshman 13	92	11
University sophomore 14	23	3
University junior 15	14	2
University graduate 16	252	31
Masters Degree 17	31	4
Ph.D./J.D. 18	6	1
Refuse	9	1

Education (regrouped)

Group	Count	%
0-6 Primary	69	9
7-8-9 F1-F3	95	12
10-11-12 High School	225	28
13-14-15 Some university	129	16
16 University grad	252	31
17-18 Post-grad	37	5

Education according to Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department

Education: The educational level of the population of Hong Kong has improved appreciably over the past five years. The following table compares the educational attainment of the population aged 15 and over for Q4 2004 and Q4 2009 obtained from the results of the General Household Survey⁺⁺:

<i>Educational attainment</i>	<i>% of population aged 15 and over</i>	
	<i>Q4 2004</i>	<i>Q4 2009</i>
No schooling/Pre-primary	6.4	5.3
Primary	19.5	17.0
Secondary **	51.3	52.2
Post-secondary	22.8	25.4
Total	100.0	100.0

⁺⁺ The General Household Survey covers the land-based non-institutional population of Hong Kong.

^{**} Persons with educational attainment at secondary level refer to those with Secondary 1 to Secondary 7 education or equivalent level.

Living Quarters

Group	Count	%
Villa/Bungalow	7	1
Private residential (own)	333	41
Private residential (rent)	62	8
Home Ownership Scheme	122	15
Public housing	241	30
Modern village house	18	2
Traditional village house	17	2
Employer provided	9	1
Other	7	1

Living Quarters (regrouped)

Group	Count	%
Villa/village house	42	5
Private (owned)	333	41
Private (rented)	71	9
HOS	122	15
Public	241	30

Housing: The distribution of the land-based non-institutional population of Hong Kong by type of housing for Q4 2009, based on the results of the General Household Survey, was as follows:

<i>Type of housing</i>	<i>% of land-based non-institutional population</i>
Public rental housing	29.9
Subsidised sale flats	18.0
Private permanent housing	51.3
Temporary housing	0.9
Total	100.0

Income

Group	Count	%
None	59	7
Under \$5,000	27	3
5,000-9,999	41	5
10,000-14,999	110	13
15,000-19,999	73	9
20,000-24,999	91	11
25,000-29,999	39	5
30,000-34,999	57	7
35,000-39,999	26	3
*40,000-49,999	50	6
50,000-59,999	56	7
60,000-69,999	20	2
70,000-79,999	18	2
80,000-89,999	10	1
90,000-99,999	3	0.3
100,000+	36	4
Refused	100	12

Income

Group	Count	%
Under \$5,000	86	12
5,000-9,999	41	6
10,000-19,999	183	26
20,000-29,999	130	18
30,000-39,999	83	12
40,000-59,999*	106	15
60,000-79,999*	38	5
80,000+	49	7

*Note change in categories

Income distribution according to Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department

Income: Based on the results of the General Household Survey, the median monthly domestic household income for Q4 2009 was \$17,500. The distribution of domestic households in Hong Kong by monthly household income was as follows:

Monthly household income (\$)	% of total domestic households ^c
Under 4,000	8.0
4,000-5,999	8.0
6,000-7,999	8.9
8,000-9,999	7.1
10,000-14,999	14.4
15,000-19,999	12.2
20,000-24,999	10.5
25,000-29,999	6.8
30,000-34,999	6.2
35,000-39,999	4.2
40,000-44,999	3.4
45,000-49,999	2.4
50,000-59,999	3.7
60,000-79,999	3.7
80,000-99,999	1.7
100,000 and over	2.8
Total	100.0

Experience living outside Hong Kong for 1 year or more

Group	Count	%
Yes	164	20
No	652	80

Right of abode in another country

Group	Count	%
Yes	61	8
No	101	12
Not lived outside Hong Kong	652	80

Time in Hong Kong (for those born outside Hong Kong)

Years	Count	%
1-19	60	7
20-39	86	11
40+	70	9
Born in Hong Kong	600	74

Visits to Mainland in previous 2 years

Group	Count	%
0	147	18
1	74	9
2	97	12
3	75	9
4	55	7
5	59	7
6	29	4
7	8	1
8	14	2
9	1	0.1
10	89	11
12	11	1
13	1	0.1
14	1	0.1
15	18	2
18	1	0.1
20	31	4
22	2	0.2
24	8	1
25	6	1
30	20	2
35	2	0.2
40	3	0.4
45	1	0.1
48	2	0.2
50	8	1
55	1	0.1
60	5	1
70	1	0.1
80	3	0.4
96	1	0.1
100	10	1
104	1	0.1
108	1	0.1
120	1	0.1
150	1	0.1
200	3	0.4
400	1	0.1
500	1	0.1
700	3	0.4
Refused	20	2

Appendix One

Comprehensive Social/Income categories by Hong Kong Postal Service

- **Wealthy families with an upscale and privileged lifestyle**
 - 8.59% of Hong Kong households
(Type A01- A04)
The Upper Echelons represent the wealthiest households in Hong Kong. They live in the richest areas in luxury mansions, new upscale apartments or low density houses.
They outrank all other Groups in terms of household income, property value and career achievements. Most of them are successful business executives in professional and top managerial positions in the finance, services and public sectors.
Members of this group are predominantly college/ tertiary educated. They are confident in their life and career. They are active in the investment market, and plan well for retirement and their children's education. They tend to read English newspapers.
They own more cars and high-end AV equipment, and travel abroad more frequently than other Groups.
- **Type A01 Expats and the Privileged**
 - The most affluent local and expatriate families in luxury homes
1.06% of Hong Kong households
Expats and the Privileged are the most affluent, business oriented families living in expensive villas in low density areas like Shouson Hill, Repulse Bay and the Peak. They are the top 1% of Hong Kong households, with a median household income of over HK\$104,000, well above Hong Kong average. Most of the adults are married, middle aged, degree educated, and having young children at home. About 60% of them are non-Chinese expatriates. Some live in apartments provided by their company and not owning their homes. At work they typically hold executive and management positions in finance, government and professional services.
- **Type A02 Matured Wealthy**
 - Maturing successful families in large desirable homes
1.38% of Hong Kong households
Matured Wealthy is a collection of the middle-aged in extended and nuclear families enjoying an affluent lifestyle. Ranked second in terms of wealth, they have a median household income of HK\$87,000. They own large desirable homes on Mount Davis Road, Jardine's Lookout, Braemar Hill Mansion, and part of Oxford Road.
This type consists of mature adults with tertiary / degree education, working in executive and management positions in finance, government and professional services, or as the employers of a company. There are more local Chinese in this type than the Expats and the Privileged, and also more school-aged children at home.
- **Type A03 Elite Professionals**
 - Single and double income professionals in upscale residence
Families in this type have median household income of \$50,000 and over 26% of the individuals earning more than \$40,000 per month. Housing is well-planned residential areas - either the luxury apartments in newly developed areas commanding good view or established city blocks or lower density housing in the farther part of NT. Over three-quarters own the flat they live in with 80% bearing mortgages. Nearly half of the residents are aged between 30 to 49. Three quarters are the rising or expanding families with school age children.
- **Type A04 Rising Sophisticates**
 - Trendy and wealthy managers and associates in modern apartments
3.92% of Hong Kong households
MRising Sophisticates are wealthy young families who work hard and play hard, with a median household income of HK\$51,000. Most have a mortgage and live in recently developed areas with modern high-rise apartments like South Horizons, Laguna City and Island Harbourview. These residences are located near transportation hubs, and are well-equipped with modern clubhouse facilities. Many of the households are married couples with one or no children. About 45% of them are aged below 40. They are college educated, and are commuting in management and executive positions.
- **Well-to-do**
 - **Well-off couples and families enjoying a comfortable lifestyle**
 - 6.56% of Hong Kong households
(Type B05 - B06)

The Well-to-do's represent the second wealthiest households in Hong Kong. They live in urban private apartments with a comfortable living environment and convenient transportation. Some residences are well-equipped with modern clubhouse facilities.

The Well-to-do's are college/ tertiary educated and well-qualified. They work as executives, managers and white-collar professionals. Their income and affluence level are well above average, and this gives them an upper-middle class lifestyle. They work hard and play hard. They are also active in the investment market.

- Type B05 Well-off Families

Accomplished growing families in better quality homes

4.15% of Hong Kong households

Well-off Families represents a collection of middle-aged, married couples with children living in upper-middle class communities. Most adults are well educated and well paid white-collar professionals, managers and executives. They can be found in good quality homes like Bedford Gardens, Mei Foo Sun Chuen, and some buildings in Caine Road and Bonham Road built in the 1980s. They have a median household income of HK\$38,000, and half of them are homeowners without a mortgage. Parents of this type provide good education to their school aged children, and they enjoy a comfortable and stable family life.

- Type B06 Young executives

Young upwardly mobile singles and couples in comfy urban homes

Young Executives is a cluster of new couples and small households living in newer urban apartments with convenient transportation. They are located in comfortable homes like Fortress Metro Tower on King's Road, Whampoa Garden Block 1-12, and Nob Hill in Lai King. A quarter of them own their apartment with a mortgage.

Younger than average and upper-middle class in status, this type has the highest composition of single-person households. They have graduated from high school or completed college, and are upwardly mobile with well-paying occupations in the finance, manufacturing or service sectors. Their median household income is HK\$30,000.

- **Emerging Middle Class**

- Stable and educated families of moderate affluence

15.46% of Hong Kong households

(Type C07 - C10)

Members of the Emerging Middle Class are better off than the average families. Many of them are managers, white collar workers, mid-ranking civil servants or disciplined service officers. They are well educated and earn an income that is above average. They live in near-urban private developments or government quarters. Half of them have an outstanding mortgage, which may explain why they tend to work hard and keep non-essential spending to a minimum.

- Type C07 New Mortgagees

Young families with mortgages in new near-urban apartments

5.27% of Hong Kong households

New Mortgagees is dominated by young couples and families living in new near-urban apartments for the middle-class neighbourhoods. Many of the individuals have obtained their high school education and some with a degree. They work in white collar jobs in the service, manufacturing or community sectors. With a good median household income of HK\$33,000, this type can be found in new residences built in recently developed suburban areas, including Sea Crest Villa in Tuen Mun, Coastal Skyline and Tung Chung Crescent in Tung Chung. About 71% are new homeowners with a mortgage, so they tend to work hard and keep non-essential spending a minimum.

- Type C08 Government Quarters

Civil servant families in government quarters

1.01% of Hong Kong households.

Government Quarters is a community of civil servant families living in government quarters. Most of them are mid-ranking disciplined service officers serving in the Hong Kong Police Force, Fire Services and Correctional Services.

With a median household income of HK\$30,000, they live in quarters next to their workplace, such as the Western Police Married Quarters in Western District, Castle Peak Government Quarters in Tuen Mun and also Pok Fu Lam Fire Services Quarters. Their lower rent allows them to have more disposable income compared to others in the middle class.

- C10 Mature Owners

Long-term homeowners and empty nesters in near-urban establishments

3.62% of Hong Kong households.

Mature Home Owners is a collection of older families who have settled in near-urban housing for many

years. Majority of them are empty-nesters or nuclear families with the parents at their fifties. These neighbourhoods can be found in Healthy Gardens in North Point, Wyler Garden in Tokwawan, and Luk Yeung Sun Chuen in Tsuen Wan.

Majority of the residents are homeowners without bearing any mortgages. Some of them are high school educated, and work as white-collar or better blue-collar jobs in the manufacturing and service sectors. Their median household income is \$24,000.

- **Suburban Locals**

- Diverse income households in old towns and suburban outskirts

11.45% of Hong Kong households.

(Type D12 - D15)

The Suburban Locals live in old towns near the city or in the suburban and countryside areas. Most of them are secondary school educated and work as blue collars or elementary-level white collars. They tend to earn an income that is slightly below average, and are more cautious in spending money than others.

- Type D12 Old Town Empty-nesters

Small households owning or renting homes in old towns

2.18% of Hong Kong households

Old Town Empty-nesters is a collection of young couples, single and mid-aged empty-nesters who prefers the old-fashioned, conservative lifestyle in small towns. They are mostly tertiary educated, and work as clerks, service workers or shop sales for their living. They have a median household income of \$23,000.

These households can be found in village houses like like Pai Tau Tsuen in Shatin, Ha Ling Pei in Tung Chung, or old marketplace like Sai Wan. Household size is small, and residents are mostly homeowners without a mortgage.

- Type D13 Settled Workers

Working homeowners and sharers in old urban communities

4.62% of Hong Kong households

Found in old urban industrial areas, Settled Workers consists of hard-working blue-collars who earn their living from manufacturing, construction and operations. They have low education level, and have a median household income of \$15,000. These households live near their workplace, such as Kwan Yick Building in Sai Wan, Tung Fat Building in North Point, Yuen Fat House in Yuen Long, and around Tsuen Wan Market Street. A majority of the residents have reached their forties and fifties, and they tend to have a small household size. About 65% of them own their flats and are free of mortgages. Some landlords are subletting their units, hence there are relatively more co-tenants compared with other types.

- Type D14 Comfy Countryside

Mid income families in better suburban homes

3.78% of Hong Kong households

In Comfy Countryside, there is a high proportion of families with young children and teens. Parents in this type of households are mostly high school educated, and they are also commuting in white collar positions or better blue collars. With a median household income of HK\$17,000, they can afford 3-storeys comfortable houses in the suburban areas such as Kam Tin, Pak Tin Pa Tsuen in Tsuen Wan. Half of these residents are homeowners without a mortgage, the lower rent in suburban areas allow them to keep a carefree and comfortable lifestyle.

- Type D15 Rural Heritage

Traditional extended families in long-standing rural developments

0.87% of Hong Kong households

Rural Heritage consists of couples and families who are indigenous residents of the remote villages. There are a lot of seniors as well as young children who have their life well-beings in the rural areas. Most of them have a low education level, and they work as craft workers, machine operators or as unskilled labour. Their low-paying jobs result in a median household income of HK\$14,000. Many of the households own their homes outright, whereas the renters opt for the lower rents and quieter lifestyle in these areas. They live in low density areas in the New Territories and Islands such as Cheung Chau, Peng Chau, or Lamma Island.

- **Compact City Life**

- Families focused on budget in high density city areas

9.86% of Hong Kong households

(Type E16 - E17)

Compact City Life neighbourhoods are high density city areas in Hong Kong amidst bustling retail and trade activities. Typical properties are relatively small single blocks, situated on main streets with high

traffic flow, which provide convenient access to various transportation, restaurants, shops and entertainment locations. This Group has the highest concentration of people speaking Putonghua and Chinese dialects other than Cantonese.

Residents are mostly mature small families or young singles having moved out of their parents' home to live independently.

- **Type E16 Urban Practicals**

Mid income city dwellers in busy retail districts

4.71% of Hong Kong households

Urban Practicals is a mix of singles, couples and families enjoying the convenient and diversified lifestyle in the inner city areas. They are either families living in the community for a long time, or young people who move out of their parents' home to live independently. Mostly high school educated, these households are commuted as white collars, service workers or shop sales, and they earn a median household income of \$17,000. About half actually work in the same district where they live.

This group can be found in the busy retail districts such as Nga Tsin Long Road in Kowloon City, Hollywood Road in Central, Kin Yick Mansion in Sai Wan. They are unlikely to be burdened by mortgage as they either own the flat outright or rent their apartments.

- **Type E17 Bargain Seekers**

Low income co-tenants and small families in crowded city areas

5.14% of Hong Kong households

Bargain Seekers reflect the life of lower income households living in high-density city environment. A third of them are co-tenants sharing flats with other families. There is a high proportion of middle aged and senior singles. They have a low education level, and are mostly working in wholesale, retail and trading activities, as shopkeeper, shop sales or hawkers. Their median household income is \$11,000.

This type consists of the most people speaking Putonghua or Chinese dialects other than Cantonese.

They can be found in Shanghai Street, Fa Yuen Street Mongkok, Shek Kip Mei or parts of Sham Shui Po

- **Comfy Subsidised Homes**

- **Mid-to-low income families living in urban and suburban subsidised homes**

16.22% of Hong Kong households

(Type F18- F21)

Comfy Subsidised Homes are inhabited by lower-middle class families residing in better quality public apartments subsidised by the government. They either live in subsidised apartments, mostly in the new town areas, or in high-end public rental estates. Many of them are young and growing families with school-age or grown-up children, and often living with their elderly parents.

Most of them have completed secondary school education, earning average income. They work in a variety of occupations, as white collar workers, shop sales and service workers.

- **Type F18 New Couples and Kids**

Young couples and families with a mortgage in better quality subsidised homes

6.74% of Hong Kong households

New Couples and Kids lead a comfortable lifestyle in newly built housing estates subsidised by the government. The head of the family in many households are under 35 years old, just new couples with some having young children at home. They are concentrated in areas like On Ning Garden in Tseung Kwan O, Yu Tung Court in Tung Chung, Aldrich Garden in Shaueiwan, and Charming Garden in Yaumatei.

High-school educated, these young families have a median household income of \$24,000. They mostly work as white collars, clerks, service workers or shop sales, but their discretionary income is high due to a lower mortgage they pay.

- **Type F19 Growing Families**

School age children families owning subsidised homes in New Towns

5.47% of Hong Kong households

Growing Families are homeowners of subsidised homes, with a high proportion of school-aged children. About 50% of them are not bearing mortgage anymore, these households are found mostly in the New Town areas, such as Siu Hei Court in Tuen Mun, Yan Ming Court in Tseung Kwan O. Some of these buildings were built ten years ago under the subsidised housing schemes. Most of the households bear no mortgage.

Adults in this type are mostly middle aged, and are high-school educated. With a median household income of \$20,000, they work as white collars, blue collars, service workers or shop sales.

- **Type F20 Mature Stability**

Mature families with a mortgage in older subsidised apartments

1.41% of Hong Kong households

In Mature Stability, a lot of families with teenage or grown-up children have led a stable lifestyle in their subsidised apartments for a long time. Most adults have attained primary school education only. There is a mix of white collars, machine operators or shop sales in their occupations, which give them a median household income of HK\$21,000.

This type is found in older subsidised apartments through "Tenants Purchase Scheme" like Chuk Yuen North Estate and Fung Tak Estate in Wong Tai Sin, or Wah Kwai Estate in Aberdeen. Some of the households have traded their public housing flat upwards to purchase the subsidised apartments here.

- **Type F21 Extended Family Life**

Extended families renting subsidised apartments in urban outskirts

2.60% of Hong Kong households

Extended Family Life is a collection of households with elderlies, parents and children living together in near-urban subsidised homes. They are located in areas like Ma Heng Estate, Wang Tau Home Estate and Siu Sai Wan Estate.

The adults are mostly primary school educated only, and they work as craftsmen, machine operators and assemblers. They have a median household income of HK\$16,000. There is also a high proportion of elderly singles in this type.

- **Grass Roots Living**

- **Average families in affordable public blocks**

10.62% of Hong Kong households

(Type G22 - G23)

Grass Roots Living symbolise the average households living in large public housing complexes in urban or new town areas. In many cases, parents, children and elderlies live together.

There is a high proportion of young and teenage children within this group. The adults tend to have relatively low education. Most of them work in manufacturing, wholesale or construction. The younger ones work as shop sales or elementary office workers. They earn an income that is below average.

Their apartments are managed and owned by the government. The rent of those apartments is relatively low among public apartments. Some of the public blocks have a small shopping centre with supermarkets, wet markets, kindergartens and bus stations nearby.

G23 Striving Young Families

These areas represent typically residents who moved into huge housing schemes in spacious New Town areas where often public rental and subsidized sale flats are part of a complex sharing common communal facilities. These people tend to rent public blocks represented by Sheung Shui's Tai Ping Estate, Fu Heng in Tai Po, Leung King in Tuen Mun, Lee On in Ma On Shan.

- **Type G22 Blue Collar Parents**

Worker families with teenage children in public blocks near transportation hubs

5.56% of Hong Kong households

Blue Collar Parents are the typical average families living in low to middle income public housing.

Teenagers are over-represented in this type, so these housing offers more spaces for communal activities. Over half of them have a mortgage under "Tenants Purchase Scheme" while a third rent their homes with a very low rent. There is a mix of subsidised flats and better public flats in this type.

These houses are found near transportation hubs for residences to access their workplace, such as Fu Cheong Estate in Sham Shui Po, Hin Keng Estate in Shatin, and Yat Tung Estate in Tung Chung. The adults have attended primary school only, and they are working as craftsmen, machine operators and assemblers, or other blue collars. They have a median household income of HK\$16,000.

- **Type G23 Basic Life Pursuits**

Worker families with young children in new town public blocks

5.06% of Hong Kong households

In Basic Life Pursuits, parents are occupied with low paid work to raise their school-aged children in the family. They are located in large public housing estates in New Towns, for example, Hau Tak Estate in Tseung Kwan O, Fu Tung Estate in Tung Chung, Po Lam Estate in Po Lam and Tin Shui Estate in Tin Shui Wai. Most of them are renters.

These areas are more spacious, and there are convenient transportation for access to the cities. Most public housing estates have a small shopping centre with wet markets, supermarkets and other shops for residents.

- **Community Challenge**

- **Unskilled older families living in urban public housing complexes**

9.74% of Hong Kong households

(Type H24 -H26)

Community Challenge represents the economically disadvantaged households. These households tend to be less educated and earn a low income.

Most adults have completed primary school education only. They take up elementary jobs such as

service and shop workers, craft workers, manual and construction workers. There is a high proportion of students and home-makers.

Without much disposable income, these households tend to conduct their daily activities around the estates in which they live. The need for community activities for youngsters and retired seniors is high in these areas. The estates are government-owned and the rent is low. However, the living environment is rather crowded. Some of these households are receiving social security assistance.

- **Type H24 Nuclear Renters**

Low income nuclear families in new town public blocks

3.24% of Hong Kong households

Nuclear Renters is a cluster of small households who moved to public housing areas in the New Towns in 1980s. They have a low education and income level, and they mainly work as craftsmen, machine operators and other blue collars.

Most of them are nuclear families with young children. They can not afford to buy their own homes, so they rent a small apartment in areas like Yau Oi Estate and On Ting Estate in Tuen Mun, Long Ping Estate in Yuen Long or Garden Estate in Kwun Tong.

- **Type H25 Striving Multi-earners**

Older blue collar families in new town and suburban public blocks

2.61% of Hong Kong households

Striving Multi-earners are households with a majority of family members still in the workforce and earning a low income. They are mostly engaged in the manufacturing sector as blue collars. These people typically moved to the early New Towns in the New Territories during its formative years.

Most are empty-nesters or having grown up children living together. They can be found in suburban public estates like Lok Wah Estate in Ngau Tau Kok, Cho Yiu Estate in Lai King, and also Choi Wan Estate in Choi Hung.

- **Type H26 Aging Generations**

Borderline extended families and elderly in old remote public blocks

3.89% of Hong Kong households

Aging Generations is the lifestyle of extended families earning a very low income in Hong Kong. They have a low education, and are commuting as blue collars in manufacturing or wholesale. Their age band is higher and a lot of seniors are living together with their grown up children.

Residents moved to these areas during the 1970's. Part of these areas have become urban dwellings, yet the living condition is running down as compared to that of the newer public housing estates. These households are located in Lei Tung Estate in Ap Lei Chau, Wah Fu Estate in Aberdeen, and Wang Tau Hom Estate in Wong Tai Sin.

- **Grey Perspectives**

- **Modest seniors and retirees in very old public blocks and communities**

10.96% of Hong Kong households

(Type I27 -I 29)

The Grey Perspectives are comprised of a significant proportion of retirees and elderly people. They are mostly uneducated and unskilled. Almost all of them are living in the most primitive public housing owned by the government.

They used to work as manual workers, craftsmen, and manufacturing or construction workers. Elderlies in these areas have limited activities, and most are under social security and family welfare schemes.

The living condition in these public rental blocks is poor and crowded. The housing was built mostly before 1970s or 1980s.

- **Type I27 Elders Community**

Primitive older families and seniors

4.19% of Hong Kong households

Elders Community is a collection of older families living in public estates where seniors are the majority. These housing areas were built in the 1960s and living condition is crowded and primitive.

Residents are old, and they are either retired or earning very low pay from manual or unskilled work.

They can be found in areas like So Uk Estate in Cheung Sha Wan, Ping Shek Estate in Wong Tai Sin and also Wong Chuk Hang Estate.

- **Type I28 Retiree Families**

Extended families of very low income

3.64% of Hong Kong households

In Retiree Families, old people who have retired are mostly living with their grown up children in old public housing built in the 1970's. There are larger apartments to cater for their larger family size.

Family members are commuting as blue collars or manual workers due to their low education level.

They are found in areas like Lai Kok Estate in Cheung Sha Wan, Pak Tin Estate in Shek Kip Mei and also Upper Wong Tai Sin Estate.

- Type I29 Sunset Simplicity

Old single people retired from unskilled manual work

3.13% of Hong Kong households

Sunset Simplicity reflects the lifestyle of old people who are singles and are living together in very old and crowded public housing estates with a poor living condition. The residents are either retired or still working as manual workers, hawkers etc.

These neighbourhoods are located in Chuk Yuen South Estate in Wong Tai Sin, Shek Kip Mei Estate and Lower Ngau Tau Kok Estate.

Citation: Accessed 2 October 2010:

<http://www.hongkongpost.com/eng/services/circular/neighborhood/index.htm>

Appendix Two

NDI Focus Group on Constitutional Development 11 September 2010

Plenary Discussion

The focus group process was facilitated conversation with randomly selected respondents who agreed to further discussion of their survey responses. From over 100 who agreed, 20 were invited to attend the focus group exercise. Attendees comments were anonymous, everyone was encouraged to discuss the issues and in the first session, asked to choose the primary area of their concerns to make follow up remarks and discuss views among fellow participants (the group headings below). The second session was divided by gender then reconvened to present perspectives on further reforms, both in terms of what they thought was needed and how to go about improving the process of consultation on reforms.

Facilitators of the sessions were Yip Yan Yan and Benson Wong.

First Plenary Session, by topic.

Social Group

- ◆ Participants concluded that politics and livelihood of Hong Kong are influenced by China, therefore the independence of Hong Kong would lead the community to become stronger
- ◆ In terms of economic development, Hong Kong is improving
- ◆ One of the participants pointed out that the Central government supports Hong Kong people in doing their business in the mainland

Economic Group

- ◆ As the relationship between China and Hong Kong became closer, the retail business has benefited a lot
- ◆ One of the participants said that although a lot of individual travelers came to Hong Kong, there are also a number of Hong Kong people go to China and spend a lot
- ◆ There is a “deficit” in tourism for Hong Kong
- ◆ Those travelers from mainland usually buy a lot of luxury products in Hong Kong as there is a guarantee on the quality of the products
- ◆ For the price of real estate, participants said that there are many rich mainlanders speculating on the properties in Hong Kong
- ◆ The culture of spending in China is affecting Hong Kong, for example, most mainlanders prefer bargaining before purchasing
- ◆ Nowadays, some terms usually used in China are becoming more popular in Hong Kong
- ◆ For opening a business, the bureaucracy of the government blocks people from opening their own business in China
- ◆ Participants suggested the lawmakers should help new businessmen
- ◆ One of the participants expressed that the percentage of occupancy of industrial buildings is just around 30% in Hong Kong, therefore, the government should think about how to utilize the vacant buildings

- ◆ Overall, the government should promote Hong Kong's overseas image and the political parties, especially the Liberal Party and Democratic Party should provide more support to SMEs

Environmental Group

- ◆ The government should promote environmental protection
- ◆ The government should not put too much focus on the consultation in environmental policies because most Hong Kong people agree environmental protection is important
- ◆ The government should try its best to make every policy feasible
- ◆ For example, smoking is bad to the environment and the government can ban indoor smoking as well
- ◆ The households should cooperate, such as parents should teach their children on the concept of environmental protection
- ◆ One of the participants suggested Hong Kong should learn from Taiwan about unifying the size of garbage bags
- ◆ If we have a better environment, the government can spend less on medical services and the relationship of people in society would be better
- ◆ Participants agreed that the welfare system of Hong Kong is extremely good, that's why some people abuse the system
- ◆ They suggested Hong Kong should set up a "welfare fund" to centralize all kinds of welfare
- ◆ People who received subsidies from the government should give back the amount of money into the general fund monthly once they are employed in the future

Political Group

- ◆ Majority of them agreed that a government with the peoples' mandate can negotiate strongly with the Central government
- ◆ Leaders from an election are better than the "appointed" ones because it is fairer and people would chose the most capable person
- ◆ People can use their ballot to show their support or oppose to those candidates
- ◆ The elected leaders should be accountable to voters instead of Beijing government
- ◆ Some said they would vote according to the candidates' platform

Second Plenary Session, by gender

Before the second plenary session, the focus group was divided by gender. Separate gender deliberation notes are below.

- ◆ Most of the female participants, agreed that government policies are unfair, for example, many social service centres ignore the locals because they are not the target of the services
- ◆ The legal case of Amina Bokhary showed the unfairness of the legal system
- ◆ For the medical services, the welfare of middle class is being neglected by the government
- ◆ Before 1997, the competition was relatively fair but now the competition has intensified
- ◆ They expected the performance and accountability of the government in 2012 would be better because it will be elected by the people
- ◆ One of the participants said that one of the problems relating to constitutional reform is that the functional constituencies have not been abolished
- ◆ Only one participant opposed the reform package
- ◆ To make the election fairer, the female group suggested the abolishing of corporate voting as a company cannot represent all the people in the sector
- ◆ For the male group, all of them realized there was corporate voting in FCs, because some of them are currently FC voters

- ◆ Some western countries also have a similar congress like FCs in Hong Kong
- ◆ The lawmakers in FCs should be devoted to serve Hong Kong
- ◆ The election method is unfair in FCs, the government should re-set limitations for the elections of FC
- ◆ The participants suggested the Chief Executive should be a party leader with the support of the party
- ◆ They were also concerned about whether the promise of the universal suffrage in 2017 will be implemented or not
- ◆ Hopefully the details of the election will be clarified in order to make it fairer, and the government should try its best to make it more democratic within the Basic Law
- ◆ Some participants have tried to attend local-level consultations of constitutional reform in 2005
- ◆ Some participants suggested compulsory consultation, such as a referendum, for every voters might be a solution to a feasible consultation
- ◆ Participants suggested the District councilors should consult the public in their local constituencies

NDI Focus Group on Constitutional Development 11 September 2010

Female Group

第一節 - 市民對香港回歸及前景的看法

Looking at views towards Hong Kong since the handover and its future

- 兩名參加者表示對香港前景感到樂觀 因為相信中國發展愈見迅速與穩健 相信會關顧香港的發展 香港人仍可示威遊行 亦有言論自由 與回歸前相差不大
- Two participants expressed views that they were optimistic about HK's prospects, as they believed that with the fast pace of development on the Mainland you could sense increased stability, and believe this directly ties in with Hong Kong's development as well. In HK people can still hold demonstrations, and have freedom of expression, so the difference is not great.
- 兩名參加者表示對香港前景感到悲觀香港政府受制於中央 看不到「一國兩制」社會不和諧、團結 如菜園村收地事件 看到社會矛盾加劇
- Two participants expressed the view that they were pessimistic towards Hong Kong's future, and feel the HK government is controlled by Beijing, and cannot see 'one country two systems' in action. They feel the society is not harmonious or united take for example the Choi Yuen village, you could really see increasing conflict within society.

香港政府或中央政府需負責還是與政府無關

HK govt or Central Government should be responsible?

- 根據新聞報導 香港政府很多時都在諮詢不足的情況下推行政策
- According to news reports the HK government does not spend enough time in consulting the public when pushing a particular policy
- 香港政府跟從中央政府指示 令社會失去自由
- When the HK government listens to directions from the Central Government, the society will lose its freedom

政府的計劃能否令你對香港的未來變得較樂觀 如能 是什麼政策
What can the govt do to make you feel more optimistic?

- ◆ 希望政府可以制定有利民生的政策 例如成立最低工資
- ◆ Hopes the government could introduce more policies related to livelihood such as the minimum wage
- ◆ 改善空氣與生活之基本素質
- ◆ Improve the air quality
- ◆ 改善貧富懸殊的情況
- ◆ Do something about the widening wealth gap
- ◆ 解決醫療融資與中年失業之問題
- ◆ Do something about the health care system and the unemployment situation amongst the middle-aged
- ◆ 政府名義上雖然支持環保 但實際上卻背道而馳 港人亦無環保意識
- ◆ The government says it supports environmental protection, but when it comes to implementing it, its another story. In addition, HK people need more education when it comes to protecting the environment.
- ◆ 教育改革推行過急且效用成疑 令教師無所適從
- ◆ Education reforms were rushed through, its hard for the teachers to implement
- ◆ 政府政策偏向幫助地產商 如賣地推高樓價
- ◆ The government's policies tend to be more favorable towards the property developers...pushing up property prices

政改的通過能否令你對香港的未來變得較樂觀

Does the passage of the constitutional reform package make you more optimistic about the future of Hong Kong?

- ◆ 所有參加者皆認為政改的通過後令他們對香港的將來較樂觀
- ◆ Most participants felt more optimistic after the passage of the reform package
- ◆ 所有參加者均表示不了解政制如何運作
- ◆ Most participants do not understand how the political structure functions
- ◆ 選舉會較公平 能聽取不同的意見 較民主 已有進步
- ◆ The Electoral Affairs Commission is quite fair and listens to different opinions and is quite democratic
- ◆ 政府推行政改不如改善居住環境質素等切身問題
- ◆ Instead of focusing on constitutional reforms why not focus on living conditions to be more practical?
- ◆ 不是把功能組別趕走就會變得公正
- ◆ Getting rid of functional constituencies may not necessarily bring more fairness

普選特首能否令你對香港的未來變得較樂觀

Electing the CE through universal suffrage – would that make you more optimistic about HK's future?

- ◆ 如果可以普選會較樂觀
- ◆ If there really is universal suffrage – then there would be more optimism
- ◆ 特首候選人由中央政府欽點只是經中央篩選後餘下之產物
- ◆ The CE candidates are really just picked out by the Central Government
- ◆ 社會是不可能完全公平的
- ◆ Society cannot be totally fair

第二節 個人關心議題及政府表現

Second part – issues of personal concern and the performance of the government

Score out of 100

- ◆ 教育 20 - 30分
- ◆ Education 20-30
- ◆ 醫療 60分
- ◆ Health care 60
- ◆ 環保 20分
- ◆ Environmental protection 20
- ◆ 工資 20分
- ◆ wages 20
- ◆ 民生福利 60分
- ◆

對局長處理有關議題的評分100分為上限

The performance of bureau chiefs in addressing issues of concern – Score out of 100

- ◆ 教育 30分
- ◆ Education 30
- ◆ 醫療 40分
- ◆ Health Care 40
- ◆ 環保 50分
- ◆ environmental protection 50
- ◆ 工資 視乎情況而定 政治助理工資高但平均工資水平低
- ◆ Wages Depends – the salary of the political assistants is just too high but then in comparison the average wages are set at a very low level
- ◆ 民生福利 視乎情況而定對低下階層及新移民的照顧較多
- ◆ Livelihood – more attention is paid to the grassroots or new immigrants

普選能否改善政府在有關議題的表現

Can universal suffrage improve government's performance

- ◆ 六位參加者認為普選對政府在有關議題之改善有正面幫助
- ◆ 6 participants felt universal suffrage would improve the government's performance
- ◆ 政府有壓力才會有進步
- ◆ The government could only improve under pressure
- ◆ 政府會向市民問責
- ◆ The government needs to be accountable to the people

政黨能否發揮作用

Can political parties assist

- ◆ 五位參加者支持政黨是具功能及表現
- ◆ 5 participants supported the idea that political parties are of use
- ◆ 一位參加者認為公民黨的余若薇於政黨發展上有重要地位
- ◆ One participant felt the Civic Party's Audrey Eu had a positive effect on political development
- ◆ 一位參加者認為民主黨於民主發展上有著帶頭作用
- ◆ One participant felt the Democratic Party played a leading role in political development

- ◆ 兩位參加者認為民建聯為市民謀福利
- ◆ Two participants felt the DAB gets a lot of benefits for the public

社會上有什麼需要改革

What needs to be reformed in society?

- ◆ 公民教育加強市民有關環保的意識
- ◆ More civic education to introduce and reinforce the concept of environmental protection

第三節 公平與改革

Third Session – Fairness and Reform

你認為現時政府制定政策是否公平對待或平衡各個團體的利益

Do you think under the current political structure – policies made treat all sectors or balance interests of all sectors?

- ◆ 全部參與者覺得不公平 因為資源分配不均
- ◆ All participants felt it was not fair as the distribution of resources was not even
- ◆ 政府帶頭推行高地價政策 導致高樓價影響生活質素
- ◆ The land policy by the government pushes up the property prices, affecting quality of life
- ◆ 司法不公 有錢人打人可沒事窮人則相反
- ◆ Judiciary unfair – how can the rich hit people and get away with it, if you were a poor person you'd never get away with it
- ◆ 福利政策偏幫新移民 Welfare policies lean more towards helping the new immigrants

你認為政改在2012年實施之後 會令政府制定政策更公平或不公平呢

After the implementation of the 2012 reforms, would the systems or policies made be more or less fair

- ◆ 所有參加者都覺得幾公平除了一人認為事情未發生 有所保留
- ◆ Most thought it would be quite fair with the exception of one
- ◆ 多了投票機會 議員或官員會為市民爭取更多福利以討好市民
- ◆ With more people voting, legislators would be forced to fight for more benefits
- ◆ 多了選民投票 便有更多意見政府應聆聽更多的聲音
- ◆ With more votes there would be more views made, and the government would be listening to more diverse views

甚麼是「公平」

What is fairness

- ◆ 公平是同等分享可自由決定用途
- ◆ Fairness means equal share and being able to decide what to do with it.

甚麼政策能達至公平

What sort of policy could achieve fairness

- ◆ 不再推出令地產商受惠的政策
- ◆ Not coming up with policies that obviously favor the business sector
- ◆ 政府應全面檢討政策廣泛聆聽意見
- ◆ The government should listen to more diverse views
- ◆ 中央政府干預影響特區政府施政
- ◆ The Central Government interferes and affects the governance of the HKSAR
- ◆ 完善政改方案例如取消功能組別
- ◆ Improve on the reform package such as getting rid of functional constituencies

取消功能組別 Getting rid of FCs

- ◆ 有保留因有專業意見不過選舉方式要改善如增加其他非功能組別比例增加
Not too sure – there should be professional voices in Legco, but the electoral methods should be improved, such as increasing the proportion of non FC seats

取消功能組別團體票 Getting rid of corporate voting

- ◆ 贊成會改善不公平的情況
Agree this would improve on the situation of fairness

怎樣的選舉過程會令你更有信心 Which electoral method would give you more confidence

- ◆ 一人一票
- ◆ One person one vote
- ◆ 候選人是大部分人認識的 根據過往政績、貢獻、能力去選擇
- ◆ Making sure most candidates are known to all, and one could vote based on the person's previous experience, and contribution
- ◆ 由政黨提名
- ◆ Nomination by political parties
- ◆ 提名人數目多過200人
- ◆ Increase number of nominees to 200

第四節改革過程 Session 4 Reform

為何看政改辯論 Why watch the debate

- ◆ 參加者認為節目新奇 香港史上第一次值得觀看
Participants felt the debate was historical and worth watching

你覺得呢個係咪一個有用嘅過程 下一屆嘅特首應唔應該再同其中一啲黨魁進行相關辯論 Debate between CE and a leader of a party – useful?

- ◆ 辯論多餘對現實沒有幫助
- ◆ Pointless to debate didn't really help much
- ◆ 有用了解更多辯論者如特首的真性情、政黨及政府看法等
- ◆ Sure it helped people better understand the CE better as well as the political party's stance

有關2016年立法會選舉、2017年直選特首嘅改革方案 你認為諮詢應該點樣進行呢 The 2016 and 2017 reforms – what do you think of consultations?

- ◆ 宣傳不足可更多利用互聯網宣傳
- ◆ Not enough publicity – should use the internet more
- ◆ 政府宣傳廣告不夠直接
- ◆ Govt ads are not direct enough
- ◆ 諮詢期可以更長

- ◆ Consultation period should be longer
- ◆ 要互動讓市民有問有答
- ◆ Should be more interactive allow Q&A from public

NDI Focus Group on Constitutional Development 11 September 2010

政制發展研討會
2010年9月11日
第二組

Male Group

第一節：市民對香港回歸及前景的看法

Session 1 – Public's views since the handover and looking ahead to the future

香港回歸後，你對香港將來的前景：

- ◆ 對香港的信心下降，物價通漲、入息跟不上通漲。另外，亦擔心樓價及八十後的表現，覺得香港沒有前景
- ◆ 曾在回歸前後三度創業。生意因經營環境不好而結業。在殖民地時代，感覺較樂觀。回歸後，感覺年輕人鬥心下降。舊香港更有競爭力
- ◆ 香港缺乏社會流動性，新一代欠缺晉升機會，管理層人工高，低下階層少了。另外，電子化及大陸人工水平亦影響市民薪金
- ◆ 回歸前，人人買股票；回歸後，則買磚頭
- ◆ 港英政府運作順暢及和諧，回歸後香港反而多了聲音
- ◆ 認為回歸後太多自由，較多遊行，導致社會不安。

Future of HK

- Slightly pessimistic – with inflation and the salary not catching up with inflation. Also worried about the property prices and the frustration of the post 80s.
- Tried starting up a business 3 times and failed 3 times. During the colonial days things seemed much better, but after the handover, it seems the young are less energetic.
- The new generation lack the opportunity to get promoted and the management level staff get a huge salary, and there is less for workers with a lower rank. Digitization and the wages of workers in the Mainland definitely have an impact on HK
- Before the handover everyone's buying stocks, after the handover, everyone is buying bricks instead
- During the colonial times things seemed much smoother and more harmonious after the handover HK has more dissenting voices
- Thinks after the handover there is too much freedom, too many demonstrations making the society less stable.

中、港關係

- ◆ 中港融合未必是壞事。例如做生意是不可自我孤立，否則生意難以增長，要互相利用中港關係的彼此優勢
- ◆ 香港一定要依賴中國、國家的支持

Relations between HK and China

- The amalgamation of HK and China may not be a bad thing. Eg. In business you cant stand on your own, otherwise it'd be hard for your business to grow, its the inter-relations between HK and China that give us the edge
- HK has to rely on China and the country for support

2017年行政長官普選

- ◆ 認為一人一票未必好，被委任也未必好。但如果取消委任制，最少也有選舉機會，故認同普選原則
- ◆ 建議更改選舉制度，包括容許特首有政黨背景及支持。大部份參加者亦指選民一般感情用事，應觀察候選人表現，讓有能者居之
- ◆ 參加者質疑2017年是否真正有普選，認為現階段的疑似候選人皆質素一般，有參加者認為梁振英先生較能幹
- ◆ 如果梁振英先生做特首，參加者認為指民主派會不喜歡，但都肯定梁振英就公屋政策發表的建議

2017 CE Elections

- One person one vote may not be a great thing, and the appointment system is not great either. But at least if we scrap the appointment system, you'd have a chance to elect people and that's closer to the concept of universal suffrage
- Suggest changing the electoral system and allow for a CE to have a political party background
- Really have doubts as to whether there would be universal suffrage in 2017, and thinks at the moment looking at the list of potential candidates none look promising except perhaps for CY Leung
- The public may not want CY leung to be CE but at least he'd do something about the housing policy

第二節：市民個人關心議題及對政府表現的滿意度

Session 2 – What the public is concerned about and the performance of the government

市民關心的社會議題

- ◆ 空氣污染，認為環保是全球問題
- ◆ 兩鐵合併、空氣污染
- ◆ 貧富懸殊
- ◆ 身為商人，有感現時內地貪污比清朝政府更嚴重，覺得《十官十一貪》
- ◆ 水質污染/污染問題破壞食物鏈，長遠影響人體健康
- ◆ 國內官員貪污腐敗，往往未能及時公報傳染病發生，影響防治工作

What they're concerned about

- Air pollution
- Merging of two rails, air pollution
- Widening wealth gap
- Corruption (businessman)
- Water pollution/food pollution
- Corruption of Mainland officials

第三節：公平與改革

Session 3 – Fairness and reform

你認為現時政府制定政策，是否公平對待或平衡各個團體的利益

- ◆ 香港大致比較公平，例如教育制度及社會保障制度使人在社會有向上爬機會 (upward mobility)
- ◆ 參加者認為世界沒有絕對公平
- ◆ 任何政策皆有正反兩面，故不存在公平與否，應以大眾利益為依歸，例如紅酒稅

Do you think the current way the government implements policy is fair and takes into account all interests?

- HK is quite a fair place, and the education system ensure a certain upward mobility
- There is no absolute fair world
- Every policy has its good and bad points and there is no such thing as fair or not fair – everything should be done with public interest in mind – look at the red wine tax

你認為2012年政改方案實施後，會令政府制定政策更公平或不公平呢？

- ◆ 51%支持方案，49%反對。政改方案給予功能組別永久保留的機會
- ◆ 大前題要確保選舉公平和沒有貪污情況，方案是公平的
- ◆ 參加者認為保留功能組別是不公平的

With the implementation of 2012 reforms – govt policies more fair or less fair?

- 51% support government proposal 49% against – the govt proposal gives the FC a chance to entrench themselves into the system
- The key is to ensure that the elections are fair and free from corruption – only then can the package be considered fair
- Do not agree retaining the FCs is fair

整體而言，你贊成或反對2010年6月立法會通過的政改方案呢？

- ◆ 一半參加者贊成方案。直選會帶來公平，方案是沒有選擇中的選擇
- ◆ 贊成方案的參加者覺得一直以來政改都在爭持不下的情況，沒有任何進展；所以有談判及妥協已是不錯，加上一少步較原地踏步好

Agree with the reform package passing?

- About half of the participants agreed – think direct elections bring more fairness – the package is a choice out of no choice
- Most of those who supported feel that with the debates that've been going on for years, there has been no progress, so perhaps negotiations and talks are good, since moving ahead is better than staying in the same place.

民主黨與北京談判

- ◆ 參加者認為北京是政改通過與否持關鍵角色
- ◆ 參加者認為民主黨沒有得到市民授權

DP and Central Government negotiations

- Most think Beijing is the biggest determining factor in the passage of this reform package
- Some said no one gave DP the mandate to negotiate on behalf of the public

2016年立法會選舉、2017年行政長官選舉的改革方案，你認為政府應該如何有效諮詢市民？

- ◆ 政府都是聽從北京，故不能真正諮詢港人
- ◆ 部份參加者指出政改諮詢是香港內部事務，不容許北京參與
- ◆ 香港要發展政黨政治，如美國為例，總統起碼有黨員及政黨的支持者支持；但香港特首做什麼都會有人反對，因為沒有政黨背景，所以整體要改革政制、而非改革選舉制度
- ◆ 北京領導人是關鍵角色，故一定要有其參與

2016/2017 reforms – how do you think the government should consult the public?

- The govt has to listen to Beijing so how can it really conduct public consultations
- Most of the govt consultations are internal HK affairs and do not allow participation from Beijing
- If HK wants to develop party politics, take US for example, the President at least has members of a party and the support/ backing of the political party, but whatever the CE does there'll always be opposition from HK
- Beijing leaders play a key role and therefore have to participate

Methods and contact details

Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer

Survey administration and Chinese translation: P.K. Cheung

Focus Group facilitators Y.Y. Yip, Benson W. K. Wong

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. The project used a Kish table to randomly identify correspondents and then scheduled a callback if that specific respondent was not at home until 2009. Surveys now use the “next birthday” method in which the respondent is chosen by who had the most recent birthday in the household. Completion rates tend to be lower with a Kish table, but randomization of responses (needed for accurate statistics) tended to be higher than surveys which interview readily available respondents using the next birthday method. Older respondents with this method in the early 1990s tended 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). Education and familiarization with western practices has now risen so that the next birthday method is approaching the randomization level of the Kish method. Next birthday method is faster to administer, moderately shortening time for interviewing. Respondents are interviewed in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, Hakka and other languages/dialects as they prefer and as interviewers with languages needed are available. Other surveys referred to are Hong Kong Transition Project surveys. Details of the 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			Dec 96	326
	Feb 97	546	June 97	1,129				
	Jan 98	700	April 98	852	June 98	625	July 98	647
	Apr 99	838	July 99	815			Oct 98	811
	Apr 00	704	Aug 00	625;	Aug 00	1059	Nov 99	813
	Apr 01	830	June 01	808	Jul (media)	831	Oct 00	721
	Apr 02	751	Aug 02	721	Jul (party)	1029	Nov 00	801
	Mar 03	790	June 03	776			Nov 01	759
	Apr 04	809	May 04	833			Nov 02	814
					June 04*	680	Nov 03	836
					Sept 04*		Dec 03	709
					July 05	810	July 04*	695
					Nov 04	773	Dec 04	800
					July 06	1,106	Aug 04*	781
					Nov 05	859	Dec FC**	405 (365)
	May 05	829	May FC**	376	Nov 06	706		
	Mar 06	805	Apr 06	807	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	July 08 GC	710
	Aug 08 GC	705	Aug 08 FC	305	June FC	300	July 08 FC	300
	May 09	1,205	Sept 08 GC	721	Sept FC	304		
	Jan 10	1,500	Aug 09	1704, 638FC&CertPersons	Nov 09	832		
			May 10	715	June 10	934		
					Aug 10	816		

*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.

†All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated. The Hong Kong Transition Project is funded since January 2009 by a grant from the Community Development Initiative and by commissioned research from other local and international NGOs. These NGOs commission research but do not censor the reports or analysis which is done independently by project members. Hong Kong Transition Project is committed to improving governance. Its members believe democratic political systems tend toward delivering improved governance in almost all circumstances; it is non-partisan in methodology, ideology or political affiliation otherwise. 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 and those years and earlier funding of research was supported by competitively awarded grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee. None of the institutions mentioned above is responsible for any of the views expressed herein.

Appendix Three

Post-Reform NDI Commissioned Survey Questionnaire

August 2010

PRE-SCREEN

Hello, is it the telephone number _____ ?
(If NO, RE-DIAL the phone number)

Is it a residence?
(If YES, mark down the last digit of the phone number on paper)
(If NO, end the interview)

INTRODUCTION

Interviewer: Make sure the person on the phone is not a child (accept aged 18 or above).

I'm calling from Hong Kong Baptist University. We're conducting a survey for the Hong Kong Transition Project.

Our computer has randomly selected your number and there is no way to trace any of your comments back to you. The information that you provide is very IMPORTANT in helping to improve our understanding of Hong Kong.

May I ask you some questions?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

SCREENING / SAMPLE SELECTION

S1. Are you a resident and a member of the household which the telephone line is registered?

Interviewer: IF NOT, SAY 'May I talk to a resident from the household?'

- 1 The person on the phone is the right person
- 2 The right person comes to the phone (repeat introduction)
- 3 Fail to contact the right person (schedule a callback)

S2. May we talk with the person in your household over age 18 or above who has most recently had their birthday?

1. Yes, I am the person.
2. Yes, that person is here (comes to phone)
3. No, that person is not here now. → Schedule a callback

S3. The interview is divided in two parts and it will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Would you prefer to be interviewed now or scheduled for a more suitable time?

- 1 Accepted
- 2 Scheduled for a more suitable time (schedule a callback)

3 Refused (ask for a reason)

Schedule a Callback

I can callback later. When will be the best time for me to callback?

Interviewer: Ask the day and time to call again and the person to be contacted.
RECORD the information on the callback sheet first.

Q1. Sir/ Madam, Are you a Permanent Resident of Hong Kong ?

1. Yes
2. No

Q2 Were you born in Hong Kong ?

1. Born in Hong Kong → Go to Q3
2. Born in China
3. Born in else where
4. Refuse to answer → Go to Q3

Q2a. How long have you been living in Hong Kong? _____ year 【99=Refuse to ans】

Q3. Which of the following categories do you think you fall in?

1. Expatriate
2. (Chinese) mainland migrant
3. Mainland professionals working in HK
4. Returned to HK from overseas within past 10 years
5. Chinese born overseas with HK family connections
6. HongKonger
7. Other, please specify:_____

Q4. What is your occupation? What is the job nature?

- 1 Managers and administrators (EO or above level Civil Servant, and Inspector and above levels disciplinary unit official)
- 2 Professionals (If teachers, press 14)
- 3 Associate professionals (Include assist to Certified Professionals)
- 4 Clerks (Include Secretary)
- 5 Service workers and shop sales workers (Include Police Officer, firefighter, etc.)
- 6 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
- 7 Craft and related workers (Include performers)
- 8 Plant and machine operators and assemblers
- 9 Elementary occupations
- 10 Housewife → Go to Q6
- 11 Retired → Go to Q6
- 12 Unemployed → Go to Q6
- 13 Student → Go to Q6
- 14 Education Sector (teachers n primary, secondary, tertiary level and Principals)
- 15 Other, please specify: _____

16 Refuse to answer

Q5. Do you work for the private sector or for the Government?

1. Civil servant
2. Privatized Public facilities (Housing Authority/Hospital Authority, Airport Authority)
3. Private sector
4. Non-profit organization
5. Refuse to answer

Q6. Are you currently registered to vote in the Geographic AND/OR Functional Constituency elections?

1. Geographic only → Go to Q7
2. Functional only → Go to Q6a
3. Both → Go to Q6a
- 4. Not registered to vote → Go to Q7**
- 5. Don't know → Go to Q7**

Q6a. (IF YES in FC) In which functional constituency are you registered to vote?

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----|--|
| 1 | Heung Yee Kuk | 16 | Commercial (First) |
| 2 | Agriculture & fisheries | 17 | Commercial (Second) |
| 3 | Insurance | 18 | Industrial (First) |
| 4 | Transport | 19 | Industrial (Second) |
| 5 | Education | 20 | Finance |
| 6 | Legal | 21 | Financial services |
| 7 | Accountancy | 22 | Sports, performing arts, culture & publication |
| 8 | Medical | 23 | Import & Export |
| 9 | Health services | 24 | Textiles & garment |
| 10 | Engineering | 25 | Wholesale & retail |
| 11 | Architectural, surveying & planning | 26 | Information technology |
| 12 | Labour | 27 | Catering |
| 13 | Social Welfare | 28 | District Council |
| 14 | Real Estate & Construction | 29 | Refuse to answer |
| 15 | Tourism | | |

Q7. How do you feel currently about HK's future prospects as a part of China?

1. Very optimistic
2. Optimistic
3. Neither optimistic or pessimistic (neutral)
4. Pessimistic
5. Very Pessimistic
6. DK or unsure

Q8. How many times if any did you visit mainland China over the past two years?

Number of times _____ (0 = None, 999 = Refuse to answer)

Q9. How does the celebration of 1st October National Day make you feel?

1. Indifferent
2. Proud
3. Excited
4. Just another holiday
5. Uneasy/unhappy
6. Refuse

Q10. Are you currently worried or not worried about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong:

	Not Worried	Slightly Worried	Somewhat Worried	Very Worried	Don't Know
a. Free speech	1	2	3	4	5
b. Free assembly	1	2	3	4	5
c. Your employment situation	1	2	3	4	5
d. Young graduate's employment situation	1	2	3	4	5
e. Social unrest and street protests	1	2	3	4	5
f. Rule of law & judge's fairness	1	2	3	4	5
g. Corruption in Hong Kong	1	2	3	4	5
h. Corruption in mainland China	1	2	3	4	5
i. Air and water pollution	1	2	3	4	5

Q11. Of the worries mentioned, which worries you the MOST?
(READ LIST, CHOOSE THE MOST APPROPRIATE ONE)

- 1 Free press
- 2 Free assembly
- 3 Your employment situation
- 4 Young graduate's employment situation
- 4 Social unrest
- 5 rule of law & judge's fairness
- 6 corruption in Hong Kong
- 8 Corruption in mainland China
- 9 Air and water pollution
- 10 Don't know

Q12. Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with:

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
a. Your current life in Hong Kong	1	2	3	4	5
b. the general performance of the SAR Government?	1	2	3	4	5
c. The performance of the SAR Gov't in dealing with China?	1	2	3	4	5
d. The general performance of Chief Executive Donald Tsang	1	2	3	4	5
e. The performance of the Chinese (PRC) Gov't in ruling China	1	2	3	4	5
f. The performance of the Chinese Gov't in dealing with HKSAR affairs?	1	2	3	4	5
g. The general performance of China's President Hu Jintao	1	2	3	4	5

Q13. Which Problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about now personally?
(Interviewer: Wait for an answer, don't prompt answer, choose one only)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Salary cuts | 15 | Autonomy of Hong Kong |
| 2 | Welfare cuts | 16 | Fair and impartial judiciary |
| 3 | Negative growth rate | 17 | Morale of the civil servants |
| 4 | Business closings | 18 | Competence of the civil servants |
| 5 | Affordable housing | 19 | Competence of Donald Tsang |
| 6 | The property market | 20 | Good quality of Education |
| 7 | HK stock market | 21 | Elderly welfare |
| 8 | HK international competitiveness | 22 | Preventing crime |
| 9 | Employment / Unemployment | 23 | Public medical services |
| 10 | Corruption | 24 | Pollution |
| 11 | Political stability | 25 | Overpopulation |
| 12 | Freedom of press | 26 | Inflation |
| 13 | Freedom of gathering, rally and demonstration | 27 | Wealth Gap |
| 14 | Freedom of travel | 28 | Other, please specify: |

Q14. Do you believe making the Chief Executive and Legco members more accountable to voters with direct elections would improve performance on solving your problem?

- 1 Strongly believe
- 2 Somewhat believe
- 3 DK/No effect
- 4 Somewhat disbelieve
- 5 Strongly disbelieve
- 6 Not a Government problem

Q15. In general, do you think political parties in HK are having a good effect or a bad effect on this problem?

- 1 Very good effect
- 2 Good effect
- 3 No difference
- 4 Bad effect
- 5 Very bad effect
- 6 Don't know

Q16. Do you think the government currently makes policies in general fairly, helping or hurting all parties equally, or unfairly, favoring the interests of some over others?

- 1 Very fairly
- 2 Somewhat fairly
- 3 Unfairly
- 4 Very unfairly
- 5 DK

Q17. Do you generally support or oppose the reforms Legco approved in June for the 2012 elections?

- 1 Strongly support
- 2 Support
- 3 Oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- 5 DK

Q18. Do you think the reforms will make government policies fairer or less fair after they go into effect in 2012?

- 1 Make much fairer
- 2 Make somewhat fairer
- 3 Make somewhat less fair
- 4 Make much less fair
- 5 DK

Q19. In principle, do you support or oppose

- a. direct election of all Legco seats
- b. Direct election of the Chief Executive
- c. Abolishing functional constituencies
- d. Giving everyone two votes, one for a geographic representative, one for a functional representative
- e. Abolishing corporate voting

Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
1	2	3	4	5

Q20. If everyone gets two votes, one for a geographic representative and one for a functional representative, do you consider that a fair election method or not?

- 1 Very fair
- 2 Somewhat fair
- 3 Somewhat unfair
- 4 Very unfair
- 5 DK

Q21. Do you consider the National Peoples Congress's Timetable for 2017 for direct election of the Chief Executive and of 2020 for all members of LegCo

1. Firm promise and fixed deadlines
2. Possible timeframe, but not fixed deadline
3. Optional timeframe, could be sooner
4. Optional timeframe, could be later
5. Empty promise, has no meaning
6. Don't Know

Q22. Of the 5 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?

(READ OUT OPTIONS)

- 1 DAB
- 2 DP
- 3 LSD
- 4 LP
- 5 Civic Party
- 6 All of them
- 7 None of them
- 8 Don't Know

Q23. Do you consider yourself a supporter or member of a political party in Hong Kong?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Maybe
- 4 Don't know
- 5 Refuse to answer

Q24. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following political parties?

- a. Democratic Party led by Albert Ho
- b. Democratic Alliance for the Betterment & Progress of HK led by Tam Yiu-chung
- c. Confederation of Trades Unions led by Lau Chin-shek
- d. Federation of Trade Unions led by Cheng Yiu Tong
- e. Civic Party led by Audrey Eu
- f. League of Social Democrats led by Wong Yuk Man
- g. Liberal Party led by Miriam Lau

Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
1	2	3	4	5

Q25. Are you most unhappy with any particular person or party because of their performance on constitutional reform? (Open ended. Do not read list)

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Democratic Party | 8 | Name / other, please specify:
_____ |
| 2 | DAB | 9 | None / Don't know |
| 3 | Confederation of Trades Unions | | |
| 4 | Federation of Trade Unions | | |
| 5 | Civic Party | | |
| 6 | League of Social Democrats | | |
| 7 | Liberal Party | | |

Q26. Anyone you are most happy with because of their performance on constitutional reform?

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Democratic Party | 8 | Name / other, please specify:
_____ |
| 2 | DAB | 9 | None / Don't know |
| 3 | Confederation of Trades Unions | | |
| 4 | Federation of Trade Unions | | |
| 5 | Civic Party | | |
| 6 | League of Social Democrats | | |
| 7 | Liberal Party | | |

Q27. Do you approve or disapprove of the Democratic Party and other moderates negotiating with Beijing authorities over reform?

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Approve
- 3 Disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove
- 5 Don't Know

Q28. Did you change your view on the reform proposals after the government proposals were amended to accept the Democratic Party's idea of one person, two votes for the new District Council seats?

- 1 No change, still supported the plan
- 2 No change, still opposed the plan
- 3 Changed to approve reform plan
- 4 Changed to oppose reform plan
- 5 DK

Q29. Within the past 12 months, did you express your concern or seek help from the following groups? Express your concern includes: using telephone, in person, by writing/fax/email. Please answer yes or no to the list.

	Yes	No
a. contact Government Department	1	2
b. contact Directly elected Legco Reps	1	2
c. contact Functional Constituency Legco members	1	2
d. contact the mass media	1	2
e. contact the pressure / political party member	1	2
f. join rally /Demonstration / protest (include sit-in, hunger strike)	1	2
g. sign a petition	1	2

Q30. Have you attended any meetings or activities of one of the following groups in the last Six months? (Read the list)

	Yes	No
a Trade union	1	2
b Professional organization	1	2
c Kai-Fong	1	2
d Mutual Aid Committee	1	2
e Owners' Corporation	1	2
f Pressure or Political group	1	2
g Social service or Charitable association	1	2
h Religious group or Church	1	2
i Environmental group	1	2

Q31. How frequently do you discuss politics and public affairs:

- a. with your family members
 - b. with friends
1. Never
 2. Seldom (few times a year)
 3. Occasionally (once a month)
 4. Often (once a week)
 5. Very often (almost every day)
 6. Don't know

We need some basic demographic information from you so we can scientifically analyze your responses. Your answers will not in any way compromise your anonymity

Q32. (Interviewer's Judgment) Sex of the respondent

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

Q33. How old are you ?

Actual age: _____ (111=no ans or refuse to ans)

Q34. The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you ?

- 1 I'm a Hong Kong Chinese
- 2 I'm a Chinese
- 3 I'm a Hong Kong person
- 4 I'm a Hong Kong British
- 5 I'm an Overseas Chinese
- 6 Other, please specify: _____

Q35. What is your marital status?

- 1 Never married → Go to Q37
- 2 Married (excepted widowed/divorced/separated)
- 3 Widowed
- 4 Divorced /Separated
- 5 (Other, please specify: _____)

Q36. How many children do you have, if any? 【0=None, 99=Don't know】

Number: _____

Q37. What is your religion, if any (include ancestor worship & Chinese Folk Belief)?

- 1 None
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Protestant
- 4 Buddhist
- 5 Taoist
- 6 Ancestor worship / Chinese Folk Belief
- 7 Other, please specify: _____

Q38. What is your educational standard? What year of schooling did you finish?

0. Below primary (Record year, Example: Form 2, Primary 4)
- 1 - 6. Primary 1 thru 6
7. F1
8. F2
9. F3
10. F4 / TI (Form 3) 1st Year
11. F5 / TI (Form 3) Graduate
12. F6 / TI (Form 5) 1st Year
13. F7 / TI (Form 7) Graduate / TC Graduate / US University Freshman
14. University 1st Year / Sophomore
15. University 2nd Year / Junior
16. University Graduate
17. Master Degree
18. PhD. Degree
19. Refuse to answer

Q39. What is the type of your living quarters ?

- 1 Villa/Bungalow
- 2 Private residential block (own)
- 3 Private residential block (rent)
- 4 Government Home Ownership Scheme block
- 5 Government public housing block
- 6 Modern village house
- 7 Simple stone structure / traditional village house
- 8 Temporary housing / hut
- 9 Quarter provided by Employer- {IF The employer is Private Enterprise - press 1}
- 10 Other, please specify: _____

Q40. Do you have experience living outside Hong Kong for 1 year or more?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Q42
3. Refuse → Go to Q42

Q41. Besides Hong Kong, Do you have the right of abode in another country?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 DK / Refuse to answer

Q42. What is your approximate monthly family income?

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----|--------------------|
| 1 | None | 10 | \$ 40,000 – 49,999 |
| 2 | Less than \$ 5,000 | 11 | \$ 50,000 – 59,999 |
| 3 | \$ 5,000 – 9,999 | 12 | \$ 60,000 – 69,999 |
| 4 | \$ 10,000 – 14,999 | 13 | \$ 70,000 – 79,999 |
| 5 | \$ 15,000 – 19,999 | 14 | \$ 80,000 – 89,999 |
| 6 | \$ 20,000 – 24,999 | 15 | \$ 90,000 – 99,999 |
| 7 | \$ 25,000 – 29,999 | 16 | \$100,000 and up |
| 8 | \$ 30,000 – 34,999 | 17 | Refuse to answer |
| 9 | \$ 35,000 – 39,999 | | |

For ALL

Would you be willing to participate in a research study of geographic and functional constituency electors regarding the new reforms and future reforms? The study would bring together representatives of the two voting groups to discuss issues and options for the future on 28 August 2010, Saturday, from 2.30-6.00pm. The venue will be at HKBU, we will also provide \$500 remuneration as a token of thanks.

IF YES, may we call you in early August to see if you are able and willing then to participate?

How may we contact you best?

Would you like a code name or do you have a preferred name for us to use to ask for you?

We have completed the interview.

If you would like a copy of the report on the survey, or if you have any other questions, please call Miss Chueng Pui Ki of the HK Transition Project at 3411-5640.

Thank you very much for your cooperation. Bye Bye