

# Constitutional Reform:

## *Confrontation looms as Hong Kong consults*

(April 2014)<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction to Survey:

The Hong Kong Transition Project has been surveying Hong Kong people's views on political development and constitutional reform regularly since 1991. This briefing examines all responses from the latest survey, detailing views toward the present system of governance, and views on options for reforms.

As Chief Executive C.Y. Leung prepares to give his report on the consultation that concludes 3 May 2014, how Hong Kong people will react to this consultation on constitutional reforms—with confrontation and demonstrations, or discussions, compromise and even concessions—overshadows nearly all else in determining the shape of Hong Kong's future as part of China. This report contains findings about public views on this crucial area of Hong Kong's next step forward in the transition to full direct universal suffrage election of its Chief Executive and all members of the Legislative Council.

### Summary of Findings:

Support for directly electing the Chief Executive is at the highest level ever recorded, with 89% supporting, 6% opposed. Those who strongly support also mark a new high of 45%, but under age 40 a majority strongly support direct Chief Executive election. Overall support exceeds 95% among the under age 40 respondents.

Support for directly electing all members of Legco matches 2013's all time high of 85%, but those who strongly support directly electing all members hit an all time high of 40%, up from the previous high of 33% in 2013. Under age 40 a majority strongly support Legco direct election (90% overall support), including a majority of students (94% support) and 49% of professionals (91% overall support) as well as 46% strongly support among business related managers and administrators (90% overall support).

For the first time a majority oppose simply converting the current 1200 member Chief Executive Election Committee unchanged into the Chief Executive Nomination Committee. Opposition to no change from the present soared from 37% opposed in January 2013 to 57% opposed in January 2014. One in four now strongly oppose leaving the Chief Executive Election Committee unchanged. Among students, 74% oppose, along with 72% of professionals and 65% of managers and administrators. Among those with post-graduate education 68% oppose, 42% strongly opposing making no change.

There is a direct relationship between high perceptions that the government makes policy unfairly and dissatisfaction with government performance, dissatisfaction with Chief Executive CY Leung's performance, and disbelief in Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam's fairness in conducting the consultation on constitutional reform. Dissatisfaction with Leung's performance has risen from 53% dissatisfied in 2013 to 65% dissatisfied in 2014, and the very dissatisfied has increased from one in four very dissatisfied to one in three.

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<sup>1</sup> Methodology: 1007 Permanent Residents surveyed 18 December 2013 to 1 January 2014 by Hong Kong Transition Project using the CATI (Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing) Lab of the Hong Kong Baptist University Centre for the Advancement of Social Science Research. Random sample of Hong Kong landline telephones using nearest birthday method. Range of error is +/- 3 points at the 95 percent confidence interval. All numbers are rounded off to the nearest whole number following WAPOR and AAPOR guidelines. Part 1 of this survey on Occupy Central was released in January 2014 (See Appendix).

The level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government in dealing with the PRC government is higher than it was in 2003, approaching the peak of dissatisfaction seen in 2004 when a second massive march on 1 July took place. In May 2004, just before an even larger march than that of 1 July 2003 took place, dissatisfaction hit 57%, statistically the same as Dec/Jan 2014 level of 56% dissatisfied. More than three out of four under age 40 are dissatisfied, with a third of those in their 20s and 30s very dissatisfied.

For the first time since 2004 a majority are dissatisfied with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs. Only twice has a majority expressed dissatisfaction, in 2004 and now in 2014. The level of dissatisfaction with the PRC government's performance in ruling China (48%) is the highest since the founding of the Hong Kong SAR in 1997. For those under age 30, 75% are dissatisfied, and among students, 79% are dissatisfied with the PRC government's performance.

The level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government, 63%, is higher than at any time under CE Donald Tsang, and near that of the dissatisfaction found during the 2003-04 period of massive demonstrations. 90% of student respondents are dissatisfied, with one third very dissatisfied. 90% of those in their 20s are dissatisfied, while 85% of those under 40 are dissatisfied. Three out of four professionals are dissatisfied, with two thirds or more of managers and administrators, associate professionals and clerks dissatisfied. Three out of four of those with university degrees or post-graduate degrees are dissatisfied with the performance of the government. Even those who work in the public sector show a strong majority dissatisfied with government performance (61%).

If the proportions of those under 30 who indicate the radical LSD, People Power, Labour Party and factions like Neo-Democrats "best represents" them is generalized to census figures for the respective age groups, the numbers from the census indicate 250,000 or more young people under age 30 look to radical groups for leadership. These parties strenuously opposed the 2010 compromise on constitutional reforms put forward by the Democratic Party, and uncompromisingly insist civic nomination be included in the 2017 reforms. Those who look to these parties hold the highest proportion of supporters for Occupy Central.

Very few under age 30 believe that CY Leung will implement a fair system of nomination and election for the Chief Executive in 2017. Fewer than one in ten profess even "some" belief he will. In contrast, 60% of those under 30 say they believe him "not at all" and another 32% say they believe him "very little." Students overwhelmingly disbelieve, with 56% believing him "not at all". Managers and administrators come in second to students in such deep disbelief, with 52% believing him "not at all." Of all respondents, 72 percent who have an opinion say they have none or very little belief that the Chief Executive will implement a fair system.

Including Don't Know responses, last year 63% had none or very little belief the Chief Executive will implement a fair system in 2017 versus 66% this year—statistically at the edge of the margin of error. That is, the consultation so far has done nothing to reduce distrust in the Chief Executive's intentions.

Three out of four are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with government's performance in dealing with their greatest personal concern. The level of satisfaction with life in Hong Kong is at the lowest level since 2003, 54% satisfied in January 2014 versus 60% satisfied in June 2003. Satisfaction with life here hit the lowest point, 51% satisfied, in November 2003. The 54% in January is within the range of error (+/- 3 points) of the 2003 lowest point ever recorded in satisfaction with life in Hong Kong. While all parties hold large groups of dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong (one in five even among the DAB/FTU), pro-democracy parties have majorities dissatisfied. However, those who say no party represents them also show a majority

dissatisfied—so pro-democracy parties which attract the disaffected have a large, apparently growing pool of dissatisfied yet untapped.

Among the interviewees who attended a protest in the previous year, just one percent cite the DAB/FTU as the party representing them best. About 29% of protestors cite one of the radical democratic parties as best representing them while 39% indicate the Democratic or Civic Party as best representing them. The NPP/LP attracts 3% of protest attenders, while 23% of protestors say no party best represents them.

The No party best represents and Don't Know respondents who protest are about the same number (29%) as those who chose radical democratic parties (29%) as best representing them. This may mean that a significant proportion of demonstrators are not attracted to or affiliated with any particular party, and hence, may be less influenced by any party which might try to reign them in if a protest got out of hand.

Protesting as a means of expressing concern has risen significantly over the lifetime of the SAR, from an average of 5% of those surveyed saying they participated in the previous year between 1996-2002, rising up to an average of 15% between 2003 and 2014. In other words, protest participation has tripled over the earlier period.

Meanwhile contacting the media has gone down significantly and petition signing has dropped significantly over the past two years. Overall, levels of participation are below the lowest levels seen before in 2002, just before the massive 1 July demonstrations of 2003. This drop may signal a breakdown in trust in formal means of influencing policy making and political leaders.

In terms of those who say a party best represents them, about 16% of DAB/FTU adherents say they personally prefer China's identity as ruled by the CCP to be protected and promoted. They are outnumbered, even amongst the DAB/FTU, by those who prefer Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity to be protected. All those who say a party best represents them show significant proportions who prefer China's historical and cultural identity to be promoted and protected, but all show the largest plurality to be those who want Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity promoted over other identities. Arguing pro-democracy parties are exclusively protectors of HK identity as pluralist and international is not particularly true.

The strongest correlation of all is between satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government's rule of China and satisfaction with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs. Few dissatisfied with one are satisfied with the other. Clearly, the two governments are increasingly associated in terms of performance. This is significantly different from the early years of the SAR when most distinguished between the SAR government's performance and the PRC government's performance. This changed in 2003-2004 when the Central government was clearly seen to be backing the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa despite overwhelming opposition to his continued administration. The correlation between satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government ruling China and satisfaction with the performance of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung makes it very clear that the PRC government is closely tied, in respondent's minds, to each other. This is particularly important for constitutional reform as any proposal coming from Chief Executive Leung will be seen as a proposal approved by Beijing officials.

If Hong Kong's identity as pluralist and international were felt to be as imperiled as its freedoms were felt to be threatened by the 2003 Article 23 proposals to implement laws against subversion, secession, sedition, treason and theft of state secrets, then another massive reaction as occurred in July 2003 and July 2004 cannot be ruled out. Nearly every indicator shows similar levels of dissatisfaction, disbelief, alienation and concern as appeared prior to the 2003 events. This time, however, youth are particularly and even more dissatisfied and alienated.

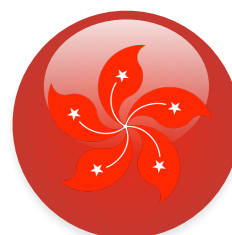
## Background to the principals

The Hong Kong Transition Project<sup>2</sup> 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 on an election affected by reforms approved by representatives of Hong Kong people. The June 2010 reform is the first amendment of the Basic Law by vote of the representatives of the people of Hong Kong. The Chief Executive election of March 2012 increases the Chief Executive Election Committee by 50 percent, up to 1200 members from 800, and includes, for the first time, 119 directly elected District Council members as well as the 30 directly elected members of Legco, meaning this Chief Executive Election Committee has the largest proportion of directly elected members to ever participate in a Chief Executive election. It is also the first time that both the local and national governments have committed to seriously consider public opinion in the Chief Executive election.

Community Development Initiative (CDI) 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. CDI 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. CDI has provided ongoing funding for the Hong Kong Transition Project since 2009.



Community Development Initiative Foundation  
社區發展動力培育基金會



*Hong Kong Transition Project*

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<sup>2</sup> 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.cdior.org.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 CDI. None of the institutions mentioned are responsible for any of the views expressed herein.

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## 1. The Current Governance System: Profiles of the People

Promises by Deng Xiaoping of “50 years without change” after 1997 seem more and more to refer to democracy only and less and less to all other aspects of life in Hong Kong. Few places have experienced such rapid population profile change. Filled with refugees repeatedly in the 1940s, 50s, 60s, and 70s, Hong Kong’s population received infusion after infusion of young, hard-working, ambitious people not just from China, but also large numbers from Indonesia, Vietnam, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and other nearby countries as they experienced upheavals, wars, revolutions and violence, often against ethnic Chinese. The then colonial government responded with ever expanding housing programs, New Towns, major educational initiatives and massive infrastructural development of freeways, railways and ports. Hong Kongers became used to light government interference in their personal business but heavy government intervention in major sectors of the economy. This extreme contrast of laissez-faire on the one hand and government planning and control of all land uses on the other has left a legacy of attitudes toward government that seem to swing schizophrenically between demands government stay wholly out of their lives to demands that government do almost everything and anything about various problems and issues as they arise.

Demands that the system be responsive to the public and demands for participation by the public in policy decisions have been connected consciously only in the minds of the very few for most of Hong Kong’s history. But now, this unconscious disconnect between responsiveness and participation—to the point of different groups believing others are “hearing voices” unknown to others from “outsiders” like foreign states and entities, Taiwan entities, Beijing officials, shadowy conspiracies of tycoons and colluding politicians, parties taking orders from elsewhere—this disconnect that characterized Hong Kong for so long as “politically apathetic” on the one hand and “socially explosive” on the other (the classic violence/withdrawal behaviors of schizophrenia) is now being recognized and challenged by many people, particularly young people. These young people want not just responsiveness from government; they want a say in who runs government, in what government decides, and how government makes its decisions. They realize they must participate if they want change. And they do want change; indeed, they demand it and will act in support of Occupy Central even in the teeth of fear about violence and economic damage it might cause. This round of constitutional reform is taking place when, for the first time, large portions of the Hong Kong people consciously have begun to connect economics, social needs, land use, and all other policy decisions with the structures of representation and governance. This round is characterized by the grim determination of a significant proportion of Hong Kong’s population, and particularly youth, to see change or, if need be, suffer violence and loss trying to make changes in the political system.

This “schizophrenia” between demanding government action and taking action themselves in massive demonstrations and considerable civil society participation and demanding government non-intervention and wanting to “stay out of politics” and tiny numbers of members in political parties on the other has deep historical roots. Colonial authorities practiced the long established British colonial ruling principle of “least necessary change”, that is, they would do only what had to be done to maintain control of the situation, preaching on the one hand rugged independence and “positive non-intervention” while practicing on the other action to address issues that threatened political and social upheaval if left to fester. Issues treated as “political” problems in other countries—education, housing, welfare spending, healthcare—were denoted by colonial authorities as “social” issues, and whereas “political” issues were ruled out of bounds for organized action, “social” issues were fair game, as long as the problems were treated in isolation and the amount and means of funding solutions were the issue. No challenge to colonial authority was tolerated, and no organizations pushing for overthrow of the colonial regime were permitted. Thus the myth of Hong Kongers as “politically apathetic” (uninterested in seizing and exercising power to make and change policies and leaders) grew up alongside a considerably empowered and well organized civil society that



practiced frequent, well organized and widely societally supported campaigns to pressure colonial authorities to take action to address “social” issues. And thus Hong Kong entered a new era as a “one country, two systems” part of the Peoples Republic of China after 1997.

On its resumption as a part of China, regional refugees ceased to enter Hong Kong—indeed many were forced to return to their lands of origin. Its integration with mainland China began to shift the profile of Hong Kong from a place of unceasing change sparked by waves of newcomers to one of decreasing social mobility, shrinking opportunity and an aging population dominating senior positions. The aged demanded increases in healthcare and income support which increasingly weigh down upon fewer and fewer youth. While educational attainment rose from decade to decade and along with that, expectations about what benefits and opportunities that higher education would bring, concomitant social, economic, and even political opportunities also increasingly fell prey to stronger and stronger competition from mainland Chinese coming into Hong Kong. Shenzhen and other mainland cities nearby challenged Hong Kong’s traditional advantages in fields such as ports and finance. Waves of regional and global economic instabilities such as the Asian Currency Crisis of 1998-2001, the War on Terror, SARS, the global economic meltdown of 2008-2010, the Euro crisis, and the PRC’s own current struggle to move to the next, much tougher, stage of economic and political development rattled nerves and unsettled industries and professions. While Hong Kong has seen a growing population of the poor and elderly, it is also seeing the rise of restive youth, who have lost hope for the future and confidence in government.

The relationship between unmet social needs and organized political power and leadership able and willing to address those needs has, with the ending of foreign colonial rule, been recognized as a problem which must be addressed with constitutional reform. The pressure to act to preserve their rule far from home and with resources insufficient to compel obedience from an alienated populace compelled the colonial authorities to act responsively on “social” issues while denying the source of their action was fear of losing power, or even that their action was, fundamentally, political, that is, about power. With the end of colonialism that fear of losing power prevalent among the colonial administration disappeared, and with it, incentive on the now localized Hong Kong government to act to address social issues. And so government has seemingly become more and more paralyzed, unable to take action, and unable in the present limited democratic system to gain legitimacy to take action.

Demographic-driven social, economic and political shifts, and the end of the hidden colonial incentive to act have set the stage within which the current round of constitutional reform is taking place. The political and economic groups favored and granted disproportionate power and influence under the system bequeathed to Hong Kong in 1997 have lost much of their esteem. Heretofore these groups helped the British stay in power, and they too had strong “political” incentives to forestall mainland Chinese intervention into Hong Kong affairs by cooperating with colonial authorities to address “social” issues. Toleration of a considerable tax burden mainly hidden in land prices was part of the toll accepted as the price of their protection from the Communists by these colonially sheltered interests.

After 1997 these same groups often run to Beijing officials seeking to gain protection for their special interests and privileges—and instead of acting to address pressing “social” issues, these groups now use naked political power to stop “welfare spending” and changes to the system that entrenches their influence. Many now blame developers, bankers, and big businessmen for their misery and lack of opportunity. Such blame has made these privileged groups increasingly defensive and increasingly less willing to compromise their disproportionate powers under the present system. From this defensiveness stems, for example, much of the big business backed resistance to end the corrupting practice of corporate voting in the “rotten borough” system of tiny franchise, greatly empowered “Functional Constituencies”.

There are profound differences between today’s youth and the elderly, between the well off and the poor and middle class, between the ill-educated and the better educated, between those born in Hong Kong and those born on the mainland, between those who own housing and those who rent it or live in public housing, and between those burdened with caring for elderly and children and those not so burdened. Denied by both the government and big business both the financial and political means to address increasing social burdens, groups in need have turned on each other and against the leaders of government and business. Everyone recognizes something is wrong with the system, but those who have the power to change it fear change will fundamentally alter a system already fundamentally altered with the departure of the British.

Only a political system that threatens political leaders with loss of power can restore that felt need by political leaders to act. Only a fully democratic system that permits fair contests over power and policies can protect and restore “the Hong Kong way of life” that is the objective of the “Hong Kong system”. This system is that experienced under a terrified-to-lose-power colonialism. It is, in actuality, the “system” under the “one country, two systems” framework of Hong Kong’s Special Administrative Region that is needed to restore the lost colonial “political” dynamic that was the secret to Hong Kong’s success. So when young people wave colonial Hong Kong flags in protest as they have done, they are not demanding the British return or that Hong Kong declare independence; they are demanding a system as sensitive to public demands as that experienced under British rule. Only genuine democratic reform has a chance of doing this.

The divisions and disputes over unmet needs and unfunded solutions appear more fundamental to the political conflicts which rend Hong Kong than the now ancient divisions between Communists and Nationalists that once abounded in 1950s and 1960s Hong Kong. While labels of loyalist and Western stooges or spies still are bandied about, the real challenges facing Hong Kong have nothing to do with “outside forces” with nefarious purposes. Hong Kongers have quite enough dividing them internally to make achieving a consensus about reforming their governance a very hard task. This section looks at these fundamental characteristics and sources of division.

### A. Key Demographic Characteristics

Few under age 30 today were conscious enough of politics and economics to have memories of public life under colonial rule. The handover took place 17 years ago as of its anniversary of 1 July 2014 this year. The oldest of the generation under 30 were just 12 years of age. The hopes and fears of the era leading up to the handover are historical descriptions, not living memory for this generation. Even those in their mid to late 30s are barely old enough to have formed memories of life under colonial rule. Most under age 40 today know only about life as a Special Administrative Region of the Peoples Republic of China, and the vast majority of this generation was born in Hong Kong. The generation over 60, in contrast, have far more born in mainland China (46%) or elsewhere (8%) than the youngest generation (88% born in Hong Kong). Their experience of life and expectation of opportunities was far different than that of the youngest generation. The power elite in their mid to late fifties and up, as Li Ka Shing noted in a South China Morning Post interview in March 2014, can hardly understand the viewpoint of today’s youth. Age, birthplace, income and the hidden stress of aging parents on younger groups play key roles in attitudes toward government and reforms, as the following sections will show.

**Table 1 Generational Groups**

Group	Count	%
18-29	184	19
30-59	487	50
60-88	312	32

**Table 2 Generational groups BY Birthplace**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Hong Kong</b>	88	82	46	72
<b>Mainland China</b>	9	16	46	24
<b>Elsewhere</b>	3	1	8	4
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 152.2 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

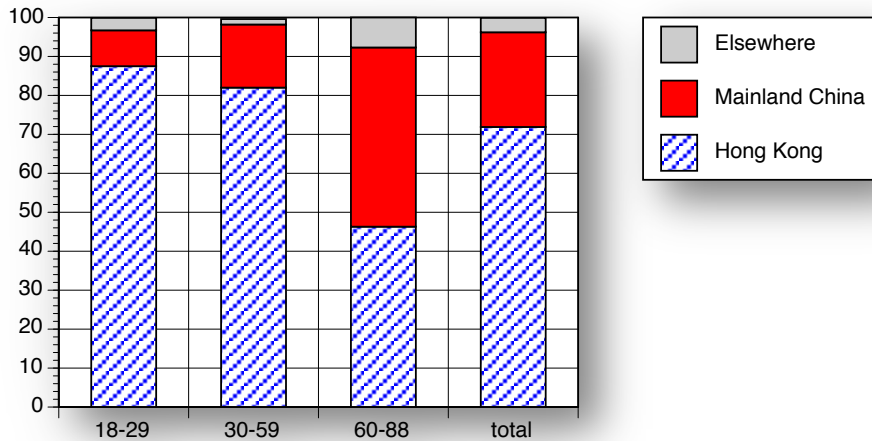


Table 3 shows birthplace by decadal grouping. There is clearly a vast difference between a generation with a majority born in mainland China and one with barely one in ten born there.

**Table 3 Birthplace BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Hong Kong</b>	88	88	84	82	82	58	30	72
<b>Mainland China</b>	9	9	16	16	16	38	56	24
<b>Elsewhere</b>	4	3	0	2	2	3	14	4
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 192.8 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Educationally only 23% of Hong Kongers today have less than some high school, a proportion much less than the 34% who have graduate or post-graduate university degrees.

**Table 4 Education**

Group	Count	%
<b>Primary or below</b>	114	12
<b>F1-3/Jr. High school</b>	112	11
<b>F4-6/High school</b>	255	26
<b>Some univ/Assoc Degree</b>	181	18
<b>University graduate</b>	274	28
<b>Post-grad degree</b>	55	6

But the contrast between generations is striking, with literally none of those under age 30 with less than a high school degree or some high school, while 48% of those over 60 failed to gain even some high school education. For those under 30, university or post-secondary education is nearly universal, with only 14% not having some university education, and 42% with a

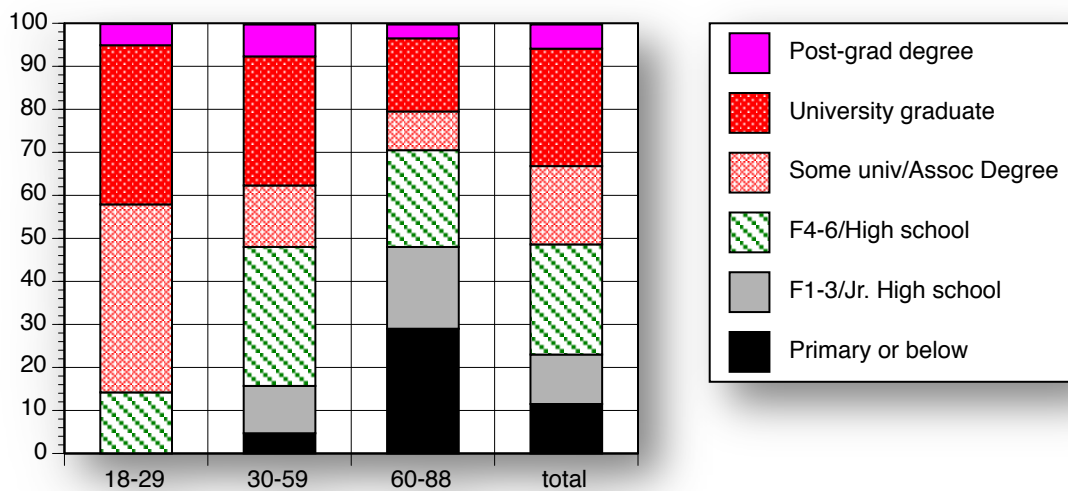
graduate or post-graduate university degree. In contrast, only 20% of those over 60 have university or post-graduate degrees. But, those in power are largely in their late 50s and 60s.

**Table 5 Generational groups BY Education**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Primary or below</b>	0	5	29	12
<b>F1-3/Jr. High school</b>	0	11	19	12
<b>F4-6/High school</b>	14	32	23	26
<b>Some univ/Assoc Degree</b>	44	14	9	18
<b>University graduate</b>	37	30	17	27
<b>Post-grad degree</b>	5	7	3	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 285.7 with 10 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 6 Education BY Decadal group**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Primary or below</b>	0	0	1	2	9	25	35	12
<b>F1-3/Jr. High school</b>	0	0	5	10	15	23	13	12
<b>F4-6/High school</b>	22	11	21	39	32	23	21	26
<b>Some univ/Assoc Degree</b>	75	31	13	13	16	9	10	18
<b>University graduate</b>	4	52	50	29	22	15	19	27
<b>Post-grad degree</b>	0	7	10	7	6	5	2	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 424.0 with 30 df p ≤ 0.0001

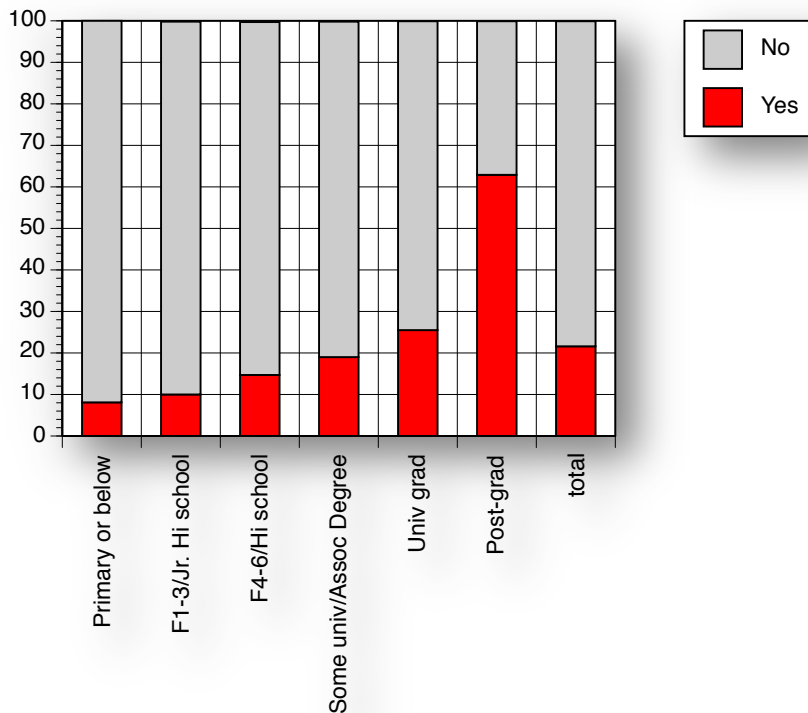
Right of Abode abroad does NOT vary significantly by generational groups, but it does significantly by education. While about 22% of the population over age 18 says they have right of abode abroad (more than 1.5 million in the total population of 7.2 million if the same proportion holds for minors), the proportion of Right of Abode holders with the highest degrees far outweighs the average. More than one in four of those with university degrees and almost two thirds of those with post-graduate degrees have right of abode abroad.

**Table 7 Have Right of Abode abroad BY Education**

	Primary or below	F1-3/Jr. Hi school	F4-6/Hi school	Some univ/Assoc Degree	Univ grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Yes</b>	8	10	15	19	26	63	22
<b>No</b>	92	90	85	81	75	37	78
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.53 with 5 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



The core occupations of the knowledge society Hong Kong has become over the last 30 years are managers and administrators and professionals. Associate professionals, who often require higher education and certification to practice their crafts, also show higher levels of right of abode outside Hong Kong, as do many students.

**Table 8 Occupation BY Have Right of Abode outside Hong Kong (chart next page)**

	M&Adm	Pro/Ed	Assoc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	House	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Yes</b>	31	34	29	19	8	13	7	20	17	32	22
<b>No</b>	69	66	71	82	92	87	93	80	83	68	78
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.78 with 9 df  $p = 0.1303$

**Key: Occupation**

		%
<b>M&amp;Adm</b>	Managers/Admin	8
<b>Pro/Ed</b>	Professionals/Educators	14
<b>Assoc Pro</b>	Associate professionals	5
<b>Clerk</b>	Clerks/Secretary	12
<b>Sales</b>	Service & Sales	5
<b>Blue</b>	Blue collar	6
<b>House</b>	Housewife	11
<b>Ret</b>	Retiree	26
<b>Un/other</b>	Unemployed/Other	5
<b>Stud</b>	Student	9

**Chart of Table 8 Occupation BY Have Right of Abode outside Hong Kong (key above)**

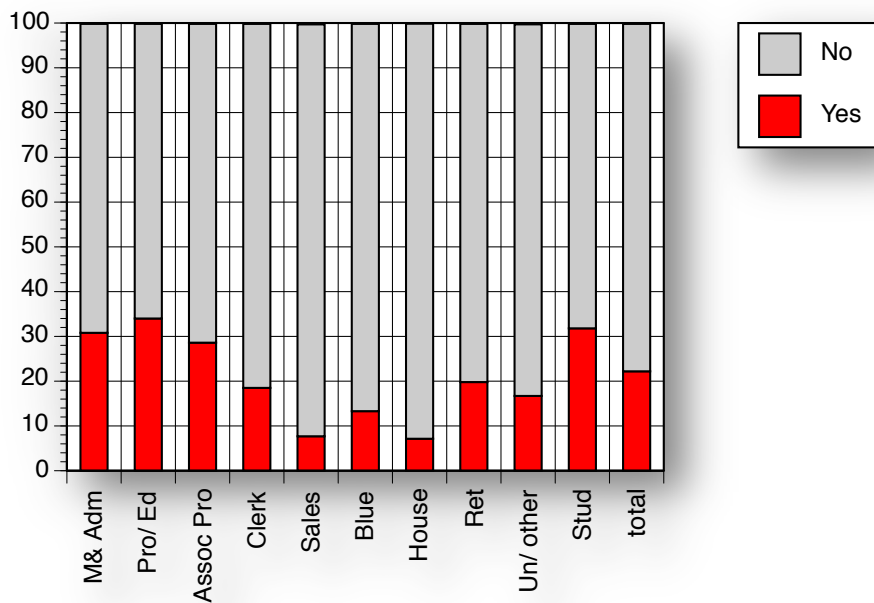


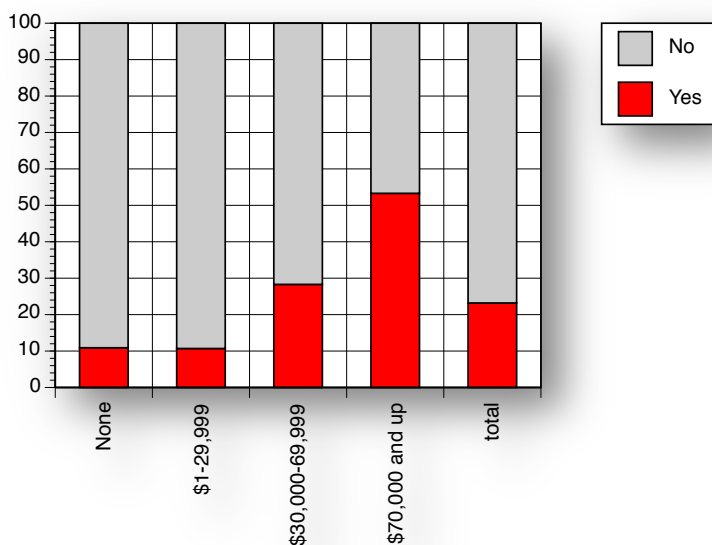
Table 9 shows the effect those having right of abode outside Hong Kong are to the economy. More than half (53%) of those in the highest family income group (\$HKD 70,000 and up per month) say they have right of abode outside Hong Kong. Those with right of abode elsewhere may, of course, leave Hong Kong any time they wish to go to their place of alternative abode. That is, their presence in Hong Kong is wholly a matter of choice and not necessity. Thus the acceptability of constitutional change, the current state of human rights and freedoms, and/or the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong are factors affecting their voluntary presence here.

**Table 9 Income groups BY Have Right of Abode outside Hong Kong**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Yes</b>	11	11	28	53	23
<b>No</b>	89	89	72	47	77
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.05 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



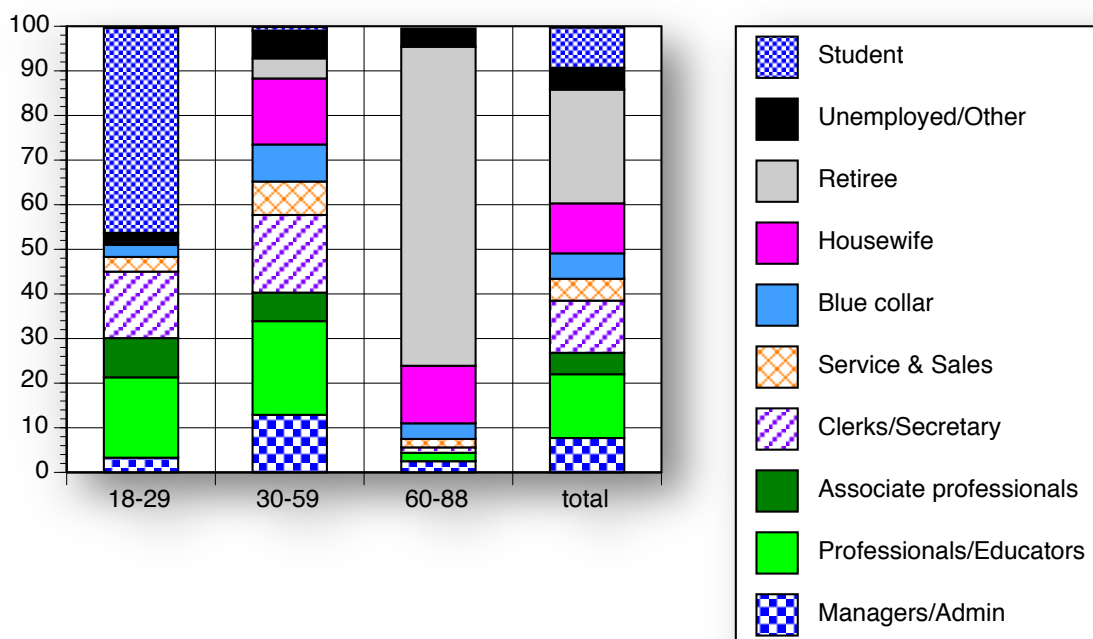
The occupational and income groups with higher family incomes also tend to be in the prime working age groups of 30-59, as shown below. With a “normal” retirement age of 60, those over 60 are mainly retirees (See Table 10 below). Almost half under 30 are students. But the large proportion of associate professionals and professionals under 30, which is nearly as large as the proportion of associate professionals and professionals among those aged 30-59, shows clearly that the professions and other certified and licensed careers have become means of earning a living for those who also have worked the hardest to educate themselves at the highest levels. At the same time, such high levels of education for such large proportions of the population means competition for professional positions is fierce. With a large proportion of the highly educated and in the manager/administrators and professions holding right of abode outside Hong Kong, willingness to stay in Hong Kong under any and all conditions cannot be taken for granted. If living in Hong Kong offers advantages of income and educational opportunity alongside protection of rule of law and human rights and freedoms, then these important residents would stay, but how much adverse change would such groups be willing to tolerate? Tables 11 and 12 below show just how important those 30-59 are to Hong Kong’s economy.

**Table 10 Generational groups BY Occupation**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Managers/Admin</b>	3	13	3	8
<b>Professionals/Educators</b>	18	21	2	14
<b>Associate professionals</b>	9	6	0	5
<b>Clerks/Secretary</b>	15	17	1	12
<b>Service &amp; Sales</b>	3	8	2	5
<b>Blue collar</b>	3	8	4	6
<b>Housewife</b>	0	15	13	11
<b>Retiree</b>	0	5	72	26
<b>Unemployed/Other</b>	3	6	4	5
<b>Student</b>	46	1	0	9
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 922.0 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 11 Generational groups BY Income**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
None	1	3	44	15
Up to \$9,999	1	4	11	6
\$10,000-19,999	22	16	19	18
\$20,000-29,999	21	16	6	14
\$30,000-39,999	15	18	6	14
\$40,000-49,999	9	14	3	10
\$50,000-59,999	6	9	3	7
\$60,000-69,999	11	6	2	5
\$70,000-99,999	6	8	2	6
\$100,000+	8	7	3	6
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

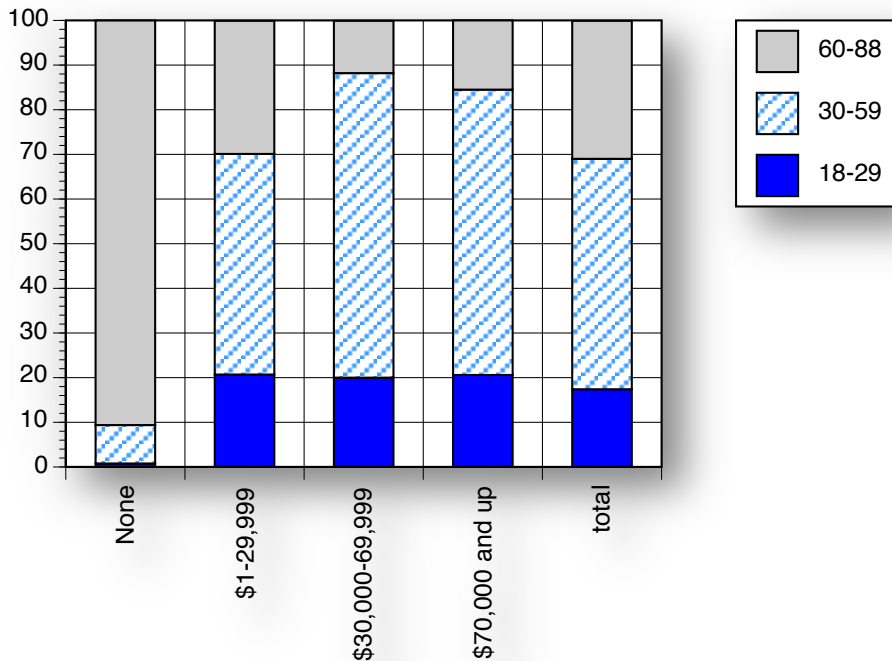
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 328.9 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Those under 60 dominate the monthly family income categories of \$30,000 and up per month.

**Table 12 Generational groups BY Income groups**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
18-29	1	21	20	21	17
30-59	9	49	68	64	52
60-88	91	30	12	16	31
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 277.6 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



The youngest and oldest groups are clearly more dependent on those 30-59 who are in the working population. Table 13 shows that nearly two thirds of those reporting no income (from working) receive no government assistance of any kind. These folks depend on their investments and/or their families for survival.



**Table 13 Are you receiving any government financial support, such as CSSA (Comprehensive Social Security Assistance) or old age allowance? (Of those reporting No income)**

Group	Count	%
Yes	46	36
No	81	64

The extent of family commitment to assisting elders to survive can be seen in Table 14 and Table 15. Table 14 shows nearly one in four contribute 20% and up of their personal income to their parents.

**Table 14 Approximately what percentage of your personal income do you contribute to your parents?**

Group	Count	%
None	505	51
Less than 20%	245	25
20%-40%	203	20
40% and more	38	4

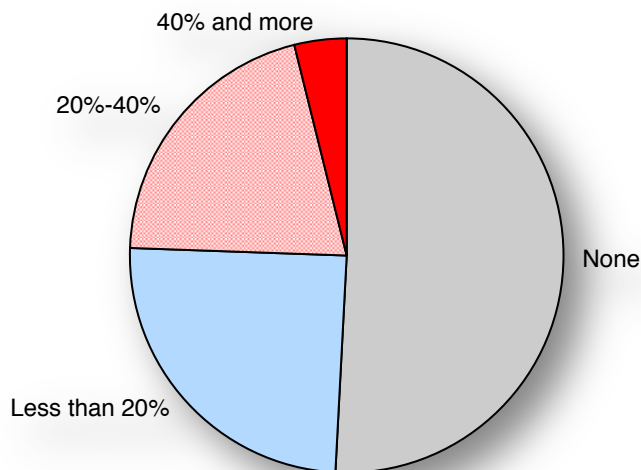


Table 15 shows that a majority of those under 30 contribute 20% or more of their personal income to their parents. Only about a third of those under 60 report no contributions to their parents, while about 10% of those over 60 say they contribute part of their income to *their* parents. This burden of aging on families is one of the “intervening variables” affecting attitudes toward the current political economic system of Hong Kong. That is, those younger people who are increasingly burdened by elderly parents and school debts, and who also encounter increased competition and lower salaries than those new to the professions once did, appear to be becoming increasingly radicalized and alienated from a system that they feel has forgotten them or which does not care about their burdens.

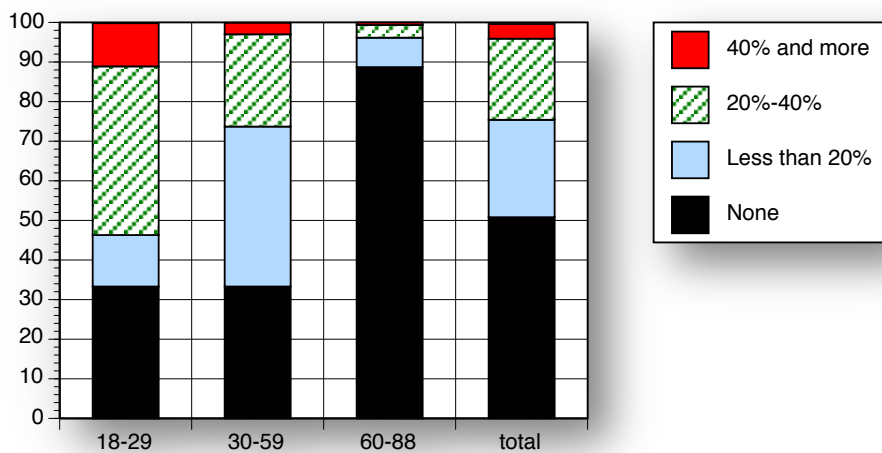
**Table 15 Percentage of personal income to parents BY Age groups**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
None	33	33	89	51
Less than 20%	13	40	7	25
20%-40%	43	23	3	21
40% and more	11	3	1	4
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 345.8 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 15 Percentage of income to parents BY Age groups**



Tables 16 and 17 show younger and older age groups with majorities living in public or government housing scheme (subsidized) housing. Nearly 60% of those of working age own their own homes.

**Table 16 What is your type of living quarters?**

Group	Count	%
Villa/Bungalow	3	0
Private residential (own)	447	44
Private residential (rent)	73	7
Gov Home Ownership Scheme (HOS)	146	14
Public housing	261	26
Modern village house	29	3
Traditional village house	10	1
Temporary housing	1	0
Quarter provided by employer	9	1
Other	28	3

For the purposes of analysis the “other” and quarters provided by employer are dropped (total of 37 cases). Villa and village houses and temporary housing are combined as “low rise” houses since most are typically limited to 3 stories in height.

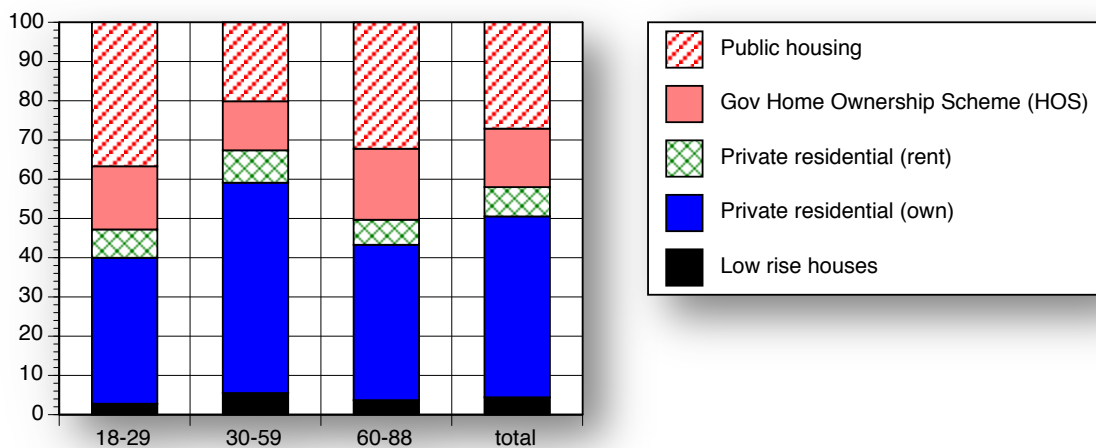
**Table 17 Living quarters BY Age groups**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
Low rise houses	3	6	4	4
Private residential (own)	37	54	40	46
Private residential (rent)	7	8	6	7
Gov Home Ownership Scheme (HOS)	16	13	18	15
Public housing	37	20	32	27
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 36.70 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

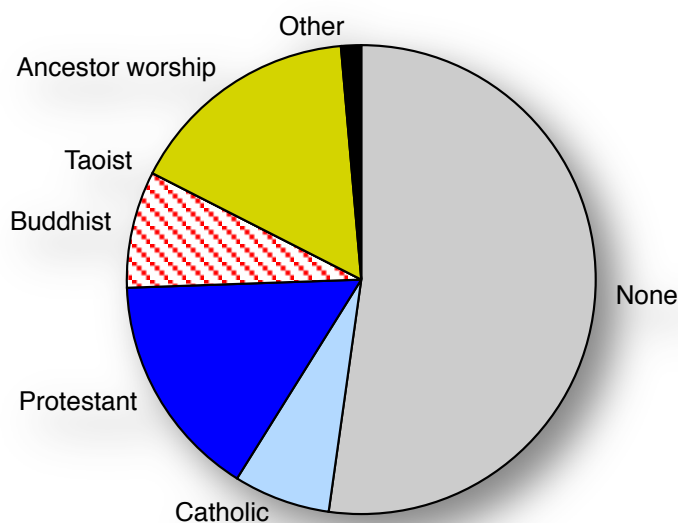
**Chart of Table 17 Living quarters BY Age groups**



Overall, about one in five Hong Kong people surveyed said they were Catholic or Protestant, with Protestants and Ancestor Worshipers about even in proportion. However, as can be seen in Table 19 below, there are clear differences among the age groups, with the elderly decidedly more inclined toward traditional ancestor worship or Buddhism while the youngest cohort show much more inclination to be Protestant.

**Table 18 What is your religion, if any (including Ancestor worship and Chinese folk beliefs)?**

Group	Count	%
None	527	52
Catholic	66	7
Protestant	158	16
Buddhist	80	8
Taoist	1	0
Ancestor worship	161	16
Other	14	1

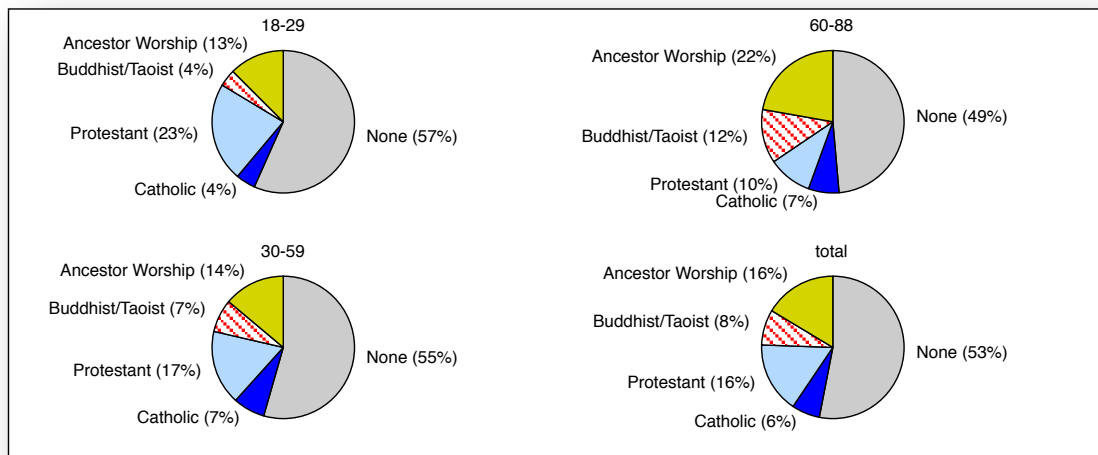


**Table 19 Religion BY Age group**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>None</b>	57	55	49	53
<b>Catholic</b>	4	7	7	6
<b>Protestant</b>	23	17	10	16
<b>Buddhist/Taoist</b>	4	7	12	8
<b>Ancestor Worship</b>	13	14	22	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.16 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Youth, unlike those over 60, are clearly oriented more toward the Western Protestant tradition than the more Chinese/Asian religions of Ancestor worship and Buddhism. This distinctly different religious orientation also appears to hold in terms of identity.

## B. Representation

One of the key issues during the consultation process on constitutional reform concerns the representativeness of the Nominating Committee. Representation has also been one of the major issues plaguing the policy making and evaluating process since the SAR began life in July 1997. For the better part of the first decade of the SAR discussion centered around Hong Kong people's "maturity" for self-governance. One aspect of this concerned the development of an "election culture" on the one hand, and a variety of well-established political parties which offered clear policy differences and an array of qualified candidates for the various elected and consultative bodies making up the policy making structure in Hong Kong. The first Chief Executive, Tung Chee-hwa, attempted to govern without much reference or deference to parties. His second term in office was cut short, largely because he was dismissive of working with political parties—the parties, even the pro-government parties, either organized against him or failed to rally around him and he ended up abandoned by nearly everyone, including a civil service he disdained and clearly distrusted. The second Chief Executive was a 40 year veteran of the civil service. Donald Tsang tried to get both the civil service and pro-government parties to line up behind him, but the pro-Beijing parties never really trusted him. After failing to win reform in 2005, Tsang did succeed in 2010 in getting the first constitutional changes through, but he failed to build a solid pro-government coalition. Indeed, it shattered bitterly over the election of his successor, C.Y. Leung, who was opposed by Tsang's second in command, Henry Tang.

Pro-government and pro-democracy parties went into the 2010 reform period fairly unified, but the 2010 reforms shattered the democrats and the 2012 Chief Executive election shattered the pro-government side. There are now 9 “large” parties and about the same number of splinters and factions.

**Table 20 Of the political parties in Legco, which party if any do you feel represents or protects your interests best?**

Group	Count	%
<b>Democratic Alliance for the Betterment &amp; Progress of Hong Kong (DAB)</b>	110	11
<b>Democratic Party (DP)</b>	98	10
<b>League of Social Democrats (LSD)</b>	31	3
<b>Civic Party (CP)</b>	119	12
<b>People’s Power (PP)</b>	48	5
<b>New People’s Party (NPP)</b>	27	3
<b>Federation of Trade Unions (FTU)</b>	63	6
<b>Labour Party</b>	18	2
<b>Liberal Party (LP)</b>	38	4
<b>None</b>	331	33
<b>Don’t Know</b>	109	11

**KEY:**

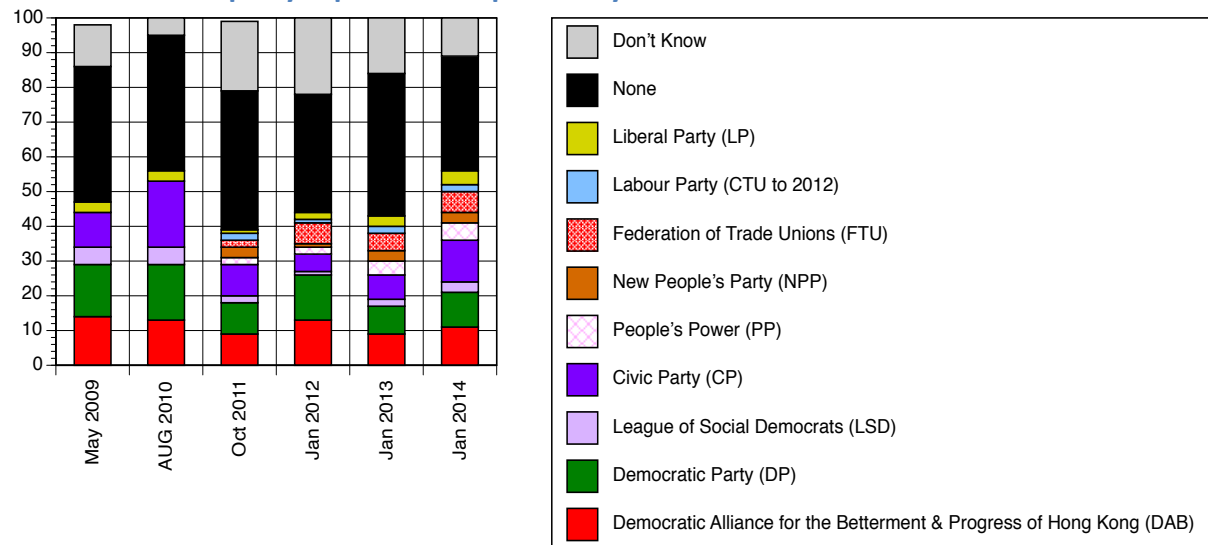
Group	Full Name	Stance
DAB	Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong	Pro-Beijing umbrella party
FTU	Federation of Trade Unions	Pro-Beijing unions
DP	Democratic Party of Hong Kong	Oldest pro-democracy party
LSD	League of Social Democrats	Leung Kwok Heung’s party of youth
PP	People’s Power	Radical split from LSD
Lab	Labour Party	Confederation of Trade Unions & pro social welfare activists
CivP	Civic Party	Pro-democracy professionals
Lib	Liberal Party	Pro-business party tycoon dominated
NPP	New People’s Party	Regina Ip’s civil service dominated
None	None of them	

\*Liberal Party split Economic Synergy holds Functional Constituency seats only

**Table 21 Which party represents or protects your interests best? Trend**

Party	May 2009	AUG 2010	Oct 2011	Jan 2012	Jan 2013	Jan 2014
<b>Democratic Alliance for the Betterment &amp; Progress of Hong Kong (DAB)</b>	14	13	9	13	9	11
<b>Democratic Party (DP)</b>	15	16	9	13	8	10
<b>League of Social Democrats (LSD)</b>	5	5	2	1	2	3
<b>Civic Party (CP)</b>	10	19	9	5	7	12
<b>People’s Power (PP)</b>	--	--	2	2	4	5
<b>New People’s Party (NPP)</b>	--	--	3	1	3	3
<b>Federation of Trade Unions (FTU)</b>	--	--	2	6	5	6
<b>Labour Party (CTU to 2012)</b>	--	--	2	1	2	2
<b>Liberal Party (LP)</b>	3	3	1	2	3	4
<b>None</b>	39	39	40	34	41	32
<b>Don’t Know</b>	12	5	20	22	16	11

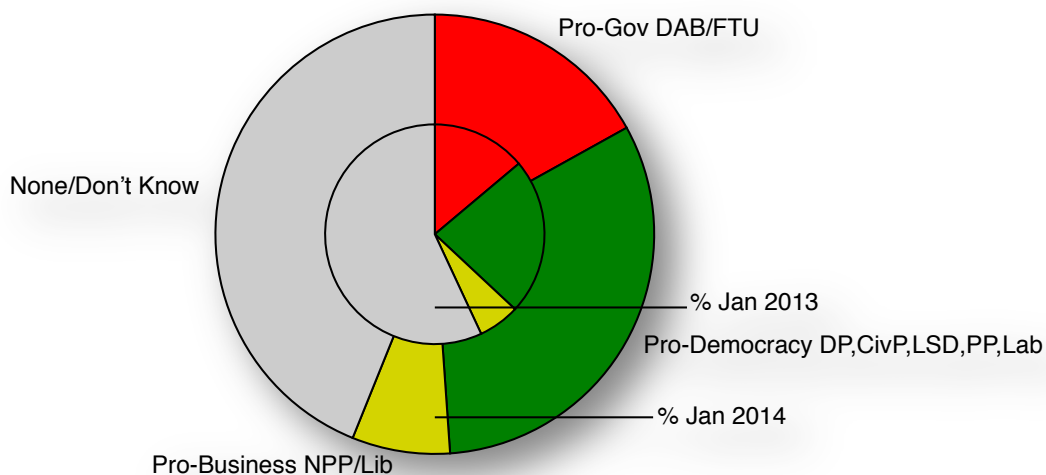
**Table 21 Which party represents or protects your interests best? Trend**



What is clear from Table 22, however, about the state of representation in 2014, is that more people can and do identify a party as best representing them and protecting their interest than at any time recorded before (56% the peak in 2010, 56% now plus about 2% more in splinter groups). Also clear is that while both the pro-government and pro-democracy groups show gains over 2013, the pro-democracy gains outpace the others.

**Table 22 Grouped Which party represents best**

Group	% Jan 2013	% Jan 2014
<b>Pro-Gov DAB/FTU</b>	14	17
<b>Pro-Democracy DP,CivP,LSD,PP,Lab</b>	23	32
<b>Pro-Business NPP/Lib</b>	6	7
<b>None/Don't Know</b>	57	43



In Table 23 the parties are regrouped from Table 22 which puts them according to their orientation toward government. In Table 23, technically, the FTU (Federation of Trade Unions) should be with the Labour Party, because both are oriented toward unions and working class groups. However, ideology continues to divide workers, though less than before. The LSD and PP and factional groups (such as the Neo-Democrats and

Scholarism) form, effectively, youth parties, as can be seen in Table 24 below. More than half of those who say these parties best represent them are under 40. In contrast, nearly half of those who cite the DAB and FTU are over 60. Both the DP/CP grouping and the NPP/LP grouping show nearly half are between 40 and 60, and both groupings are largely made up of middle aged professionals. (Tables 24 and 25.)

**Table 23 Regrouped parties which represent best BY orientation**

Group	Count	%
DAB/FTU	173	17
DP/CivP	217	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	112	11
NPP/LP	65	6
None	331	33
DK	109	11

**Table 24 Which party represents best BY Age (composition of parties by age)**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
18-19-20	4	6	17	5	3	5	6
21-29	5	17	24	11	13	7	13
30-39	5	8	18	9	13	7	10
40-49	16	20	14	19	20	16	18
50-59	22	26	10	28	22	17	21
60-69	21	16	13	17	18	23	18
70-88	28	7	5	11	11	25	14
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 139.4 with 30 df p ≤ 0.0001

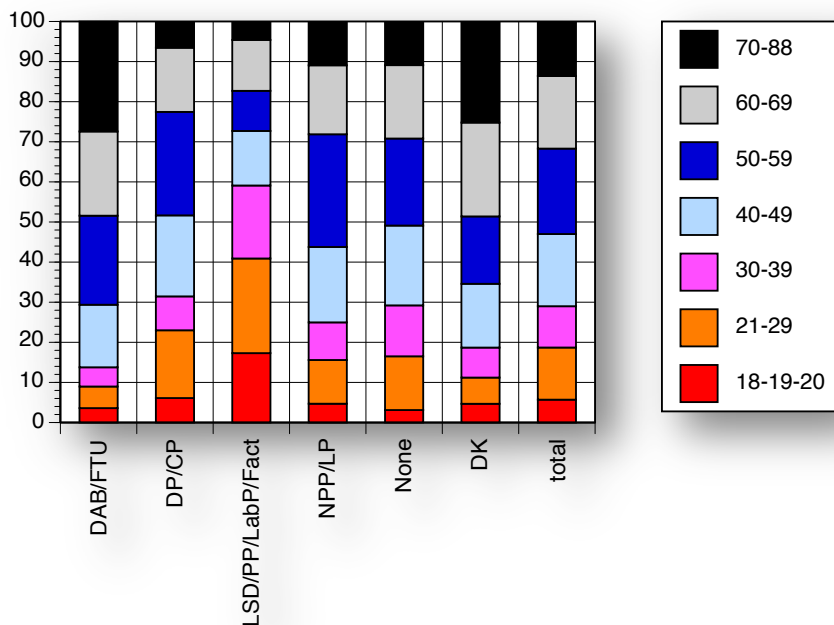


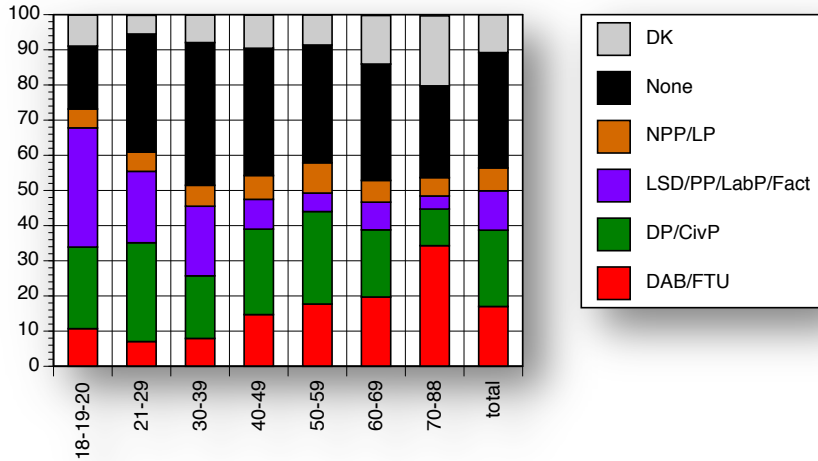
Table 25 shows those under 30 have the highest levels of party orientation of any age groups, with those 18-20 particularly party oriented. The DAB/FTU coalition shows steep drops in affiliation for those under age 40. Note that if the proportions of those under 30 who indicate the radical LSD, People Power, Labour Party and factions like Neo-Democrats “best represents” them, the numbers from the census show nearly 250,000 such young people look to these radicals for leadership.

**Table 25 Age groups BY Which party represents best (age groups party orientation)**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	11	7	8	15	18	20	34	17
<b>DP/CivP</b>	23	28	18	24	26	19	10	22
<b>LSD/PP/LabP/Fact</b>	34	20	20	8	5	8	4	11
<b>NPP/LP</b>	5	5	6	7	9	6	5	7
<b>None</b>	18	34	41	36	34	33	26	33
<b>DK</b>	9	5	8	10	9	14	20	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 139.4 with 30 df p ≤ 0.0001



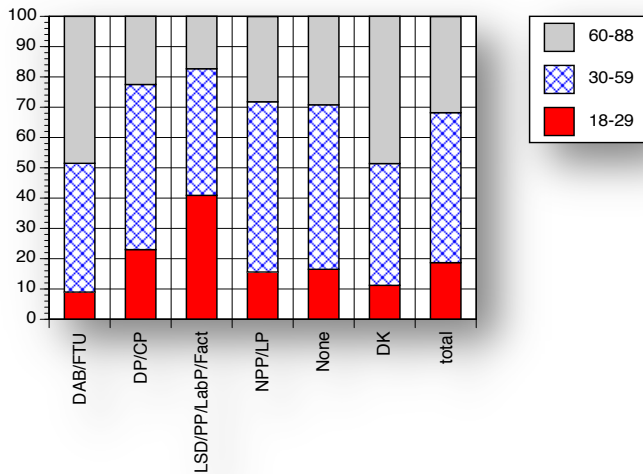
Generational grouping shows nearly half of DAB/FTU oriented respondents are over 60 while less than a fifth of LSD/PP/LabP and factional followers are so aged. And Table 27 shows men tend much more than women to identify a party as best representing them.

**Table 26 Age groups Party orientation, by generational age groups**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>18-29</b>	9	23	41	16	17	11	19
<b>30-59</b>	43	55	42	56	54	40	50
<b>60-88</b>	49	23	17	28	29	49	32
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 90.14 with 10 df p ≤ 0.0001



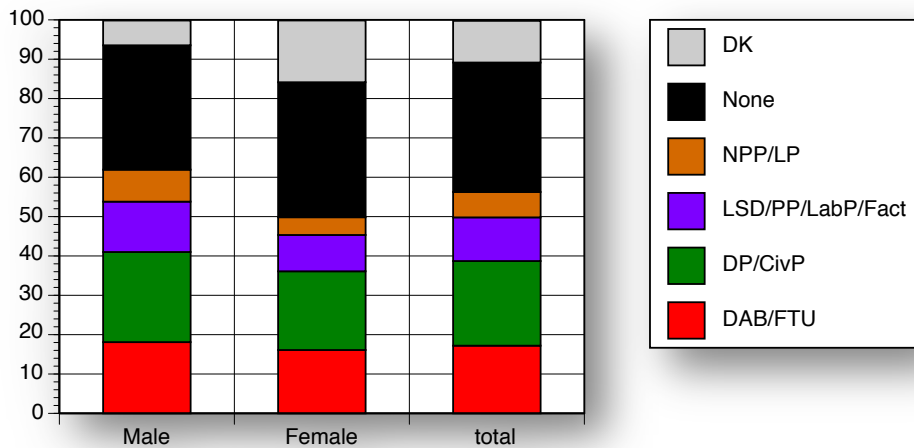


**Table 27 Gender groups, composition BY Which party represents best**

	Male	Female	total
DAB/FTU	18	16	17
DP/CivP	23	20	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	13	9	11
NPP/LP	8	5	6
None	32	34	33
DK	6	16	11
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.56 with 5 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

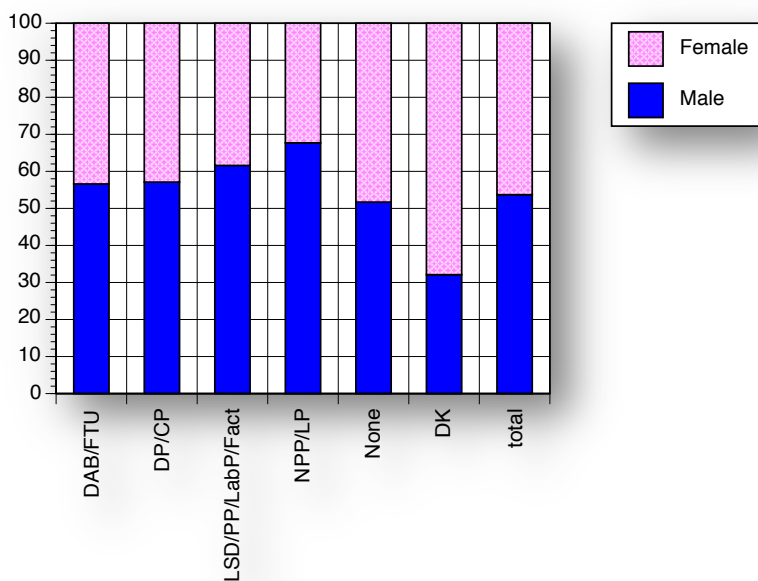


**Table 28 Party groups, composition BY Gender**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
Male	57	57	62	68	52	32	54
Female	43	43	38	32	48	68	46
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.56 with 5 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



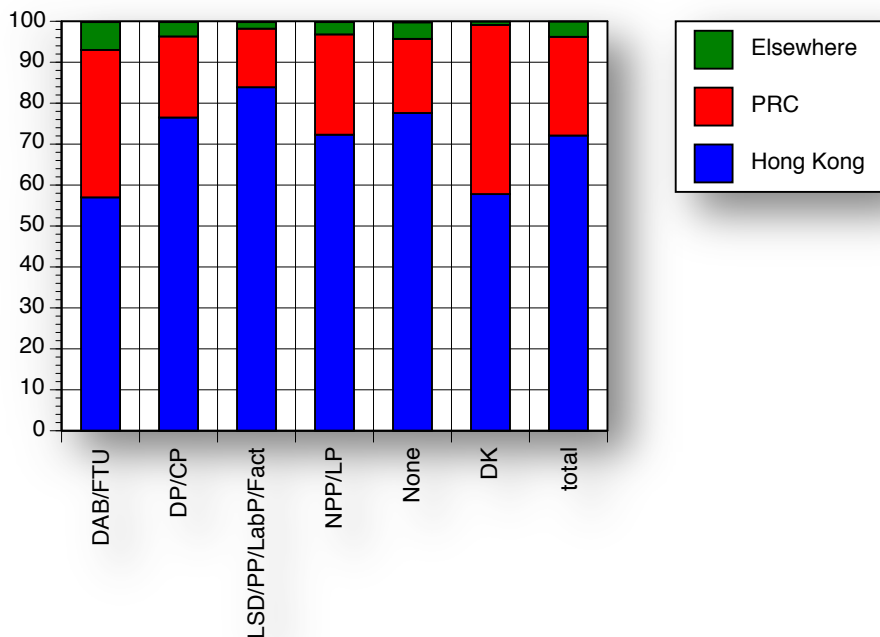
All parties show majorities of Hong Kong born residents among those who cite them as best representing them. The DAB shows the largest proportion of residents born outside Hong Kong or the PRC.

**Table 29 Which party represents best BY Birthplace**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
Hong Kong	57	77	84	72	78	58	72
PRC	36	20	14	25	18	41	24
Elsewhere	7	4	2	3	4	1	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 55.58 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Nearly a third of those born outside Hong Kong or the PRC cite the DAB as best representing them. All birthplaces show significant levels of party citation, so there is no particular birthplace that identifies with a particular party or grouping of parties. The Labour Party, which has targeted minorities and non-Hong Kong born permanent residents as well as unions and workers, shows, so far, little impact among the minorities born elsewhere. (See chart next page.)

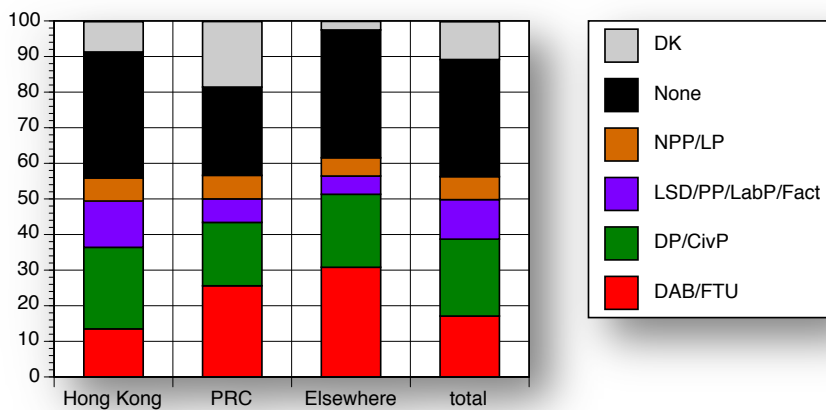
**Table 30 Distribution of Which party BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
DAB/FTU	14	26	31	17
DP/CivP	23	18	21	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	13	7	5	11
NPP/LP	6	7	5	6
None	35	25	36	33
DK	9	19	3	11
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 55.58 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 30 Distribution of Which party BY Birthplace**



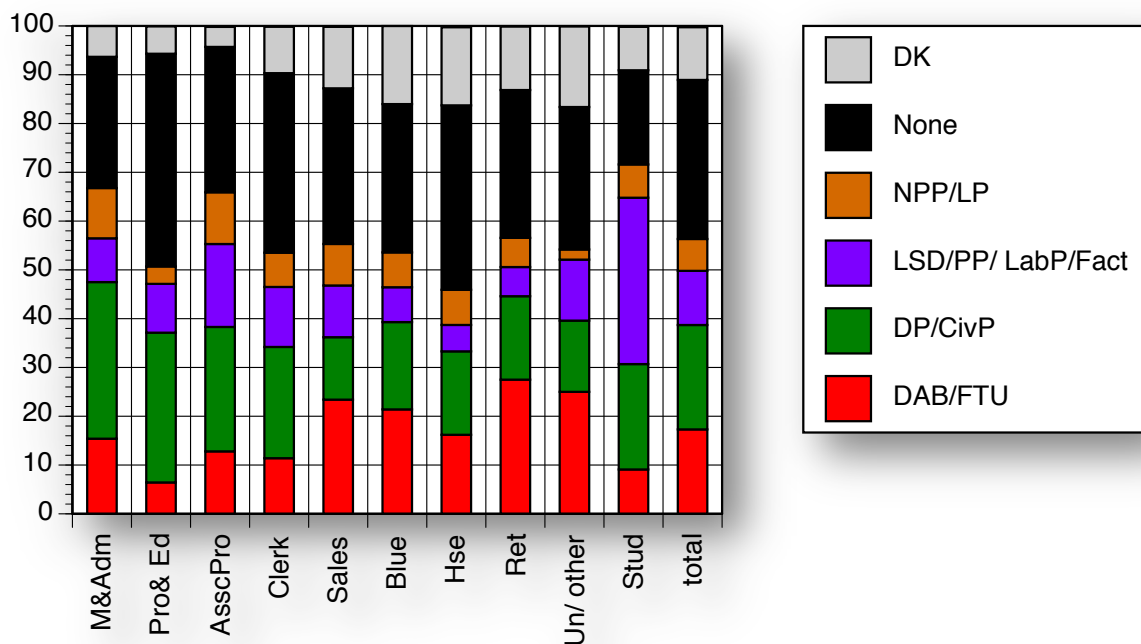
Both managers and administrators and professionals/educators show significant levels of pan-democratic citation. However, the professionals and educators also show the largest proportion who say “none” of the parties best represent them.

**Table 31 Distribution of Which Party BY Occupation (Key next page)**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
DAB/FTU	15	6	13	11	23	21	16	28	25	9	17
DP/CivP	32	31	26	23	13	18	17	17	15	22	21
LSD/PP/ LabP/Fact	9	10	17	12	11	7	5	6	13	34	11
NPP/LP	10	4	11	7	9	7	7	6	2	7	7
None	27	44	30	37	32	30	38	30	29	19	33
DK	6	6	4	10	13	16	16	13	17	9	11
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 138.5 with 45 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Key: Occupation**

		%
<b>M&amp;Adm</b>	Managers/Admin	8
<b>Pro/Ed</b>	Professionals/Educators	14
<b>Assoc Pro</b>	Associate professionals	5
<b>Clerk</b>	Clerks/Secretary	12
<b>Sales</b>	Service & Sales	5
<b>Blue</b>	Blue collar	6
<b>House</b>	Housewife	11
<b>Ret</b>	Retiree	26
<b>Un/other</b>	Unemployed/Other	5
<b>Stud</b>	Student	9

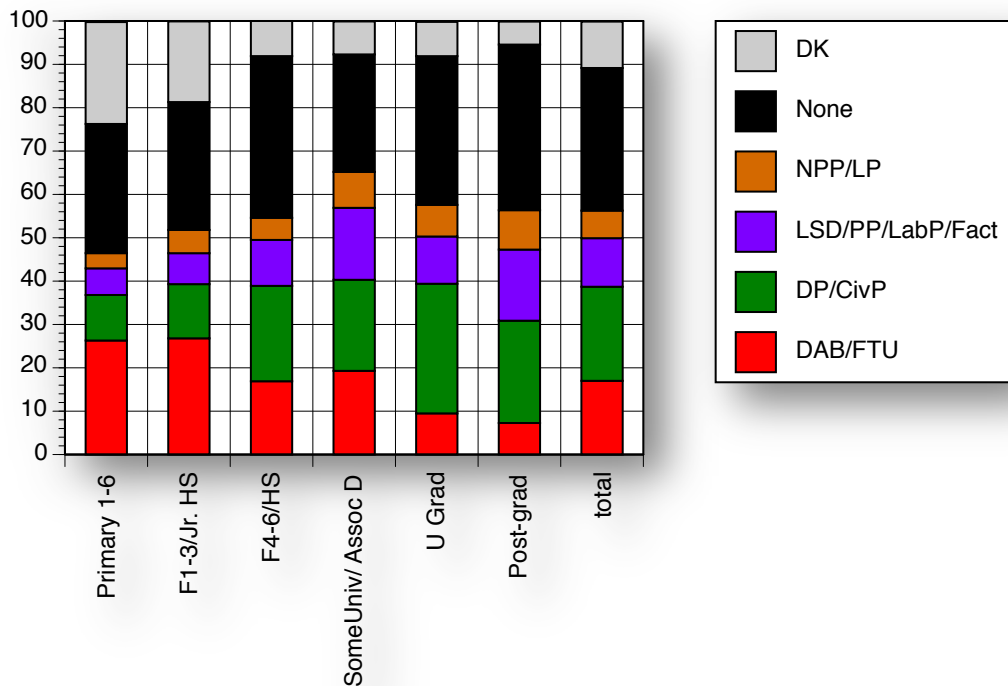
Citation of a party as best representing a respondent tends to increase with education level up to those with some university (which includes students currently still in university) and those with Associate Degrees. DAB citation tends to be highest amongst those with lower education levels, hitting its smallest proportion amongst those with a post-graduate education.

**Table 32 Distribution of Which party represents best BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	26	27	17	19	9	7	17
<b>DP/CivP</b>	11	13	22	21	30	24	22
<b>LSD/PP/LabP/Fact</b>	6	7	11	17	11	16	11
<b>NPP/LP</b>	4	5	5	8	7	9	6
<b>None</b>	30	30	37	27	34	38	33
<b>DK</b>	24	19	8	8	8	5	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 94.27 with 25 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



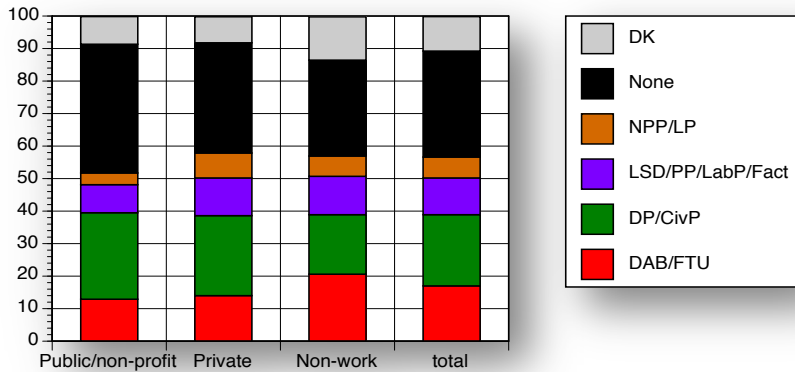
The public/non-profit sector shows the lowest level of citation of a party as best representing them while the private sector shows the highest level.

**Table 33 Distribution of Which party represents best BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
DAB/FTU	13	14	21	17
DP/CivP	27	25	18	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	9	12	12	11
NPP/LP	4	8	6	6
None	40	34	30	33
DK	9	8	14	11
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.99 with 10 df p = 0.0038



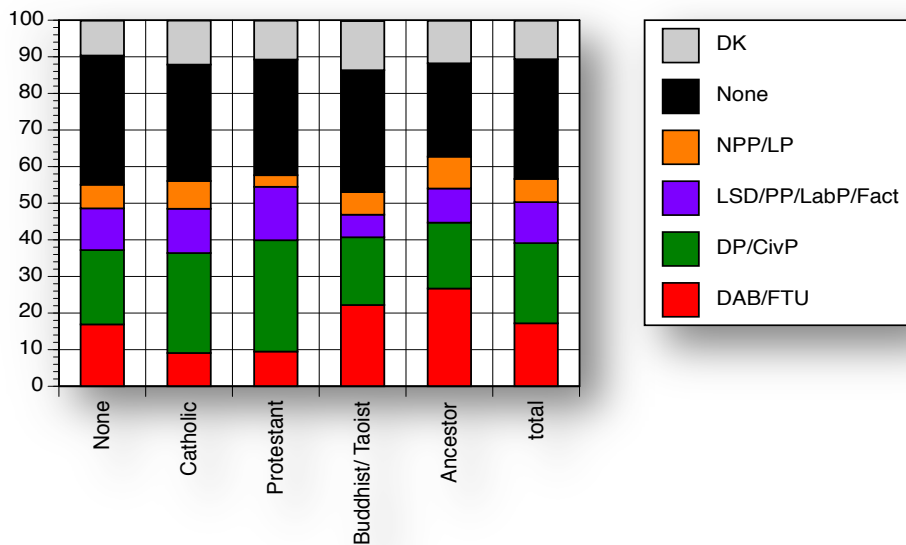
Traditional ancestor worshippers show the highest levels of citing a party as representing them.

**Table 34 Distribution of Which party represents best BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
DAB/FTU	17	9	9	22	27	17
DP/CivP	20	27	30	19	18	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	11	12	15	6	9	11
NPP/LP	6	8	3	6	9	6
None	35	32	32	33	26	33
DK	10	12	11	14	12	11
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 39.14 with 20 df p = 0.0064

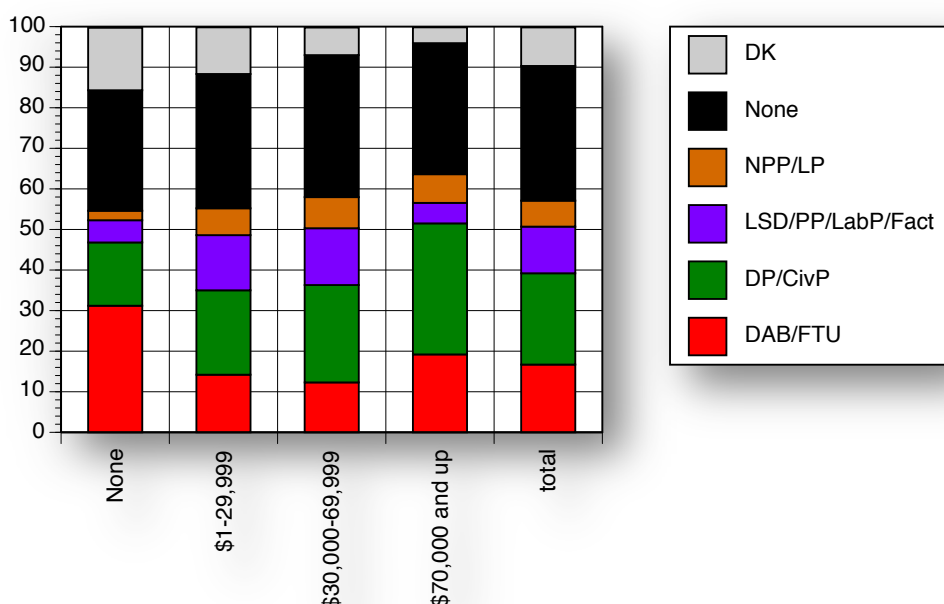


Citation of a party tends to rise with income, with about two thirds of those with family incomes of \$70,000 per month and up citing a party as best representing their interests.

**Table 35 Distribution of Which party represents best BY Income groups**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
DAB/FTU	31	14	12	19	17
DP/CivP	16	21	24	32	23
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	5	14	14	5	12
NPP/LP	2	7	8	7	6
None	30	33	35	32	33
DK	16	12	7	4	10
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 55.61 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



### C. Participation

The development of an “election culture” and the formation of and participation in political parties have been some of the metrics which determined whether Hong Kong people had achieved the stipulated “maturity” to be able to proceed to greater levels of democratic participation in their governance. In 2005 the then Chief Executive Donald Tsang was the first CE to certify Hong Kong people were politically “mature” enough to proceed to amend the Basic Law and take further steps toward the full universal suffrage election of their Chief Executive and all member of the Legislative Council. In actuality, Hong Kong people have long been participating in solving their own social problems and organizing themselves to address social, economic and, yes, political issues. While the first universal suffrage elections in Hong Kong took place only in 1982, at the very local level of District Boards (now District Councils), even then just part of the District Boards were democratically elected with many other appointed. And all the members could do was discuss affairs, not affect them substantively. The first Legco direct universal suffrage, open nomination elections took place in 1991, again of only part of Legco (18 seats) and the government appointed another 18, joining 12 Functional Constituency

seats elected by qualified, and very restricted, franchise and qualified, highly restricted nomination. Today 35 seats are universal suffrage elected in Geographic Constituencies, 5 are elected in universal suffrage at large seats, and 30 are returned by qualified franchise and nomination Functional Constituencies. Despite slow progress and many restrictions (some seats even to the District Councils are still filled by government appointment), Hong Kong participation in elections has grown, to the point that measured by the most basic form of participation, registration to vote, nearly three out of four are registered to vote. The survey sample here slightly under-reports the proportion indicated by the Registration and Electoral Affairs Office. It slightly over reports traditional FC voter registration.

**Table 36 Are you currently registered to vote in the Geographic or Functional Constituency elections?**

Group	Count	%
Geographic only	523	59
Traditional 30 FCs only	10	1
Both Geographic & Traditional FCs	76	9
Not registered to vote	226	26
Don't Know	44	5

In Table 37 the Don't Know and Not registered are combined. Traditional 30 FCs only and both GC and Tradition FCs are combined.

**Table 37 Registration to vote (Recoded)**

Group	Count	%
Geographic only	523	59
Both GC & FCs	86	10
Not registered/DK	270	31

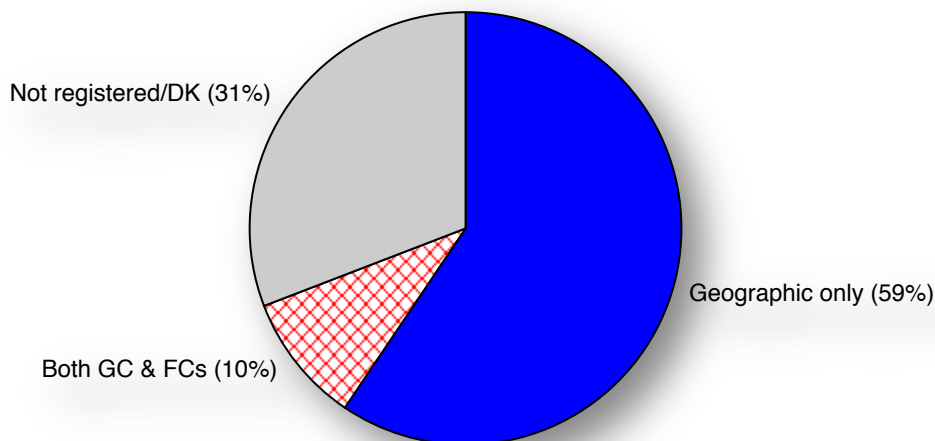
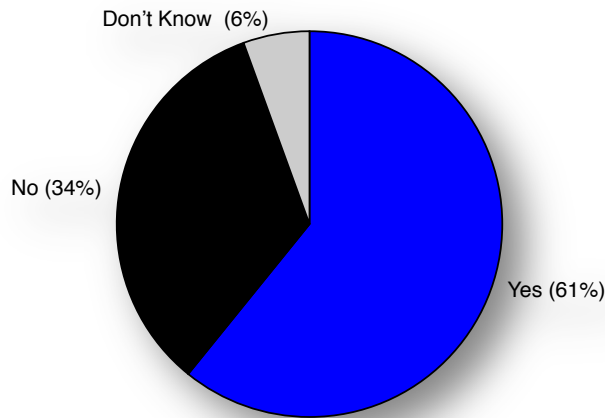


Table 38 shows that about 61% of GC registered voters say they voted for one of the 5 “at large” DC seats which were introduced in the 2010 constitutional reform compromise. This compromise has been rejected by the “radical” democratic groups discussed in the section above. And while the radical democrats of LSD and PP and many members of the Civic Party want the FCs completely eliminated, both groups in Table 39 show higher levels of affiliated voters who say they are registered to vote in the FCs than in the FC supporting DAB and FTU bloc.

**Table 38 Did you also vote in 2012 for one of the new “super seat” District Council Functional Constituency candidates? (asked of those registered to vote in GCs above)**

Group	Count	%
Yes	318	61
No	176	34
Don't Know	29	6

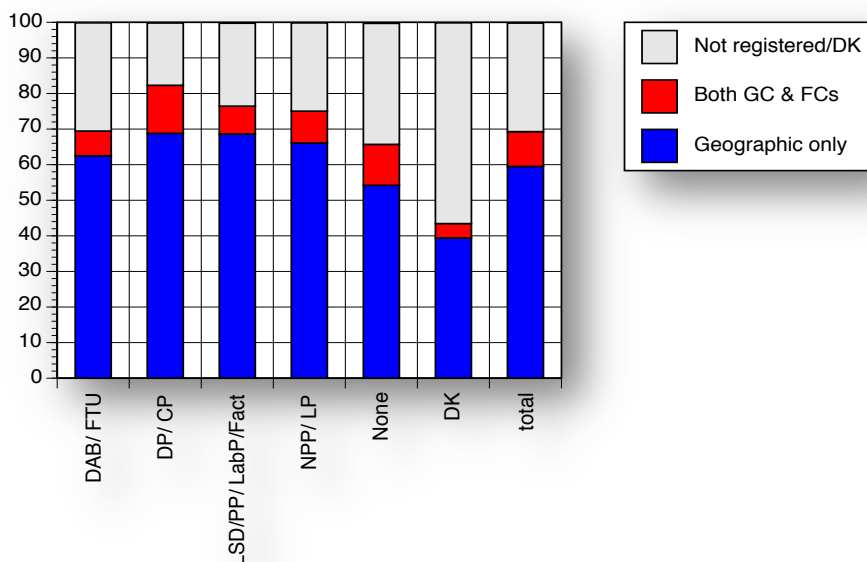


**Table 39 Voter registration BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/ FTU	DP/ CP	LSD/PP/ LabP/Fact	NPP/ LP	None	DK	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	63	69	69	66	54	39	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	7	14	8	9	12	4	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	31	18	24	25	34	57	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 57.12 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Also interesting is how higher proportions of both the moderate and radical democrats show greater participation in terms of voting for the “super seats” than among the pro-establishment DAB/FTU affiliated voters.

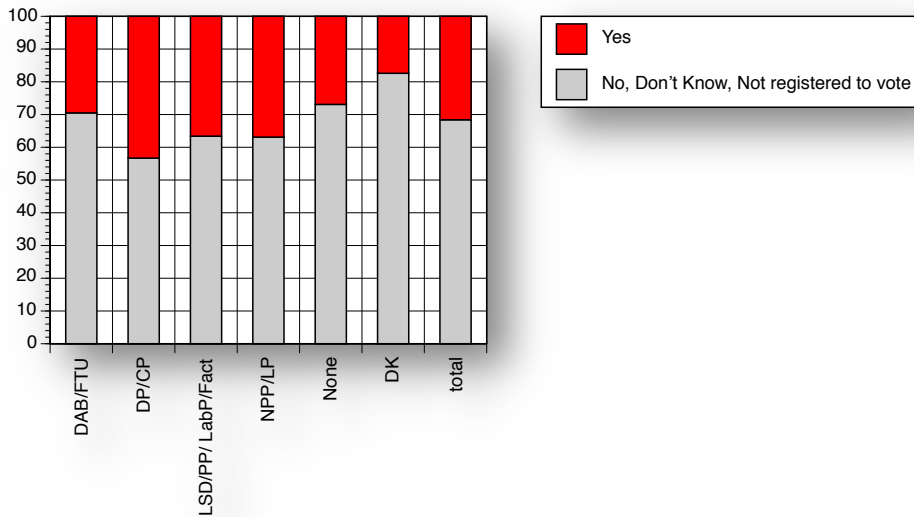


**Table 40 Voted for Super Seat DC BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/ LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>No, Don't Know, Not registered to vote</b>	71	57	63	63	73	83	68
<b>Yes</b>	30	43	37	37	27	17	32
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.83 with 5 df p ≤ 0.0001



Voter registration is also significantly higher among the pro-democracy parties than among the DAB/FTU and NPP/LP. Those who say no party best represents them and who say don't know which party show the lowest levels of registration.

**Table 41 Registered to vote BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/ FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/ LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	63	69	69	66	54	39	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	7	14	8	9	12	4	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	31	18	24	25	34	57	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 57.12 with 10 df p ≤ 0.0001

Males tend to register at the same level as females, but males dominate the traditional Functional Constituencies. This is perhaps why in the 2012 not a single female won a seat in the 30 traditional FCs.

**Table 42 Registered to vote BY Sex**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	57	62	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	12	7	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	31	31	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 5.254 with 2 df p = 0.0723

Registration to vote is highest among those 30 to 59, lowest among those under age 30.

**Table 43 Registered to vote BY Age group**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	51	61	63	59
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	5	15	3	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	44	24	34	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 44.55 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Registration to vote is highest among those with post-graduate and university educations. As such, registration to vote may be expected to continue to increase in the years ahead as the proportion of better educated residents increases.

**Table 44 Registered to vote BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1- 3/Jr. HS	F4- 6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post- grad	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	64	61	62	61	56	48	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	1	0	4	4	21	37	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	35	39	34	36	22	15	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 115.8 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

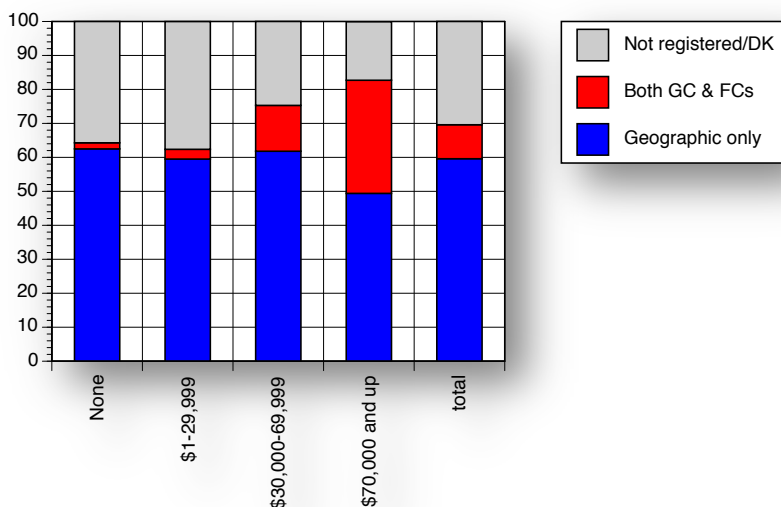
Those with the highest income levels also have the highest levels of registration, with a third of those whose families make \$70,000 per month and up claiming they also vote in the FCs. Those with no income barely register in the FCs, making the FCs not only gender discriminatory but also significantly economically discriminatory as well.

**Table 45 Registered to vote BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	63	60	62	49	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	2	3	14	33	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	36	38	25	17	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 87.46 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Members of the Heung Yee Kuk recently indicated interest in forming a political party. However, their voters, who tend to live in the low rise village houses in the New Territories as a result of the small house policy, show the lowest levels of being registered to vote, except among the traditional FCs (which includes a seat for the Heung Yee Kuk).

**Table 46 Registered to vote BY Living Quarters**

	Low rise	Private (own)	Private (rent)	HOS	Public	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	45	57	55	71	62	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	7	16	11	5	3	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	48	28	34	24	35	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 43.62 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

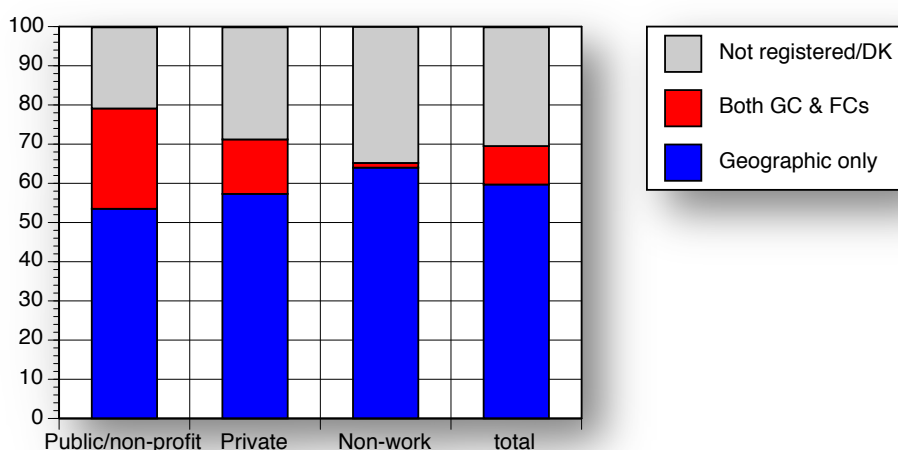
By work sector, civil servants and public sector and non-profit sector shows the highest level of voter registration. Nevertheless, one in five in the public/non-profit sector indicate they are not registered. This table also makes clear the disproportionate influence the public/non-profit sector has on the traditional FCs as well. Public/non-profit sector interviewees made up 14% of the survey sample while private sector made up 38%, with non-work sector comprising 47%. About one in four public/non-profit workers are registered to vote in the traditional FCs while just 14% of private sector workers are so registered. In effect, the public sector has enhanced influence over making and amending public policy via their oversized presence in the traditional FC system.

**Table 47 Registered to vote BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	54	58	64	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	26	14	1	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	21	29	35	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 74.18 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

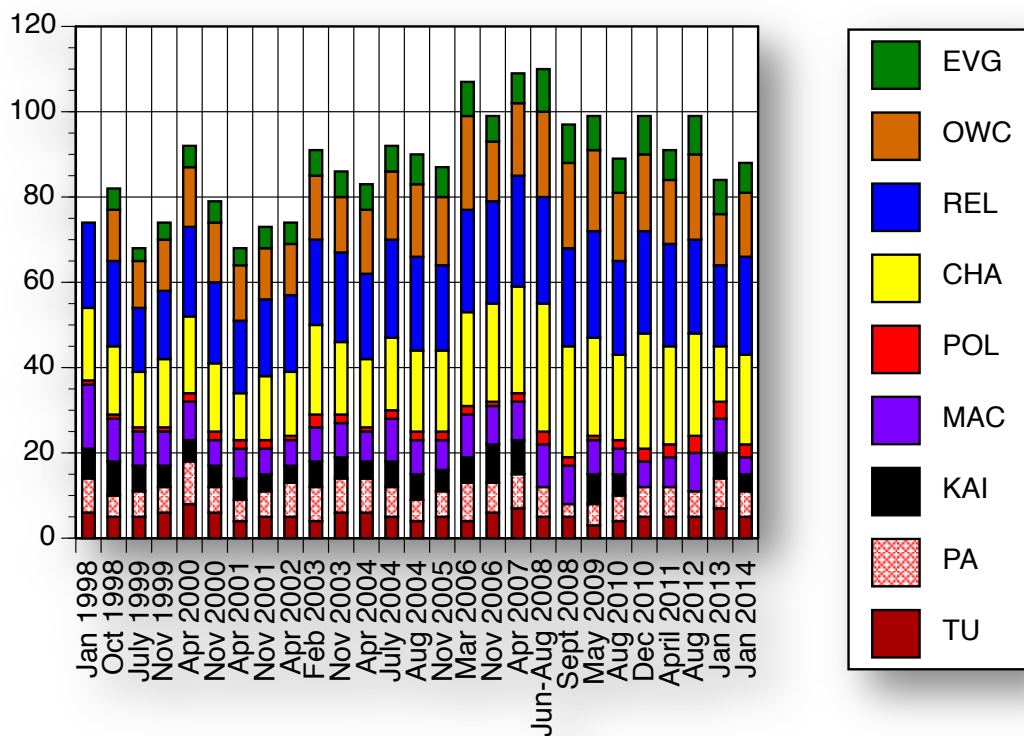


Besides voting, other forms of participation have significant effect on policy formation. In terms of constitutional reform, registered voters clearly have more influence on the political parties than those not registered. But other groups such as unions and professional associations also have presence in the traditional FCs and on the Chief Executive Election Committee. Indeed,

nearly three out of four Chief Executive EC members are elected by the traditional FCs, and as amended with, for example, seats for religious organizations. (Key next page)

**Table 48 Have you attended any meetings or activities of the following in the last six months?\***

	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
Dec 2010	5	7	NA	6	3	27	24	18	9
April 2011	5	7	NA	7	3	23	24	15	7
Aug 2012	5	6	NA	9	4	24	22	20	9
Jan 2013	7	7	6	8	4	13	19	12	8
Jan 2014	5	6	4	4	3	21	23	15	7



\*Note, amounts to more than 100 due to multiple categories of activity.

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

What is also clear, as the tables below show, is that participation in some groups shows significantly higher relationship with registration to vote, and to being able to vote in the GCs and traditional FCs. In Table 49, for example, attendants at a union meeting are far more likely to be registered to vote and to have an FC vote than among non-attenders. So membership in or attendance of these groups must be assessed with a kind of “multiplier effect” to get a better handle on their influence over policy making.

**Table 49 Registered to vote BY Attended Union meeting**

	Yes	No	total
Geographic only	61	60	60
Both GC & FCs	21	9	10
Not registered/DK	18	31	31
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 7.117 with 2 df p = 0.0285

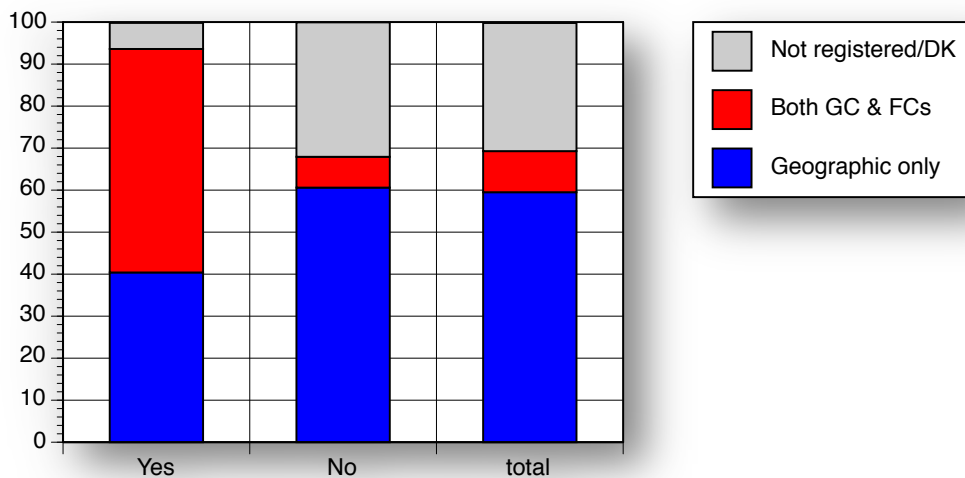
The pattern with unions is even more pronounced with professionals.

**Table 50 Registered to vote BY Attended Professional Association meeting**

	Yes	No	total
Geographic only	40	61	60
Both GC & FCs	53	7	10
Not registered/DK	6	32	31
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 108.2 with 2 df p ≤ 0.0001



The multiplier effect continues with Owner's Association attendance, but less strongly.

**Table 51 Registered to vote BY Attended Owners Association meeting**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	67	58	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	12	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	21	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 6.336 with 2 df p = 0.0421

And while political party attendance is very small, almost none of those who do attend report themselves as unregistered to vote. Political parties are registered as companies in Hong Kong, meaning that the parties are treated as though they are profit-making entities, and making full voting members liable for the company's actions and debts, or "profits" if it makes such. There is no party registration law in Hong Kong that treats parties as special entities, thus many people see a party as representing them, but very few formally join a party since it carries various entanglements with it beyond those seen in other entities with multi party politics.

**Table 52 Registered to vote BY Attended Political party meeting**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	79	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	18	10	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	4	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.63 with 2 df p = 0.0049

Attendance at a charitable or social group shows low levels of difference, but still some effect on voting registration and registration in the FCs.

**Table 53 Registered to vote BY Attended Social Service/Charity association meeting**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	58	60	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	16	8	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	26	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 11.23 with 2 df p = 0.0036

Religious groups also show some effect.

**Table 54 Registered to vote BY Attended Religious meeting**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	57	60	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	16	8	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	27	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 11.52 with 2 df p = 0.0032

Surprisingly, attendance at an environmental group meeting shows almost no effect on overall registration rates compared to non-attendants. But those who attend environmental group

meetings do show about twice the likelihood of being able to vote in the traditional FCs than non-attenders.

**Table 55 Registered to vote BY Attended Environmental group meeting**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	48	60	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	21	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	31	31	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 8.515 with 2 df p = 0.0142

The other groups not shown in tables above show no significant association with voter registration. (Kai fongs and Mutual Aid Committee attendance, for example.) However, these groups also show differences in which parties the attenders see as best representing them. For example, those who attend Kai Fong meetings are more likely to see the pro-establishment parties the DAB/FTU and NPP/LP as representing them. However, since Kai Fong attendance shows no difference in voting registration from the average, this advantage for the pro-establishment parties among Kai Fong attenders is effectively nullified. The same holds true for Clan Association meetings and Cultural and recreational groups, though Cultural and recreational groups show highest category of party affiliation for the radical groups (though this may not be surprising given youth domination of recreational groups and culture’s traditional affinity for challenging the status quo).

**Table 56 Which party represents best BY Attended Kai Fong meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	9	2	4	8	3	6	4
<b>No</b>	91	98	96	92	97	95	96
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 15.67 with 5 df p = 0.0078

**Table 57 Which party represents best BY Attended Clan association meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	3	1	2	2	0	2	1
<b>No</b>	97	99	98	99	100	98	99
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 8.950 with 5 df p = 0.1111

**Table 58 Which party represents best BY Attended Cultural organization meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	7	10	13	11	9	2	9
<b>No</b>	93	90	87	89	91	98	91
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 11.17 with 5 df p = 0.0482

Religious groups and the others below do show significant association with attendance and voter registration, so the party affiliation of attendees carries with it an influence among groups that themselves show outsized effect on voting registration. In this case, those who say they

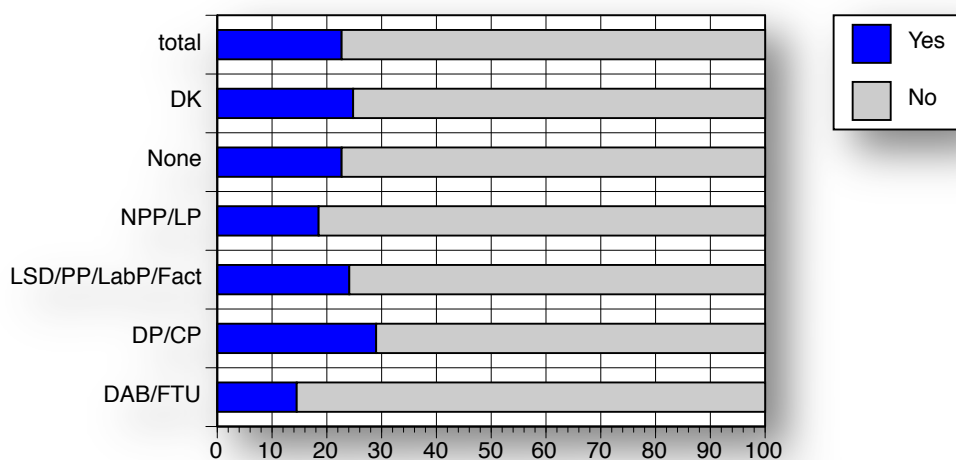
attended a religious meeting in the prior six months show significantly higher tendency to choose a pro-democracy party as best representing them. This means religious groups can be a vehicle of influence for the parties concerned, and vice versa, that these groups can influence party stances due to their interpenetration of attendance. So, for example, many of those who say the DP/CP best represent them also report attendance at a religious meeting (29%). Among DAB/FTU affiliates, it's 15%, or about half as much interpenetration.

**Table 59 Which party represents best BY Attended Religious group meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	15	29	24	19	23	25	23
<b>No</b>	86	71	76	82	77	75	77
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.71 with 5 df p = 0.0263



It is also clear that the pro-democracy groups, particularly the radical groups, show far higher levels of activism. About 12% of those who say the LSD/PP/LabP best represent them report attendance at a party event while less than 1% (rounded up from 0.58) of DAB/FTU nominators report attendance.

**Table 60 Which party represents best BY Attended Political party meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	1	5	12	2	2	2	3
<b>No</b>	99	95	88	99	98	98	97
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 31.50 with 5 df p ≤ 0.0001

The pro-establishment parties do better amongst the professional association attenders, with the NPP/LP beating out the radical democrats.

**Table 61 Which party represents best BY Attended Professional association meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	4	9	6	8	6	3	6
<b>No</b>	96	91	94	92	94	97	94
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 6.344 with 5 df p = 0.2741 No Association



And the DAB/FTU are clearly in contest with the LSD/PP/LabourP for union attendance. But overall, the two blocs appear about the same in influence (hence the weak association shown).

**Table 62 Which party represents best BY Attended Union meeting**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	8	4	8	3	3	5	5
<b>No</b>	93	96	92	97	97	95	95
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 8.008 with 5 df p = 0.1558 Weak Association

The older parties like the DAB and Democratic Party (the oldest, established in 1991), show stronger influence among the MACs than the newer parties. The MACs are public housing organizations organized originally by District Offices to keep in touch with public housing residents and to act as communication groups up to the District Councils. Again, neither bloc shows clear dominance in the MACs, or in the Owner's Associations.

**Table 63 Which party represents best BY Attended Mutual Aid Committee**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	7	6	3	3	4	2	4
<b>No</b>	93	94	97	97	96	98	96
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 7.925 with 5 df p = 0.1604 Weak Association

**Table 64 Which party represents best BY Attended Owners Association**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	20	17	13	20	14	9	16
<b>No</b>	80	83	87	80	86	91	85
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 7.822 with 5 df p = 0.1663 Weak Association

The groups above basically reflect the established, recognized groups involved in public affairs. But there are other means of measuring political and policy activism than by attendance of an activity organized by one of the groups above. These range from contacting establishment entities like government departments or elected Legco members (either from the directly elected Geographic Constituencies or the qualified electorate FC members) to very anti-establishment actions like protesting and donating to political groups.

Table 65 shows that protesting as a means of expressing concern has risen significantly over the lifetime of the SAR, from an average of 5% between 1996-2002 up to an average of 15% between 2003 and 2014, or in other words, protestors have tripled over the earlier period. Meanwhile contacting the media has gone down significantly and petition signing has dropped significantly over the past two years. Media contact may have dropped as a result of doubts about the impartiality and freedom of the media. The drop in petition signing could be indicative of a drop in belief in the willingness of government to listen to the public. A steep drop in petition signing was registered in 2002, before the largest protest march proportionately, in global history on 1 July 2003. The doubts about the fairness of the current consultation, as seen in the January report on Occupy Central and in the Appendix to this report

add to concerns about the volatility in public opinion that appears to be rising. Counter-intuitively, contact or expressions of concern were at their lowest total (see chart next page) in 2002, just before the 2003 mass demonstrations. The total of contacts and expressions of concern is even lower in 2014.

**Table 65 Within the past year, did you express concern or seek help from the following:**

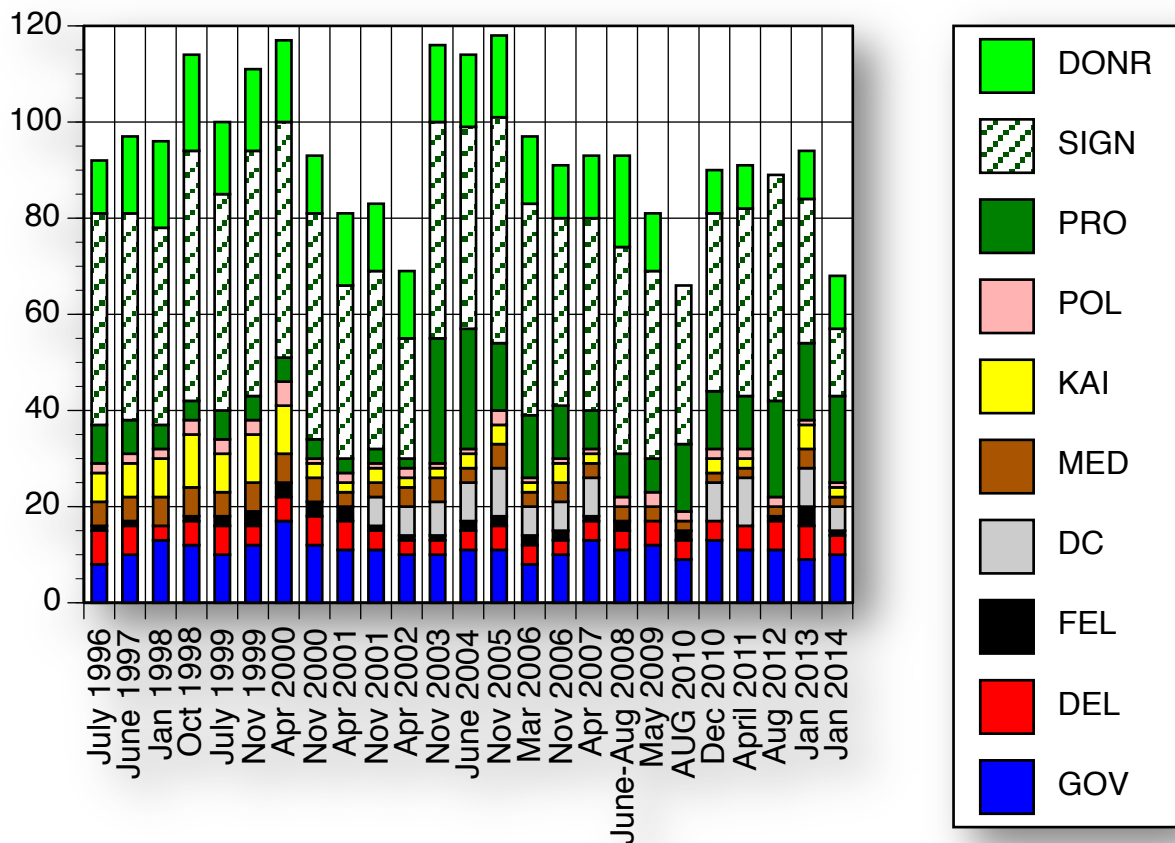
	GOV	DEL	FEL	DC	MED	KAI	POL	PRO	SIGN	DONR
July 1996	8	7	1		5	6	2	8	44	11
June 1997	10	6	1		5	7	2	7	43	16
Jan 1998	13	3	--		6	8	2	5	41	18
Oct 1998	12	5	1		6	11	3	4	52	20
July 1999	10	6	2		5	8	3	6	45	15
Nov 1999	12	4	3		6	10	3	5	51	17
Apr 2000	17	5	3		6	10	5	5	49	17
Nov 2000	12	6	3		5	3	1	4	47	12
Apr 2001	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
Dec 2010	13	4	NA	8	2	3	2	12	37	9
April 2011	11	5	NA	10	2	2	2	11	39	9
Aug 2012	11	6	1	NA	2	NA	2	20	47	10*
Jan 2013	9	7	4	8	4	5	1	16	30	10
Jan 2014	10	4	1	5	2	2	1	18	14	11

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

\*registered voters, 9% among all

(Chart Below.)

Chart of Table 65 Within the past year express concern or seek help from the following:



As with attendance at functions held by various groups, actions to seek help or express concern show positive association with voting. So, for example, those who contact a government department for help or to express concern are much more likely to be registered to vote, and about twice as likely to be able to vote in the traditional FCs as those with no contact with a government department.

Table 66 Registered to vote BY Contacted Government Department

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	65	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	18	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	17	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.64 with 2 df p = 0.0018

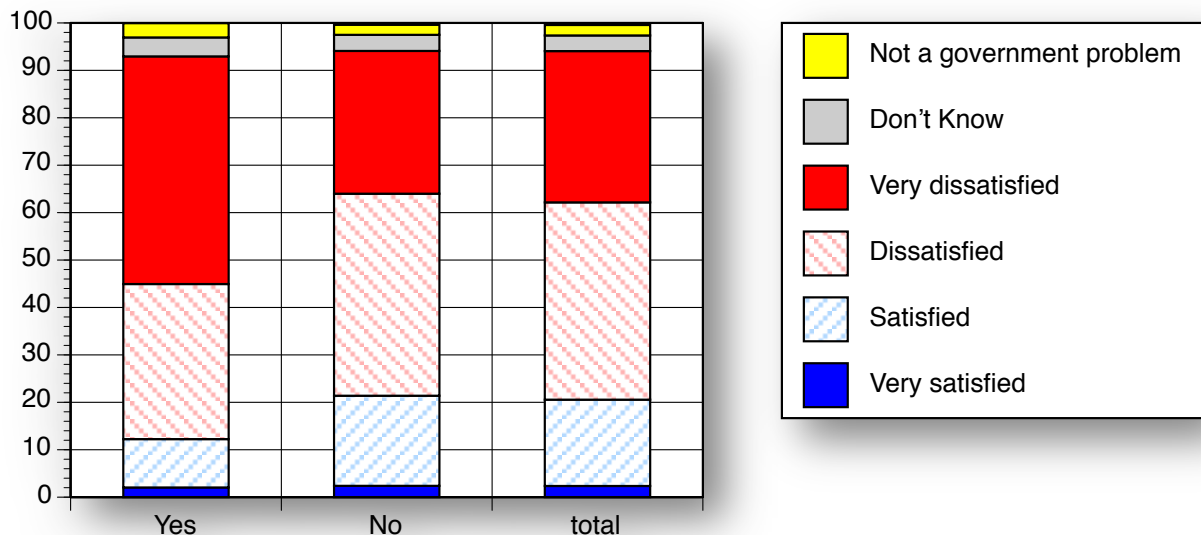
This contact is also likely to a matter of concern or complaint, or if it was for help, the interviewee is much more likely to have dissatisfied with the government's responses than not, as Table 67 shows. About 21% of those sampled overall were satisfied with the government's performance on their problem of greatest personal concern whereas 74% were dissatisfied. Of those who contacted a government department, just 12% were satisfied, while 81% were dissatisfied. Whether those already more dissatisfied are more likely to contact a government department than those satisfied cannot be determined, though it is likely to be the case.

However, the questions of satisfaction were asked independently and first, followed later in the questionnaire by questions of contacting government departments for help or to express concern.

**Table 67 Satisfied/Dissatisfied with the government’s performance on the problem of greatest personal concern BY Contacted Government Department**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	2	2	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	10	19	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	43	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	48	30	32
<b>Don’t Know</b>	4	3	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	3	2	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 15.03 with 5 df p = 0.0102



Again, whether those who contacted a government department and who also said they were dissatisfied with the government’s performance on their problem of greatest personal concern leaned more toward the radical democrat parties than others before government contact is unclear. However, those who said the LSD/PP/LabP best represented them reported much higher levels of contacting a government department than those who lean toward other parties.

**Table 68 Contacted Government Department BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	7	11	16	12	10	4	10
<b>No</b>	93	89	84	88	90	96	90
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

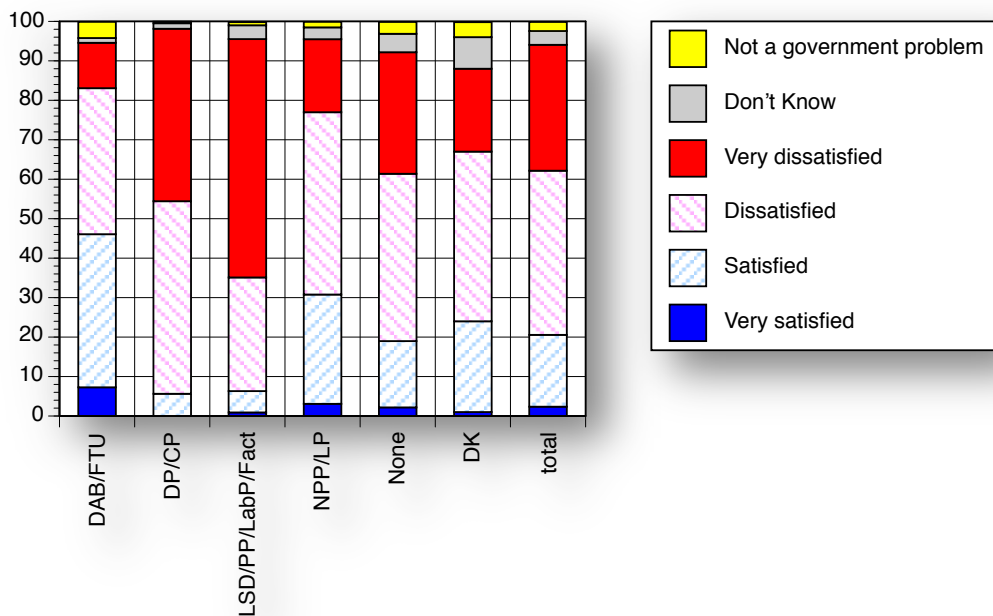
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 12.15 with 5 df p = 0.0328

And Table 69 shows that pro-democracy leaning respondents tend to be far more dissatisfied than those who are pro-establishment, though dissatisfaction with the government performance on their issue of greatest personal concern is very high in these groups also.

**Table 69 Satisfied/Dissatisfied with the government’s performance on the problem of greatest personal concern BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	0	1	3	2	1	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	6	5	28	17	23	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	49	29	46	42	43	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	12	44	60	19	31	21	32
<b>Don’t Know</b>	1	1	4	3	5	8	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	4	0	1	2	3	4	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 191.2 with 25 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Those who contact DC members also tend to be more likely to be registered voters by wide margins and, by a smaller margin, they also tend to be FC voters. Petition signing also is associated with registration to vote (Table 71)

**Table 70 Registered to vote BY Contacted District Council member**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	71	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	14	10	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	16	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 4.943 with 2 df  $p = 0.0844$

**Table 71 Registered to vote BY Signed petition**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	60	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	15	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	25	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 4.878 with 2 df  $p = 0.0872$

Registered voters are also much more likely to donate to a political group, and such donors also tend to be FC traditional voters more than non-donors.

**Table 72 Registered to vote BY Donated to political group**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	68	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	16	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	16	33	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.87 with 2 df p = 0.0016

Those who attended a protest are also more likely to be registered voters and FC voters by a wide margin.

**Table 73 Registered to vote BY Attended protest**

	Yes	No	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	64	59	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	16	9	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	20	33	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.95 with 2 df p = 0.0009

The pan-democratic party supporters are much more likely to have signed a petition within the previous year than supporters of the pro-establishment parties.

**Table 74 Which party represents best BY Signed petition**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	10	20	21	9	11	13	14
<b>No</b>	90	80	79	91	89	87	86
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 18.49 with 5 df p = 0.0024

And as Table 74 shows, the pan-democratic parties supporters are vastly more likely to have attended a protest, with nearly half of those who say the radical groups best represent them reporting they attended a protest.

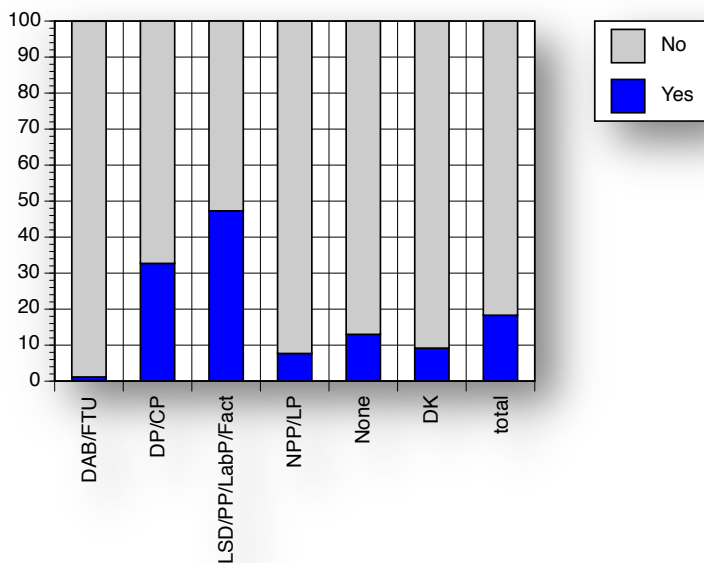
**Table 75 Which party represents best BY Attended protest**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Yes</b>	1	33	47	8	13	9	18
<b>No</b>	99	67	53	92	87	91	82
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 144.7 with 5 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Chart of Table 75 Which party represents best BY Attended protest**



Among the protestors, just one percent cite the DAB/FTU as the party representing them best, and despite impressions, 29% of protestors cite one of the radical democratic parties as best representing them while 39% indicate the Democratic or Civic Party as best representing them. NPP/LP attracts 3% of protest attenders, while 23% of protestors say no party best represents them. The none and Don't Know respondents who protest are about the same number (29%) as those who chose radical democratic parties (29%) as best representing them. This may mean that a significant proportion of demonstrators are not attracted to or affiliated with any particular party, and hence, may be less influenced by the radical parties or any party which might try to reign them in if a protest got out of hand.

**Table 76 Attended protest BY Which party represents best**

	Yes	No	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	1	21	17
<b>DP/CivP</b>	39	18	22
<b>LSD/PP/LabP/Fact</b>	19	7	11
<b>NPP/LP</b>	3	7	6
<b>None</b>	23	35	33
<b>DK</b>	6	12	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

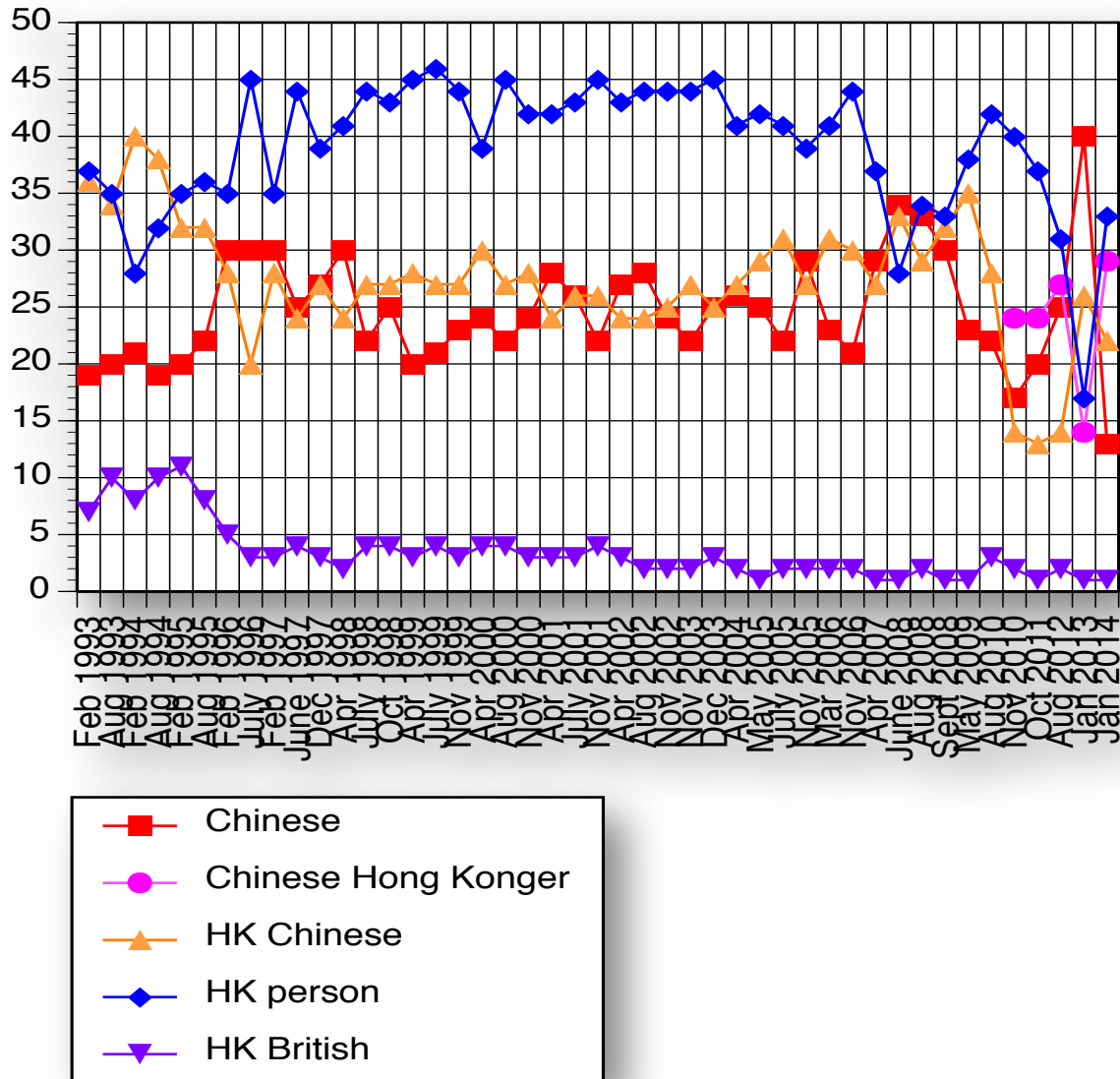
Chi-square = 144.7 with 5 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

#### **D. Identity**

Dissatisfaction and protesting usually have complex causations, but one source of activism and one determinant of perspective on government is often attributed to identity. In the case of Hong Kong, identity fluctuated in the run-up to the 1997 reunification with the PRC, but then the pattern of identity persisted with little change until the 2008 Beijing Olympics, when national pride and identity appear to have risen. However, the Olympic effect was short-lived, yet it appears to have introduced an era of change in identity, including, by wide usage, a new term of "Chinese Hong Konger" which appeared without prompting in 2010. Hong Kong identity may have fluctuated to a nadir in 2013 but has returned to the level of 2012, the last year an election was held in Hong Kong. The constitutional reform consultation may be pushing

Hong Kongers into reappraising tentative moves to re-identify themselves as Chinese or some variant of Chinese, with the simple “Chinese” label hitting a new low in 2014 after hitting a new high in 2013. (See next page for Table 77)

Chart of Table 77 Which is the most appropriate description of you?\*



- I'm a Chinese Hong Konger phrase was given by respondents without prompting both in November 2010 and October 2011. The phrase was added to the survey in August 2012.
- Overseas Chinese and other identity left out of chart above for clarity.

As Table 79 shows, Chinese identity varies with age group, with older groups (with more born in mainland China than the youngest group) showing higher proportions identifying themselves as Chinese. Hong Kong identity is the lowest among the oldest group, and it also has the lowest proportion born in Hong Kong. But cutting across all age groups is the new identity of Chinese Hong Konger, an identity that has been associated in previous research with a middle point in political affiliation and activism between those who chose Hong Kong identity and those who chose Chinese as their identity. They also tend to be more patriotic than the Hong Kong identity, but also more dissatisfied with government than Chinese identity choosers.



**Table 77** The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you?

	Chinese	Chinese Hong Konger	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Other
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
Nov 2010	17	24	14	40	2	1	1*
Oct 2011	20	24	13	37	1	1	1*
Aug 2012	25	27	14	31	2	1	1
Jan 2013	40	14	26	17	1	1	1
Jan 2014	13	29	22	33	1	1	2

**Table 78** The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you? (Recoded, dropping Hong Kong British, overseas Chinese and other)

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong Chinese	218	22
Chinese	132	14
Hong Kong person	330	34
Chinese Hong Konger	295	30

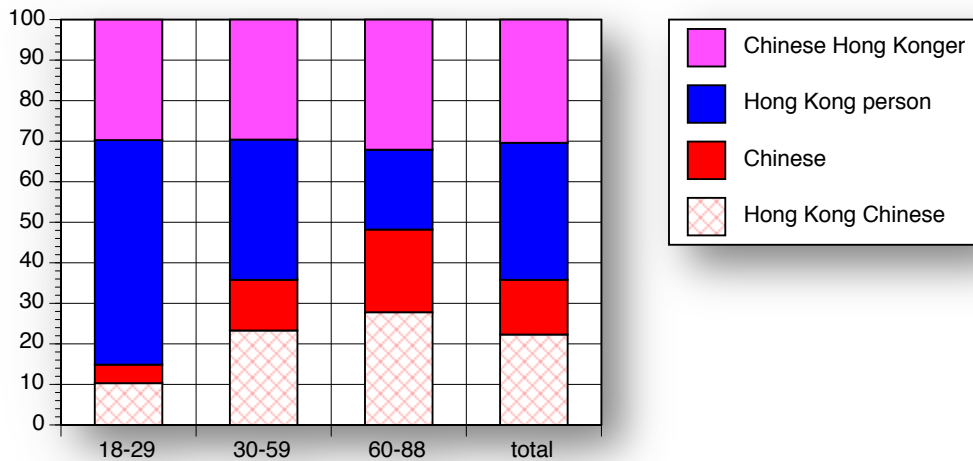
The Chinese Hong Konger identity appears in almost the same amount amongst all age bands.

**Table 79 Identity BY Age groups**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Hong Kong Chinese</b>	10	23	28	22
<b>Chinese</b>	5	13	20	14
<b>Hong Kong person</b>	55	35	20	34
<b>Chinese Hong Konger</b>	30	30	32	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

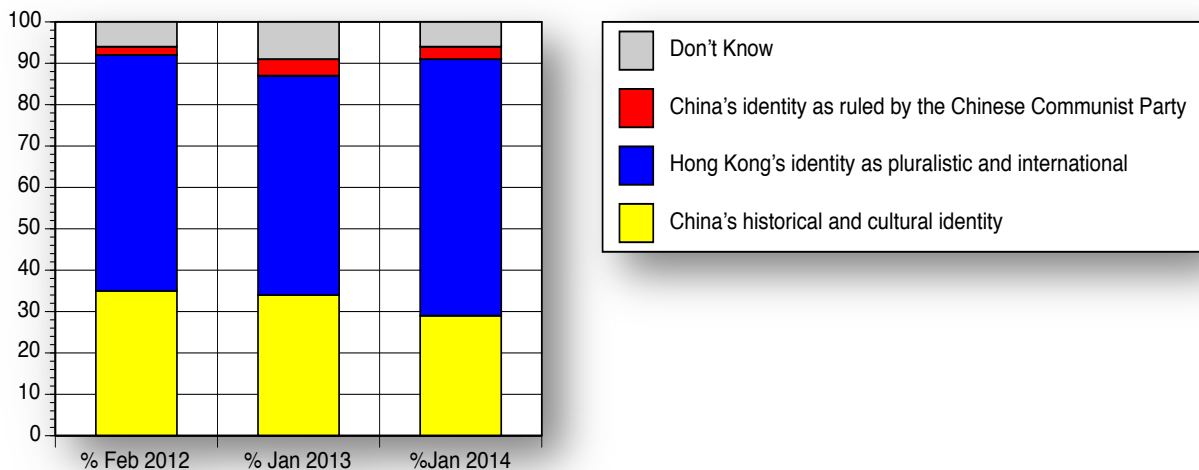
Chi-square = 79.03 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



In an attempt to clarify policy direction affected by identity, the project added a followup question in 2012. There appears to be an uptick in preferring Hong Kong's identity as pluralist and international as the most important personally to see protected and promoted.

**Table 80 Which of these do you consider the most important to you personally to see protected and promoted?**

	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	Jan 2014
<b>China's historical and cultural identity</b>	35	34	29
<b>Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international</b>	57	53	62
<b>China's identity as ruled by the Chinese Communist Party</b>	2	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	9	6



When the Don't Know responses are added in to those who prefer China's identity as ruled by the CCP, the results are as in Table 81. The Don't Know responses on this question tended to prefer the Chinese identity, and report they felt more patriotic on National Day (in previous reports). These are the same characteristic responses as among those who prefer China's identity as ruled by the CCP. Many of the Don't Know responses appear to be a reluctance to answer this question.

**Table 81 Protect/Promote ID recoded**

Group	Count	%
China's historical & cultural ID	290	29
HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	625	62
China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	92	9

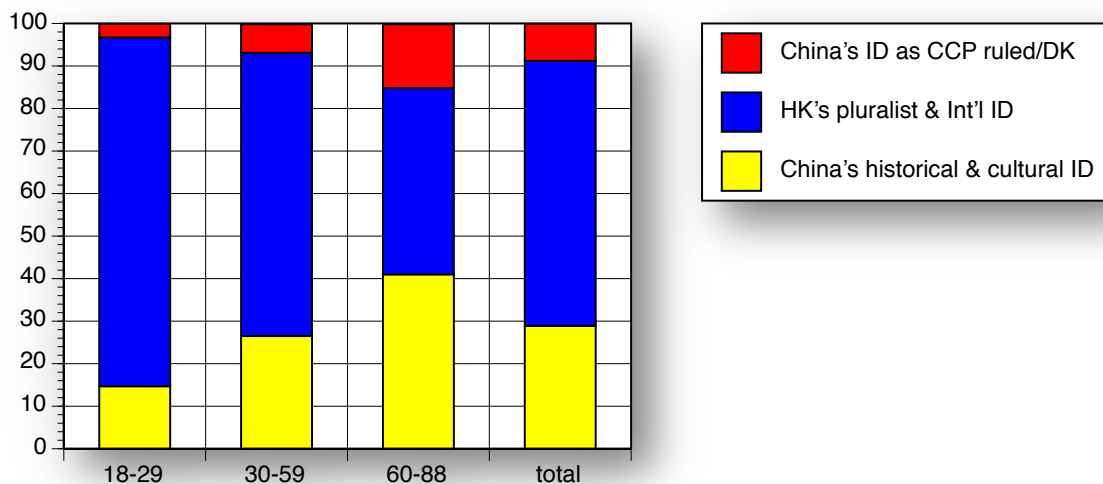
Table 82 shows a similar pattern as personal identity, with older groups who are most likely to say they are Chinese also showing greater preferences for China's identity as CCP ruled.

**Table 82 Protect/Promote ID BY Age groups**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
China's historical & cultural ID	15	27	41	29
HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	82	67	44	62
China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	3	7	15	9
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 82.45 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Men and women agree with no degree of significant difference on personal identity and what identity they consider most important to promote and protect. About a third prefer to identify themselves as Hong Kong person, but nearly two thirds wanted Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international protected.

In terms of birthplace, those born in Hong Kong much more strongly prefer Hong Kong's identity as pluralist and international protected and promoted while those born in Mainland China split more evening with preferring to protect and promote China's historical and cultural identity.

**Table 83 Protect/Promote ID BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
<b>China's historical &amp; cultural ID</b>	26	36	28	29
<b>HK's pluralist &amp; Int'l ID</b>	67	48	56	62
<b>China's ID as CCP ruled/DK</b>	7	15	15	9
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.76 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

The traditional Chinese religions of Buddhism, Taoism and Ancestor Worship show much stronger affinity to protecting and promoting China's historical and cultural identity than the other belief and non-belief groups.

**Table 84 Protect/Promote ID BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>China's historical &amp; cultural ID</b>	26	27	20	42	40	29
<b>HK's pluralist &amp; Int'l ID</b>	65	68	73	47	49	62
<b>China's ID as CCP ruled/DK</b>	9	5	8	11	11	9
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 31.97 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Those of no income prefer the Hong Kong person identity least of all. This group, dominated by retirees, also shows by far the highest proportion choosing the Chinese identity.

**Table 85 Personal ID BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Hong Kong Chinese</b>	29	20	23	21	23
<b>Chinese</b>	26	11	9	12	13
<b>Hong Kong person</b>	19	38	37	36	34
<b>Chinese Hong Konger</b>	26	31	32	32	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 33.50 with 9 df  $p = 0.0001$

The lowest income group is split almost evenly between China's historical and cultural identity and Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity, with the other income groups clearly dominated by preferring the Hong Kong pluralist identity to be protected and promoted.

**Table 86 Protect/Promote ID BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000- 69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>China's historical &amp; cultural ID</b>	42	27	26	28	29
<b>HK's pluralist &amp; Int'l ID</b>	44	64	69	65	63
<b>China's ID as CCP ruled/DK</b>	14	9	5	7	8
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.69 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Those with no ROA outside Hong Kong (meaning non-mainland born persons—Hong Kong born persons of such long family residence they no longer hold mainland Chinese citizenship) show higher levels of Chinese identity than those who have ROA outside Hong Kong, and this category includes many mainlanders who retain the right to live on the mainland, as well as including Hong Kongers who have gained ROA elsewhere than China or Hong Kong.

**Table 87 Personal ID BY Right of Abode outside Hong Kong**

	ROA outside Hong Kong	No ROA	total
<b>Hong Kong Chinese</b>	26	27	27
<b>Chinese</b>	5	17	14
<b>Hong Kong person</b>	42	22	26
<b>Chinese Hong Konger</b>	28	35	33
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.90 with 3 df p = 0.0030

Surprisingly, ROA outside Hong Kong has NO association whatsoever with which identity respondents personally prefer to see protected and promoted. That is, foreign residency does not appear to affect this category. It is not dependent on overseas ties and experience.

**Table 88 Protect/Promote ID BY Right of Abode outside Hong Kong**

	ROA outside Hong Kong	No ROA	total
<b>China's historical &amp; cultural ID</b>	32	36	35
<b>HK's pluralist &amp; Int'l ID</b>	59	56	56
<b>China's ID as CCP ruled/DK</b>	10	8	9
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 0.5625 with 2 df p = 0.7548 NO ASSOCIATION

Personal identity appears nearly the same amongst the work sectors, particularly between the public and private sectors. And this is despite (See Table 90) many in the non-work sector being under age 60.

**Table 89 Personal ID BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Hong Kong Chinese</b>	19	20	26	23
<b>Chinese</b>	13	12	15	14
<b>Hong Kong person</b>	38	38	29	34
<b>Chinese Hong Konger</b>	30	30	29	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 11.17 with 6 df p = 0.0831

**Table 90 Work Sector BY Age groups**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>18-29</b>	15	20	19	19
<b>30-59</b>	78	71	24	50
<b>60-88</b>	7	8	57	31
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 301.8 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001

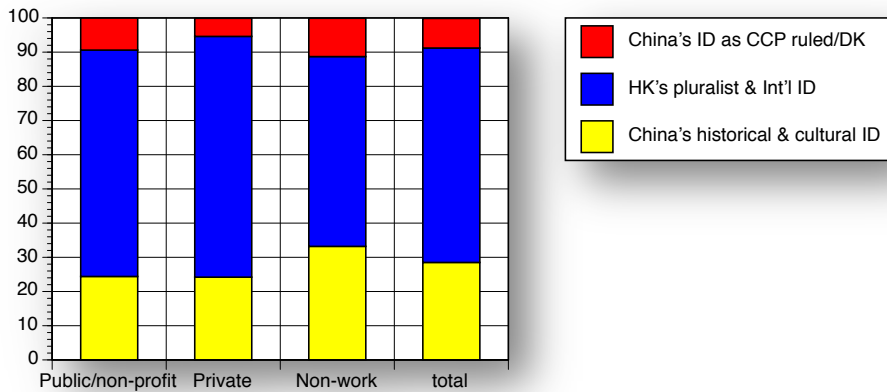
The preference of protecting and promoting China's identity as ruled by the CCP is highest in the retiree dominated non-work sector, but also nearly as high amongst the public sector.

**Table 91 Protect/Promote ID BY Work Sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
China's historical & cultural ID	25	24	33	29
HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	66	70	56	63
China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	9	5	11	9
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 23.00 with 4 df p = 0.0001



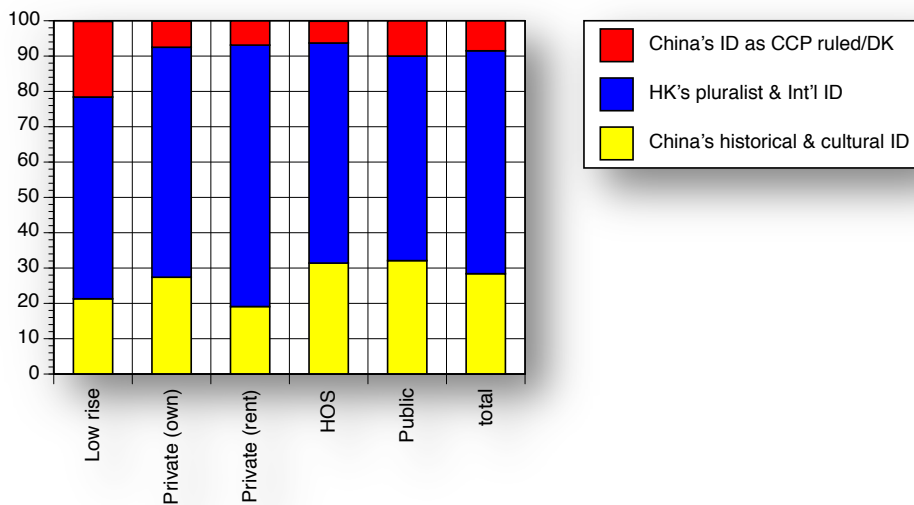
Support for China's identity as CCP ruled is highest in the low rise, elderly New Territories indigenous people occupied housing and in the public housing blocs.

**Table 92 Protect/Promote ID BY Living quarters**

	Low rise	Private (own)	Private (rent)	HOS	Public	total
China's historical & cultural ID	21	28	19	32	32	29
HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	57	65	74	62	58	63
China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	21	7	7	6	10	8
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 18.65 with 8 df p = 0.0168

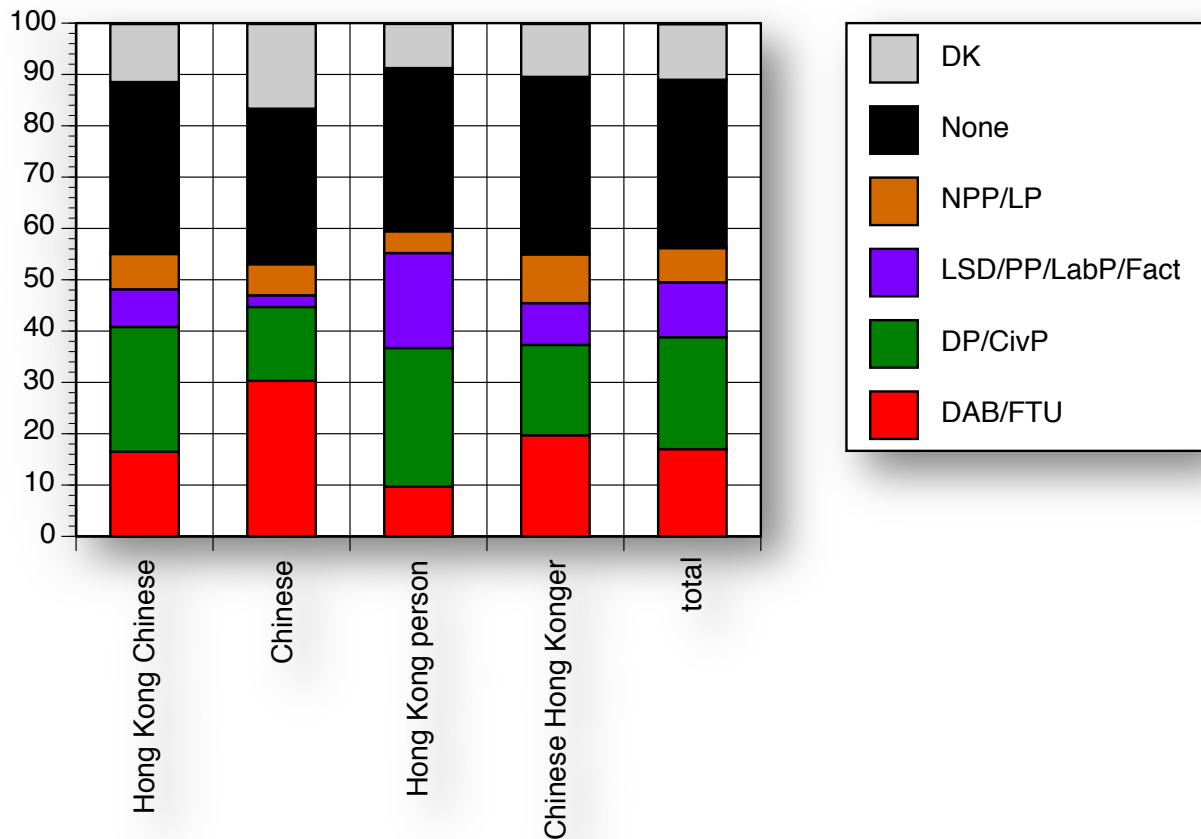


Personal identity preferences appear related to party choice. Almost a third of those who say they are Chinese choose the “pro-Beijing” DAB/FTU as best representing them while only 2% cite the radical pro-democracy parties as best representing them. In contrast, those who say they are Hong Kong persons choose the pro-democracy parties in large numbers.

**Table 93 Personal ID, composition BY Which party represents best**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
DAB/FTU	17	30	10	20	17
DP/CivP	24	14	27	18	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	7	2	19	8	11
NPP/LP	7	6	4	9	7
None	34	30	32	35	33
DK	12	17	9	11	11
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 79.94 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

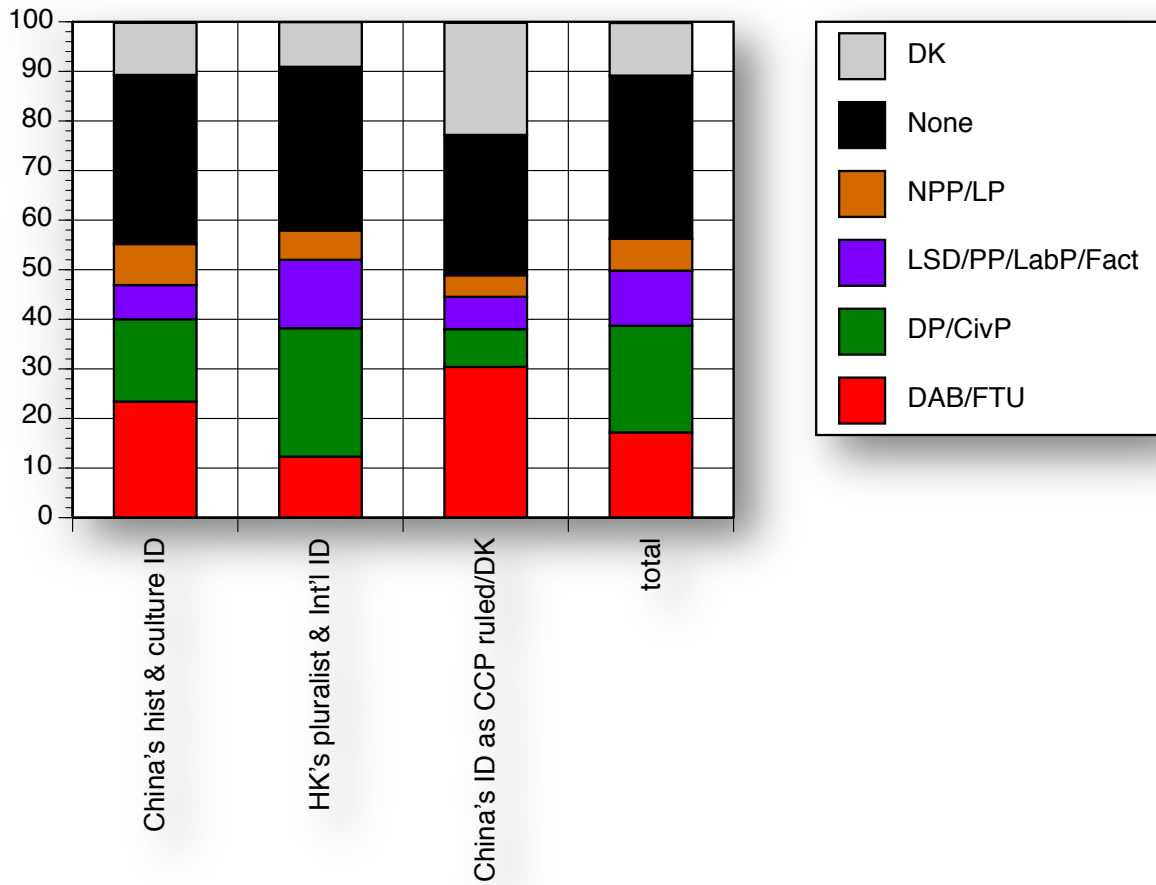


In terms of which parties are chosen according to the identity respondents most want protected and promoted, those who choose China’s identity as ruled by the CCP tend to also say the “pro-Beijing” DAB/FTU best represent them. But this is only about a third of those who say this. Surprisingly, 15% or about half as many as choose the DAB/FTU (30%) say one of the pro-democracy parties, usually seen as anti-communist and anti-Beijing, best represents them (combining DP/CivP and LSD, etc).

**Table 94 Protect/Promote ID, composition BY Which party represents best**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
DAB/FTU	23	12	30	17
DP/CivP	17	26	8	22
LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	7	14	7	11
NPP/LP	8	6	4	6
None	34	33	28	33
DK	11	9	23	11
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 69.21 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



In terms of those who say a party best represents them, about 16% of DAB/FTU adherents say they personally prefer China's identity as ruled by the CCP to be protected and promoted. They are outnumbered considerably, even amongst the DAB/FTU, by those who prefer Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity to protected and promoted. All party leaners show significant proportions who prefer China's historical and cultural identity to be promoted and protected, but all show the largest plurality to be those who want Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity protected and promoted over other identities. The sense that the pro-democracy parties are particularly the protectors of Hong Kong identity and Hong Kong pluralist and international values is not particularly true.

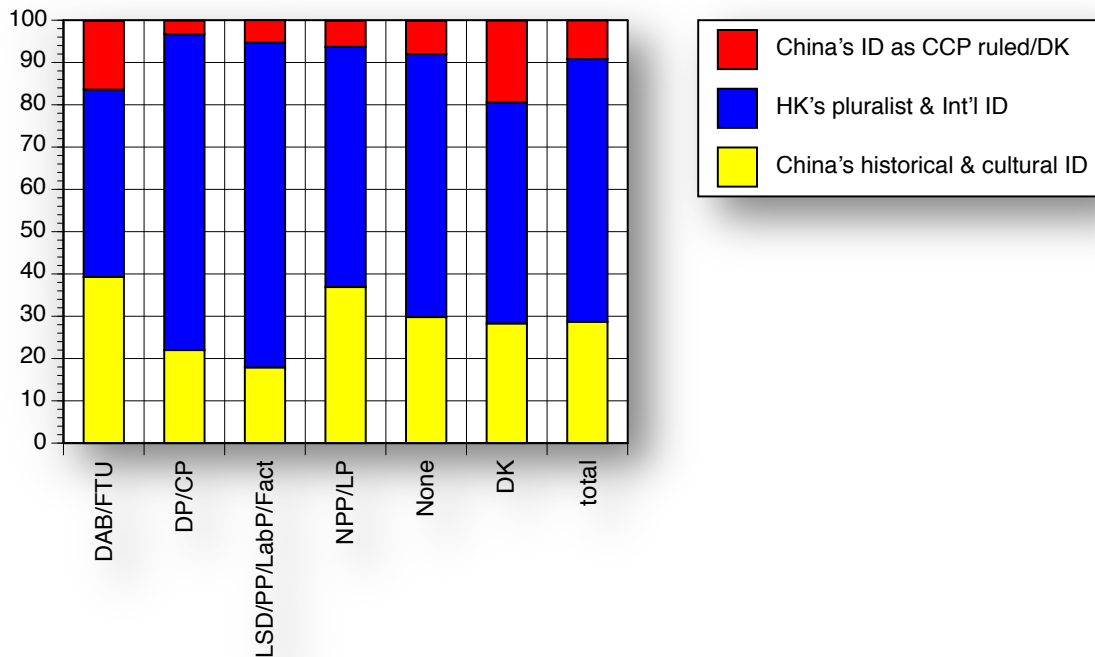


**Table 95 Which party represents best, composition BY Protect/Promote ID**

	DAB/ FTU	DP/ CP	LSD/PP/ LabP/Fact	NPP/ LP	None	DK	total
China's historical & cultural ID	39	22	18	37	30	28	29
HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	45	75	77	57	62	52	62
China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	16	3	5	6	8	19	9
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 69.21 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

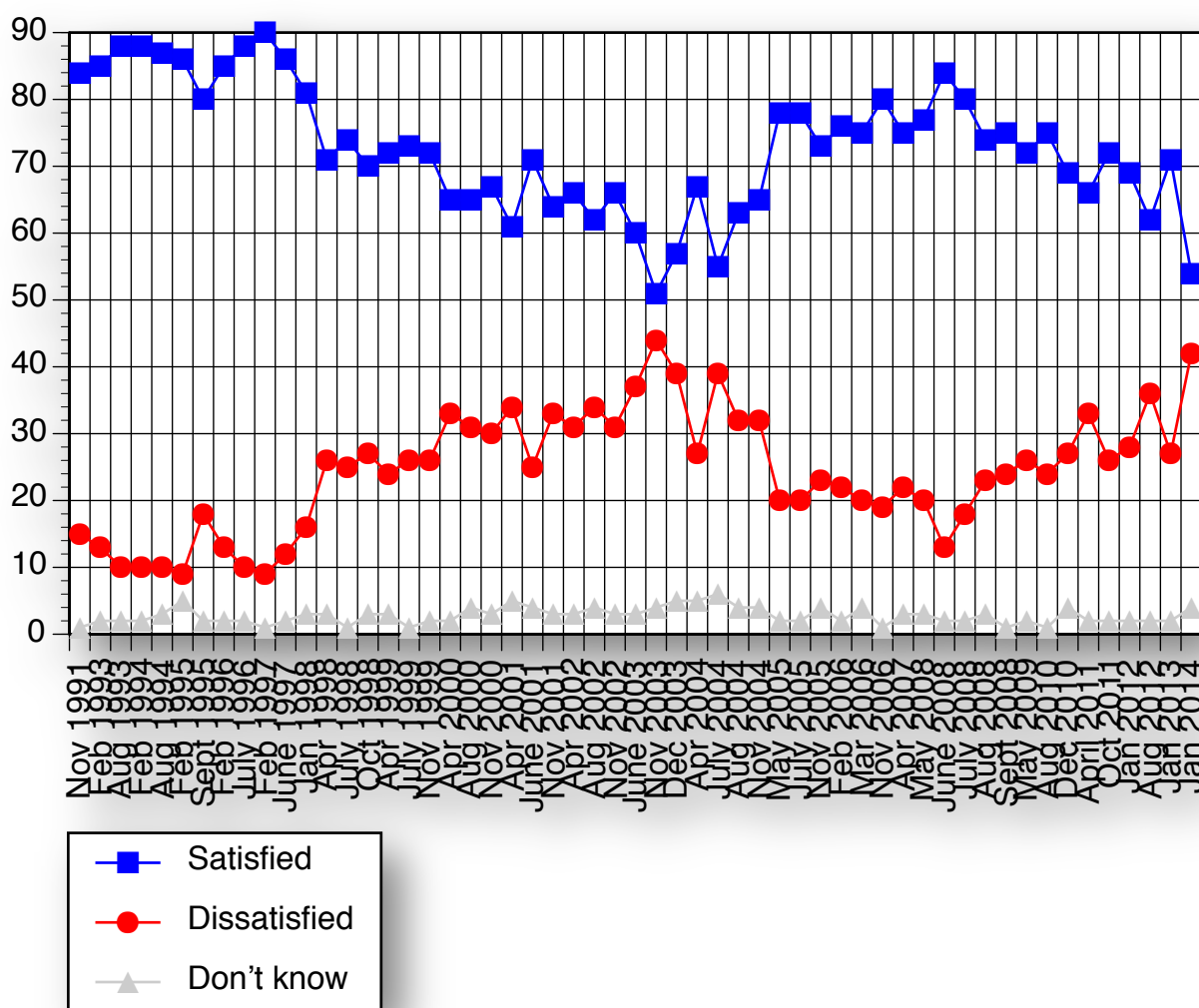


## 2. The Current Governance System: Satisfaction with Performance

As the chart below of Table 1 (Tables begin with number 1 in each section) shows, satisfaction with life in Hong Kong is at lows not seen since the 2003-04 period of very high unrest. Indeed, 60% of respondents in June 2003 were satisfied with life in Hong Kong versus 54% in December/January 2014. Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong rose in the first year of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung's administration, but it has decidedly dropped in the second year of his term of office. The causes of this drop in satisfaction are examined in this Section Two and in Section Three below.

Given the average of satisfaction with life in Hong Kong prior to 1997 never fell below 80% satisfied, and hit 90% satisfied in 1997 just before the handover, the seeming nostalgia for the days of British rule appears to be more of a recollection of greater happiness and satisfaction than in subsequent years. However, the early years of Donald Tsang's administration saw a rebound to rates very close to those seen under the British, with the later years of that administration seeing a slow decline.

Chart of Table 1 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your current life in Hong Kong?\*



\*Table 1 is next page.

In the analysis of the December/January 2014 survey results, the Don't Know responses are dropped. The results with Don't Know responses excluded are as in Table 2. The rise in Don't Know responses typically marks election years or years of constitutional consultations. See the rise in Don't Know responses in 1995, during Patten's Legco reform debates, 1998, just after the handover when the nature of the new regime was uncertain, 2001-02 (before Tung got a second term and as he was pushing a new Principle Officials Accountability System), 2005 during the first constitutional reform debates (hitting 5%), in Dec 2010 during the second reform debate, and now, in the middle of the third constitutional reform debate. So there is a political effect on satisfaction with life in Hong Kong.

Table 2 Recoded Satisfaction/dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	92	9
Dissatisfied	330	34
Satisfied	477	49
Very satisfied	72	7

**Table 1 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your current life in Hong Kong?**

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
<i>Nov 1991</i>	<b>84</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Feb 1993</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>
Aug 1993	<b>88</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>
Feb 1994	<b>88</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>
Aug 1994	<b>87</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>
Feb 1995	<b>86</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>
Sept 1995	<b>80</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>
Feb 1996	<b>85</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>
July 1996	<b>88</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>
Feb 1997	<b>90</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>June 1997</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Jan 1998</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>
Apr 1998	<b>71</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>3</b>
July 1998	<b>74</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1</b>
Oct 1998	<b>70</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>
Apr 1999	<b>72</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3</b>
July 1999	<b>73</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1</b>
Nov 1999	<b>72</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>
Apr 2000	<b>65</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>
Aug 2000	<b>65</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>
Nov 2000	<b>67</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>
Apr 2001	<b>61</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>5</b>
June 2001	<b>71</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>4</b>
Nov 2001	<b>64</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>3</b>
Apr 2002	<b>66</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>
Aug 2002	<b>62</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>4</b>
Nov 2002	<b>66</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>June 2003</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Nov 2003</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Dec 2003</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>5</b>
Apr 2004	<b>67</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>
July 2004	<b>55</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6</b>
Aug 2004	<b>63</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>
Nov 2004	<b>65</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>May 2005</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>
July 2005	<b>78</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>
Nov 2005	<b>73</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4</b>
Feb 2006	<b>76</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>
Mar 2006	<b>75</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>
Nov 2006	<b>80</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>
Apr 2007	<b>75</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>
May 2008	<b>77</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>
June 2008	<b>84</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>
July 2008	<b>80</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>
Aug 2008	<b>74</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>3</b>
Sept 2008	<b>75</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1</b>
May 2009	<b>72</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>
Aug 2010	<b>75</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1</b>
Dec 2010	<b>69</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>4</b>
April 2011	<b>66</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>
Oct 2011	<b>72</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>
Jan 2012	<b>69</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Aug 2012</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>2</b>
Jan 2013	<b>71</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Jan 2014</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>

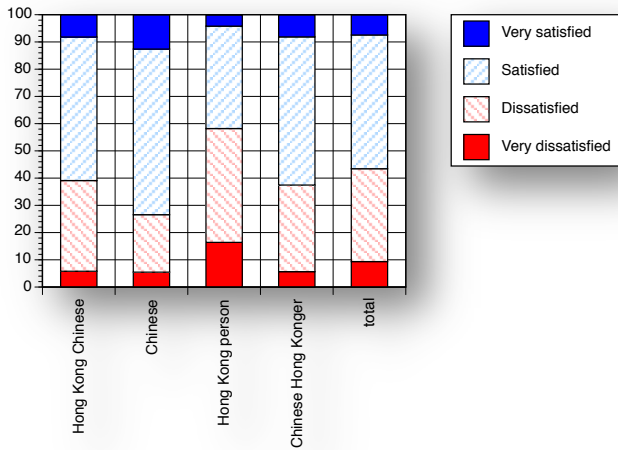
Those who say Hong Kong person identity best describes them show higher levels of dissatisfaction than those with other identities, and those who prefer the Hong Kong identity as pluralist and international be promoted and protected also show higher levels (Table 4)

**Table 3 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	6	5	16	6	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	21	42	32	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	53	61	38	54	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	8	13	4	8	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 62.80 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

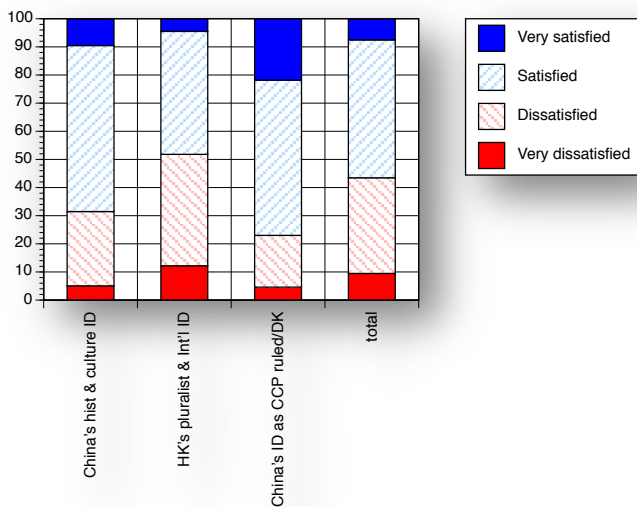


**Table 4 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Protect/Promote Identity**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	12	5	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	26	40	18	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	59	44	55	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	4	22	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 71.98 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001



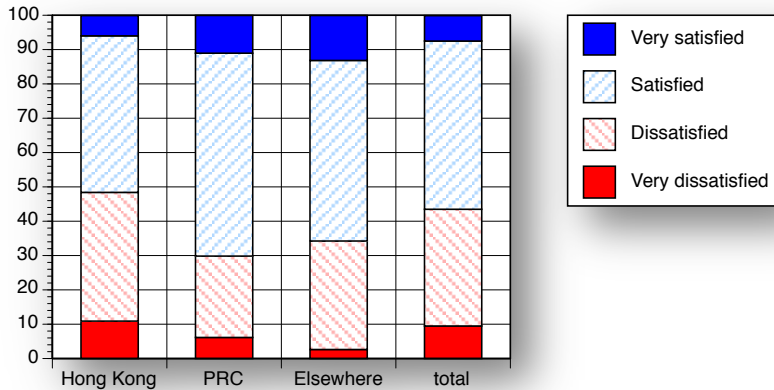
Nearly half of those born in Hong Kong say they are dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong.

**Table 5 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	11	6	3	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	24	32	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	46	59	53	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	11	13	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.03 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



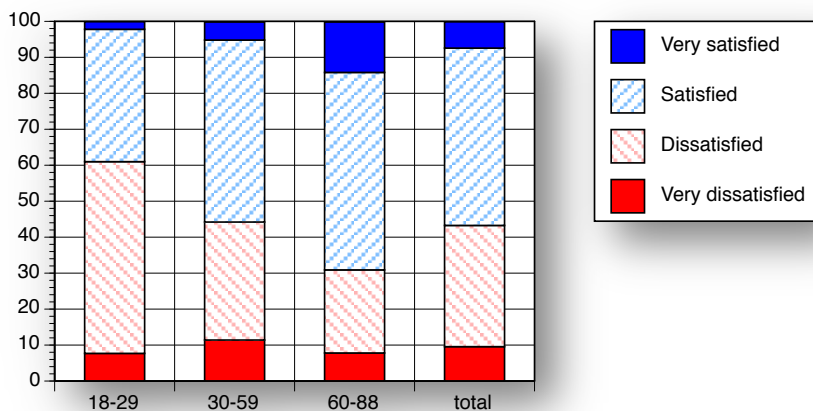
Dissatisfaction with life drops with age, with a majority of those under age 30 saying they are dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong.

**Table 6 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Generational groups**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	8	11	8	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	53	33	23	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	37	51	55	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	2	5	14	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 70.84 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong appears greatest in those in their 20s, but the highest level of very dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong, one in five, appears amongst those in their 30s.

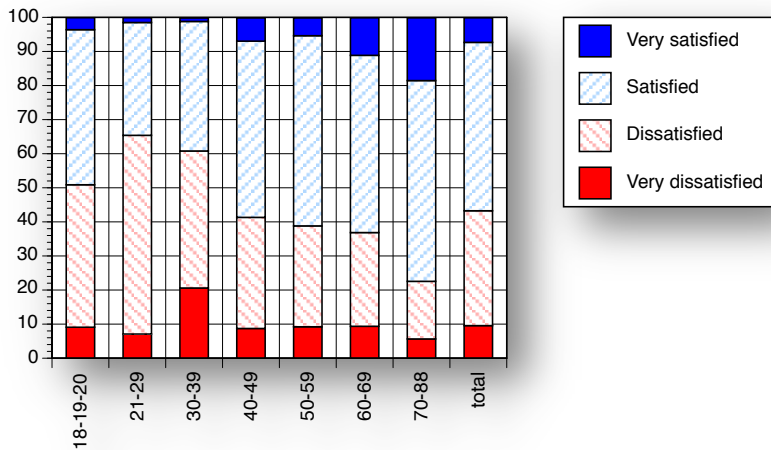
Students, professionals and managers and administrators show the highest levels of dissatisfaction, with a majority dissatisfied in these groups. (Table 8)

**Table 7 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Age groups**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	9	7	21	9	9	9	6	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	42	58	40	33	30	28	17	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	46	33	38	52	56	52	59	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	2	1	7	5	11	19	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 105.4 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001



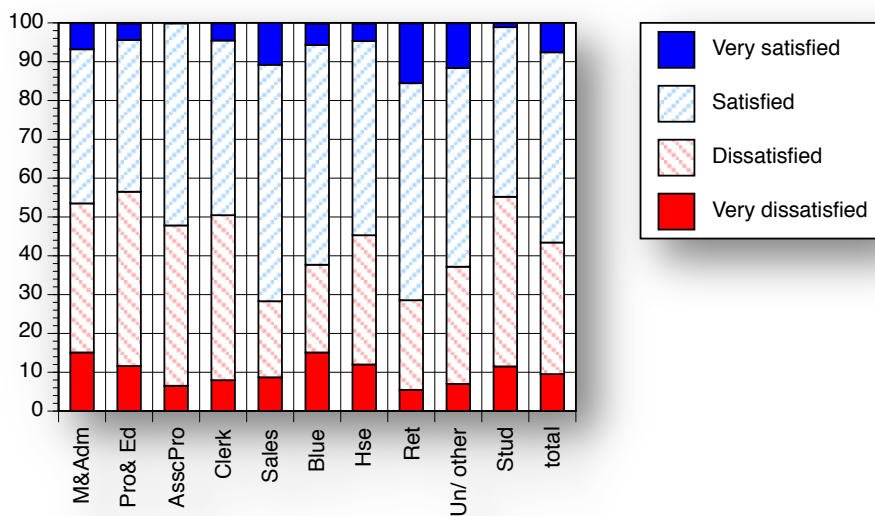
**Table 8 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	15	12	7	8	9	15	12	5	7	12	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	45	41	43	20	23	33	23	30	44	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	40	39	52	45	61	57	50	56	51	44	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	4	0	4	11	6	5	16	12	1	8
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 78.91 with 27 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Key Below**



**Key: Occupation**

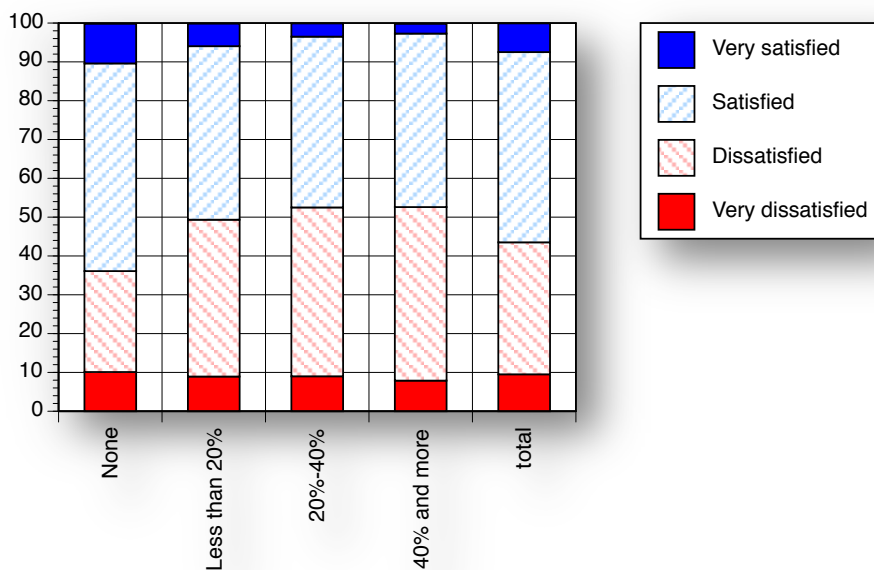
		%
<b>M&amp;Adm</b>	Managers/Admin	8
<b>Pro/Ed</b>	Professionals/Educators	14
<b>Assoc Pro</b>	Associate professionals	5
<b>Clerk</b>	Clerks/Secretary	12
<b>Sales</b>	Service & Sales	5
<b>Blue</b>	Blue collar	6
<b>House</b>	Housewife	11
<b>Ret</b>	Retiree	26
<b>Un/other</b>	Unemployed/Other	5
<b>Stud</b>	Student	9

There is also an association of dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong and the amount of personal income respondents contribute to their parents. As can be seen in the Chart of Section 1 Table 15, reproduced next page for convenience, those under 30 contribute most to their parents, followed by those 30-59. This is the hidden burden of aging already bearing down on those in their 20s and 30s in particular, who face the burden of rising home prices, paying back student loans, drops in average salaries over the previous decade, and trying to start families, all at the same time. Those who pay their parents none of their income show distinctly higher levels of satisfaction, and the highest level of being very satisfied with life in Hong Kong. More family friendly policies, such as placing families closer together in public housing or HOS housing so various generations can assist each other in tasks ranging from child care to aging care, and assisting families to place children in schools closer to their homes, are two low or no cost policies that might have an appreciable effect on attitudes.

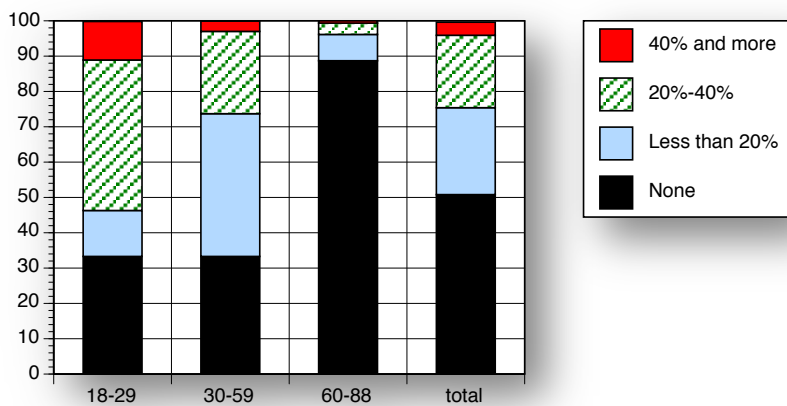
**Table 9 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY % Personal income contributed to parents**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	10	9	9	8	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	26	40	44	45	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	54	45	44	45	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	10	6	4	3	8
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 34.35 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Chart of Section 1 Table 15 Percentage of income to parents BY Age groups**

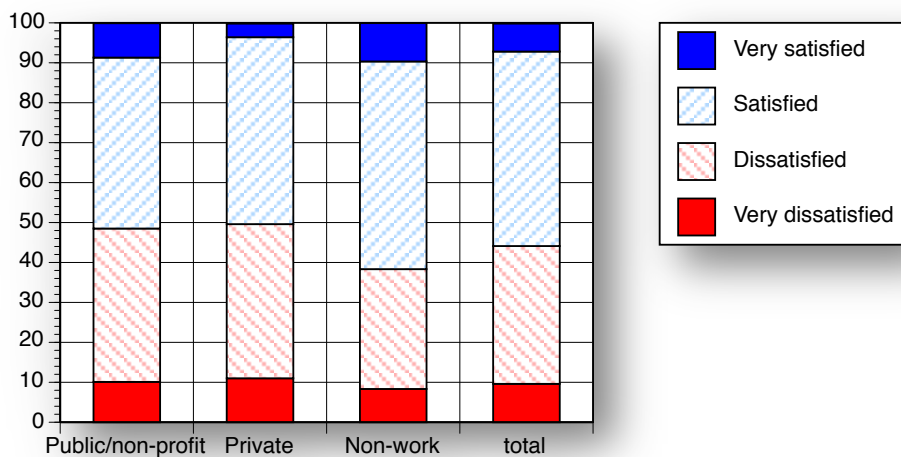


While the public/non-profit and private sector workers appear almost identical in satisfaction levels, those in the public sector appear to have greater levels of very satisfied than in the private sector.

**Table 10 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	10	11	8	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	39	30	35
<b>Satisfied</b>	43	47	52	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	4	10	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 19.80 with 6 df p = 0.0030



But most significant of all demographic and attitudinal variables to this point appears in Table 11. Those with higher levels of education, such as university graduates and post-graduates, show much higher levels of dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong than those with less education. Majorities of both university graduates and post-graduates say they are dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong. However, the issue does not appear to be wholly money related, as Table 12 shows lowest income groups with lowest levels of dissatisfaction.

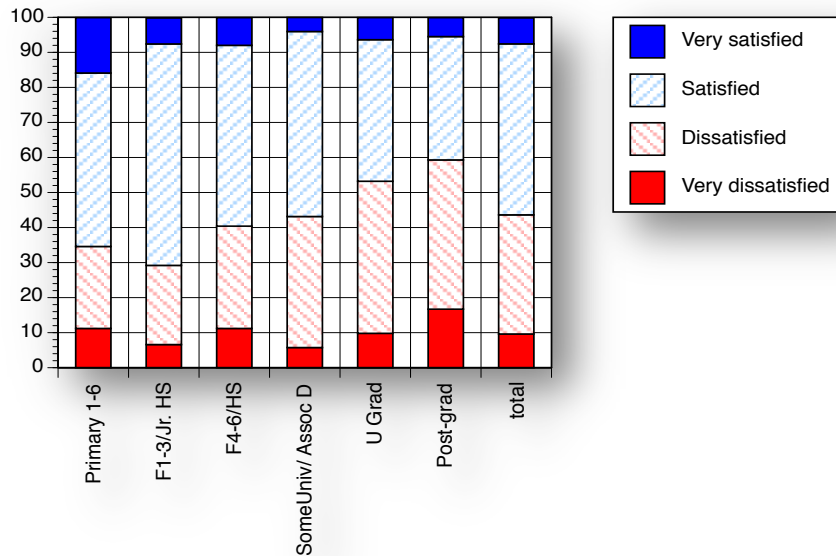


**Table 11 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	11	7	11	6	10	17	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	23	23	29	37	43	43	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	50	63	52	53	40	35	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	16	8	8	4	6	6	8
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 50.31 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001

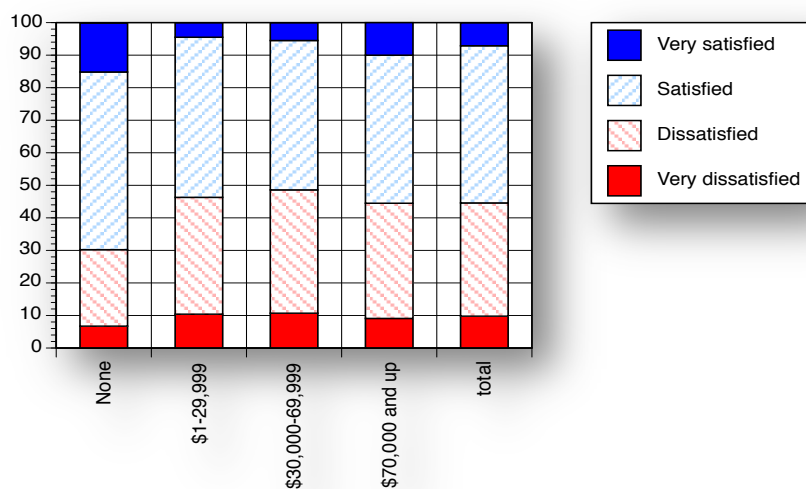


**Table 12 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	7	10	11	9	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	24	36	38	35	35
<b>Satisfied</b>	55	49	46	46	48
<b>Very satisfied</b>	15	5	6	10	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 24.33 with 9 df p = 0.0038



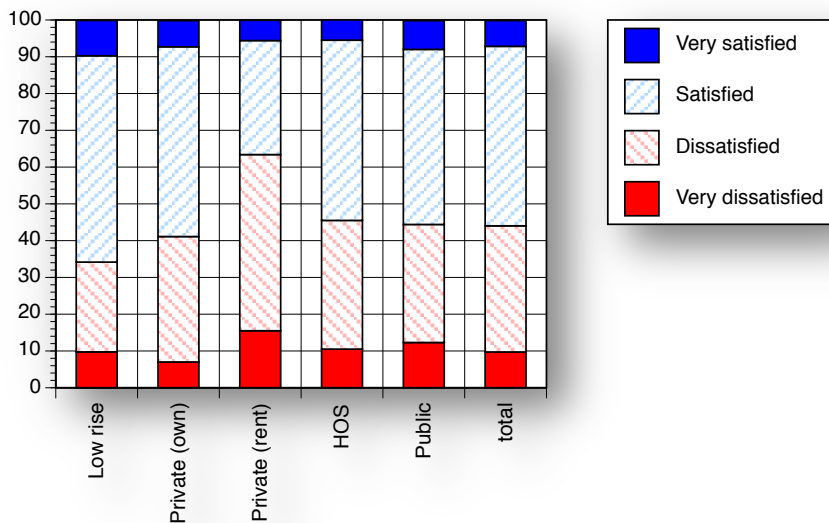
Those who live in rented housing are by far more dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong than those who live in any other housing type.

**Table 13 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Living quarters**

	Low rise	Private (own)	Private (rent)	HOS	Public	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	10	7	16	11	12	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	24	34	48	35	32	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	56	52	31	49	48	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	10	7	6	6	8	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.00 with 12 df p = 0.0671



Dissatisfaction is also higher among those who can vote in the 30 traditional Functional constituencies, backing the earlier finding that professionals and managers and administrators show higher levels of dissatisfaction. These groups also have much higher proportions who have a right to vote in an FC.

**Table 14 Registration to vote, distribution BY Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong**

	GeoC only	GeoC & FunctC	Not registered/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	9	17	10	10
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	36	37	27	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	50	39	55	50
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	7	9	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.89 with 6 df p = 0.0143

Registered voters seem more dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong, with both the very dissatisfied and satisfied showing much higher levels of voter registration than those who are satisfied. Up to 40% of those who are very satisfied are not registered to vote while just 29% of those very dissatisfied are not registered.

**Table 15 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Registration to vote**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>Geographic only</b>	54	65	60	49	60
<b>Both GC &amp; FCs</b>	17	11	8	11	10
<b>Not registered/DK</b>	29	24	33	40	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.89 with 6 df p = 0.0143

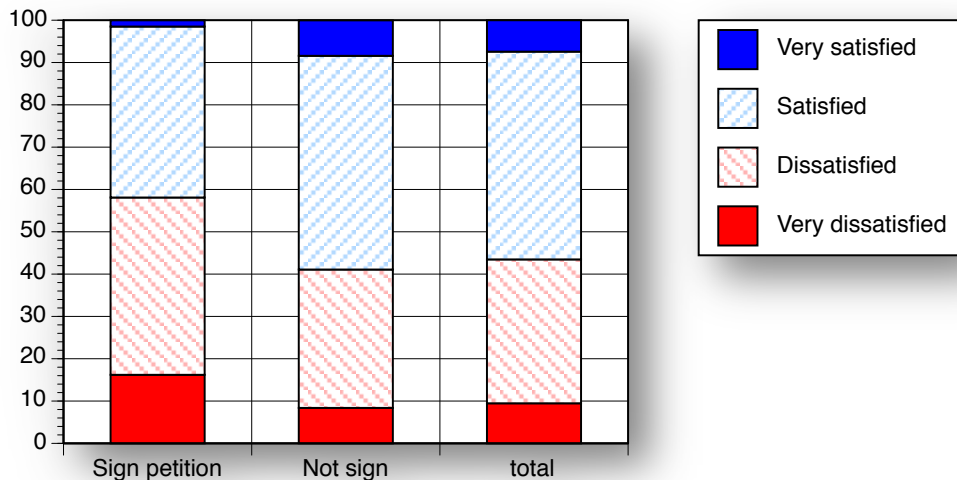
Signing a petition is associated with higher levels of dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong, as Table 16 shows and Table 17 confirms by showing a drop in petition signing as levels of satisfaction go from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. However, as Table 18 shows, joining a protest is even more associated with dissatisfaction than petition signing.

**Table 16 Signed a petition in previous year, distribution of Satisfaction with life**

	Sign petition	Not sign	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	8	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	42	33	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	40	51	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	8	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.38 with 3 df p = 0.0001



**Table 17 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong, distribution of Signed a petition**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>Sign petition</b>	24	17	12	3	14
<b>Not sign</b>	76	83	89	97	86
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

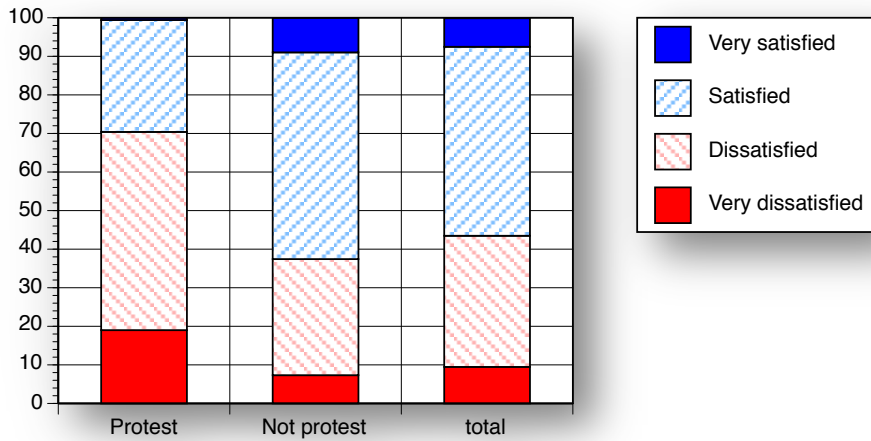
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.38 with 3 df p = 0.0001

**Table 18 Joined a protest in previous year, distribution of Satisfaction with life**

	Protest	Not protest	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	19	7	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	51	30	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	29	54	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	9	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

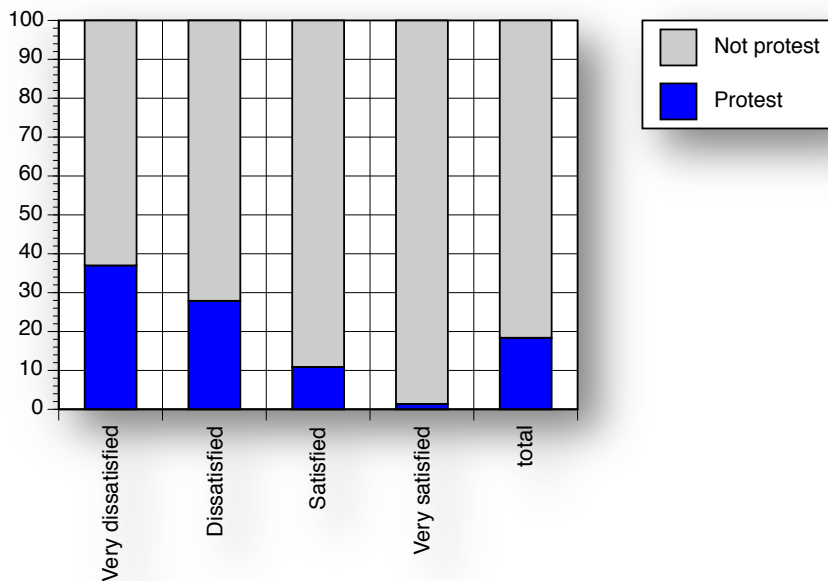
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 72.48 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 19 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong, distribution of Joined a protest**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>Protest</b>	37	28	11	1	18
<b>Not protest</b>	63	72	89	99	82
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 72.48 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



The association of protesting and petition signing and higher levels of dissatisfaction also shows up with donating to a political group in the previous year. Nearly one in five of those who

donated (19%) say they are very dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong versus 8 percent very dissatisfied among those who did not donate. While 3% of those who donated are very satisfied, 8% of those who did not donate are very satisfied. As seen in this report, most donations are to groups in opposition to the government. As Table 21 shows, many more who are very dissatisfied donate (22%) versus the very satisfied (4% donated).

**Table 20 Donate to political group, distribution of Satisfaction with life**

	Not donate	Donate	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	8	19	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	42	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	51	36	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	8	3	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.47 with 3 df p = 0.0001

**Table 21 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Donate to political group**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>Not donate</b>	78	86	92	96	89
<b>Donate</b>	22	14	8	4	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.47 with 3 df p = 0.0001

Dissatisfaction also appears related to which party respondents see as best representing them.

**Table 22 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong BY Which party represents best**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	9	8	22	42	18
<b>DP/CivP</b>	27	28	20	3	22
<b>LSD/PP/LabP/Fact</b>	27	14	8	1	11
<b>NPP/LP</b>	2	5	8	10	6
<b>None</b>	28	40	29	29	33
<b>DK</b>	7	5	13	15	10
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 132.2 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001

And clearly, as may be seen in the chart, next page, while all parties hold large groups of dissatisfied (one in five even among the DAB/FTU), the pro-democracy parties have majorities dissatisfied. However, those who say no party represents them show a bare majority dissatisfied.

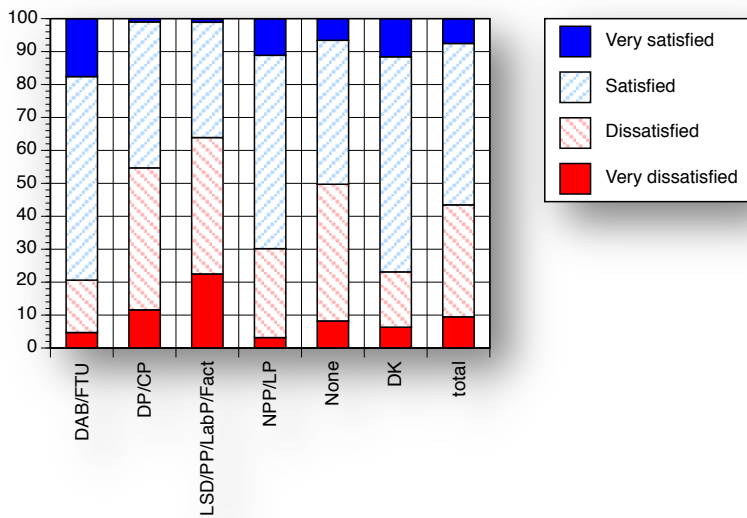
**Table 23 Which party represents best, distribution of Satisfaction with life**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	12	23	3	8	6	9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	16	43	41	27	42	17	34
<b>Satisfied</b>	62	44	35	59	44	65	49
<b>Very satisfied</b>	18	1	1	11	7	12	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

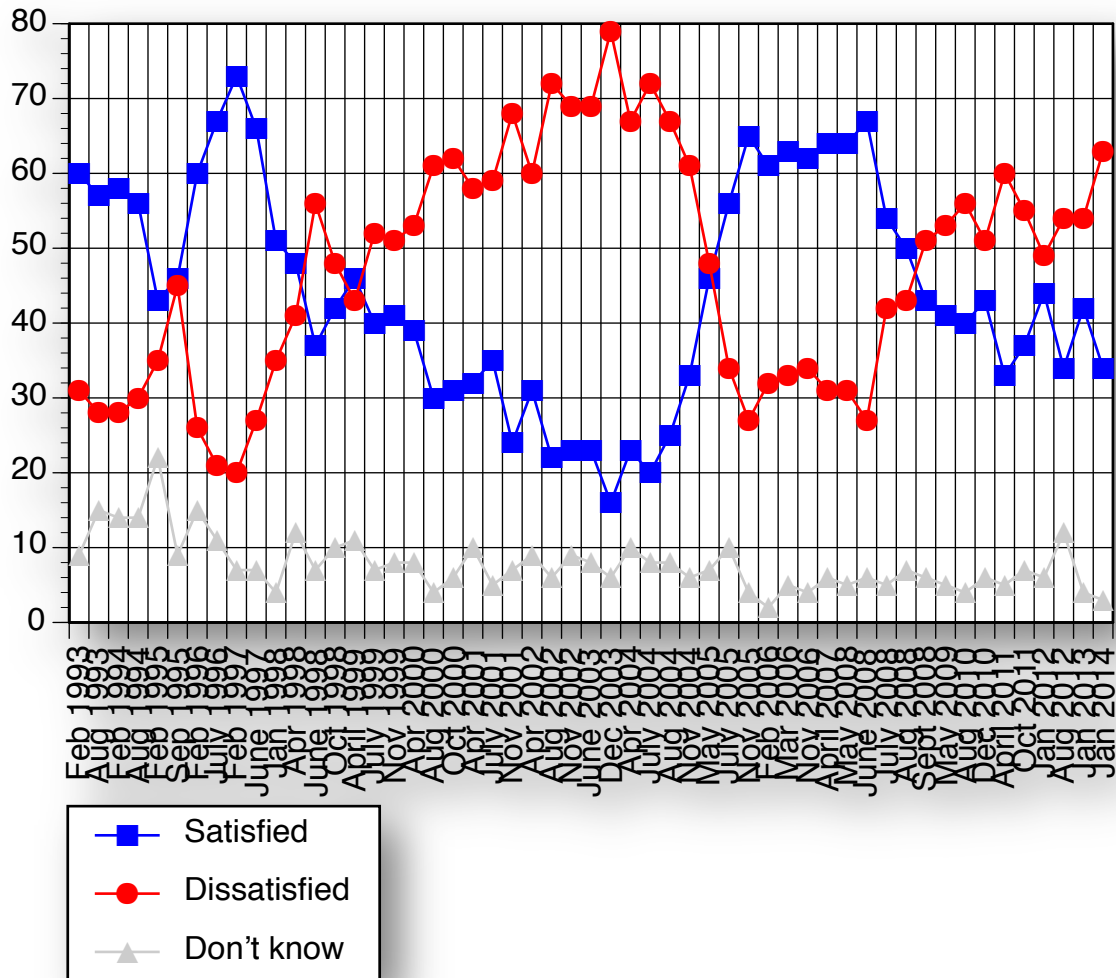
Chi-square = 132.2 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart of Table 23 Which party represents best, distribution of Satisfaction with life



Dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong is not the only measure showing levels nearing those of the 2003-04 period. So too with dissatisfaction with the performance of the government.

Chart of Table 24 Currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the SAR Government



The level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government, 63%, is higher than at any time under CE Donald Tsang, and within the margin of error of the 2003-04 period.

**Table 24 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the SAR 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
<b>June 1997</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Jan 1998</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4</b>
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
<b>June 2003</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Dec 2003</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Apr 2004</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>July 2004</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>8</b>
Aug 2004	25	67	8
Nov 2004	33	61	6
<b>May 2005</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>7</b>
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
Dec 2010	43	51	6
April 2011	33	60	5
Oct 2011	37	55	7
Jan 2012	44	49	6
<b>Aug 2012</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>12</b>
Jan 2013	42	54	4
<b>Jan 2014</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>3</b>

Table 25 shows the recoded results for the latest survey.

**Table 25 Recoded Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the SAR Government? (Don't Know responses dropped).**

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	254	26
Dissatisfied	379	39
Satisfied	288	30
Very satisfied	49	5

Those born in Hong Kong show significantly higher levels of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government than those born in the PRC or elsewhere.

**Table 26 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Birth**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
Very dissatisfied	29	18	18	26
Dissatisfied	42	31	29	39
Satisfied	25	43	42	30
Very satisfied	4	8	11	5
total	100	100	100	100

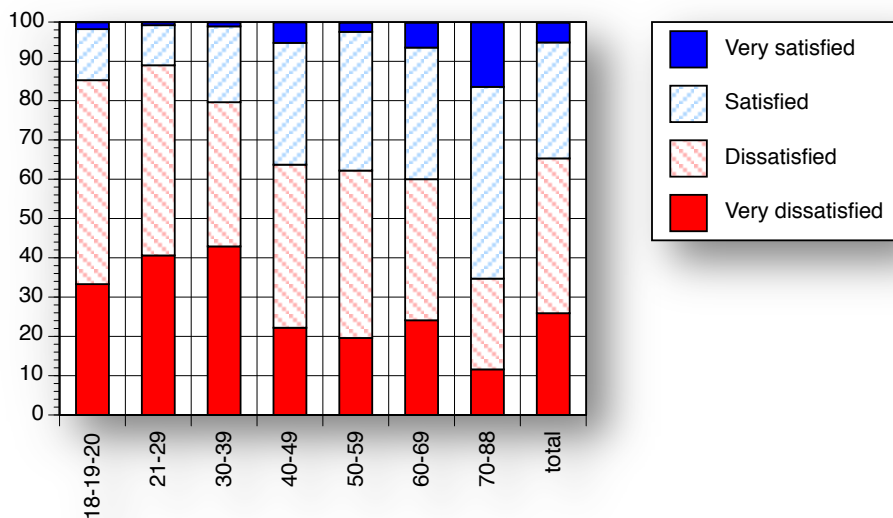
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 45.95 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

There is an extraordinary level of dissatisfaction among those under 40, and particularly among those in their 20s.

**Table 27 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Very dissatisfied	33	41	43	22	20	24	12	26
Dissatisfied	52	48	37	42	43	36	23	39
Satisfied	13	10	19	31	35	34	49	30
Very satisfied	2	1	1	5	2	6	17	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 137.6 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$





Students show 9 out of 10 dissatisfied with SAR government performance, with professionals and educators, associate professionals, and clerks registering nearly three out of four dissatisfied.

**Table 28 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	37	33	40	28	17	14	26	17	20	34	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	29	43	32	45	41	45	42	30	42	56	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	33	22	26	23	35	37	32	41	31	11	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	2	2	4	7	4	1	13	7	0	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 108.1 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

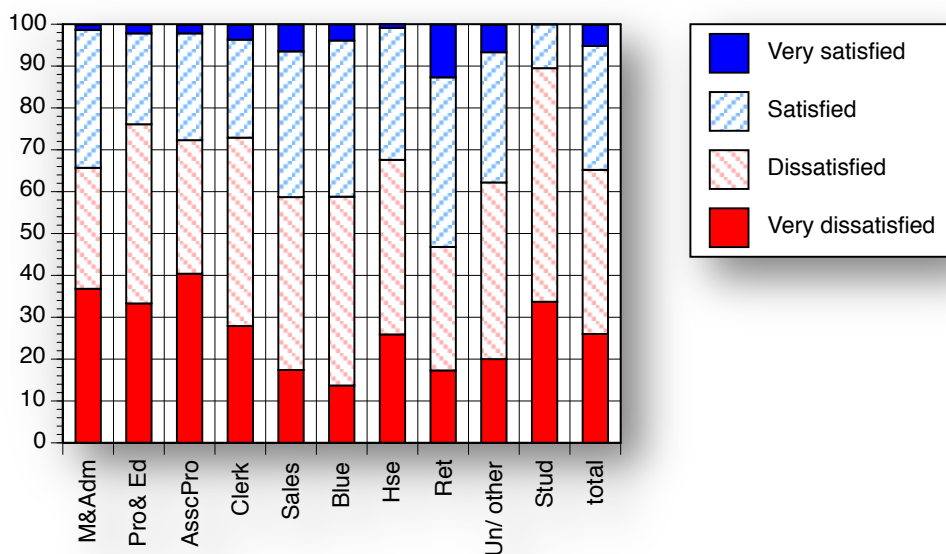


Table 29 and chart (next page) show a relationship between education below junior high school (Form 3) showing bare majorities dissatisfied, but rising levels up to university graduates and post-graduates who show 75% dissatisfied.

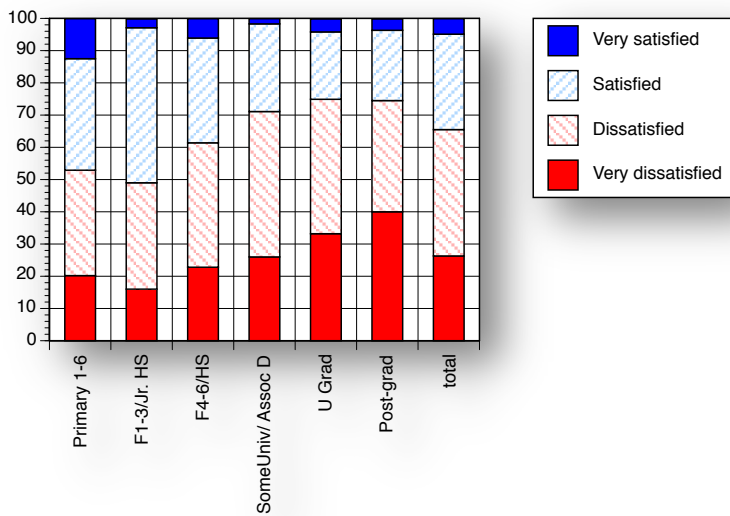
**Table 29 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	16	23	26	33	40	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	33	39	45	42	35	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	35	48	33	27	21	22	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	13	3	6	2	4	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 60.16 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 29 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Education**



While higher income tends to show higher dissatisfaction, support for aging parents (Table 31) shows a stronger effect with dissatisfaction.

**Table 30 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Income**

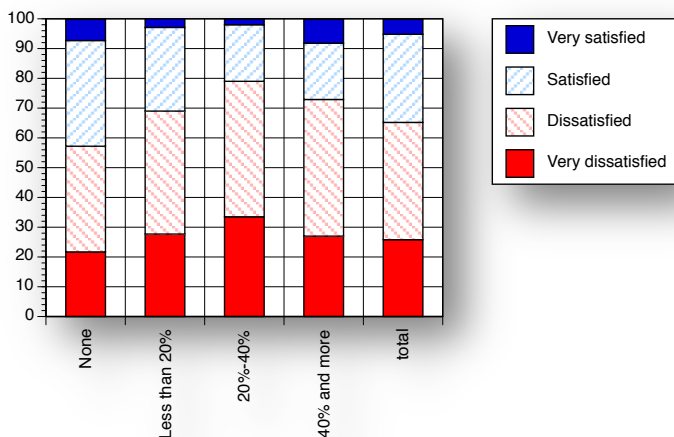
	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	14	26	30	28	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	43	40	37	40
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	28	26	30	29
<b>Very satisfied</b>	14	2	4	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 44.65 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 31 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Personal income to parents**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	22	28	34	27	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	36	41	46	46	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	36	28	19	19	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	3	2	8	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 38.13 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



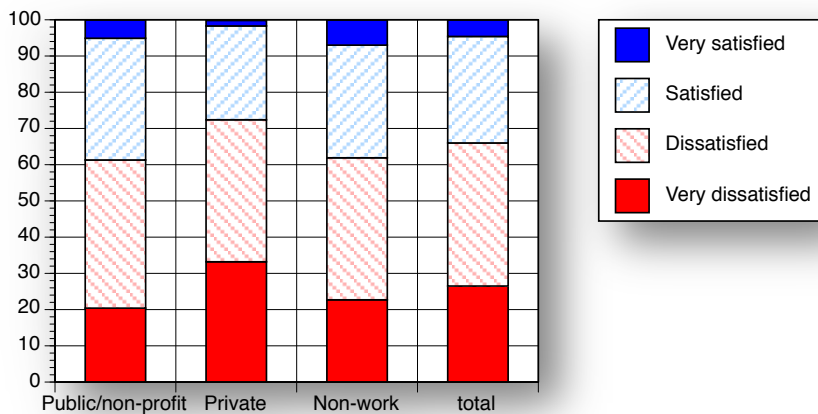
Even the public/non-profit sector, many who are civil servants or who work for quasi-government entities like the Housing Authority or Airport Authority, express dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government. The three tier pay system of the civil service is obviously severely undercutting support for the government. “Reforms” under Tung Chee Hwa, the first Chief Executive of the SAR, implemented a different pay and retirement scheme for older civil servants from new hires, and the government has increased the proportion of poorly paid contract workers instead of permanent positions even over the lower paid permanent staff.

**Table 32 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	33	23	27
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	41	39	39	40
<b>Satisfied</b>	34	26	31	29
<b>Very satisfied</b>	5	2	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.88 with 6 df p = 0.0002



**Table 33 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	30	28	26	18	19	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	44	45	38	39	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	27	27	28	36	36	29
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	2	2	8	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.47 with 12 df p = 0.0587

**Table 34 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	22	13	42	15	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	42	29	41	41	40
<b>Satisfied</b>	31	50	15	38	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	5	9	2	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 114.7 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

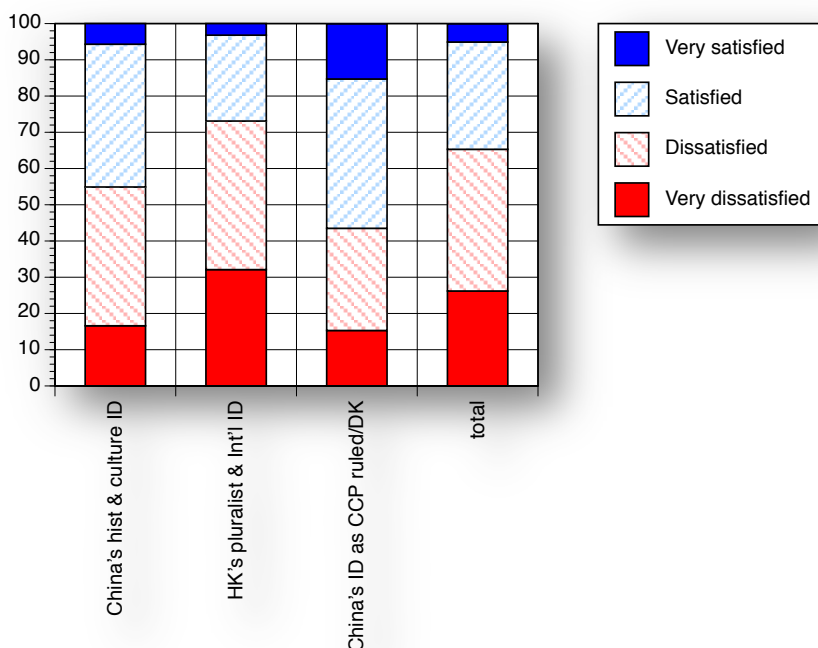
All aspects of identity show significant levels of dissatisfaction, even among those who would like to see China's identity as ruled by the CCP protected and promoted.

**Table 35 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Protect and promote identity**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	17	32	15	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	41	28	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	24	41	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	3	15	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 66.30 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



While the DAB/FTU registers the lowest level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government, even among those who say this bloc best represents them one in four are dissatisfied. Among the radical democrats, nearly two thirds say they are very dissatisfied. But about one in four of those who say no party represents them say they are very dissatisfied.

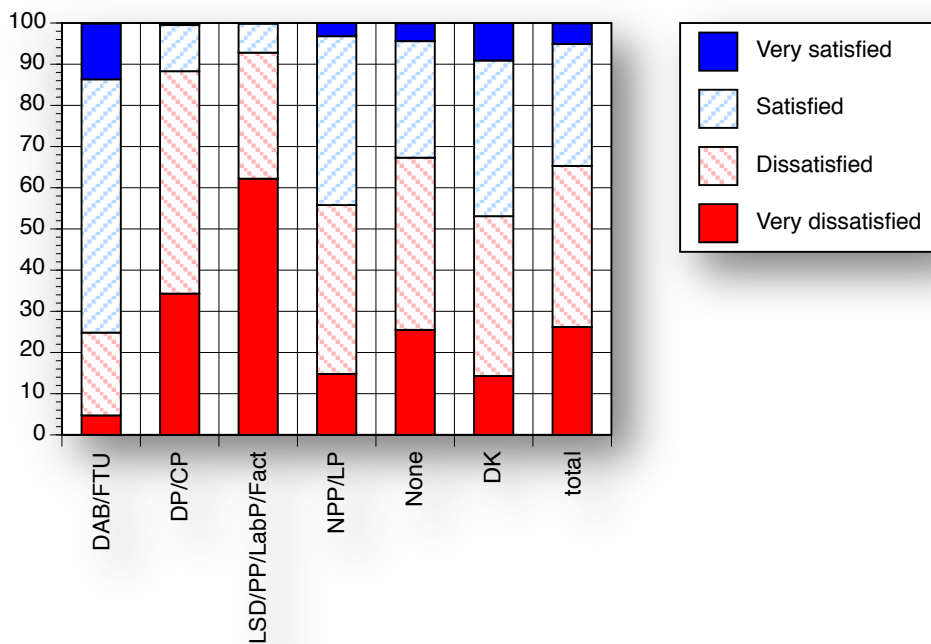
**Table 36 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	34	62	15	26	14	26
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	20	54	31	41	42	39	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	62	11	7	41	28	38	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	14	0	0	3	4	9	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 277.5 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 36 Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance BY Which party represents best**



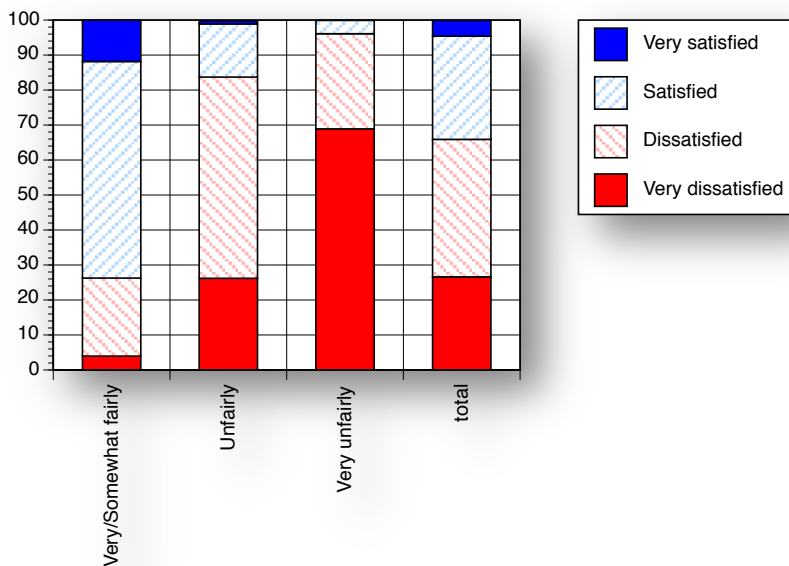
The strongest factor associated with satisfaction levels appears to be perceptions of the fairness or unfairness of policy making by the government (see more on this aspect below).

**Table 37 Fairness of policy making, distribution by Satisfaction with SAR Gov performance**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	4	26	69	27
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	22	58	27	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	62	15	4	30
<b>Very satisfied</b>	12	1	0	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

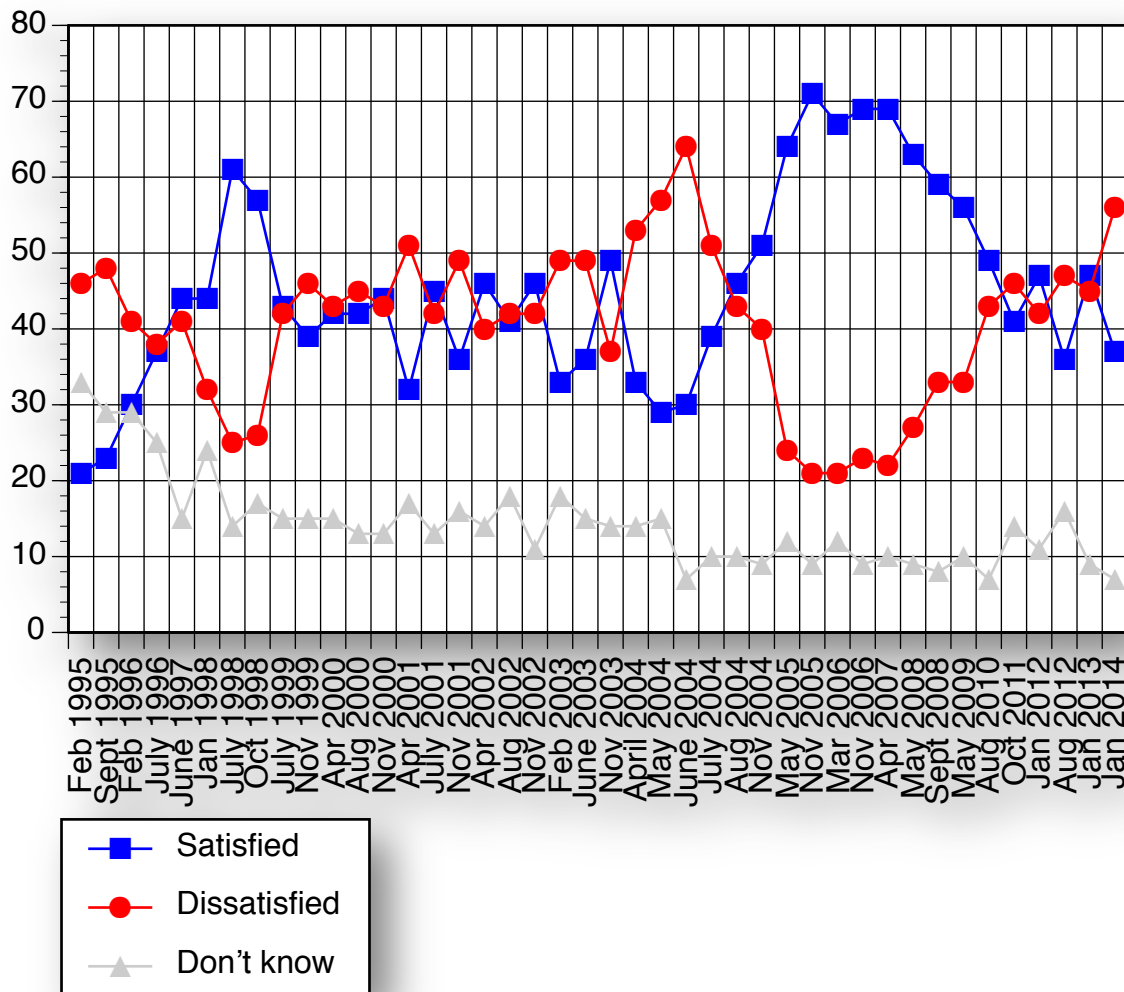
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 494.9 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



The level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the SAR government in dealing with the PRC government is higher than it was in 2003, approaching the peak of dissatisfaction seen in 2004 when a second massive march on 1 July took place. In May 2004 dissatisfaction hit 57%, statistically the same as Dec/Jan 2014 level of 56% dissatisfied. With Don't Know responses removed, 60% of respondents with a view say they dissatisfied. Among students, 80% are dissatisfied with government to government affairs.

**Chart of Table 38 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov in dealing with PRC Gov**



See Table 38 next page.

Table 39 drops the Don't Know responses. This is the distribution used in the following cross-tabulations with demographic and attitudinal data.

**Table 39 Recoded Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov in dealing with PRC**

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	208	22
Dissatisfied	355	38
Satisfied	329	35
Very satisfied	44	5

**Table 38 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov in dealing with 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
<b>June 1997</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Jan 1998</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24</b>
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
<b>June 2003</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Nov 2003</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>April 2004</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>May 2004</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>June 2004</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>7</b>
July 2004	39	51	10
Aug 2004	46	43	10
Nov 2004	51	40	9
<b>May 2005</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>
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
Oct 2011	41	46	14
Jan 2012	47	42	11
<b>Aug 2012</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>16</b>
Jan 2013	47	45	9
<b>Jan 2014</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>7</b>

**Table 40 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	25	14	14	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	40	31	38	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	31	48	38	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3	8	11	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 36.37 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

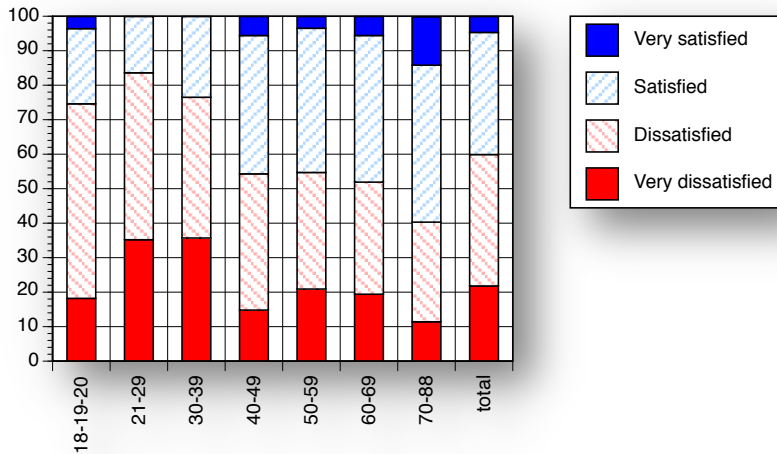
More than three out of four under age 40 are dissatisfied with the SAR government's dealing with the PRC. But, as Table 42 shows, students are not alone in showing high dissatisfaction.

**Table 41 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	18.2	35.2	35.7	14.8	20.9	19.4	11.4	21.8
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	56.4	48.4	40.8	39.5	33.8	32.5	28.9	38.1
<b>Satisfied</b>	21.8	16.4	23.5	40.1	41.8	42.5	45.6	35.4
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3.64	0	0	5.56	3.48	5.62	14.0	4.68
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 104.8 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

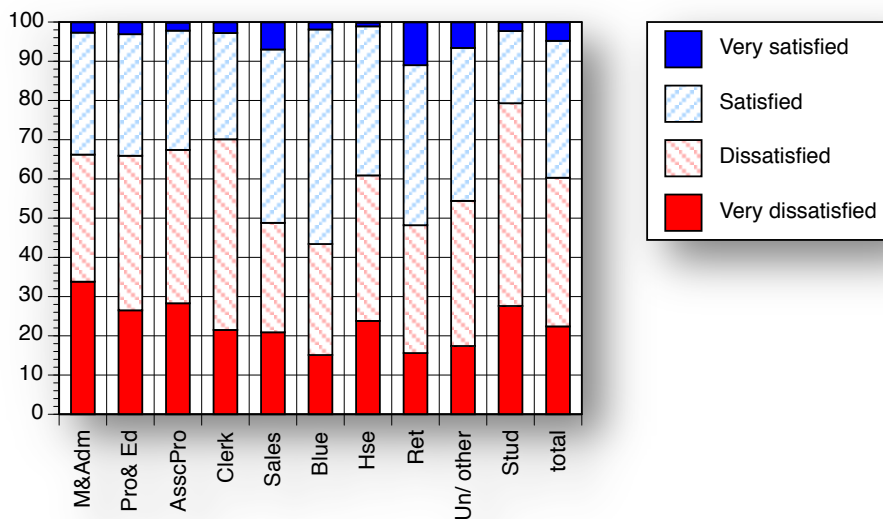


**Table 42 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	34	27	28	22	21	15	24	16	17	28	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	32	39	39	49	28	28	37	33	37	52	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	31	31	30	27	44	55	38	41	39	18	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3	3	2	3	7	2	1	11	7	2	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 71.88 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$





**Table 43 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	17	25	19	25	28	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	28	34	35	45	42	33	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	47	47	34	33	29	35	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	2	7	3	3	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 34.24 with 15 df p = 0.0032

**Table 44 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	14	25	24	20	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	30	39	39	36	37
<b>Satisfied</b>	45	31	35	39	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	11	5	2	5	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.89 with 9 df p = 0.0021

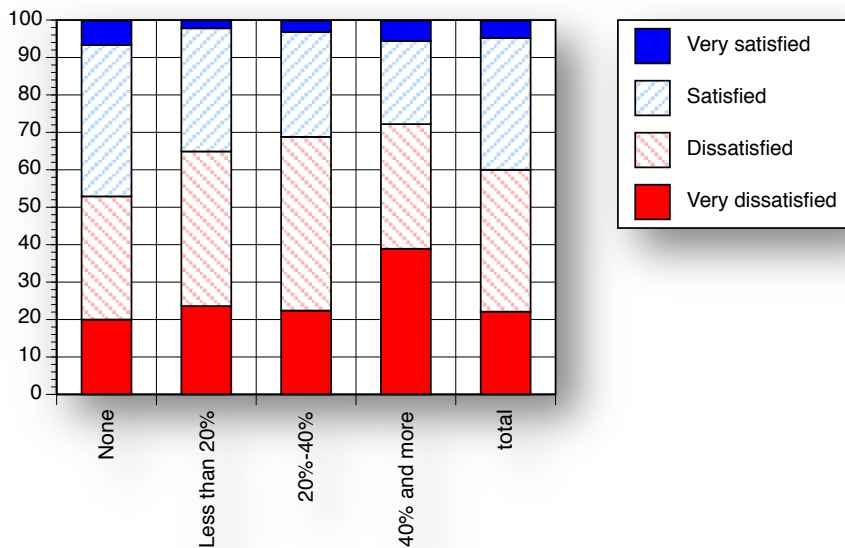
Dissatisfaction rises as the proportion of personal income paid out for parental support rises. The unaddressed and unequally borne stress of the aging is clearly related to dissatisfaction with government handling of mainland immigrants taking high skill, professional jobs and driving down and keeping down pay levels for university graduates.

**Table 45 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Personal funds for parental support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	24	22	39	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	41	46	33	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	40	33	28	22	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	2	3	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.78 with 9 df p = 0.0005



**Table 46 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	24	28	21	17	17	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	39	47	27	36	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	32	30	30	50	44	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	3	2	6	3	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.73 with 12 df p = 0.0061

Even those who work in the public sector are dissatisfied with the SAR government's dealings with the PRC government.

**Table 47 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	26	20	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	42	37	38	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	34	35	35	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	2	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.65 with 6 df p = 0.0490

**Table 48 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	17	9	39	12	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	42	22	40	41	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	36	60	20	41	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	5	10	1	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 137.1 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

Those who want Hong Kong's identity as pluralist and international promoted and those who want China's identity as ruled by the CCP promoted show higher levels of being very dissatisfied. However, only the latter and those who want China's history and cultural identity promoted show majorities satisfied with SAR-PRC relations.

**Table 49 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Protect and promote identity**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	11	27	24	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	39	40	17	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	44	30	46	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	3	13	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 61.38 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

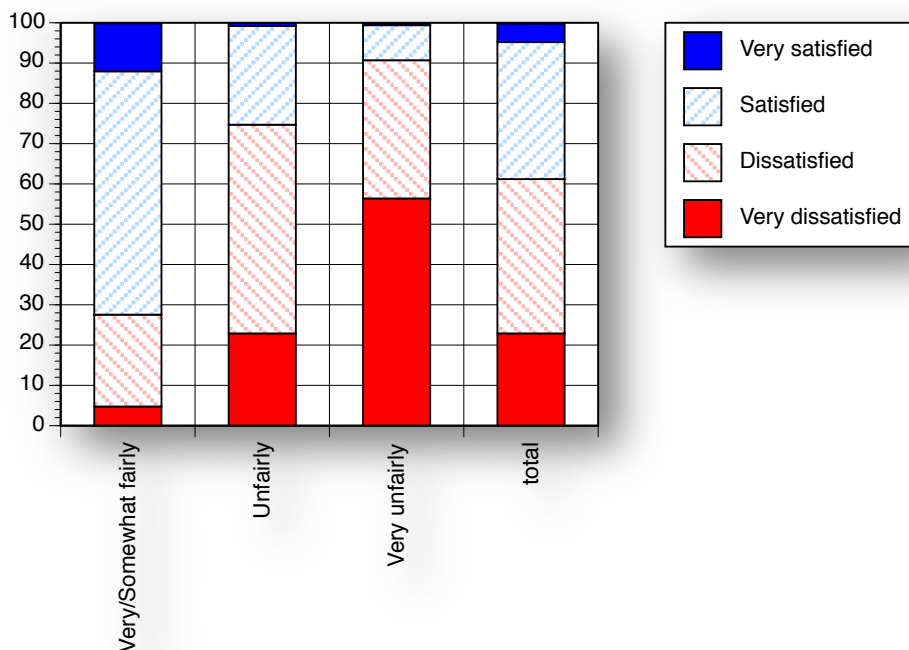
There is a direct and very strong relationship with perceptions of policy making fairness and satisfaction with SAR-PRC government relations. Clearly, many cross-border policies are perceived as unfairly made, that is, as favoring some groups over others.

**Table 50 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Fairness of policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	23	56	23
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	23	52	34	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	60	25	9	34
<b>Very satisfied</b>	12	1	1	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 333.9 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Even among the business and government friendly NPP/LP supporters, levels of dissatisfaction with government to government affairs is high.

**Table 51 Satisfaction with performance of SAR Gov dealing with PRC Gov BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	29	49	10	22	16	22
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	18	53	32	33	43	34	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	62	18	18	54	32	44	35
<b>Very satisfied</b>	15	0	1	3	3	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 220.8 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Not since the massive demonstrations of the 2003-2004 period has dissatisfaction with the PRC government's dealing with HKSAR affairs reached a majority. But a majority now are dissatisfied, and if the Don't Know responses are dropped as in Table 53, the dissatisfied reach 57%.

**Chart of Table 52 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in dealing with HKSAR affairs?**

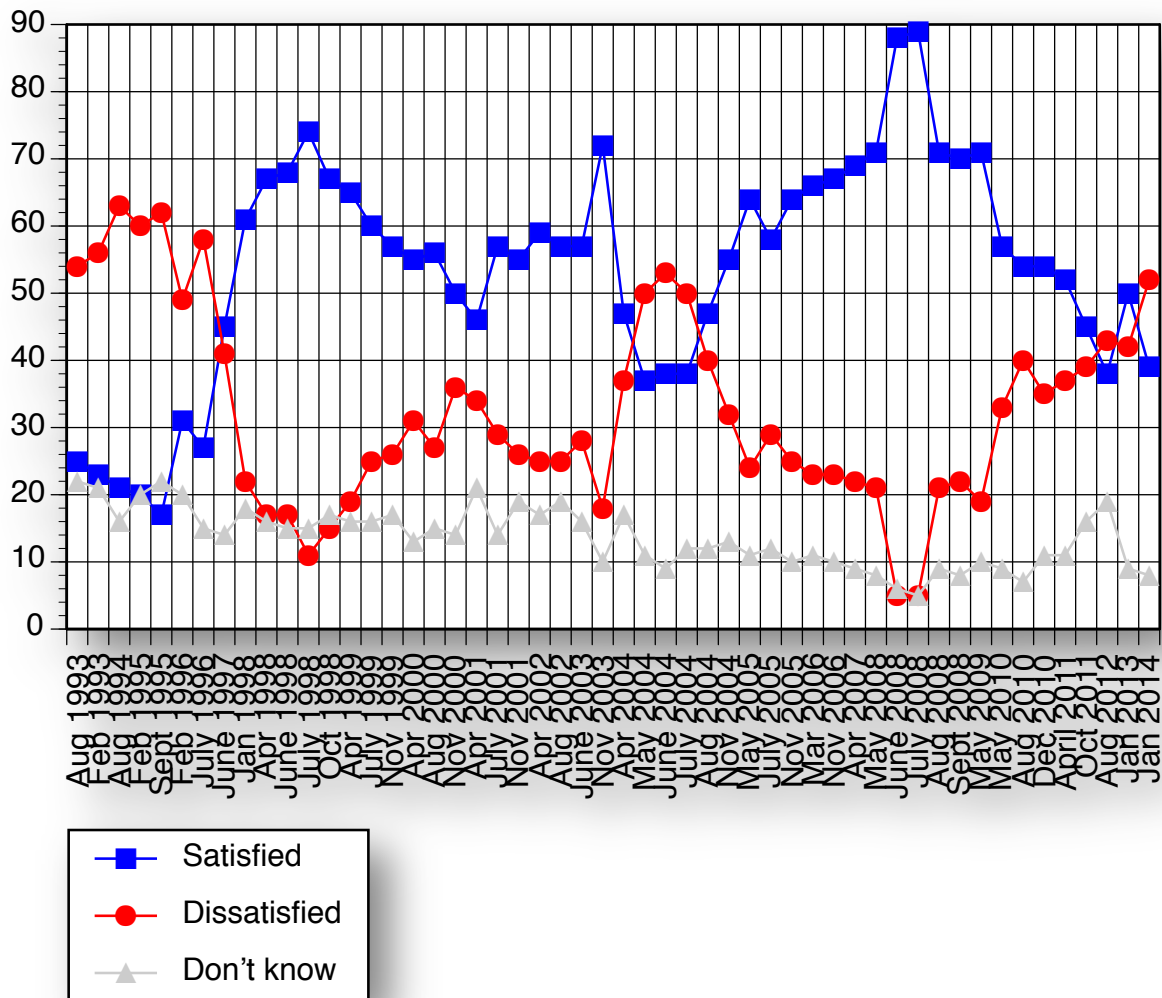


Table 52 is next page

Table 53 with Don't Know responses dropped is used in following cross-tabulations.

**Table 53 Recoded Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling SAR affairs**

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	176	19
Dissatisfied	353	38
Satisfied	342	37
Very satisfied	54	6

**Table 52 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in dealing with HKSAR 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
<b>June 1997</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Jan 1998</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>
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
<b>May 2004</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>June 2004</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>July 2004</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>12</b>
Aug 2004	47	40	12
Nov 2004	55	32	13
<b>May 2005</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>
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
Dec 2010	54	35	11
April 2011	52	37	11
Oct 2011	45	39	16
<b>Aug 2012</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>19</b>
Jan 2013	50	42	9
<b>Jan 2014</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>8</b>

Those who have sought help or expressed concern to a Hong Kong government department are much more likely to dissatisfied with the PRC handling of Hong Kong affairs than those who have not contacted a government department.

**Table 54 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Contacted Gov Dept.**

	Contacted Gov Dept	Not contacted	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	28	18	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	39	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	34	37	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3	6	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 6.343 with 3 df p = 0.0961

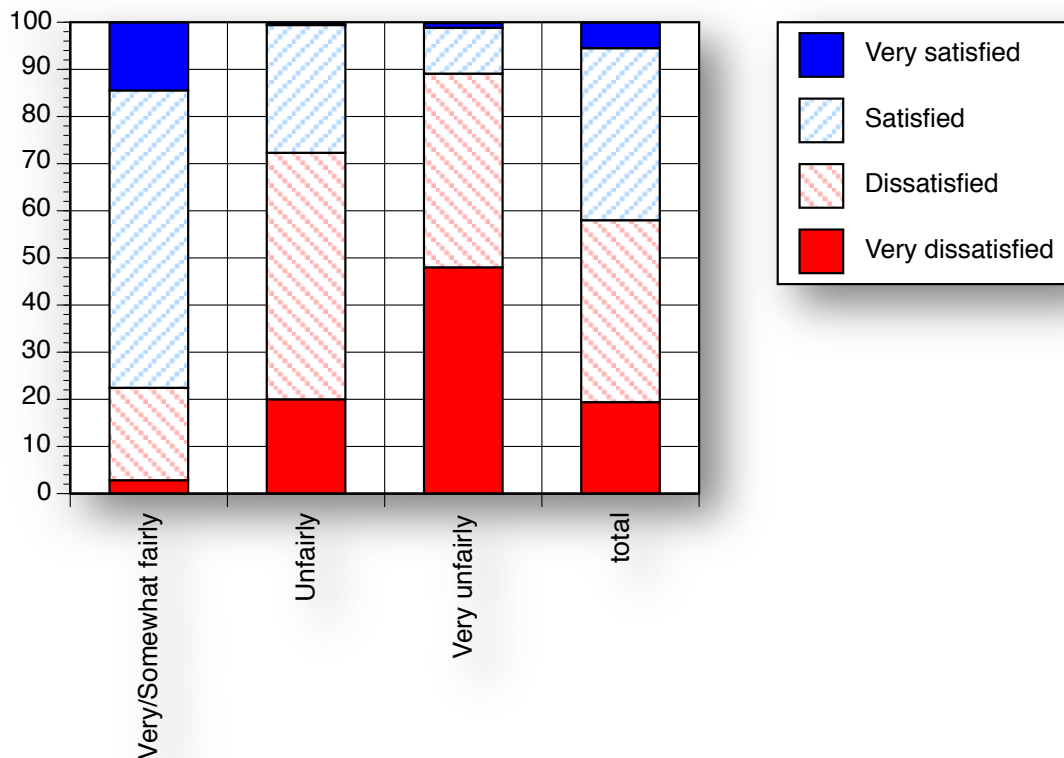
There is a strong relationship between perceptions of fairness in policy making and satisfaction with PRC handling of SAR government affairs, indicating an association in respondents minds of cross-border policies with unfairness.

**Table 55 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Perceptions of fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	3	20	48	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	20	52	41	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	63	27	10	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	15	0	1	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 344.6 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 56 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Signed petition**

	Sign petition	Not sign	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	32	17	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	43	37	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	25	39	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	0	7	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.11 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Those who have a joined a protest in the previous 12 months are much more dissatisfied than those who have not joined, indicating that one source of protest lies in PRC government handling of SAR affairs.

**Table 57 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Joined protest**

	Joined protest	Not joined	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	44	13	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	46	36	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	9	44	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	7	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 129.9 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 58 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Donated to political group**

	Not donate	Donated	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	18	31	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	47	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	19	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	4	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 21.53 with 3 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Men are more likely to be very dissatisfied than women with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs.

**Table 59 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	21	16	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	42	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	36	38	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	4	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 8.255 with 3 df  $p = 0.0410$

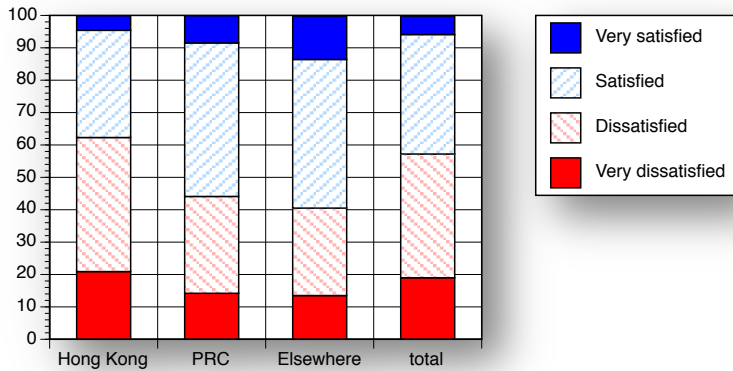
Those born in Hong Kong are somewhat more likely to be dissatisfied than those born in the PRC, but the dissatisfaction is by no means limited to those born in Hong Kong. Those born elsewhere show the most satisfied.

**Table 60 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	21	14	14	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	41	30	27	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	33	47	46	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	5	9	14	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.10 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001



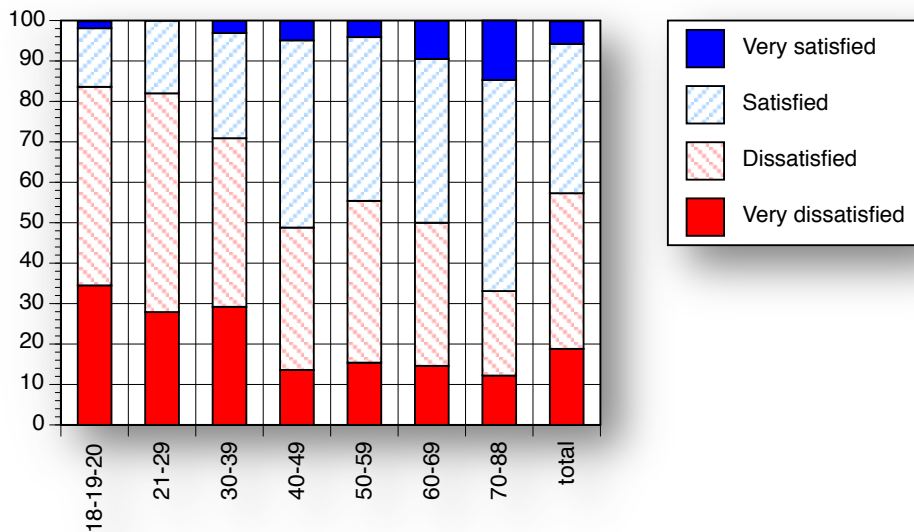
Those under 40 show considerably higher levels of dissatisfaction with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs. This is also why intervention by Beijing against Occupy Central triggers a very strong negative reaction (see January 2014 report on Occupy Central and the Appendix).

**Table 61 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	35	28	29	14	15	15	12	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	49	54	42	35	40	35	21	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	15	18	26	46	41	41	52	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	2	0	3	5	4	9	15	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 111.2 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001





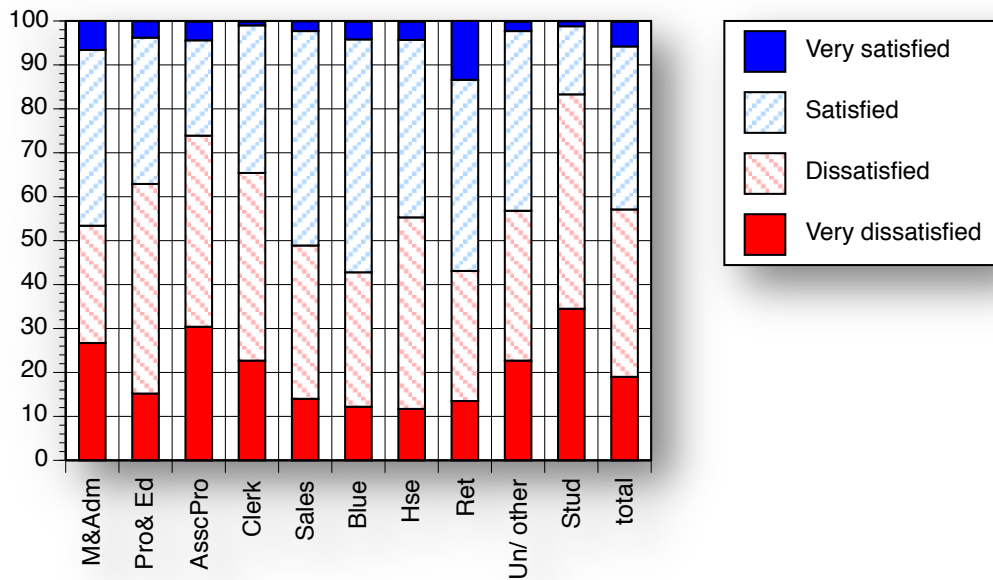
Majorities of the more highly educated occupations show dissatisfaction with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs, with 84% of students dissatisfied.

**Table 62 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	27	15	30	23	14	12	12	14	23	35	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	27	48	44	43	35	31	44	30	34	49	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	40	33	22	34	49	53	40	44	41	16	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	4	4	1	2	4	4	14	2	1	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 97.91 with 27 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 63 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	9	21	21	20	23	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	28	33	38	42	42	42	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	47	52	36	34	32	27	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	6	6	4	6	8	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.35 with 15 df p = 0.0260

**Table 64 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	18	21	18	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	41	39	37	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	38	37	36	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	3	8	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.30 with 6 df p = 0.1127

**Table 65 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	14	22	20	19	20
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	28	42	39	32	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	46	34	37	38	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	12	2	4	12	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 34.79 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 66 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Parental support paid**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	19	22	24	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	34	40	47	38	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	41	38	26	35	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	8	3	5	3	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.18 with 9 df  $p = 0.0009$

**Table 67 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	22	18	19	15	13	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	45	49	26	32	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	34	31	32	53	48	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	6	1	6	7	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.09 with 12 df  $p = 0.0005$

**Table 68 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	17	5	33	9	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	24	45	40	39
<b>Satisfied</b>	44	59	20	43	38
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	12	2	8	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 139.6 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

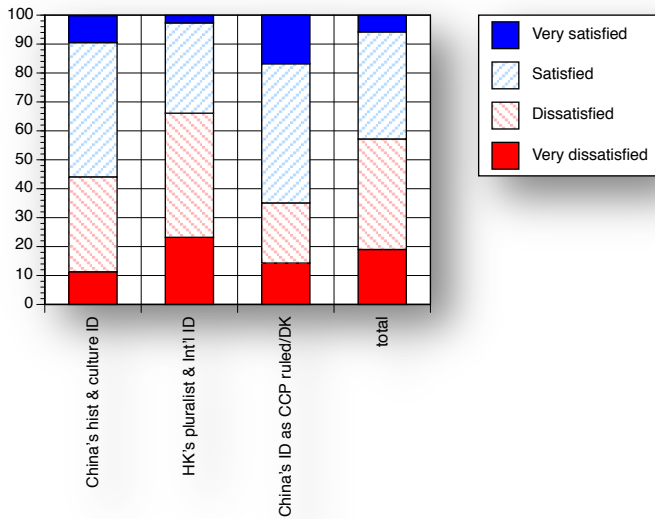
Even those who want China's identity as ruled by the CCP protected and promoted show significant levels of dissatisfaction with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs. Whether these are hardliners disappointed that the Central Government does not more directly intervene, or whether they are reformers hoping for greater PRC flexibility is not clear. What is clear, as in Table 70, is that the DAB/FTU are wholly unrepresentative of the rest of Hong Kong.

**Table 69 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Identity to promote and protect**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	11	23	14	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	43	21	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	46	31	48	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	3	17	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 71.57 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

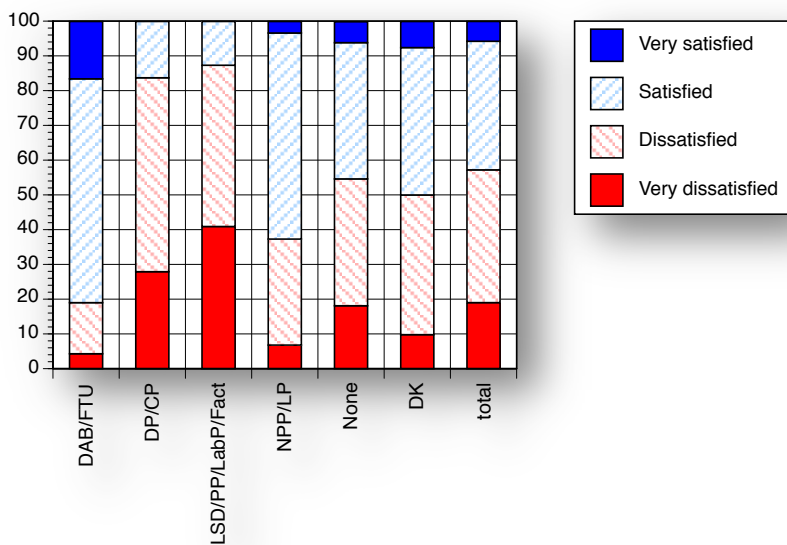


**Table 70 Satisfaction with PRC Gov handling of SAR affairs BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	4	28	41	7	18	10	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	15	56	46	31	37	40	38
<b>Satisfied</b>	64	16	13	59	39	42	37
<b>Very satisfied</b>	17	0	0	3	6	8	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 242.9 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001



Dissatisfaction with the performance of the PRC government in ruling China has hit levels not seen before in the lifetime of the SAR. Only during the years following the Tiananmen Massacre and the bitter controversies with the Last Governor Chris Patten have levels of dissatisfaction been this high. When Don't Know responses are dropped, 53% express dissatisfaction with the PRC government's rule of China.

**Chart of Table 71 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in ruling China?**

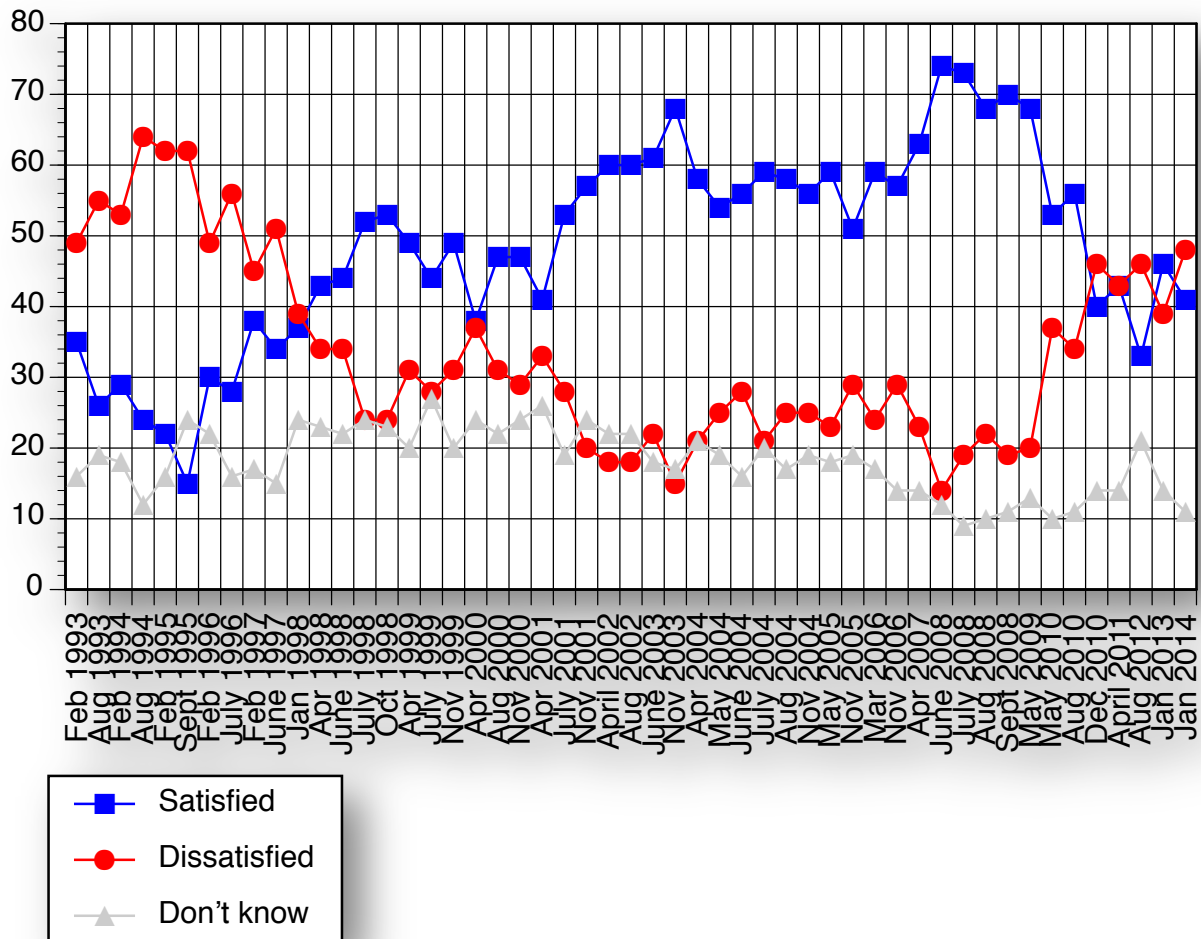


Table 71 is next page.

The Don't Know responses are dropped and results as follows are used in following cross-tabulations.

**Table 72 Recoded Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China**

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	156	17
Dissatisfied	325	36
Satisfied	362	40
Very satisfied	55	6

**Table 71 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in ruling 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
Dec 2010	40	46	14
April 2011	43	43	14
Aug 2012	33	46	21
Jan 2013	46	39	14
Jan 2014	41	48	11

**Table 73 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	17	18	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	40	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	42	38	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	8	4	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 9.545 with 3 df p = 0.0229

**Table 74 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	18	16	8	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	41	23	27	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	37	50	51	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	11	14	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 38.81 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

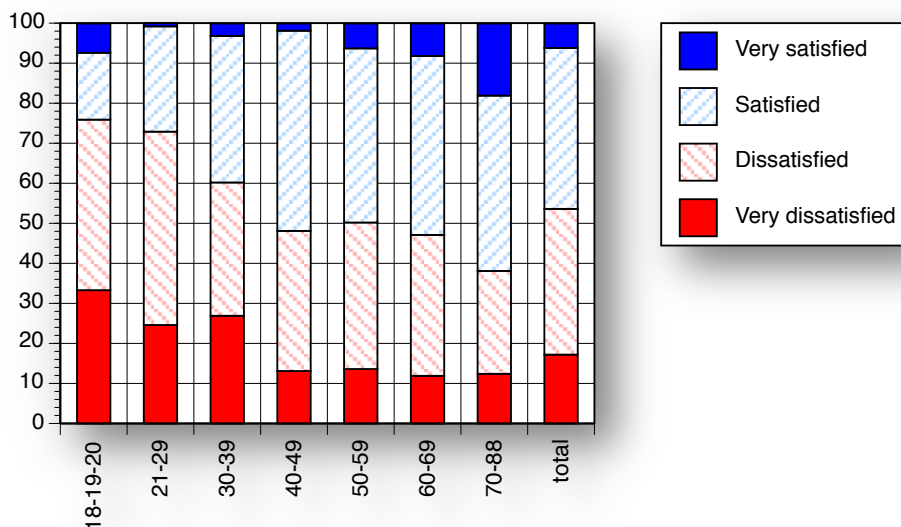
Among those under 30 dissatisfaction with the PRC government's rule of China is extreme. But those 18-20 also show significant levels of being very satisfied, levels not clearly matched in other age groups until the over 60s. There is clearly a significant level of polarization over the CCP's rule.

**Table 75 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	33	25	27	13	14	12	12	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	43	48	33	35	37	35	26	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	17	26	37	50	44	45	44	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	1	3	2	6	8	18	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 88.11 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001



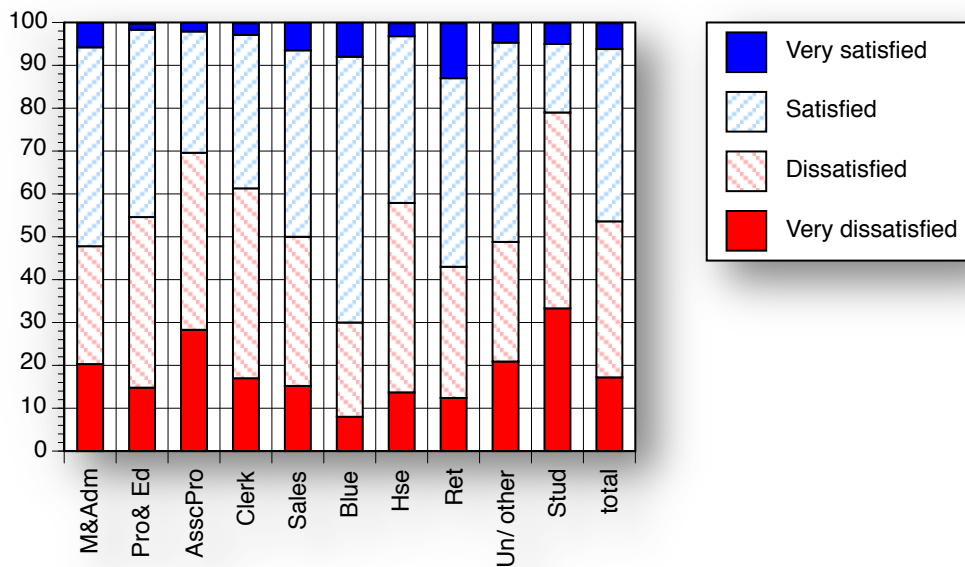
On the PRC government's rule of China the business oriented managers and administrators tend to diverge from the pattern seen above, with less than a majority dissatisfied. Professionals show just over half dissatisfied, but associate professionals, who are usually younger and who often have two year self-funded degrees or who have technical skills that are in heavy competition with mainland Chinese immigrants and who have seen their wages kept down by mainland competition, show the highest level of dissatisfaction other than among students. The basis for this interpretation can be seen in Table 78 and chart below where those with an associate degree or some university show higher levels of dissatisfaction than other education levels, though those with post-graduate degrees nearly match the levels seen by those with technical levels of education or the two year self funded degrees.

**Table 76 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	15	28	17	15	8	14	12	21	33	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	28	40	41	44	35	22	44	31	28	46	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	46	44	28	36	44	62	39	44	47	16	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	2	2	3	7	8	3	13	5	5	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 83.41 with 27 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 77 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	18	18	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	35	37	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	44	43	36	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3	4	9	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

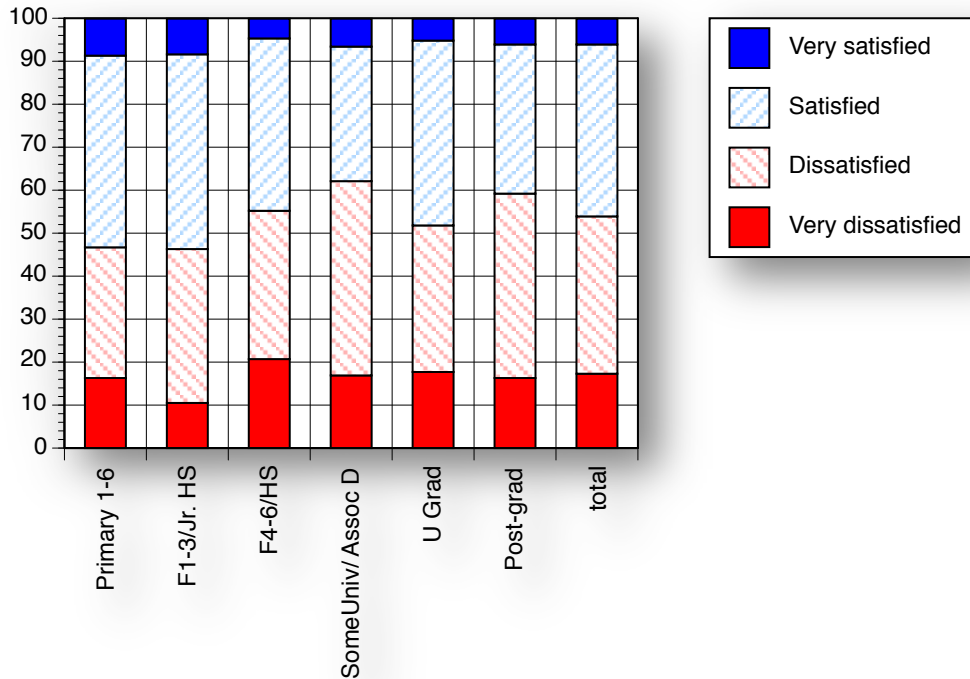
Chi-square = 11.51 with 6 df p = 0.0738

**Table 78 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	11	21	17	18	16	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	30	36	35	45	34	43	37
<b>Satisfied</b>	45	45	40	31	43	35	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	8	5	7	5	6	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.81 with 15 df p = 0.2730



The middle range incomes tend to be more dissatisfied than either the highest range or the lowest.

**Table 79 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	13	22	17	12	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	30	41	38	31	37
<b>Satisfied</b>	43	33	42	48	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	14	4	4	9	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.26 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

This dissatisfaction with the PRC government's rule of China is not based on outside experience coming into play. Those with no experience living elsewhere are significantly more likely to be dissatisfied than those without experience overseas.

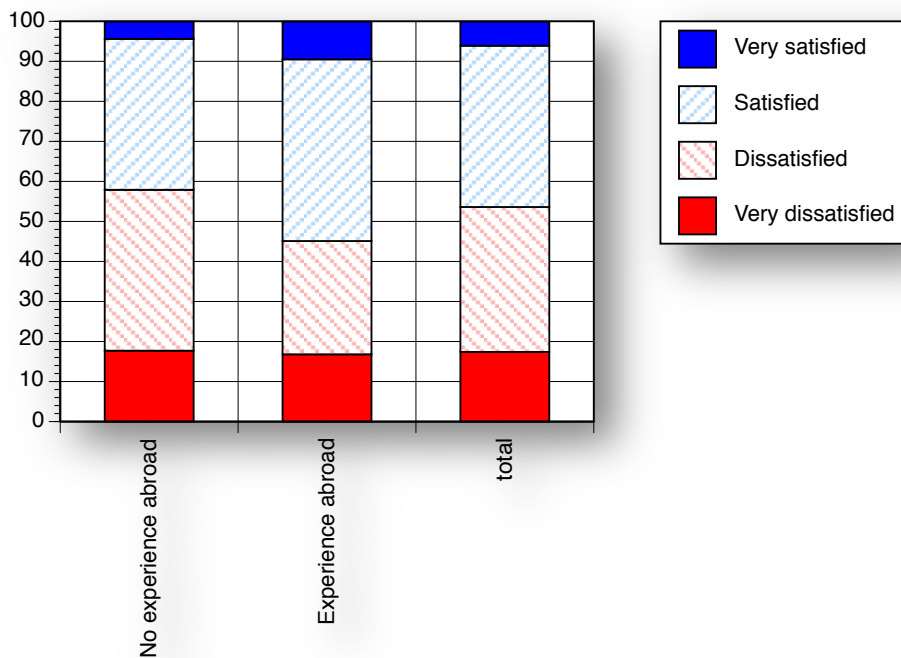


**Table 80 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Experience living abroad**

	No experience abroad	Experience abroad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	18	17	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	40	28	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	38	45	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	10	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.72 with 3 df p = 0.0002



**Table 81 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Parental income for support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	15	16	20	22	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	33	37	42	42	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	42	44	34	33	41
<b>Very satisfied</b>	9	3	4	3	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 23.32 with 9 df p = 0.0055

**Table 82 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	19	14	22	14	11	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	43	42	26	32	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	38	38	34	55	48	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	5	2	5	9	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.40 with 12 df p = 0.0094

Those who identify themselves as Chinese or a Chinese Hong Konger are much more satisfied than those who identify themselves as a Hong Kong person. But those who want China's identity as CCP ruled protected show levels of very dissatisfied not too different from those who want Hong Kong's pluralist, international identity protected and promoted. (Table 84) The overall levels of dissatisfied among those who want China's CCP ruled identity protected is significantly lower, however.

**Table 83 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	13	6	31	10	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	23	44	35	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	48	56	25	47	41
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	15	1	9	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

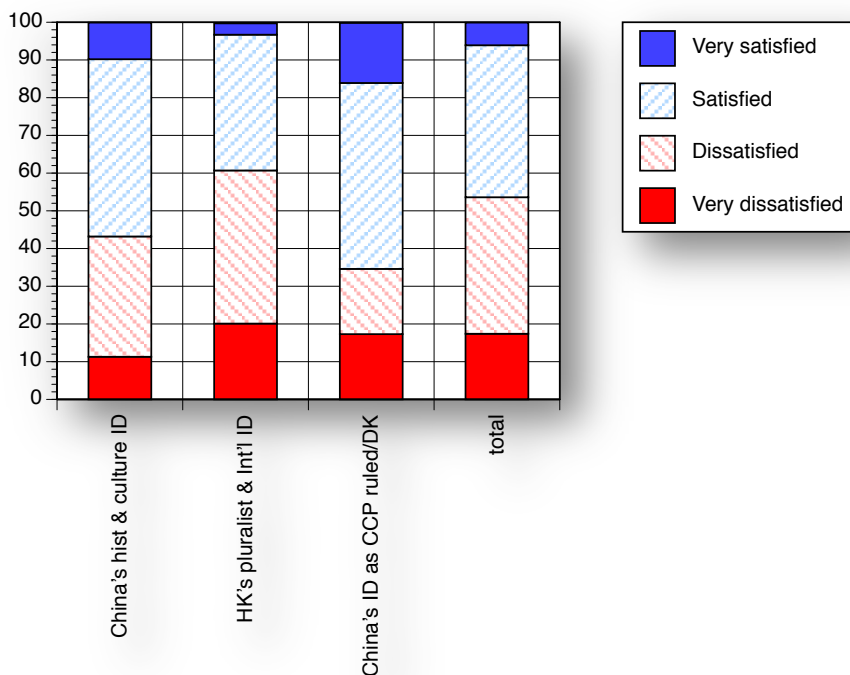
Chi-square = 125.8 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 84 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Identity to protect and promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	11	20	17	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	32	41	17	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	47	36	49	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	10	3	16	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 52.14 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 85 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	5	18	46	7	15	19	17
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	13	54	37	32	40	29	36
<b>Satisfied</b>	61	28	15	53	42	49	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	22	0	2	8	4	2	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

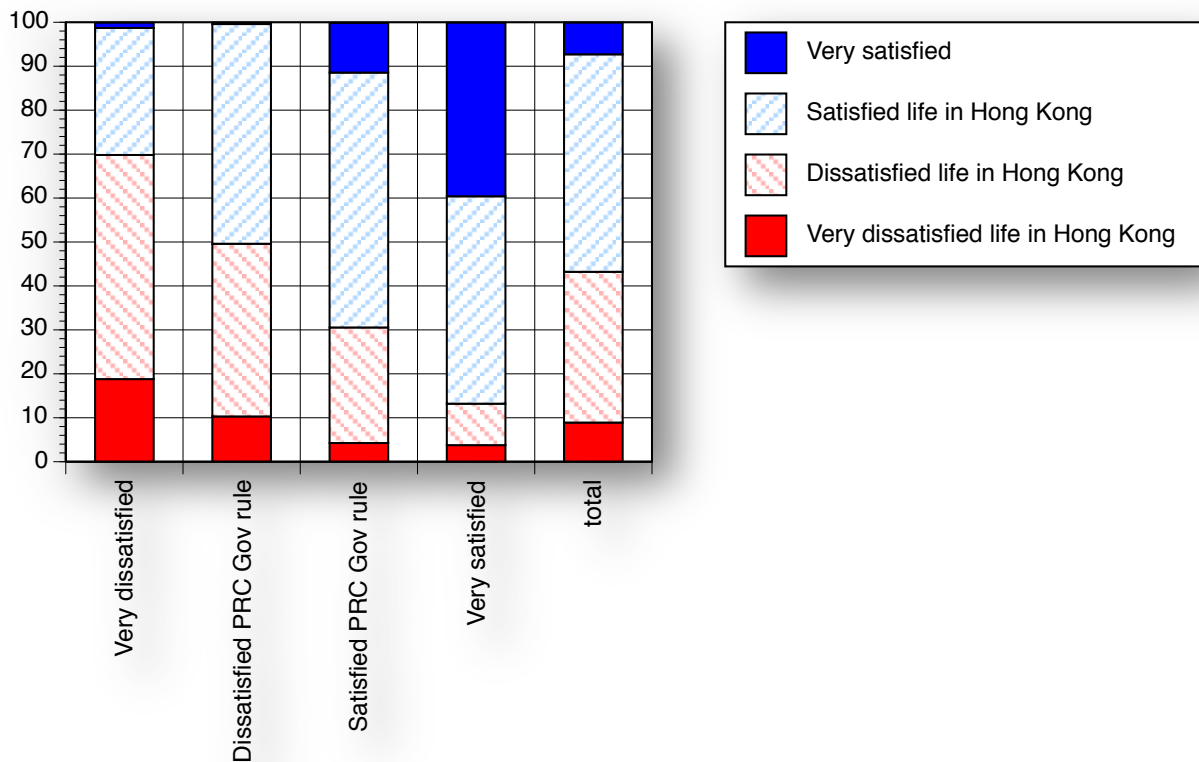
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 239.0 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 86 shows the relationship between those who are satisfied or dissatisfied with the PRC Government's rule of China and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in the Hong Kong SAR. The two attitudes show strong correlation, with those very satisfied with the PRC's rule also being very satisfied or satisfied with life in Hong Kong.

**Table 86 Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China BY Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied PRC Gov rule	Satisfied PRC Gov rule	Very satisfied	total
<b>Very dissatisfied life in Hong Kong</b>	19	10	4	4	9
<b>Dissatisfied life in Hong Kong</b>	51	39	26	9	34
<b>Satisfied life in Hong Kong</b>	29	50	58	47	50
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	0	11	40	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 188.1 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

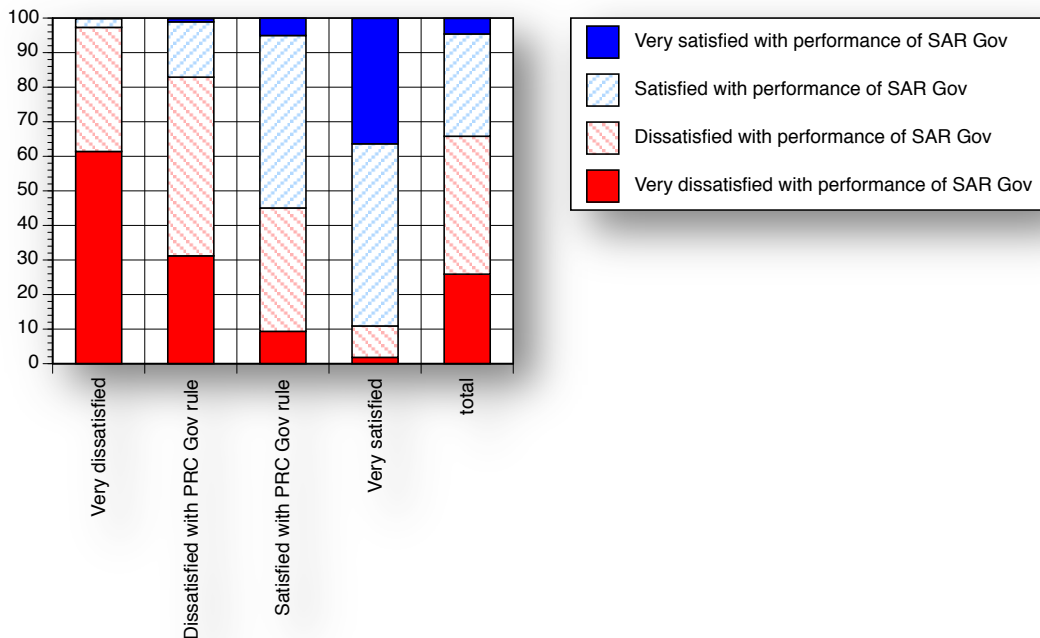


The correlation of satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government's rule of China and satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong SAR government is even more striking than in Table 86 above.

**Table 87 Satisfaction with performance of the SAR Government BY Satisfaction with the PRC Government's rule of China**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied with PRC Gov rule	Satisfied with PRC Gov rule	Very satisfied	total
Very dissatisfied with performance of SAR Gov	61	31	9	2	26
Dissatisfied with performance of SAR Gov	36	52	36	9	40
Satisfied with performance of SAR Gov	3	16	50	53	30
Very satisfied with performance of SAR Gov	0	1	5	36	5
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 405.4 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001



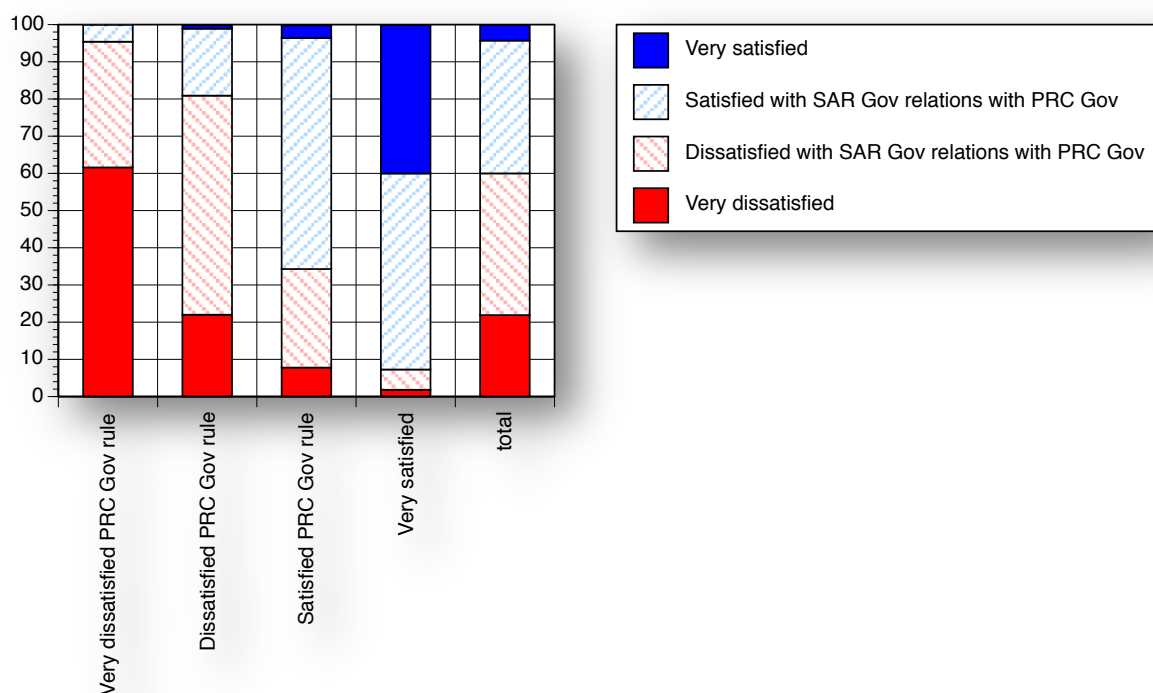
Satisfaction with the performance of the SAR government handling relations with the PRC government, and the way the PRC government rules China is as strong as in Table 87 above. (Chart next page.)

**Table 88 Satisfaction with performance of the SAR government relations with PRC government BY Satisfaction with performance of the PRC government rule of China**

	Very dissatisfied PRC Gov rule	Dissatisfied PRC Gov rule	Satisfied PRC Gov rule	Very satisfied	total
Very dissatisfied	62	22	8	2	22
Dissatisfied with SAR relations with PRC Gov	34	59	27	5	38
Satisfied with SAR Gov relations with PRC Gov	5	18	62	53	36
Very satisfied	0	1	3	40	4
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 532.4 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Chart of Table 88 Satisfaction with performance of the SAR government relations with PRC government BY Satisfaction with performance of the PRC government rule of China**



However, Table 89 shows the strongest correlation of all between satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government's rule of China and satisfaction with the PRC government's handling of SAR affairs. Few dissatisfied with the one government are satisfied with the other. Clearly, relations between the two governments in handling SAR affairs determine views of the other government for many people. Further, it is clear that the two governments are increasingly associated in terms of performance. This is significantly different from the situation in the early years of the SAR when most distinguished between the SAR government's performance and the PRC government's performance. This changed in 2003-2004 when the Central government was clearly seen to be backing the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa despite overwhelming opposition to his continued administration. (Chart of Table 89 is next page.)

**Table 89 Satisfaction with performance of PRC gov rule of China BY Satisfaction with performance of PRC government handling of SAR affairs**

	Very dissatisfied PRC rule of China	Dissatisfied PRC rule of China	Satisfied PRC rule of China	Very satisfied	total
Very dissatisfied	70	17	2	2	19
Dissatisfied PRC handling SAR affairs	28	69	21	0	38
Satisfied PRC handling SAR affairs	3	14	72	40	37
Very satisfied	0	0	5	59	6
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 883.4 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 89 Satisfaction with performance of PRC gov rule of China BY Satisfaction with performance of PRC government handling of SAR affairs**

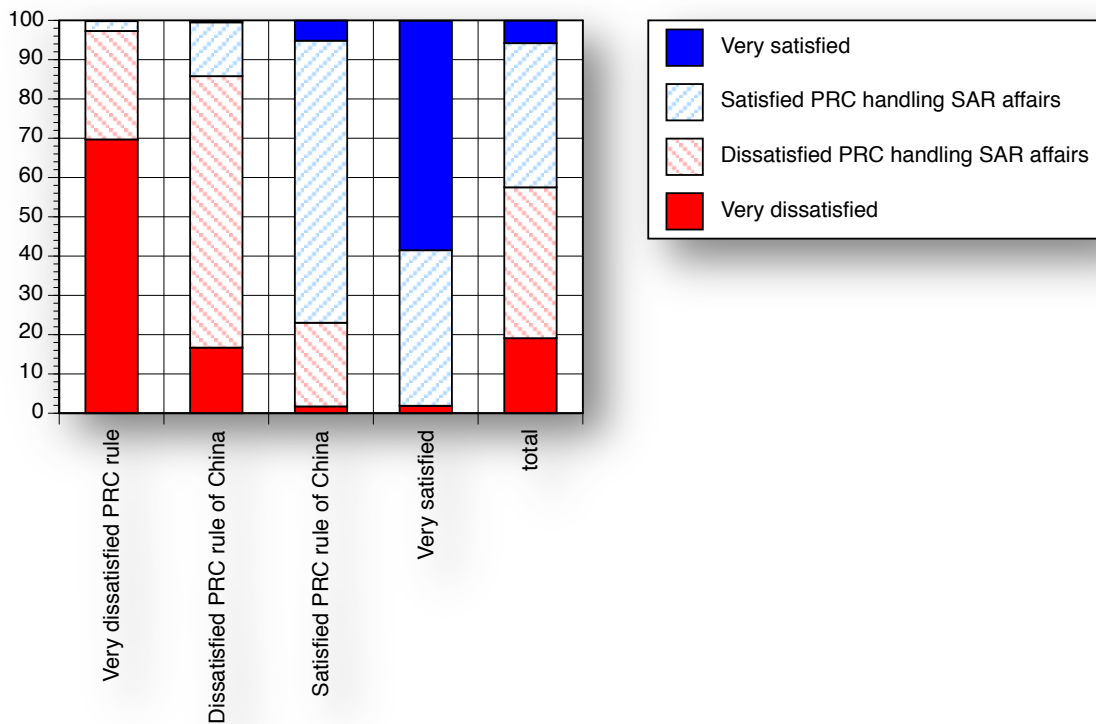


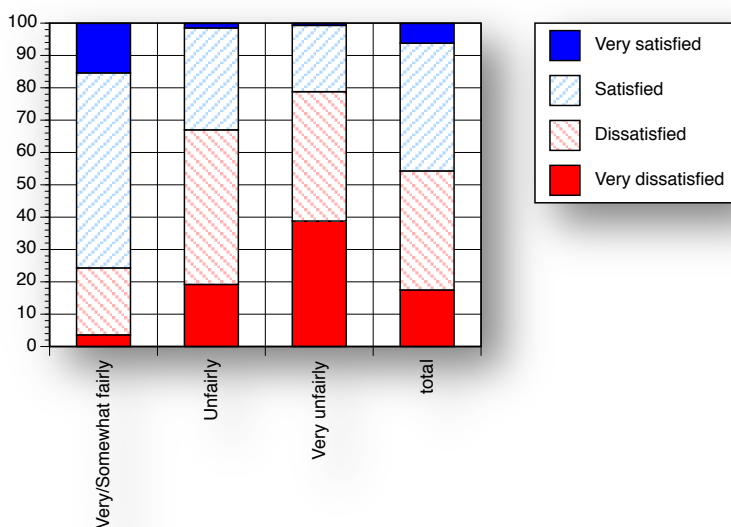
Table 90 shows fairness of policy making in the SAR and satisfaction with the rule of the PRC government of China are highly associated (though not as strongly as in Table 89).

**Table 90 Satisfaction with PRC government rule of China BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	4	19	39	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	21	48	40	37
<b>Satisfied</b>	60	32	21	40
<b>Very satisfied</b>	15	2	1	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 231.4 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

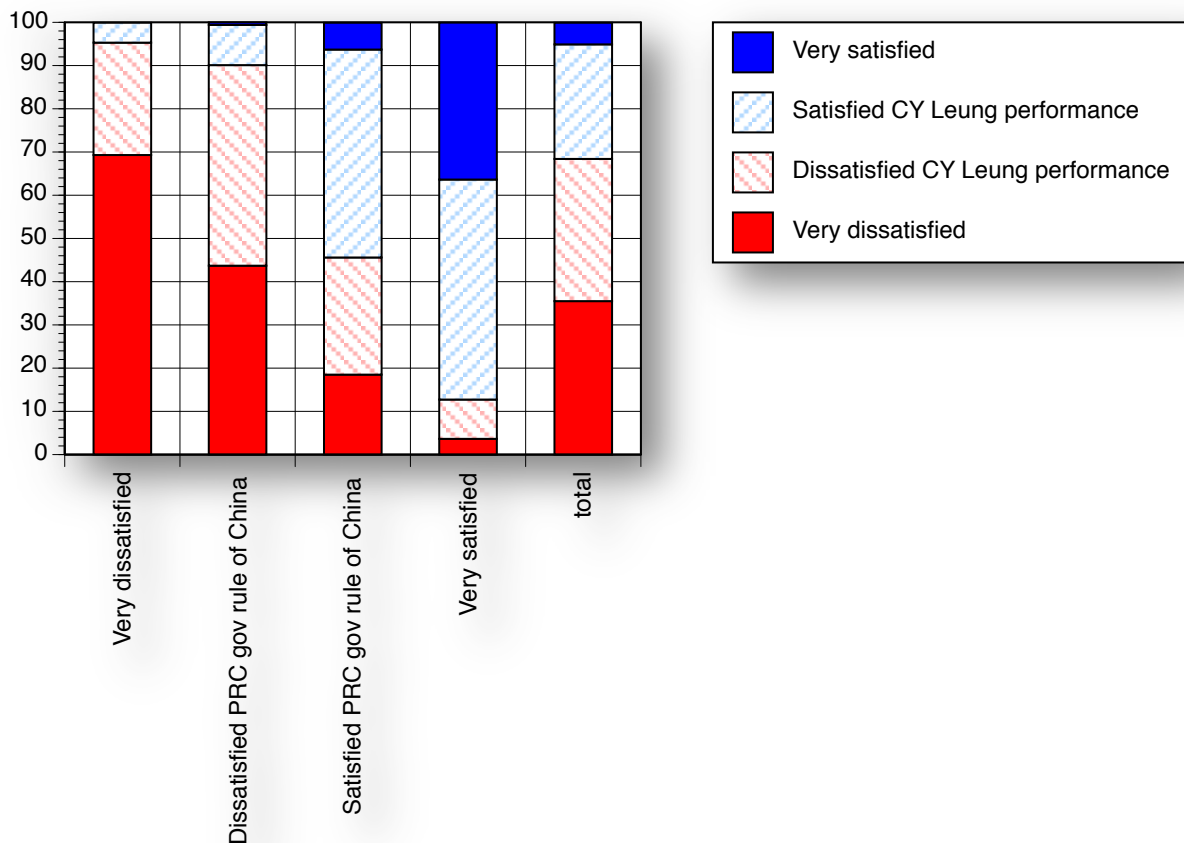


The correlation between satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government ruling China and satisfaction with the performance of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung makes it very clear that the PRC government is closely tied, in respondent's minds, to each other. This is particularly important for constitutional reform as any proposal coming from Chief Executive Leung will be seen as a proposal approved by Beijing officials. The gravity of this relationship is explored in detail in Section 3.

**Table 91 Satisfaction with the performance of the PRC government's rule of China BY Satisfaction with the performance of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied PRC gov rule of China	Satisfied PRC gov rule of China	Very satisfied	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	69	44	19	4	36
<b>Dissatisfied CY Leung performance</b>	26	46	27	9	33
<b>Satisfied CY Leung performance</b>	5	9	48	51	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	0	1	6	36	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 398.0 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



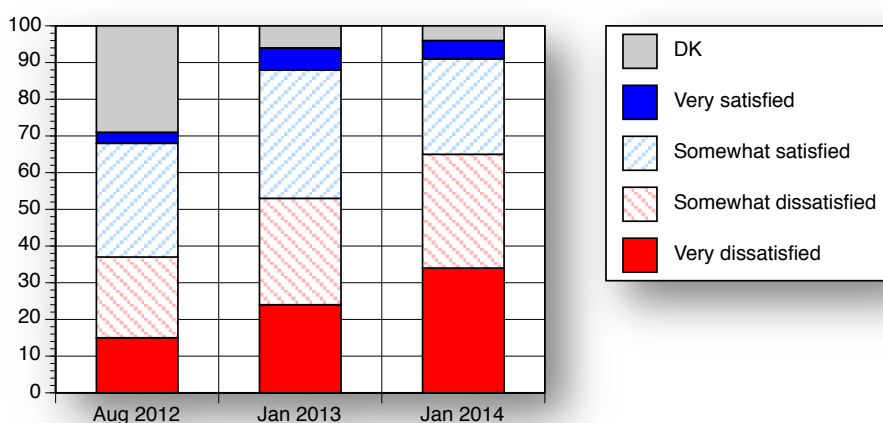
### 3. The Current Governance System: Leadership

#### A. Policy Makers

Satisfaction with the performance of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung has clearly turned sour since he took office 1 July 2012. While nearly a third of respondents were willing to give him the benefit of the doubt in August 2012, by January 2014 few remained who were willing to say the Don't Know about their satisfaction with his performance. Those very dissatisfied from the beginning have now more than doubled in proportion (15% to 34%). Satisfaction has dropped from 34% in 2012 to 31% in 2014 while dissatisfaction overall went from 37% to 65%.

**Table 1 Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with performance of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung?**

	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
Aug 2012	15	22	31	3	29
Jan 2013	24	29	35	6	6
Jan 2014	34	31	26	5	4



**Table 2 Recoded Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance (Don't Know dropped.)**

Group	Count	%
Very dissatisfied	342	35
Dissatisfied	314	32
Satisfied	264	27
Very satisfied	49	5

The effect of Leung's housing policy changes can be seen in the elevated levels of very dissatisfied among the private owners and Home Ownership Scheme owners, who have seen the value of their properties impacted. (Chart next page.) Renters also have seen little relief, while low rise NT homeowners and public housing show lower than average dissatisfaction.

**Table 3 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Living Quarters**

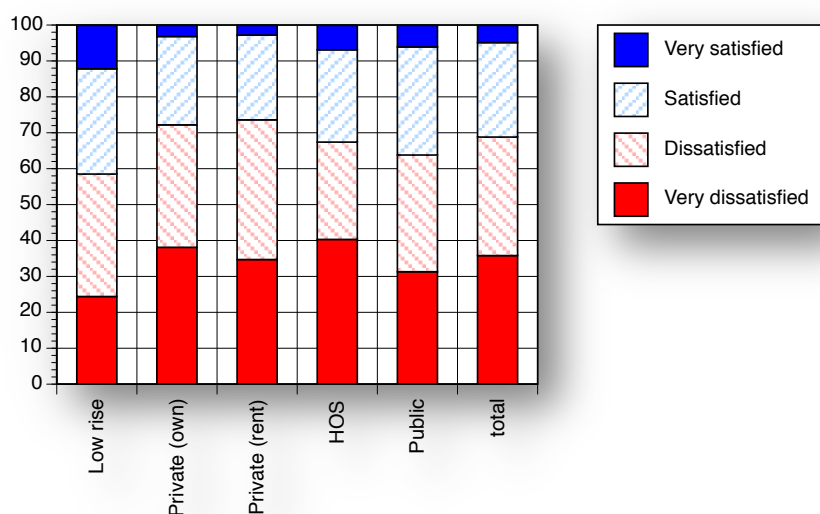
	Low rise	Private (own)	Private (rent)	HOS	Public	total
Very dissatisfied	24	38	35	40	31	36
Dissatisfied	34	34	39	27	33	33
Satisfied	29	25	24	26	30	26
Very satisfied	12	3	3	7	6	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 18.39 with 12 df p = 0.1045



**Chart of Table 3 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Living Quarters**



Men, particularly young men (see Table 6 below) are more dissatisfied than women.

**Table 4 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	40	30	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	28	38	32
<b>Satisfied</b>	26	29	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 15.31 with 3 df p = 0.0016

**Table 5 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	39	24	26	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	27	24	32
<b>Satisfied</b>	22	42	42	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	7	8	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 48.22 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

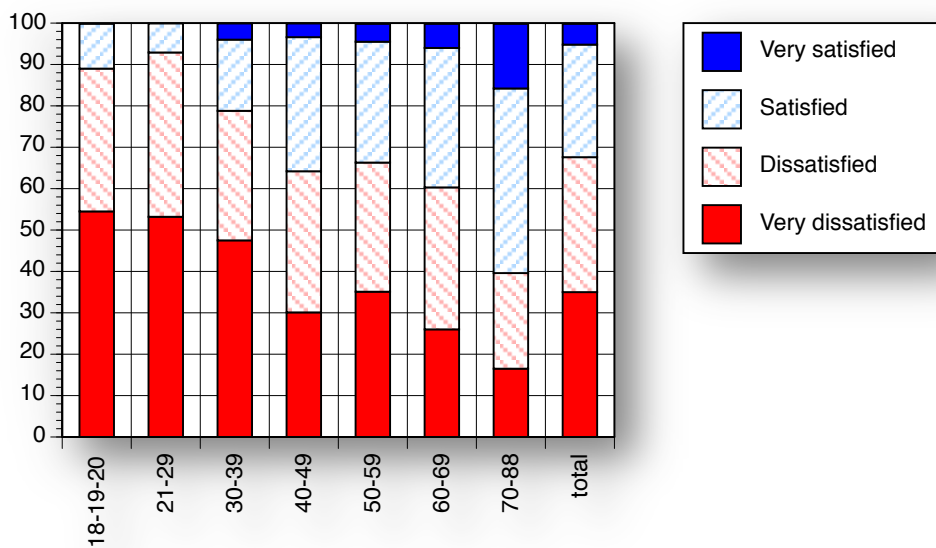
A majority under 30 are very dissatisfied, with those under 40 showing 48% very dissatisfied. No one under age 30 is very satisfied. (Chart next page.)

**Table 6 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	55	53	48	30	35	26	17	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	40	31	34	31	34	23	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	11	7	17	32	29	34	45	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	0	0	4	3	4	6	16	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 128.1 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart of Table 6 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Age



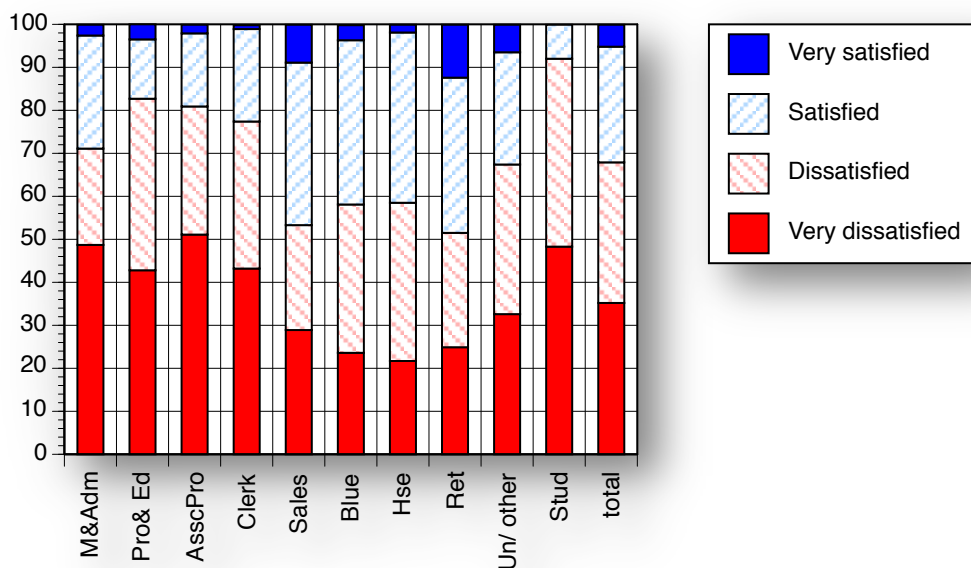
Among students, 92% are dissatisfied, with 48% very dissatisfied. But this level of the very dissatisfied may also be seen among managers and administrators (49%) and Associate professionals (51%).

Table 7 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Occupation

	M& Adm	Pro& Ed	Assc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	49	43	51	43	29	24	22	25	33	48	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	22	40	30	34	24	35	37	27	35	44	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	26	14	17	22	38	38	40	36	26	8	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	3	4	2	1	9	4	2	12	7	0	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 123.1 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



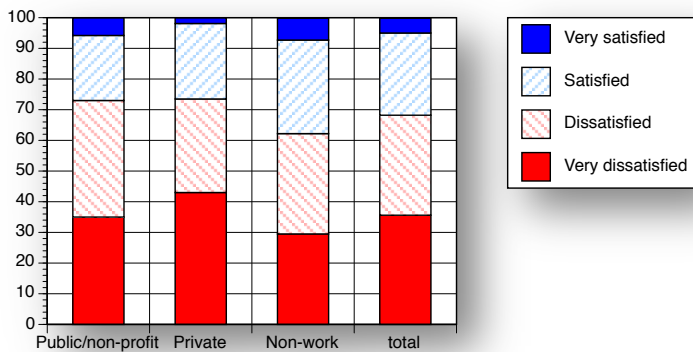
While the level of very dissatisfied is higher in the private sector than in the public sector, the overall levels of dissatisfaction in the two sectors is the same, and approaches three out of four dissatisfied. A majority with post-graduate degrees are very dissatisfied (Table 9).

**Table 8 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	35	43	30	36
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	38	31	33	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	21	25	31	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	2	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.34 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

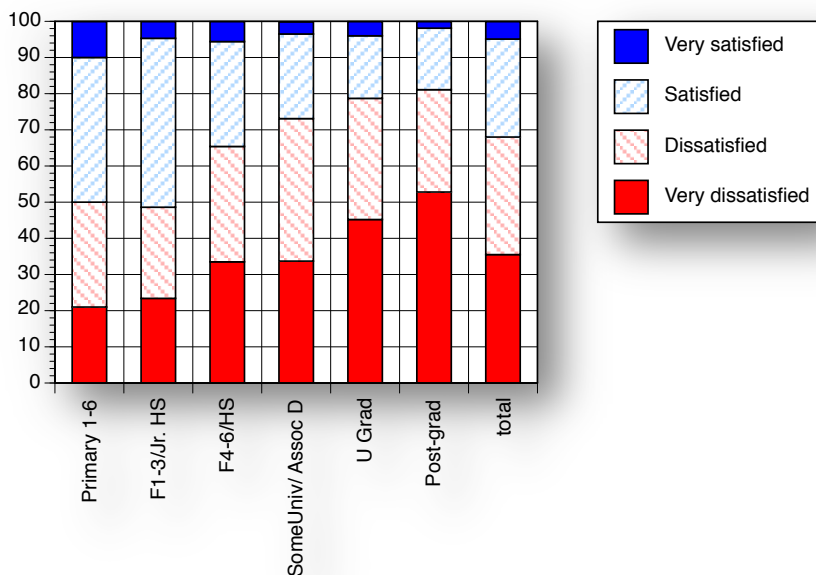


**Table 9 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	21	23	34	34	45	53	36
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	29	25	32	39	34	28	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	40	47	29	23	17	17	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	10	5	6	3	4	2	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 69.58 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 10 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	20	34	43	41	36
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	29	36	30	34	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	38	25	24	21	26
<b>Very satisfied</b>	14	4	4	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 41.61 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 11 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Personal income to parental support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	28	41	46	38	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	31	34	34	38	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	34	22	18	14	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	3	3	11	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 47.10 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

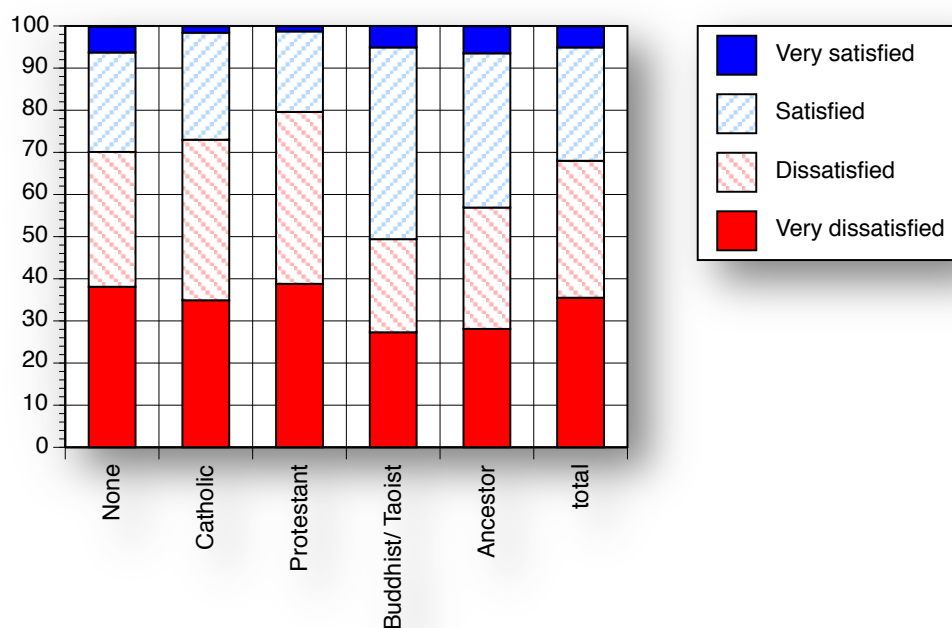
Dissatisfaction is significantly higher among protestants than among other religious groups. This is a distinct difference from both Tung Chee-hwa and Donald Tsang, who found their greatest critics among Catholics

**Table 12 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	38	35	39	27	28	36
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	32	38	41	22	29	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	24	25	19	46	37	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	2	1	5	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 40.84 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



A majority who identify as Hong Kong persons are very dissatisfied, with 85% overall dissatisfied. This is nearly twice levels of those who identify as Chinese (44% dissatisfied)

**Table 13 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Personal Identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	34	18	52	24	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	31	26	33	37	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	30	45	14	32	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	11	1	6	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 108.4 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

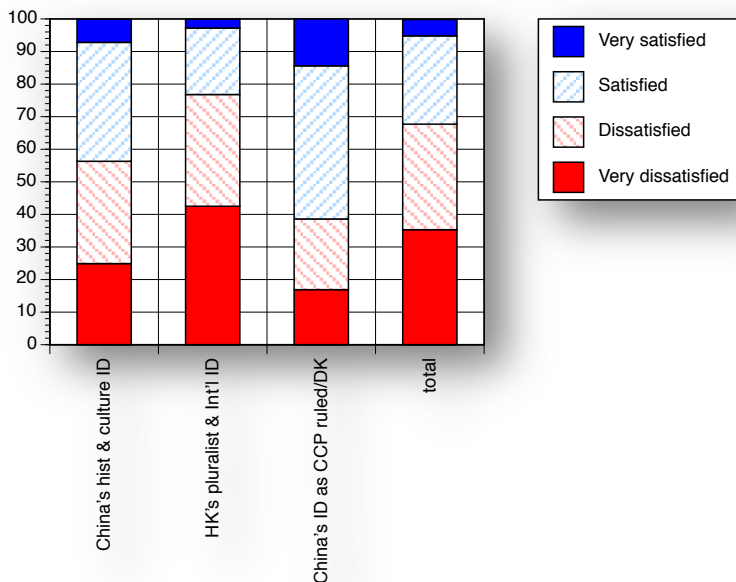
Leung clearly has issues with those who prefer Hong Kong's identity as pluralist and international to be protected and promoted, but even a majority of those who prefer China's historical and cultural identity to be promoted are dissatisfied, as are 39% of those who want China's identity as CCP ruled promoted.

**Table 14 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Identity to protect/promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	25	43	17	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	31	34	22	32
<b>Satisfied</b>	37	20	47	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	3	15	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 83.55 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001



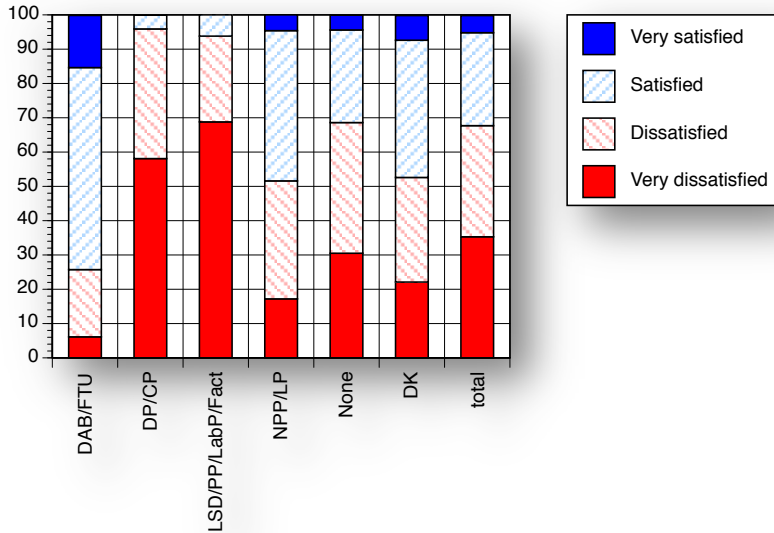
When it comes to dissatisfaction with the Chief Executive, the gaps even among affiliated parties widen. For example, comparing Table 15 and 16 below, those who say the FTU best represents them are more dissatisfied than DAB designators. People Power shows nearly three out of four very dissatisfied, while the Democratic Party shows lower levels of very dissatisfied, but same overall levels of dissatisfaction, as its allies.

**Table 15 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	6	58	69	17	31	22	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	20	38	25	34	38	31	32
<b>Satisfied</b>	59	4	6	44	27	40	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	15	0	0	5	4	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 319.3 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

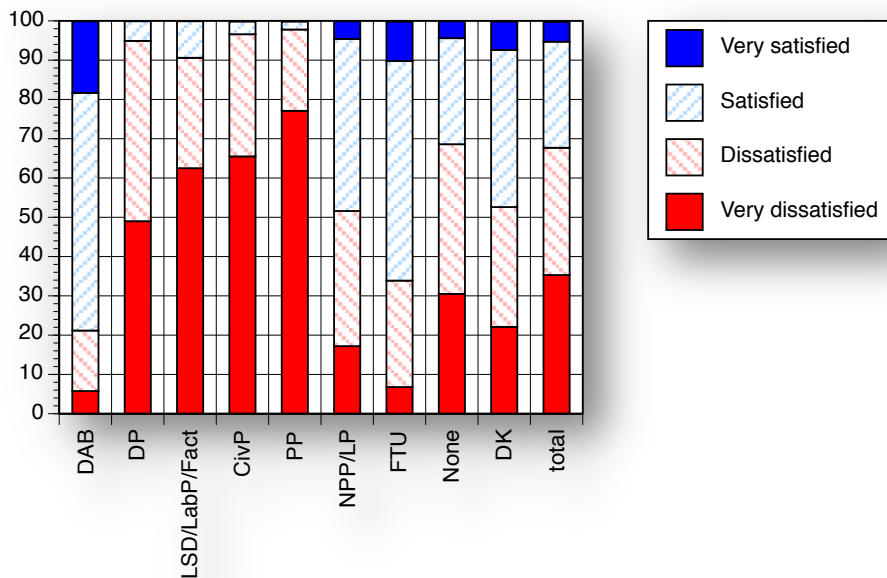


**Table 16 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Which party represents best**

	DAB	DP	LSD/LabP/Fact	CivP	PP	NPP/LP	FTU	None	DK	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	6	49	63	66	77	17	7	31	22	35
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	15	46	28	31	21	34	27	38	31	32
<b>Satisfied</b>	61	5	9	3	2	44	56	27	40	27
<b>Very satisfied</b>	18	0	0	0	0	5	10	4	7	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 336.6 with 24 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



As Table 17 shows, there is a very strong correlation between views on the fairness of policy making and satisfaction with the Chief Executive. The correlation is not exact, since some who believe policy making is very unfair are, nevertheless, satisfied with the Chief Executive's performance, but none are very satisfied who also believe policy is made very unfairly.

**Table 17 Satisfaction with C.Y. Leung performance BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	8	40	80	36
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	26	45	16	33
<b>Satisfied</b>	54	14	4	26
<b>Very satisfied</b>	13	1	0	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 419.9 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

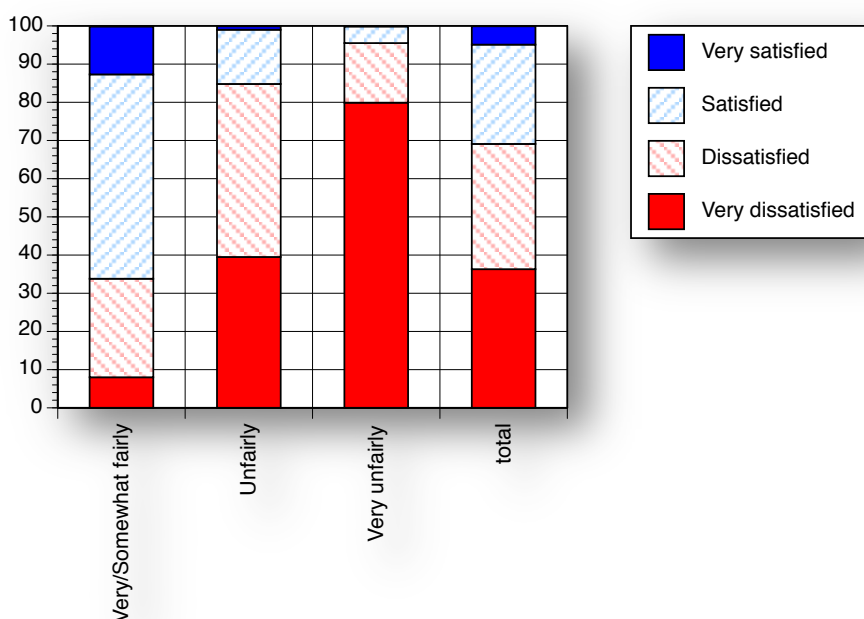
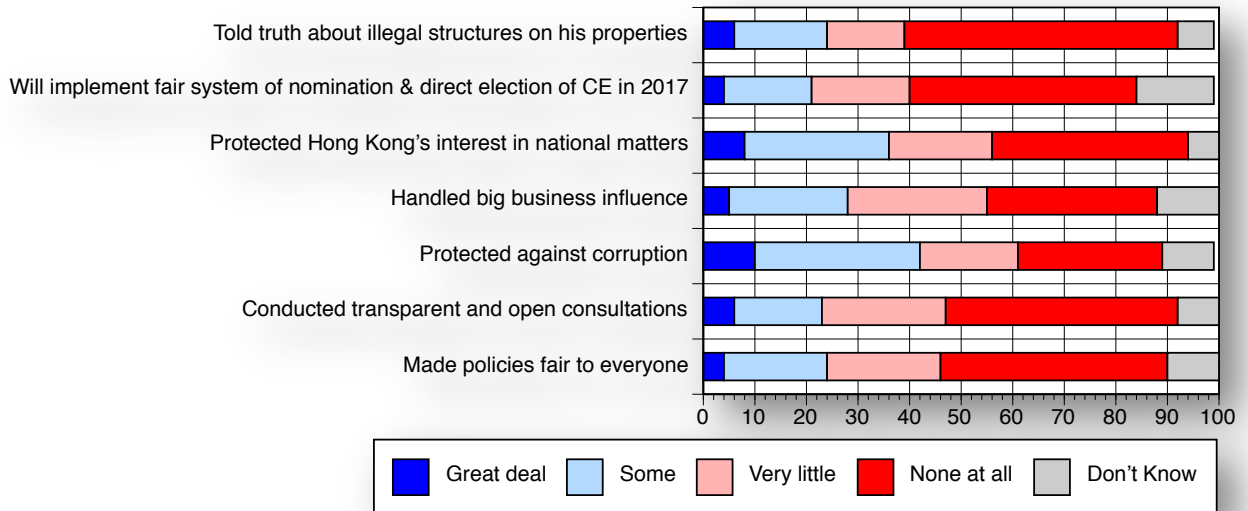


Table 18 and Table 19 compare results from year to year on a bank of questions which go into greater detail about aspects of the Chief Executive's performance. In 2013 the least believed aspect of Leung's first year in office concerned illegal structures on his property and doubts about transparent consultations and implementing a fair direct election system for 2017. (Chart next page).

**Table 18 January 2013** How much do you believe CY Leung has:

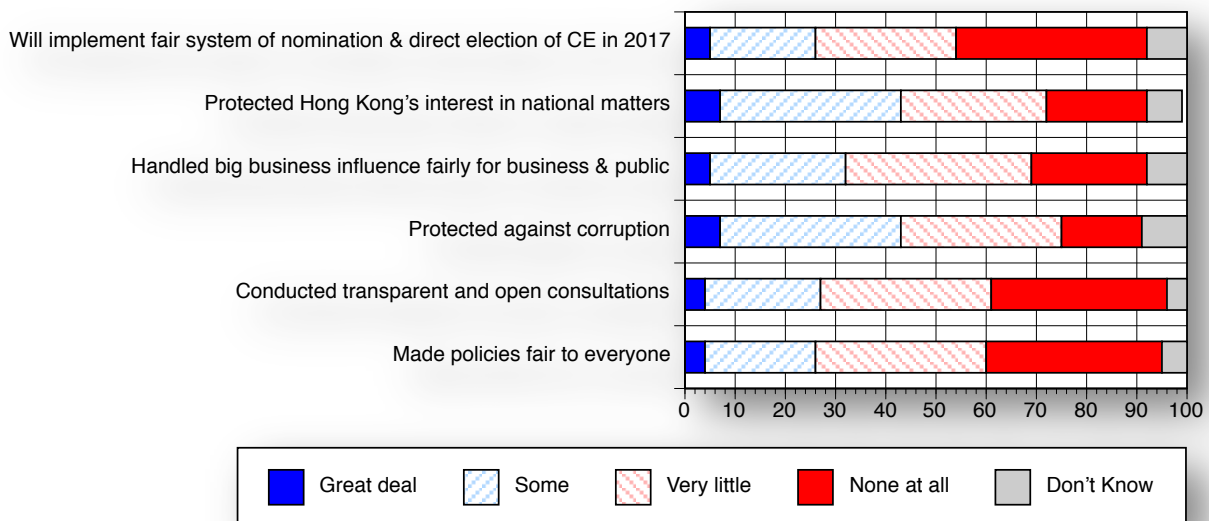
	Great deal	Some	Very little	None at all	Don't Know
<b>Made policies fair to everyone</b>	4	20	22	44	10
<b>Conducted transparent and open consultations</b>	6	17	24	45	8
<b>Protected against corruption</b>	10	32	19	28	10
<b>Handled big business influence</b>	5	23	27	33	12
<b>Protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters</b>	8	28	20	38	7
<b>Will implement a fair system of nomination &amp; direct election of the Chief Executive in 2017</b>	4	17	19	44	15
<b>Told the truth about illegal structures on his properties</b>	6	18	15	53	7



In 2014, the greatest doubts are about transparent consultations, fair policy making and implementation of a fair system of direct election in 2017. However, the intensity of doubt has diminished somewhat though the level of doubt overall (very little/none at all) for 2017 is possibly up from 63% in 2013 to 66% in 2014.

**Table 19 January 2014** How much do you believe CY Leung has:

	Great deal	Some	Very little	None at all	Don't Know
<b>Made policies fair to everyone</b>	4	22	34	35	5
<b>Conducted transparent and open consultations</b>	4	23	34	35	4
<b>Protected against corruption</b>	7	36	32	16	9
<b>Handled big business influence fairly for business &amp; public</b>	5	27	37	23	8
<b>Protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters</b>	7	36	29	20	7
<b>Will implement a fair system of nomination &amp; direct election of the Chief Executive in 2017</b>	5	21	28	38	8





**Table 20 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
Great deal	6	3	4
Some	24	23	23
Very little	32	40	36
Not at all	38	35	37
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 9.602 with 3 df p = 0.0223

**Table 21 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
Great deal	3	9	9	4
Some	21	31	27	23
Very little	37	34	30	36
Not at all	40	27	33	37
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.46 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 22 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Great deal	2	0	2	5	3	5	16	5
Some	16	9	15	27	24	28	38	23
Very little	45	39	32	37	41	34	22	36
Not at all	38	52	51	31	33	33	24	36
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 100.0 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 23 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
Great deal	3	3	0	1	9	2	1	12	7	1	5
Some	19	20	21	15	28	35	24	31	18	14	23
Very little	32	29	32	43	41	33	47	28	43	46	36
Not at all	46	48	47	41	22	30	28	29	32	40	36
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 90.39 with 27 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 24 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	2	7	4
<b>Some</b>	22	22	25	23
<b>Very little</b>	36	36	37	36
<b>Not at all</b>	39	41	32	36
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 18.00 with 6 df p = 0.0062

**Table 25 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Great deal</b>	10	4	5	2	3	7	4
<b>Some</b>	30	33	21	26	19	13	23
<b>Very little</b>	30	42	40	37	32	26	36
<b>Not at all</b>	29	22	34	35	46	54	37
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 47.38 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 26 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Great deal</b>	13	1	4	6	5
<b>Some</b>	29	23	19	25	23
<b>Very little</b>	30	43	32	29	35
<b>Not at all</b>	28	33	45	41	37
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 45.30 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 27 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Personal income to parental support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Great deal</b>	6	4	1	3	5
<b>Some</b>	30	19	15	16	23
<b>Very little</b>	33	40	38	37	36
<b>Not at all</b>	31	38	45	45	36
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.25 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 28 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Great deal</b>	5	2	1	4	7	5
<b>Some</b>	21	22	20	27	32	23
<b>Very little</b>	35	37	43	35	32	36
<b>Not at all</b>	39	40	36	35	30	37
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.28 with 12 df p = 0.0620

**Table 29 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
Great deal	5	9	2	5	4
Some	22	41	11	32	24
Very little	38	32	36	37	36
Not at all	35	18	51	26	36
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 95.49 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 30 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Identity to promote/protect**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
Great deal	4	3	16	4
Some	34	18	31	23
Very little	31	38	34	36
Not at all	31	42	19	37
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

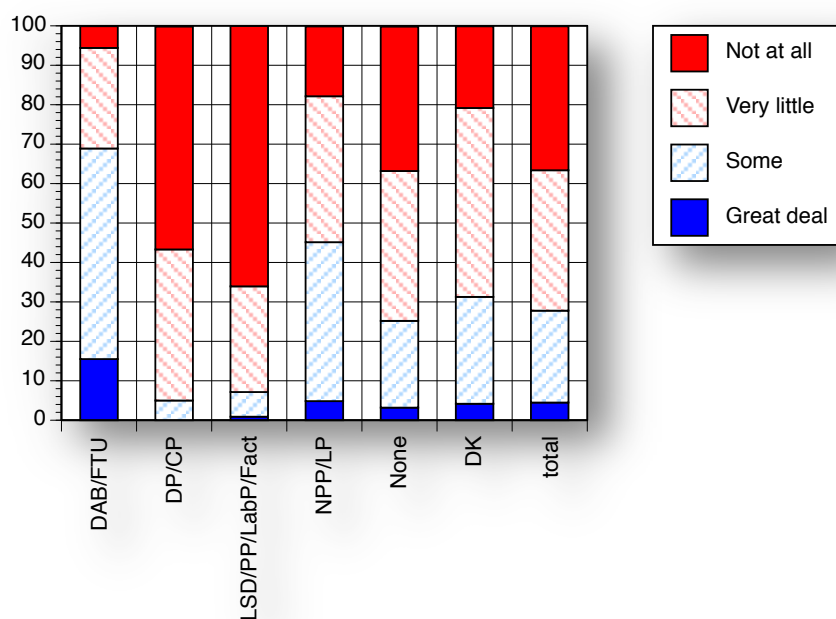
Chi-square = 68.86 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 31 Belief C.Y. Leung has made policies fairly BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
Great deal	16	0	1	5	3	4	4
Some	53	5	6	40	22	27	23
Very little	26	38	27	37	38	48	36
Not at all	6	57	66	18	37	21	37
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 290.8 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



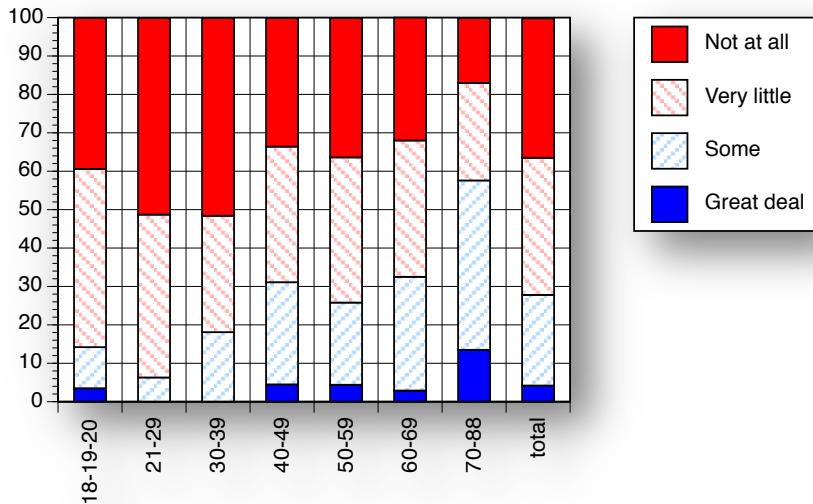
Only those over age 70 show a majority believing Chief Executive Leung has conducted transparent and open consultations. Almost none in their 20s believe.

**Table 32 Belief C.Y. Leung has conducted open consultations BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	0	0	5	4	3	14	4
<b>Some</b>	11	6	18	27	21	30	44	24
<b>Very little</b>	46	42	30	35	38	36	25	36
<b>Not at all</b>	39	51	52	34	36	32	17	36
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 115.0 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 33 Belief C.Y. Leung has conducted open consultations BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	2	5	4
<b>Some</b>	21	19	28	23
<b>Very little</b>	35	36	36	36
<b>Not at all</b>	40	43	31	37
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 20.49 with 6 df  $p = 0.0023$

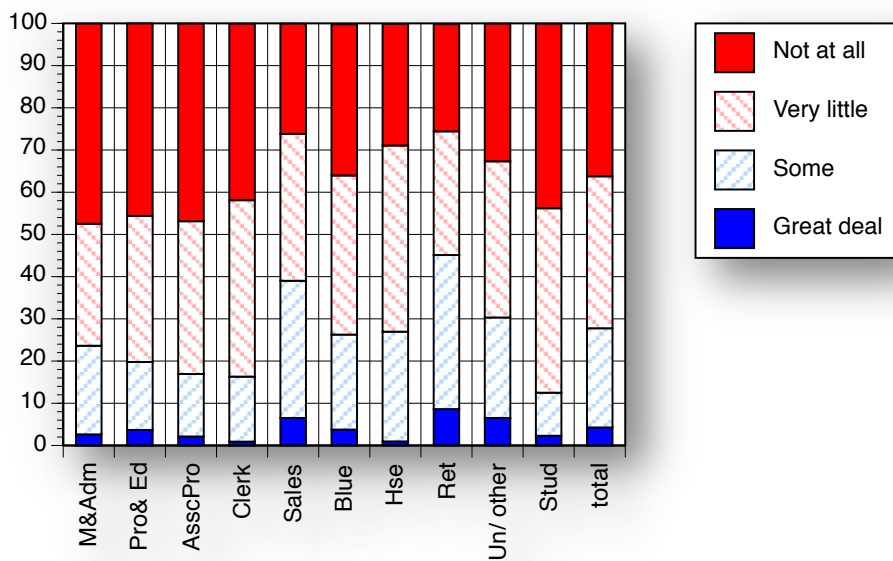
**Table 34 Belief C.Y. Leung has conducted open consultations BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Great deal</b>	3	4	2	1	7	4	1	9	7	2	4
<b>Some</b>	21	16	15	16	33	23	26	37	24	10	24
<b>Very little</b>	29	35	36	42	35	38	44	29	37	44	36
<b>Not at all</b>	47	46	47	42	26	36	29	25	33	44	36
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 80.59 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 34 Belief C.Y. Leung has conducted open consultations BY Occupation**



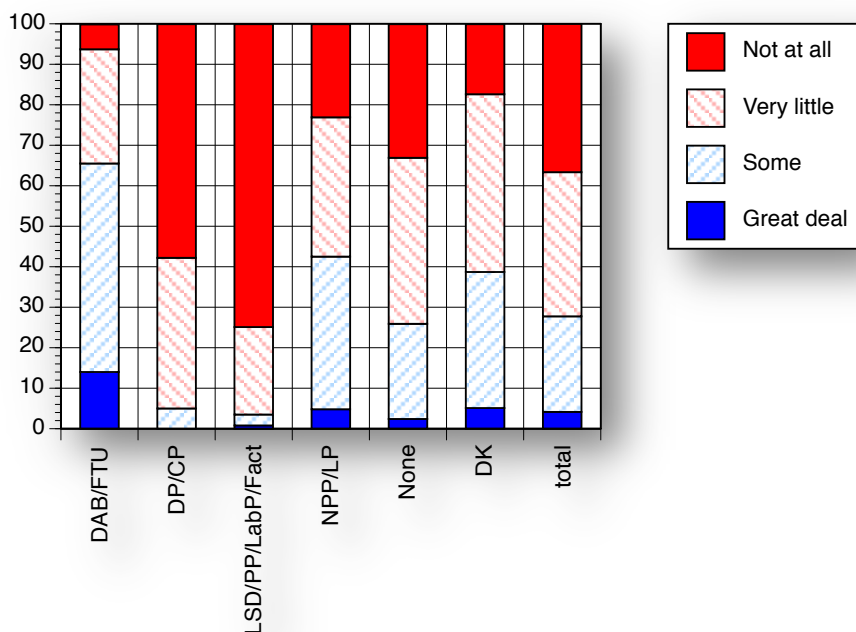
Among pro-democracy parties there is very little belief Leung has conducted open consultations. But there are also big differences between the pro-establishment NPP/LP and the loyalist DAB/FTU, with a majority of NPP/LP have none or very little belief.

**Table 35 Belief C.Y. Leung conducted open consultations BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	14	0	1	5	3	5	4
<b>Some</b>	52	5	3	38	24	34	24
<b>Very little</b>	28	37	22	34	41	44	36
<b>Not at all</b>	6	58	75	23	33	17	37
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 306.6 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



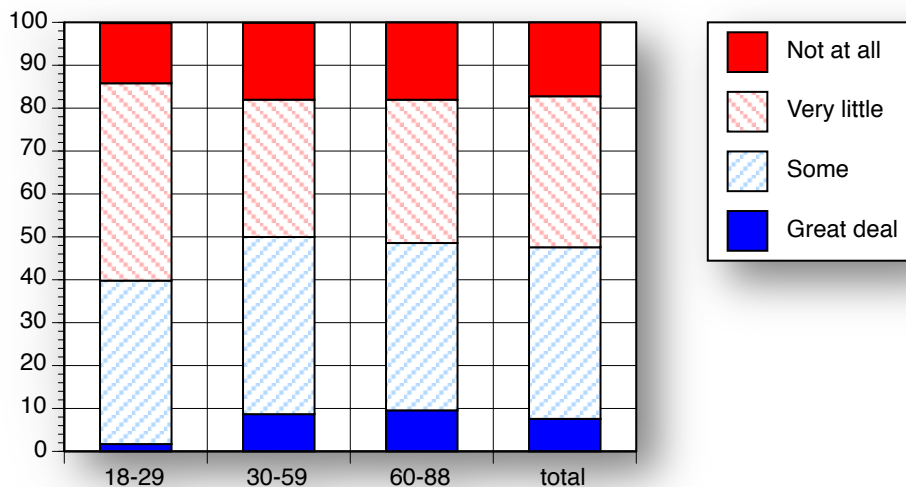
Belief in Leung protecting against corruption are somewhat more generous, with about half having none or very little belief. Even among those under 30 about 40 percent give Leung some credit on this issue.

**Table 36 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected against corruption BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Great deal</b>	2	9	10	8
<b>Some</b>	38	41	39	40
<b>Very little</b>	46	32	34	35
<b>Not at all</b>	14	18	18	17
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.16 with 6 df p = 0.0039



**Table 37 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected against corruption BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Great deal</b>	9	7	9	5	16	9	2	12	9	0	8
<b>Some</b>	34	39	35	39	42	26	50	41	52	38	40
<b>Very little</b>	29	36	39	38	23	45	34	28	33	50	35
<b>Not at all</b>	28	18	17	19	19	19	15	19	7	12	18
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 52.77 with 27 df p = 0.0021

**Table 38 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected against corruption BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Great deal</b>	11	7	7	8
<b>Some</b>	33	38	43	39
<b>Very little</b>	38	35	34	35
<b>Not at all</b>	18	20	16	18
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 7.808 with 6 df p = 0.2525

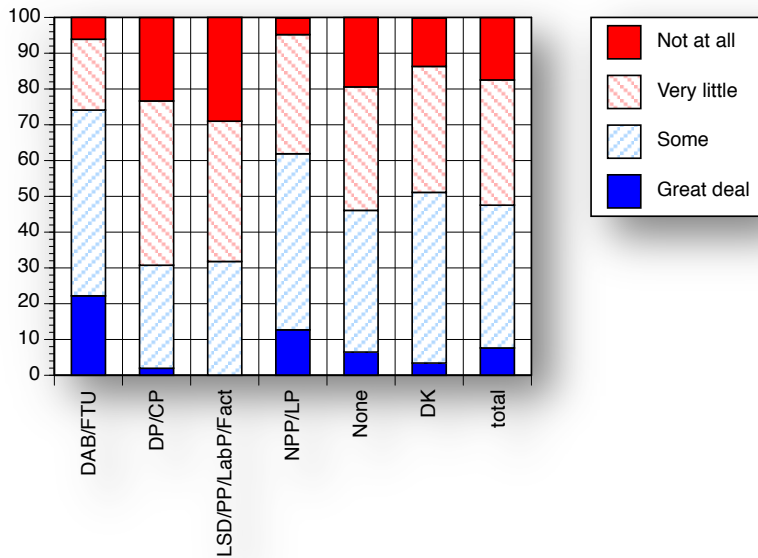
On corruption even about a third of the pro-democracy parties give Leung some belief.

**Table 39 Belief C.Y. Leung protected against corruption BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	22	2	0	13	6	3	8
<b>Some</b>	52	29	32	49	40	48	40
<b>Very little</b>	20	46	39	33	35	35	35
<b>Not at all</b>	6	23	29	5	20	14	18
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 132.9 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



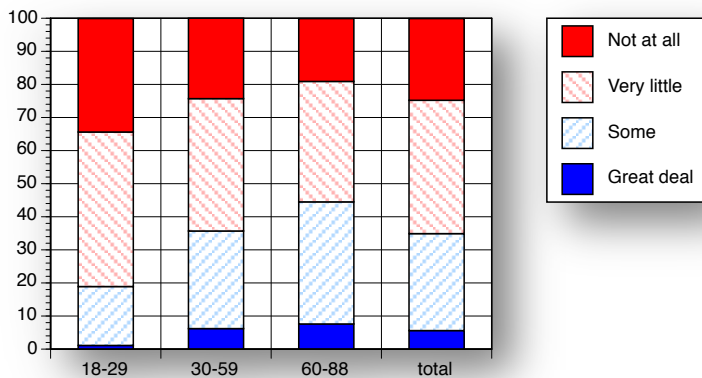
On handling big business fairly the sentiments are somewhat less positive than corruption.

**Table 40 Belief C.Y. Leung has handled big business fairly for business and public BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Great deal</b>	1	6	8	6
<b>Some</b>	18	30	37	29
<b>Very little</b>	47	40	37	40
<b>Not at all</b>	34	24	19	25
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.09 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

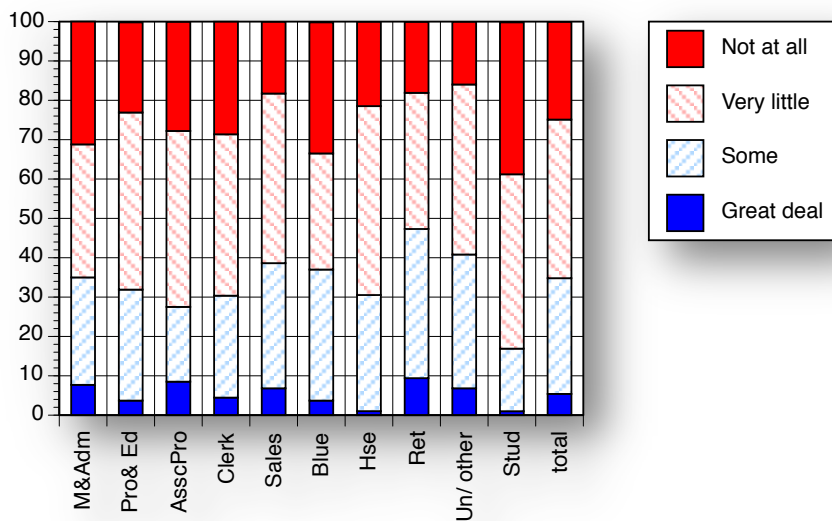


**Table 41 Belief C.Y. Leung has handled big business fairly for business and public BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Great deal</b>	8	4	9	4	7	4	1	9	7	1	6
<b>Some</b>	27	28	19	26	32	33	30	38	34	16	29
<b>Very little</b>	34	45	45	41	43	30	48	35	43	44	40
<b>Not at all</b>	31	23	28	29	18	33	21	18	16	39	25
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 53.47 with 27 df p = 0.0018



**Table 42 Belief C.Y. Leung has handled big business fairly for business and public BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Great deal</b>	5	4	7	8	6
<b>Some</b>	40	24	27	38	29
<b>Very little</b>	43	41	42	30	40
<b>Not at all</b>	13	31	23	25	25
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.44 with 9 df p = 0.0012

**Table 43 Belief C.Y. Leung has handled big business fairly for business and public BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	15	1	1	8	6	2	5
<b>Some</b>	54	12	9	48	30	32	29
<b>Very little</b>	25	51	41	34	41	46	40
<b>Not at all</b>	7	37	49	10	23	20	25
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 198.6 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 44 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Great deal</b>	6	11	9	8
<b>Some</b>	38	41	46	39
<b>Very little</b>	31	33	30	31
<b>Not at all</b>	24	15	15	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.36 with 6 df p = 0.0544

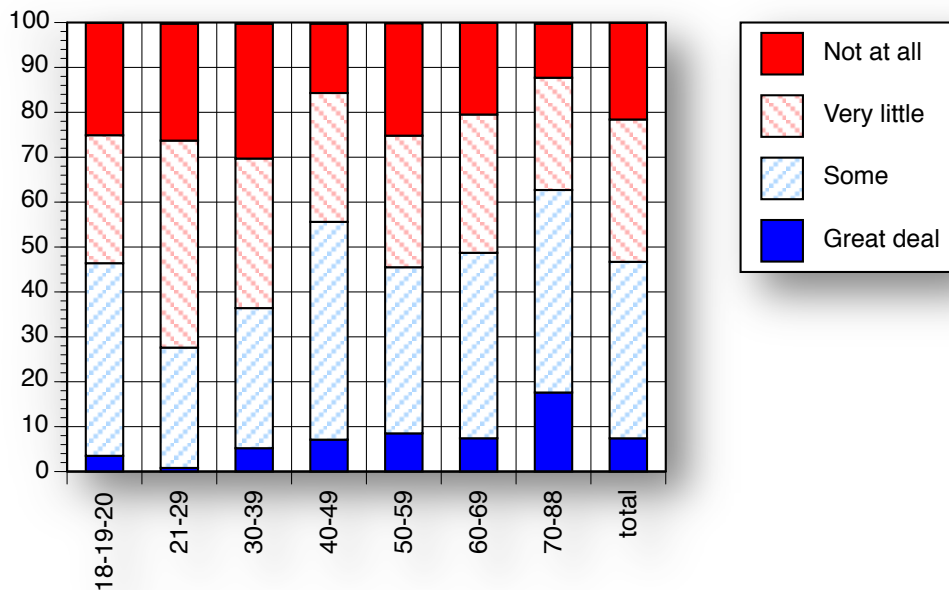
There is greater variance among the age groups on the issue of whether Chief Executive Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters, with those under 20 less dubious than those in their 20s and those in their 30s.

**Table 45 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	1	5	7	9	7	18	7
<b>Some</b>	43	27	31	49	37	41	45	39
<b>Very little</b>	29	46	33	29	30	31	25	32
<b>Not at all</b>	25	26	30	16	25	20	12	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 60.13 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001



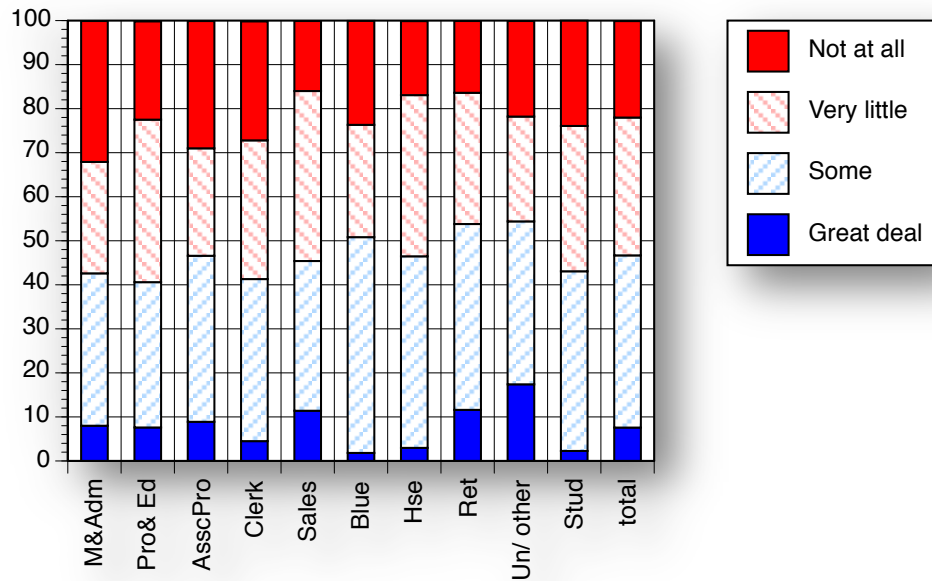
On this issue the strongest level of no belief at all is found among the business oriented managers and administrators, significantly higher among them than among students or professionals. Indeed, among most of the occupations the overall level of belief is about the same, between 40% and 50% generally believing Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters.

**Table 46 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	Assc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Great deal</b>	8	8	9	5	11	2	3	12	17	2	8
<b>Some</b>	35	33	38	37	34	49	44	42	37	41	39
<b>Very little</b>	25	37	24	32	39	26	37	30	24	33	31
<b>Not at all</b>	32	22	29	27	16	24	17	16	22	24	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 43.20 with 27 df p = 0.0250



**Table 47 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Personal income for parental support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Great deal</b>	9	5	5	11	7
<b>Some</b>	42	44	30	27	40
<b>Very little</b>	30	27	41	35	32
<b>Not at all</b>	19	24	24	27	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 23.99 with 9 df p = 0.0043

**Table 48 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Great deal</b>	8	15	1	12	8
<b>Some</b>	39	52	30	44	39
<b>Very little</b>	33	25	36	28	32
<b>Not at all</b>	19	8	33	16	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 84.21 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

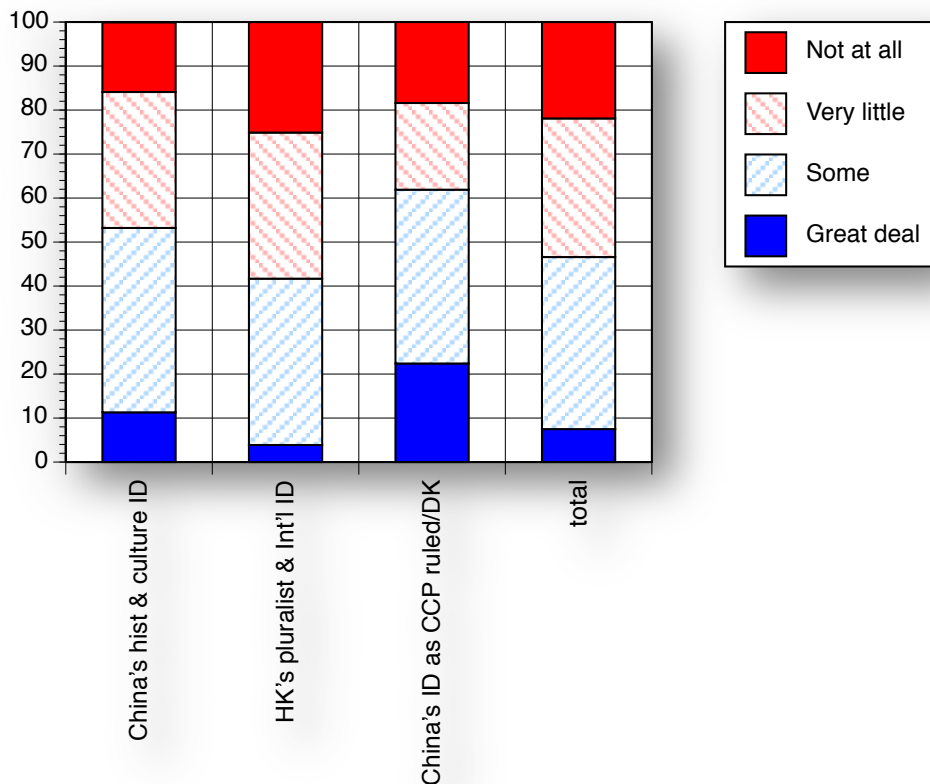
There is even closer agreement between the different identities people would personally prefer be protected and promoted, with those wanting Hong Kong's pluralist and international identity feeling almost the same as those who want China's historical and cultural identity protected. Leung appears to have alienated, on this issue, a significant level of those who want China as ruled by the CCP to be the most protected and promoted.

**Table 49 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Identity to protect and promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	11	4	22	7
<b>Some</b>	42	38	40	39
<b>Very little</b>	31	33	20	32
<b>Not at all</b>	16	25	18	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 50.33 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 50 Belief C.Y. Leung has protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	19	1	1	10	6	10	7
<b>Some</b>	57	24	25	53	40	46	39
<b>Very little</b>	19	41	34	28	32	29	32
<b>Not at all</b>	5	34	40	10	21	16	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 156.5 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

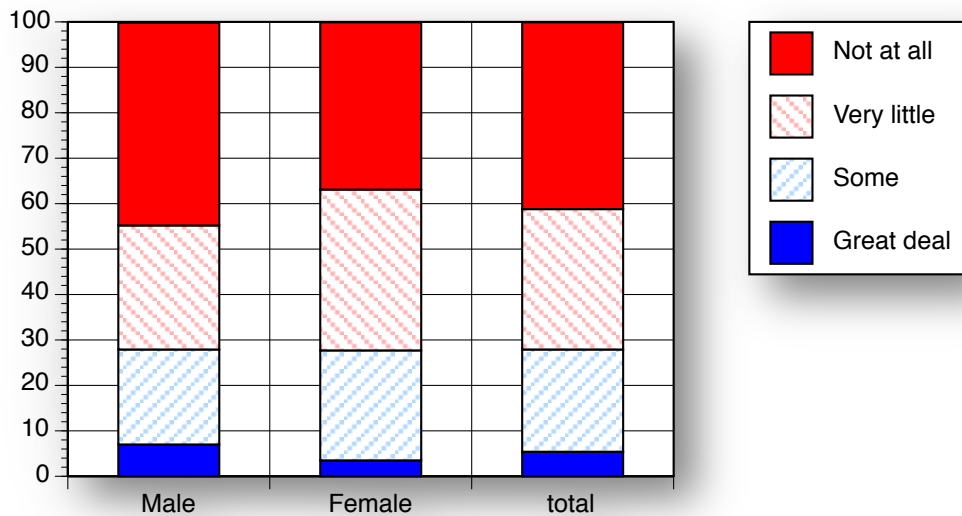
Men feel significantly stronger about their disbelief Leung will implement a fair 2017 Chief Executive election than women.

**Table 51 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Great deal</b>	7	4	6
<b>Some</b>	21	24	23
<b>Very little</b>	27	35	31
<b>Not at all</b>	45	37	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.05 with 3 df p = 0.0028



**Table 52 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	8	15	6
<b>Some</b>	19	32	29	22
<b>Very little</b>	32	30	21	31
<b>Not at all</b>	45	30	35	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.25 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

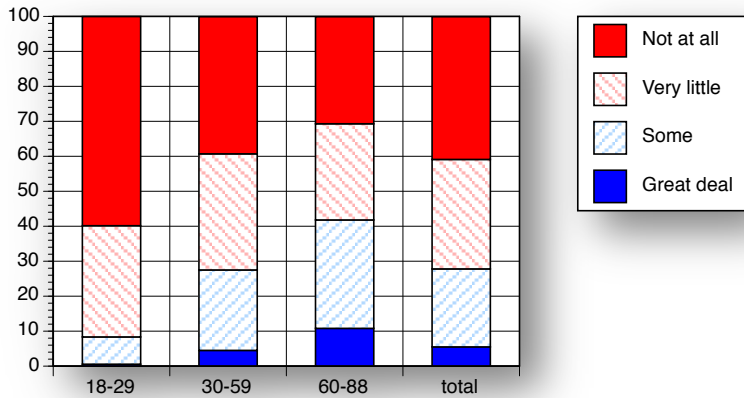
Very few under age 30 believe that CY Leung will implement a fair system of nomination and election for the Chief Executive in 2017. Fewer than one in ten under 30 profess even “some” belief he will. In contrast, 60% of those under 30 say they believe him “not at all” and another 32% say they believe him “very little.” Overall, 72 percent of respondents say they have none or very little belief that the Chief Executive will implement a fair system. Even among those over 60 disbelief is well over a majority, with 59% of this age saying they have very little or no belief he will implement a fair 2017 election.

Students are by far the most skeptical Leung will implement fair elections in 2017 (see Table 54 and chart next page). But a majority of managers and administrators also show levels of no belief at all, joining students as the top two most disbelieving groups.

**Table 53 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Great deal</b>	1	5	11	6
<b>Some</b>	8	23	31	22
<b>Very little</b>	32	33	28	31
<b>Not at all</b>	60	39	31	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

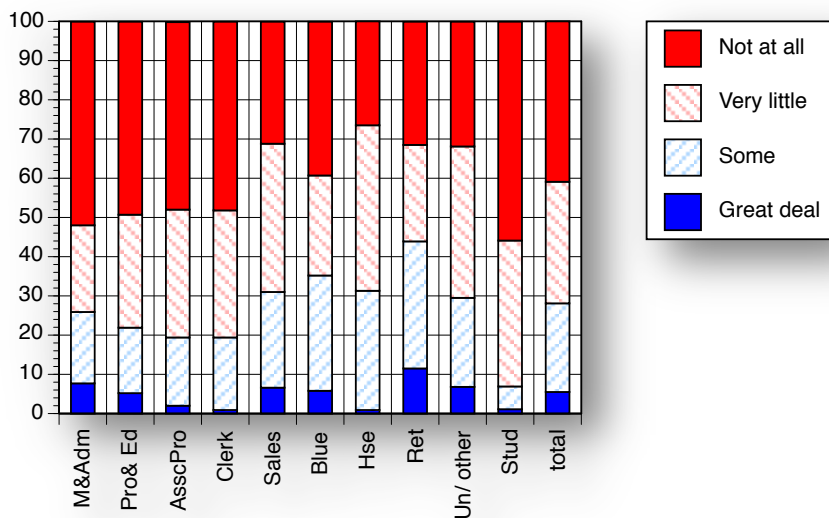
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 72.03 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 54 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Great deal</b>	8	5	2	1	7	6	1	12	7	1	6
<b>Some</b>	18	17	17	19	24	29	30	32	23	6	23
<b>Very little</b>	22	29	33	32	38	26	42	25	39	37	31
<b>Not at all</b>	52	49	48	48	31	39	27	31	32	56	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 88.87 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



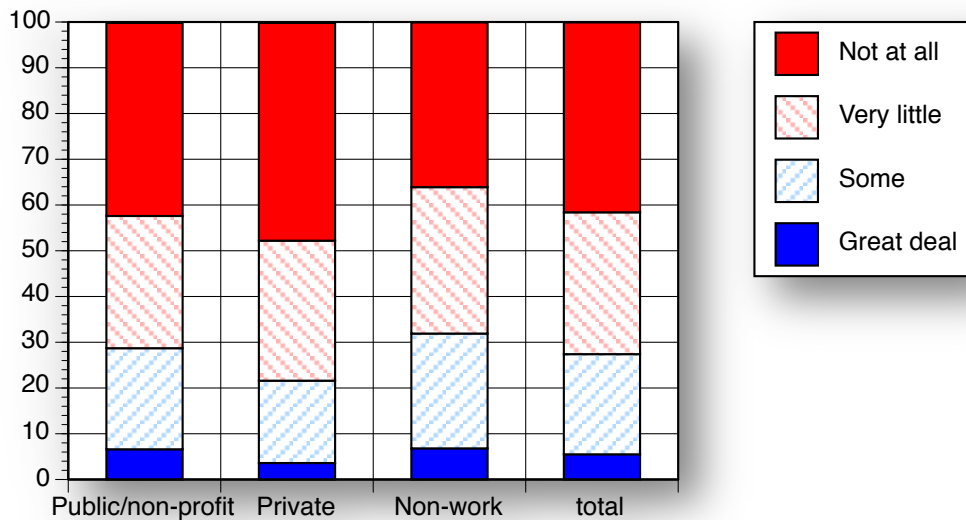
Over 70% of those who work in the public and non-profit sector (often government subvented) have grave disbelief in Leung implementing a fair Chief Executive election in 2017.

**Table 55 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Great deal</b>	7	4	7	6
<b>Some</b>	22	18	25	22
<b>Very little</b>	29	31	32	31
<b>Not at all</b>	42	48	36	42
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.64 with 6 df p = 0.0233



**Table 56 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Great deal</b>	4	6	6	4	6	6	6
<b>Some</b>	38	29	22	21	18	14	22
<b>Very little</b>	28	37	34	31	27	29	31
<b>Not at all</b>	31	28	38	43	49	52	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.09 with 15 df p = 0.0063

**Table 57 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Great deal</b>	11	3	4	9	5
<b>Some</b>	31	21	21	22	22
<b>Very little</b>	33	35	28	20	31
<b>Not at all</b>	24	41	47	48	42
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.48 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 58 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Personal income for parental support**

	None	Less than 20%	20%-40%	40% and more	total
<b>Great deal</b>	8	3	4	3	5
<b>Some</b>	27	22	15	14	23
<b>Very little</b>	31	29	34	34	31
<b>Not at all</b>	35	47	47	49	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.43 with 9 df p = 0.0004

**Table 59 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Religion**

	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/ Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>Great deal</b>	7	5	1	3	6	5
<b>Some</b>	21	13	20	36	28	22
<b>Very little</b>	29	38	40	27	29	31
<b>Not at all</b>	44	44	39	34	38	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.60 with 12 df p = 0.0063

**Table 60 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Personal identity**

	Hong Kong Chinese	Chinese	Hong Kong person	Chinese Hong Konger	total
<b>Great deal</b>	9	12	0	7	5
<b>Some</b>	23	36	12	29	22
<b>Very little</b>	30	31	30	35	31
<b>Not at all</b>	39	21	58	30	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 96.46 with 9 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 61 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Identity to protect and promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	7	3	19	6
<b>Some</b>	35	16	33	23
<b>Very little</b>	26	34	25	31
<b>Not at all</b>	32	47	23	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 84.00 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

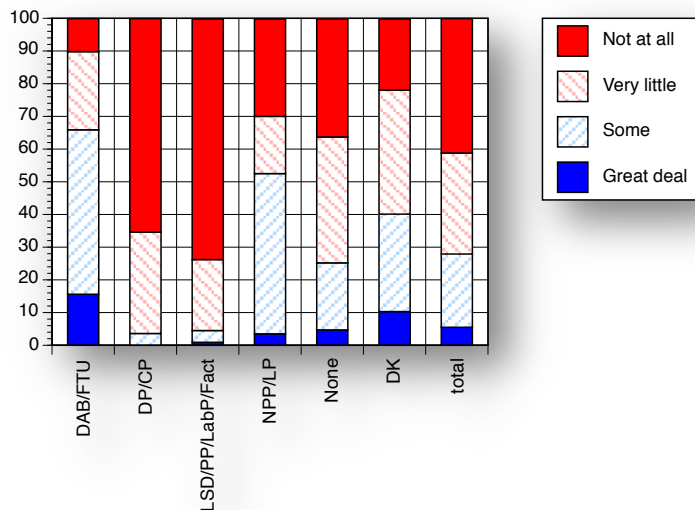
As expected, almost no one who says a pro-democracy party best represents them shows much, if any, belief Leung will implement a fair Chief Executive election. But nearly half the pro-establishment NPP/LP group feel the same levels of skepticism.

**Table 62 Belief Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Great deal</b>	16	0	1	4	5	10	6
<b>Some</b>	50	4	4	49	21	30	23
<b>Very little</b>	24	31	22	18	39	38	31
<b>Not at all</b>	10	65	74	30	36	22	41
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 299.3 with 15 df p ≤ 0.0001



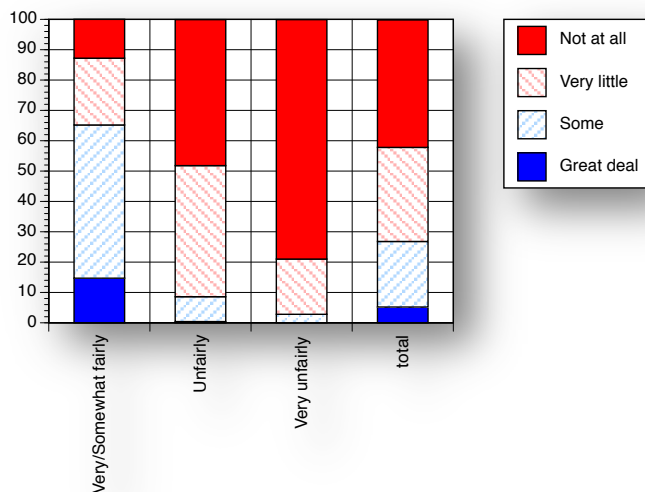
There is an extremely strong correlation between disbelief in Leung implementing a fair election and belief policy is made unfairly. Few trust the system.

**Table 63 Belief C.Y. Leung will implement fair 2017 election BY Fairness of policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Great deal</b>	15	0	0	5
<b>Some</b>	51	8	3	22
<b>Very little</b>	22	43	18	31
<b>Not at all</b>	13	48	79	42
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 418.1 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001





## B. Fairness, Satisfaction and Occupy Central

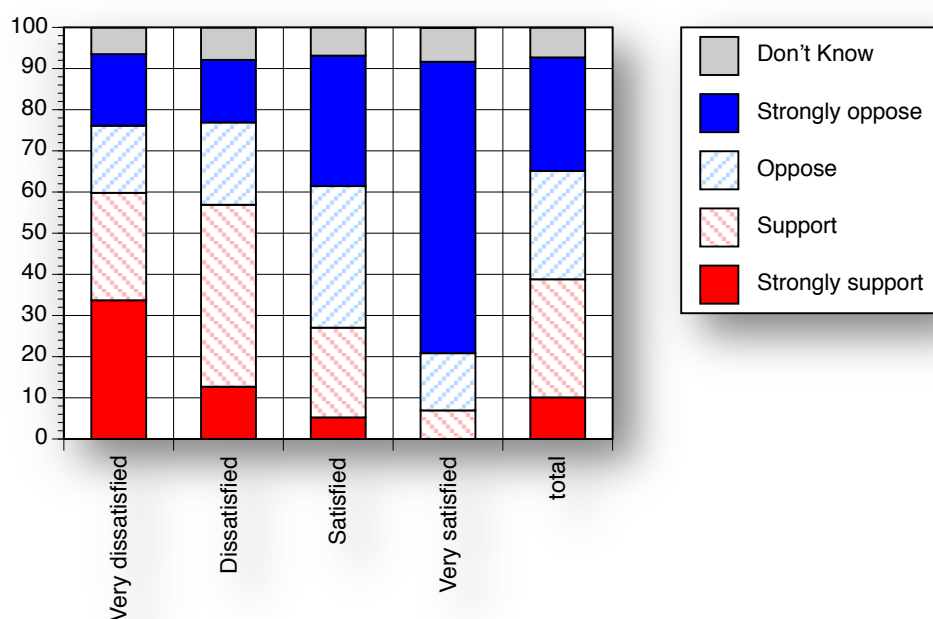
A report on Occupy Central was separately made and released in January 2014 (see Appendix in this report for that report). However, some of the factors included in this report were not detailed in that earlier report. For example, the association between support for Occupy Central and satisfaction with life in Hong Kong. There is a strong association with dissatisfaction with life in Hong Kong and support for Occupy Central. A majority of those dissatisfied with life in Hong Kong say they support Occupy Central while relatively few satisfied with life in Hong Kong say they support Occupy.

**Table 64 Support/oppose Occupy Central BY Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong**

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	34	13	5	0	10
<b>Support</b>	26	44	22	7	29
<b>Oppose</b>	16	20	34	14	26
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	17	15	32	71	28
<b>Don't Know</b>	7	8	7	8	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 217.8 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Belief policy making is unfair has heavily tainted trust in Ms Lam to conduct a fair consultation. Chart next page.

**Table 65 Carrie Lam conduct consultation fairly BY Fairness of policy making**

	Policy made Very/ Somewhat fairly	Policy made Unfairly	Policy made Very unfairly	total
<b>Conduct Very fairly</b>	22	2	1	9
<b>Conduct fairly</b>	41	13	10	23
<b>Conduct unfairly</b>	33	61	40	47
<b>Conduct very unfairly</b>	3	19	30	16
<b>Don't Know</b>	1	4	19	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 356.7 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Chart of Table 65 Carrie Lam conduct consultation fairly BY Fairness of policy making

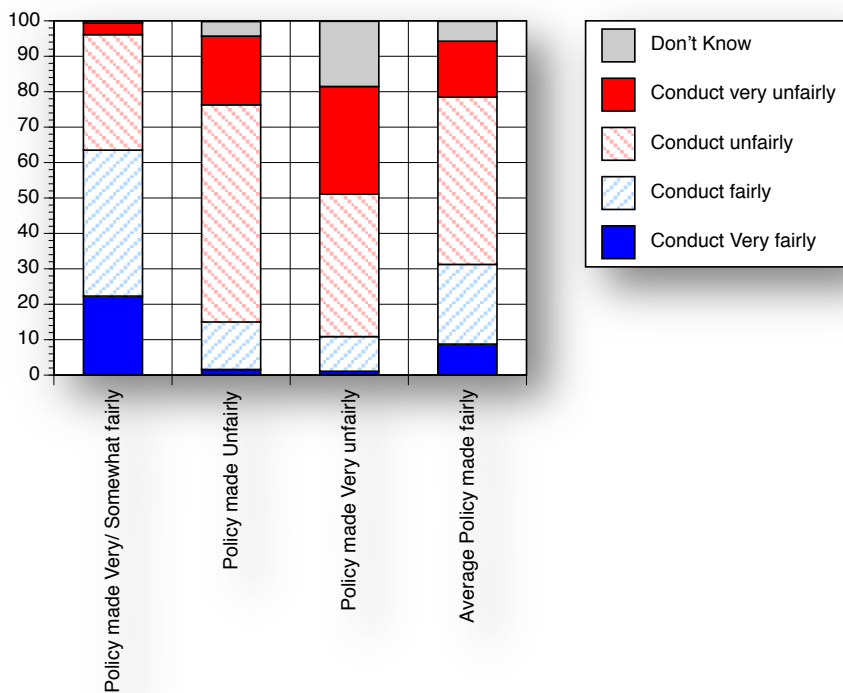
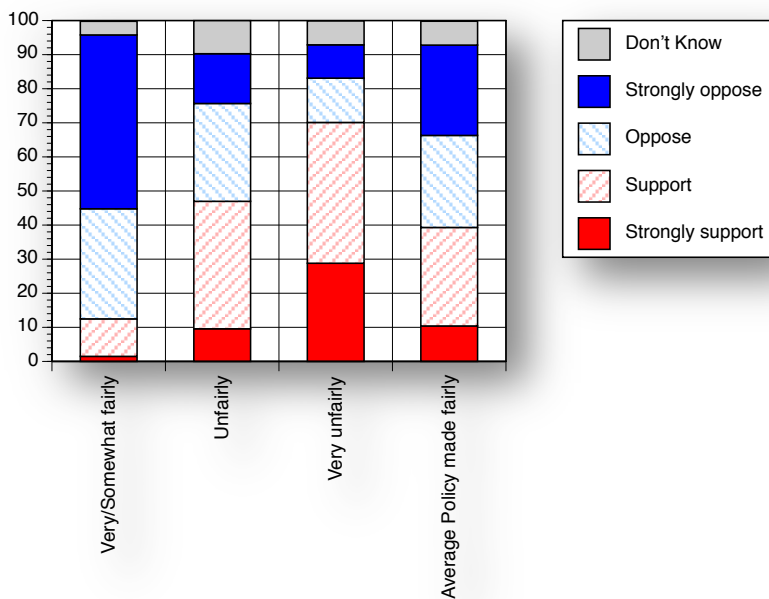


Table 66 Support/oppose Occupy Central BY Fairness in policy making

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	1	10	29	10
<b>Support</b>	11	37	41	29
<b>Oppose</b>	32	29	13	27
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	51	15	10	27
<b>Don't Know</b>	4	10	7	7
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 289.4 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 67 Support if Beijing warns against joining Occupy Central BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>No, still support</b>	12	48	68	39
<b>No, still oppose</b>	79	40	19	50
<b>Yes, become support</b>	4	6	4	5
<b>Yes, become opposed</b>	1	2	5	2
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	4	4	4
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 208.6 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Perhaps because they know the intensity of their own feelings about fairness, those who think policy is made very unfairly show far higher levels of worry about violence and economic damage from Occupy Central. Nevertheless, the same groups show very high levels of support for Occupy Central (see attached report below.)

**Table 68 Worried about violence and economic damage BY Policy made fairly**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very worried</b>	19	28	53	30
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	23	32	28	28
<b>Worried very little</b>	21	26	12	21
<b>No worry at all</b>	36	13	6	20
<b>Don't Know</b>	2	1	1	1
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 125.9 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

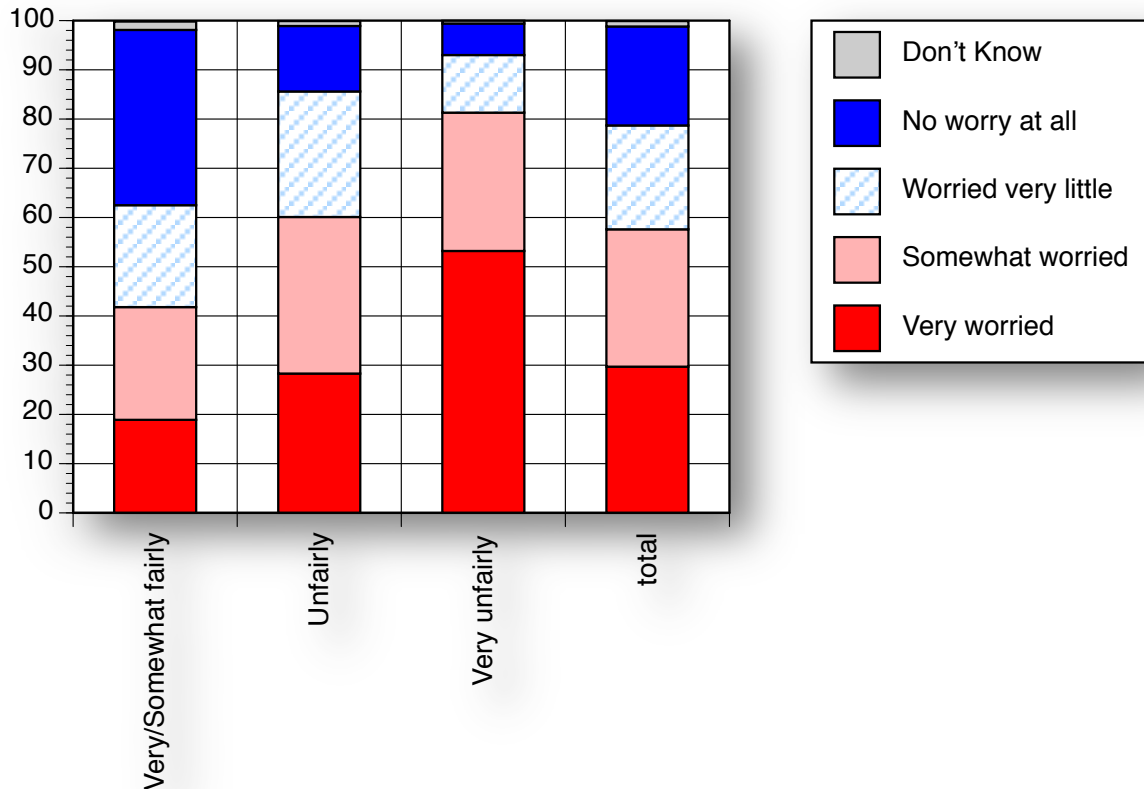


Table 69 shows that personal problems of a political nature have risen greatly in proportion.

**Table 69 Which problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about now personally?**

	Aug 2004	Aug 2008	Jan 2010	Oct 2011	Aug 2012	Jan 2013	Jan 2014
No problem	3	4	2	5	4	4	6
Salary cuts	3	3	2	1	1	1	.5
Employment/unemployment	35	12	27	13	10	7	9
Economic growth rate	9	8	9	4	4	3	1
Business closings		--	0.3	0	.3	--	1
Affordable housing/ property market	2	--	4	6	16	20/12 (32% total)	14/11 (25%)
Hong Kong stock market	1	1	0.4	0.5	1	0.4	--
Hong Kong int'l competitiveness	1	2	1	0.4	1	0.2	3
Inflation		29	2	9	5	4	3
Wealth gap		4	14	17	6	16	6
Welfare cuts	1	2	1	1	1	1	5
Elderly welfare	1	3	3	5	6	5	5
All economic	53	64	64	57	51	69.6	58
Corruption	1	--	0.1	0.2	1	1	--
Political stability	10	2	9	9	9	6	12
Freedom of press, demonstration, travel	1	1	1	8	5	2	4
Autonomy of HK	--	1	1	1	3	1	5
Fair judiciary	1	1	0.4	0.1	1	1	1
Competence of civil servants		1	0.2	0.4	1	1	--
Competence of Chief Executive		1	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.4	3
All Political	13	7	12	20	20	12.4	25
Good quality education	9	5	4	3	6	2	4
Crime	1	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	--
Public medical services	2	4	2	3	3	1	3
Pollution	5	4	1	4	6	0.3	1
Overpopulation	2	4	--	2	3	1	2
All social	19	18	7	13	18	5.3	10
Other	12	7	15	5	6	9	1

\*Rounded to nearest tenth of a point if less than 1, otherwise rounded to nearest whole number

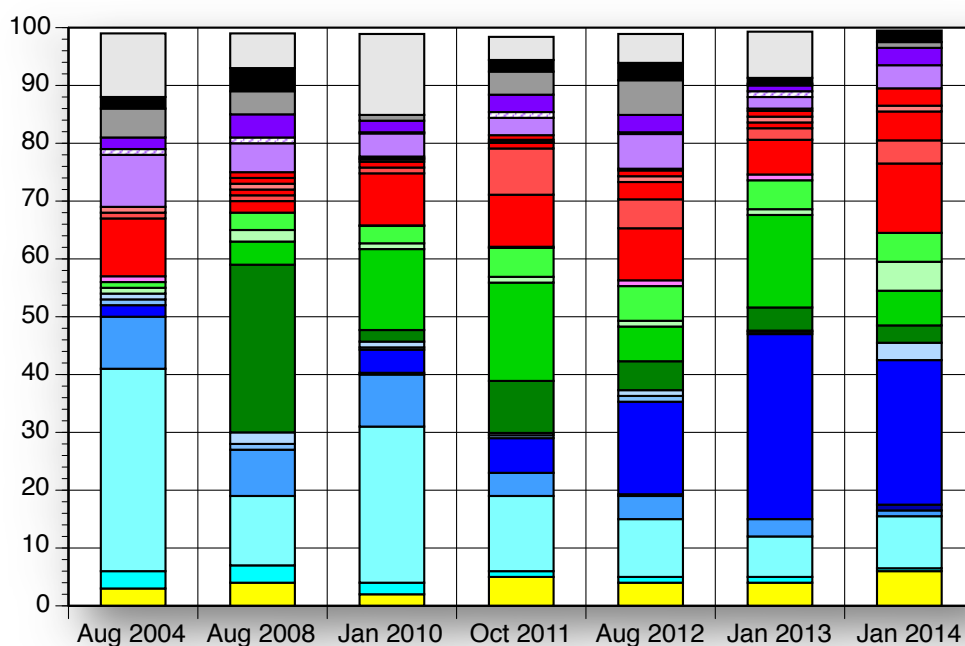
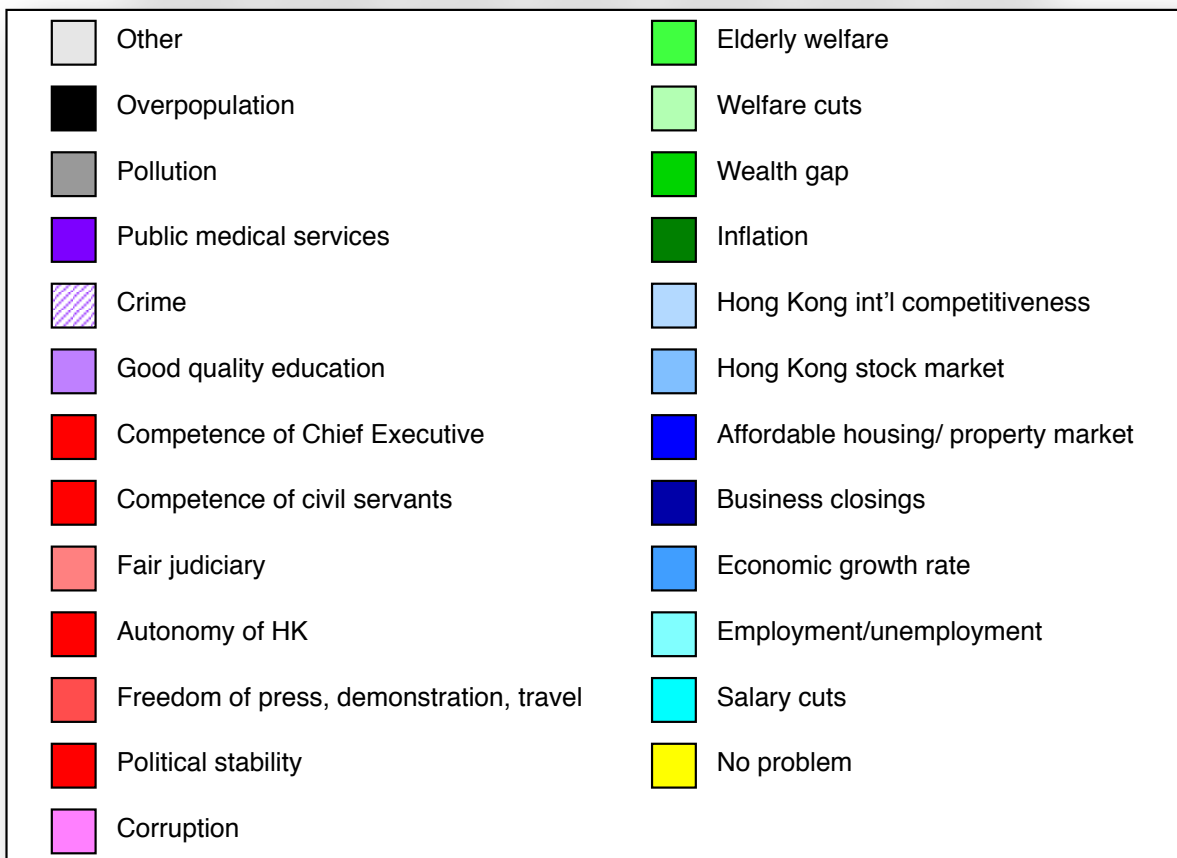
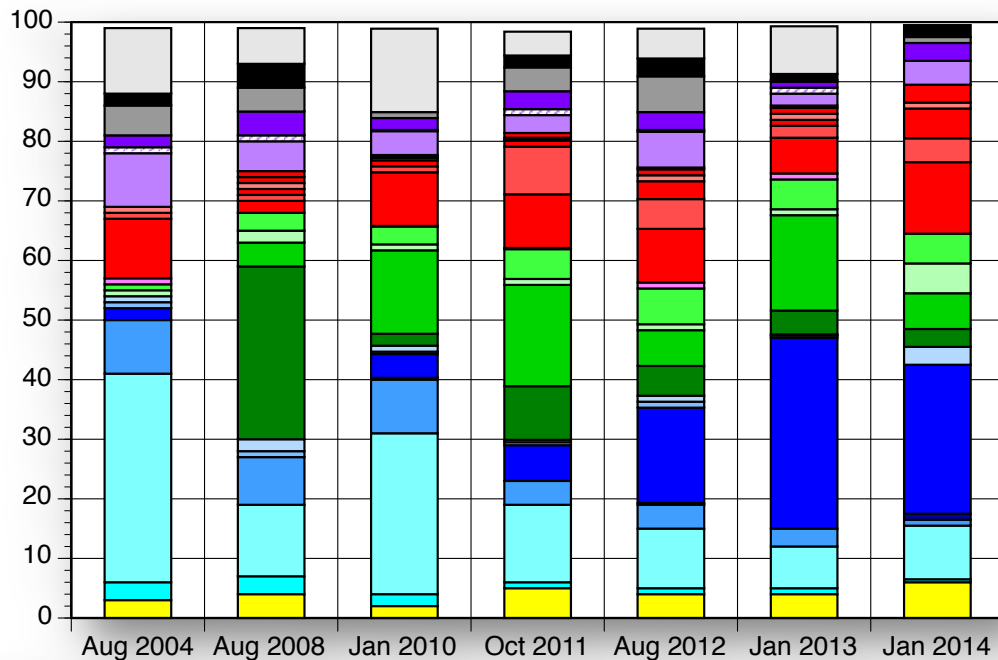


Chart with legend next page

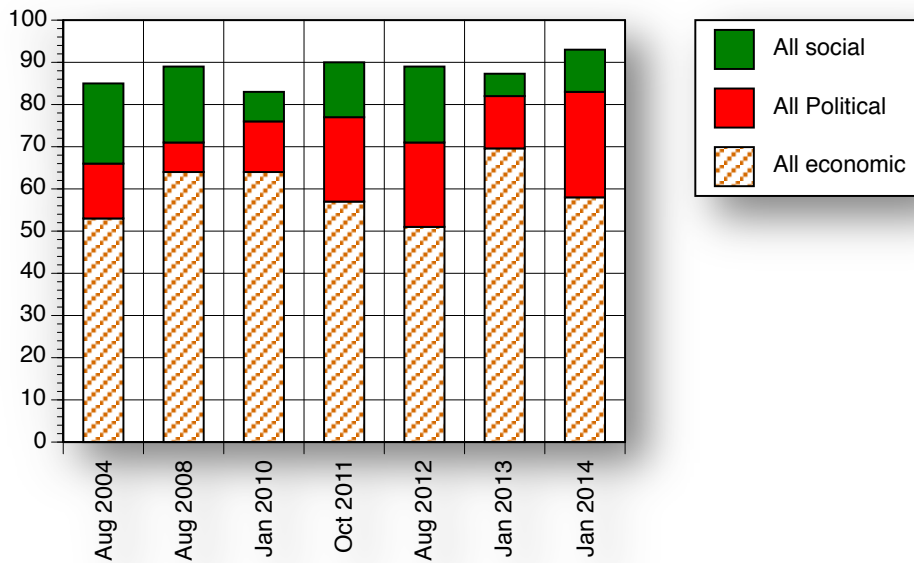
The problems in red are those of a politically related nature. Green concern socio-economic issues of class and aging while purple shades are social issues. Blue are purely economic matters while grey and black are issues of pollution and over-population. Politically related issues (red) are the highest in 10 years of surveying. This is made clearer in the chart next page.

**Chart/Table 69 Which problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about now personally?**



The growth in political concerns can be seen in the chart below.

### Summary chart of the nature of personal issues of greatest concern

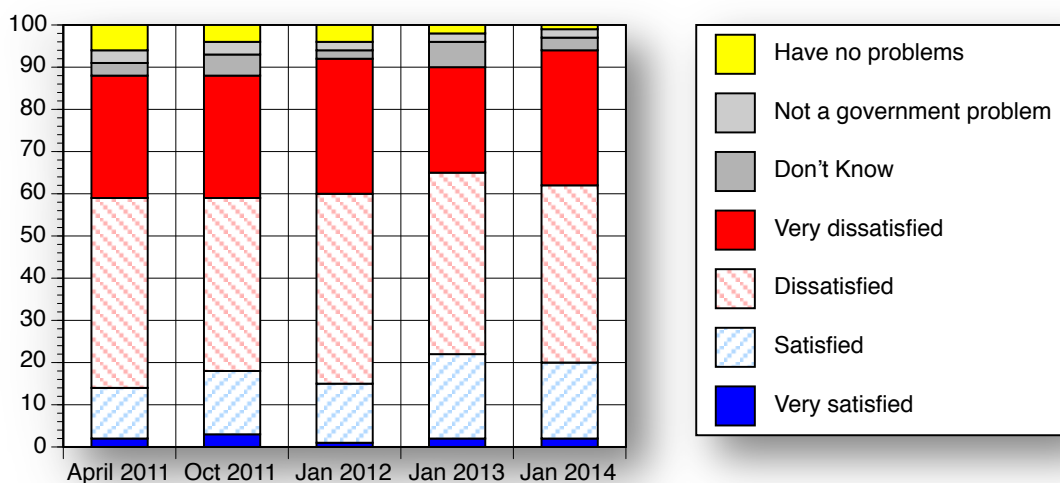


\*Balance to 100% "no problem" or "other"

Dissatisfaction with government's performance dealing with these problems of greatest personal concern has grown from 2013 to 2014.

**Table 70 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's performance on this problem?**

	April 2011	Oct 2011	Jan 2012	Jan 2013	Jan 2014
<b>Very satisfied</b>	2	3	1	2	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	12	15	14	20	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	45	41	45	43	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	29	29	32	25	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	5	2	6	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	3	3	2	2	2
<b>Have no problems</b>	7	5	3	2	1



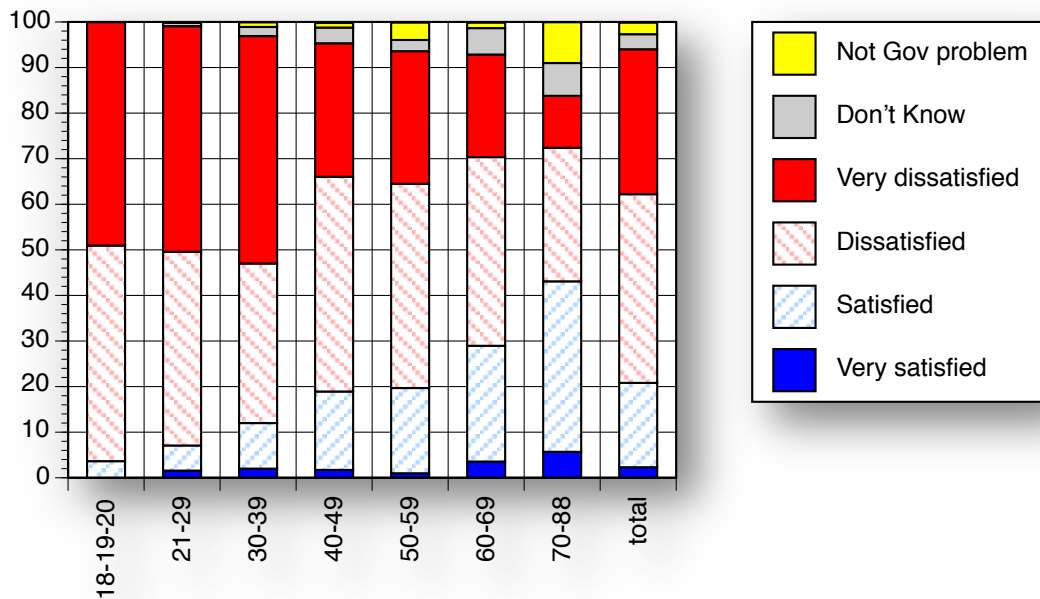
Clearly, dissatisfaction is much more intense and greater in those under age 40.

**Table 71 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	0	2	2	2	1	4	6	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	4	6	10	17	19	25	37	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	47	43	35	47	45	41	29	41
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	49	50	50	29	29	23	11	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	0	1	2	3	2	6	7	3
<b>Not Gov problem</b>	0	0	1	1	4	1	9	3
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 162.3 with 30 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



Students also show the highest level of being very dissatisfied, though professionals and associate professionals are not too far off the very dissatisfied levels of students.

**Table 72 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	1	1	0	1	7	4	0	5	5	1	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	17	9	17	14	18	22	17	31	25	5	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	47	44	36	43	47	47	43	37	39	46	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	31	44	45	39	24	24	30	17	32	48	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	1	2	3	4	0	7	6	0	0	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	1	1	0	0	0	4	3	6	0	0	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 131.7 with 45 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 73 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	5	1	1	3	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	32	17	16	15	19
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	35	41	46	37	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	16	35	33	40	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	3	2	2	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	3	2	2	2	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 49.27 with 15 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

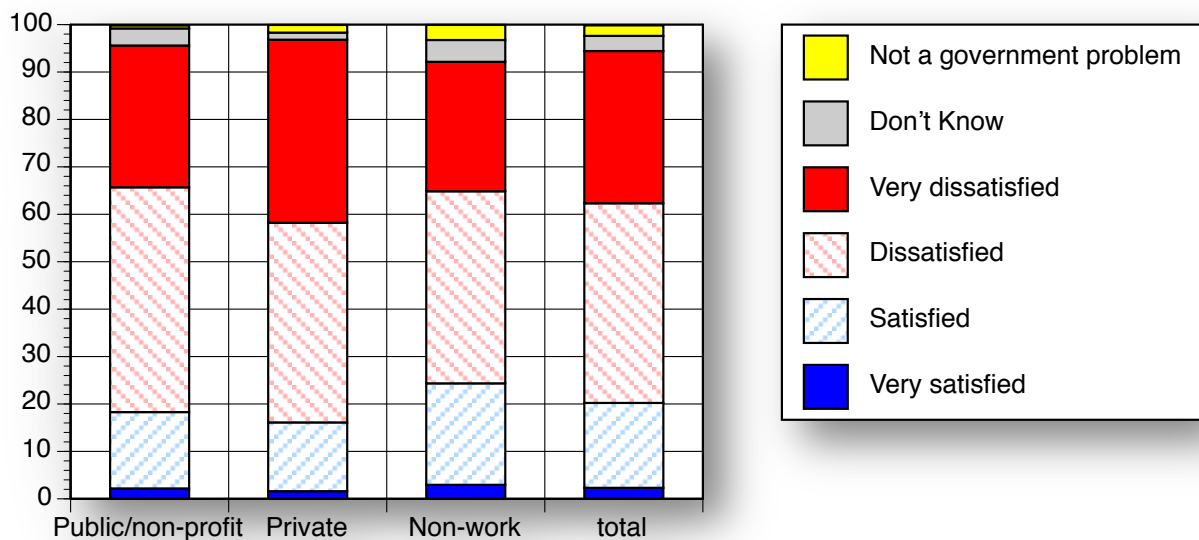
Even amongst public sector employees the vast majority are dissatisfied with the government's performance in dealing with their personal problem of greatest concern.

**Table 74 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	2	2	3	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	16	15	21	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	47	42	41	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	30	39	27	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	4	2	5	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	1	2	3	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.65 with 10 df  $p = 0.0030$



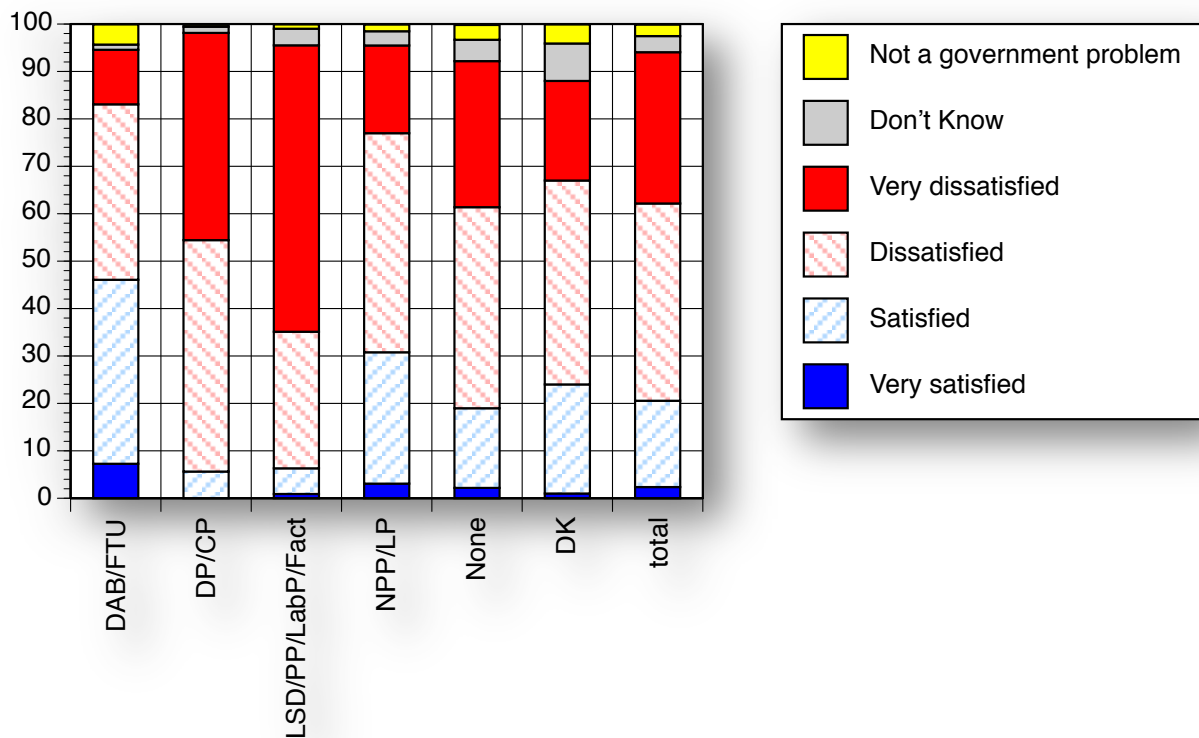
Even amongst the strongest supporters of the government, DAB/FTU supporters, 49% say they are dissatisfied with the government's performance on their issue of greatest personal concern. Among the pro-democracy party supporters dissatisfaction is almost universal. Clearly many feel government does not address their issues of greatest concern.



**Table 75 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	7	0	1	3	2	1	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	6	5	28	17	23	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	37	49	29	46	42	43	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	12	44	60	19	31	21	32
<b>Don't Know</b>	1	1	4	3	5	8	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	4	0	1	2	3	4	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 191.2 with 25 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 76 Satisfied gov performance on problem of greatest concern BY Fairness of policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6	1	0	2
<b>Satisfied</b>	39	8	3	18
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	40	54	17	42
<b>Very dissatisfied</b>	10	32	78	33
<b>Don't Know</b>	2	4	2	3
<b>Not a government problem</b>	4	1	1	2
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 361.5 with 10 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

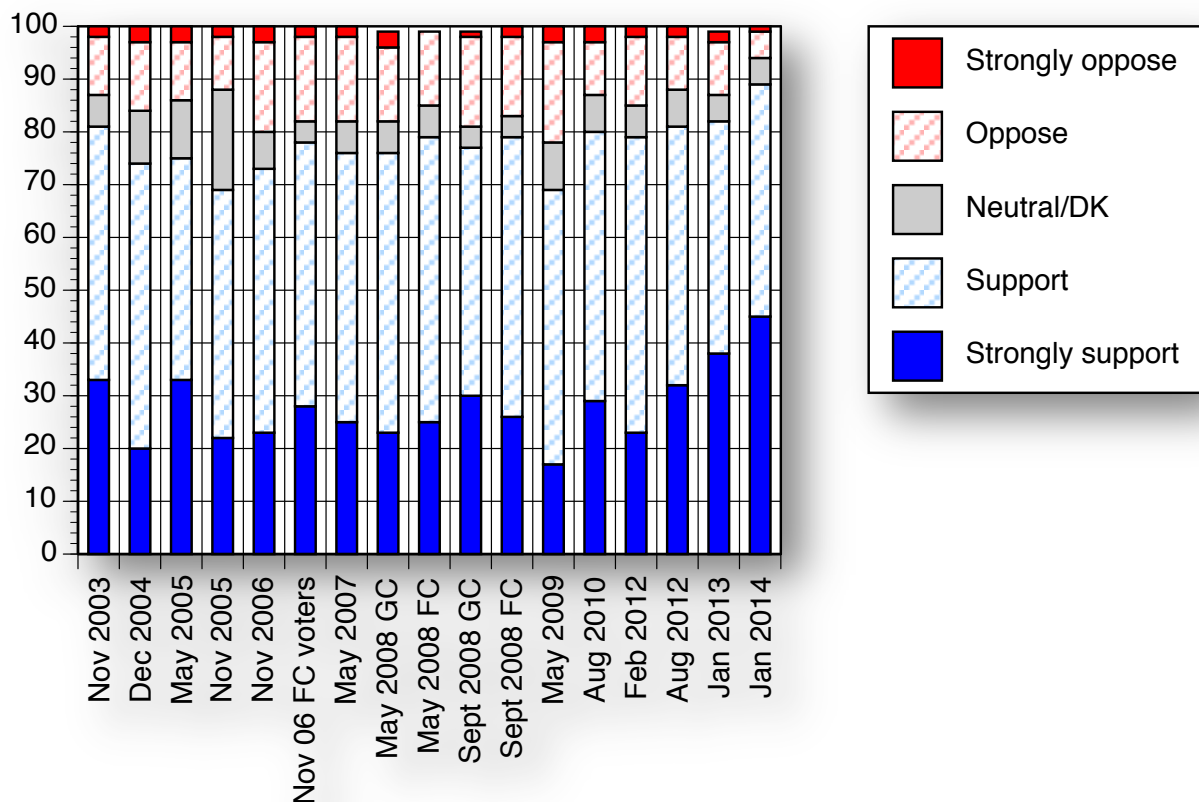
Overall, the present policy making system and its leadership are clearly in trouble, and dissatisfaction on most aspects is deep and spread widely across many sectors.

#### 4. Reforming the Current Governance System: Views on Options

The issue, after seeing all the problems and dissatisfaction covered in this report to this point, is to figure out how to fix the system of policy making. As Table 1 shows, there is overwhelming consensus now that the Chief Executive needs to be directly elected.

**Table 1 Support/oppose directly electing the Chief Executive (Trend chart)**

	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
Feb 2012	23	56	6	13	2
Aug 2012	32	49	8	10	2
Jan 2013	38	44	5	10	2
Jan 2014	45	44	5	5	1



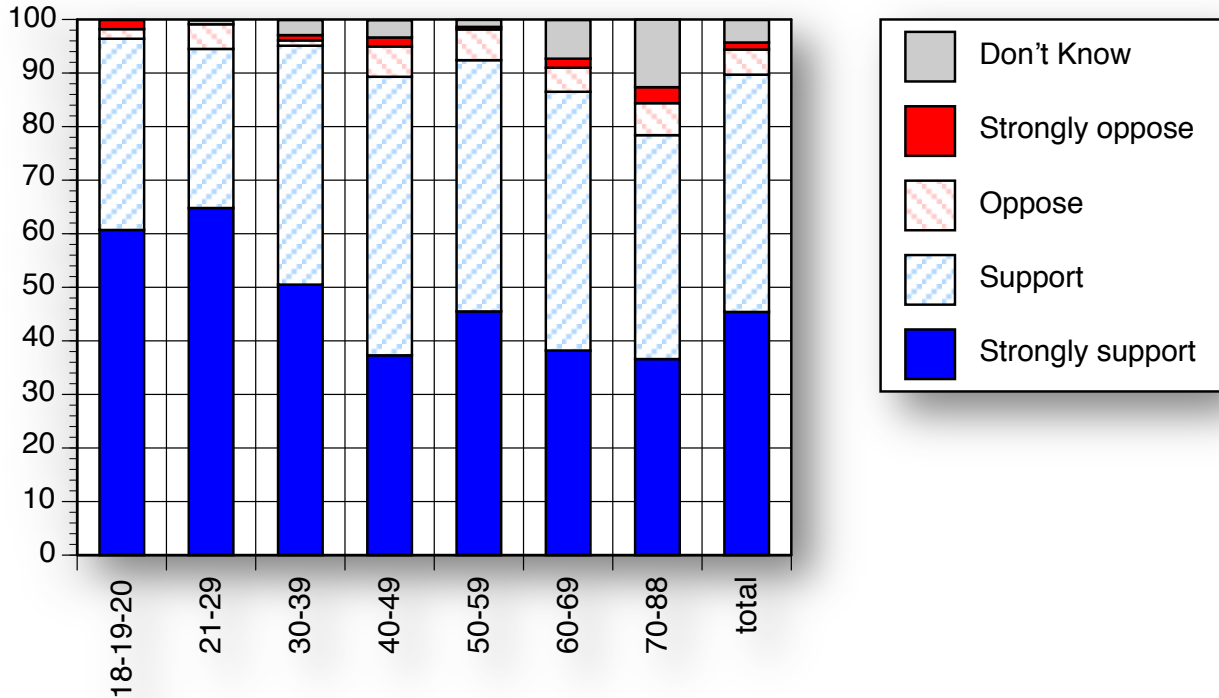
Even among the most elderly support has reached almost 8 out of 10. Among those under 40 support for direct election of the Chief Executive is at or above 95%.

**Table 2 Support direct Chief Executive election BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	61	65	51	37	46	38	37	45
<b>Support</b>	36	30	45	52	47	48	42	44
<b>Oppose</b>	2	5	1	6	6	4	6	5
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	0	1	2	0	2	3	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	0	1	3	3	1	7	13	4
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 78.97 with 24 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



A majority of students, managers and administrators, professionals and educators, associate professionals and clerks strongly support direct election of the Chief Executive.

**Table 3 Support direct Chief Executive election BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	58	51	51	52	47	38	32	35	40	63	45
<b>Support</b>	36	46	40	43	36	54	56	45	52	32	45
<b>Oppose</b>	4	1	6	3	11	4	7	6	0	3	5
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	0	0	0	2	2	4	1	2	2	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	1	2	1	4	2	4	11	6	1	4
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 92.01 with 36 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 4 Support direct Chief Executive election BY Identity to protect & promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	39	50	32	45
<b>Support</b>	47	43	41	44
<b>Oppose</b>	7	3	8	5
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	1	2	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	2	17	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 60.22 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

The public sector feels as strongly in support as the private sector, and both considerably exceed at the strong support level that in the non-work sector which is dominated by retirees.

**Table 5 Support direct Chief Executive election BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	52	51	40	46
<b>Support</b>	41	43	45	44
<b>Oppose</b>	4	3	6	5
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	1	2	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	2	8	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

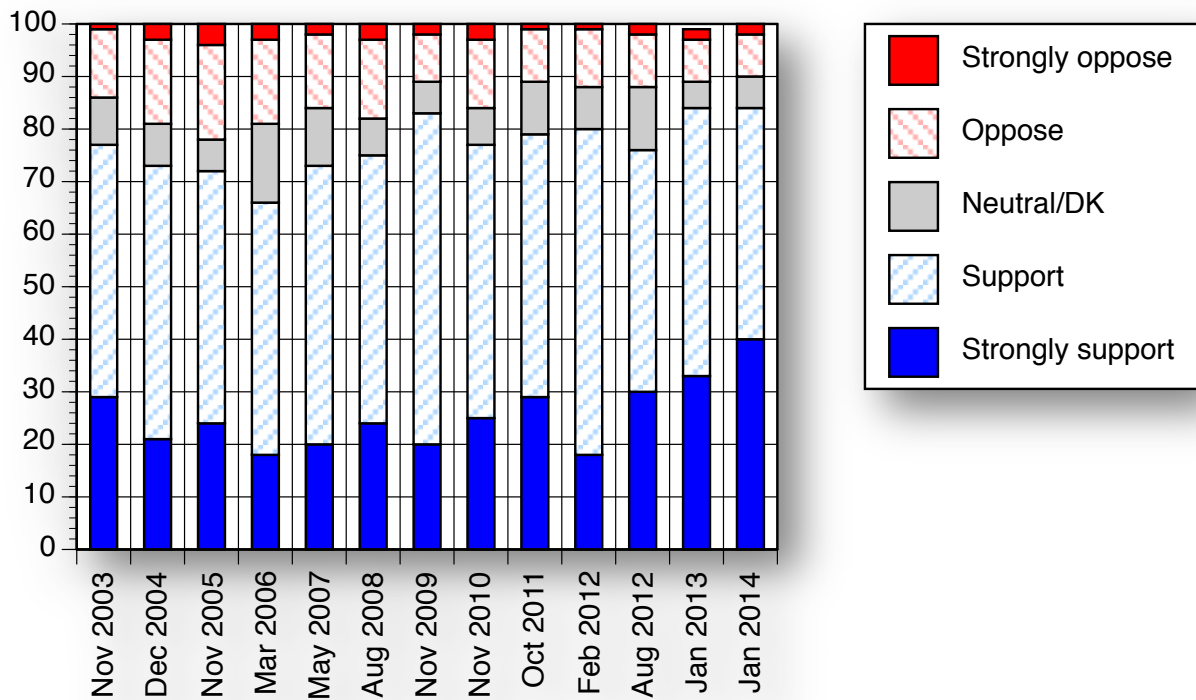
Chi-square = 28.95 with 8 df  $p = 0.0003$

Twice in the past two years record levels of support have been shown for directly electing all Legco seats. But in 2014 a new record of strongly supporting direct election of all Legco seats was registered, soaring from 33% strongly in support in 2013 to 40% strongly in support in 2014. See chart next page. Under age 40 support hits 90% (see Table 7 below).

**Table 6 Support/Oppose direct election of all Legco seats (10 Year Trend)**

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral/DK	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Nov 2003	29	48	9	13	1
Dec 2004	21	52	9	16	3
Nov 2005	24	48	6	18	4
Mar 2006	18	48	15	16	3
May 2007	20	53	11	14	2
Aug 2008	24	51	7	15	3
Nov 2009	20	63	6	9	2
Nov 2010	25	52	7	13	3
Oct 2011	29	50	10	10	1
Feb 2012	18	62	8	11	1
Aug 2012	30	46	12	10	2
Jan 2013	33	51	5	8	2
Jan 2014	40	44	6	8	2

**Table 6 Support/Oppose direct election of all Legco seats (10 Year Trend)**

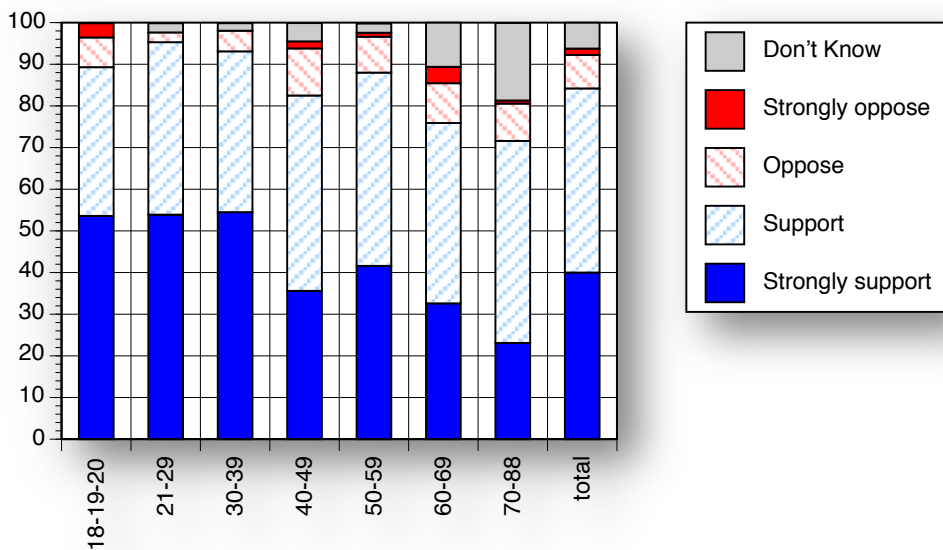


**Table 7 Support all Legco direct election BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	54	54	55	36	42	33	23	40
<b>Support</b>	36	41	39	47	46	43	49	44
<b>Oppose</b>	7	2	5	11	9	10	9	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	0	0	2	1	4	1	2
<b>Don't Know</b>	0	2	2	5	2	11	19	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 105.8 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001



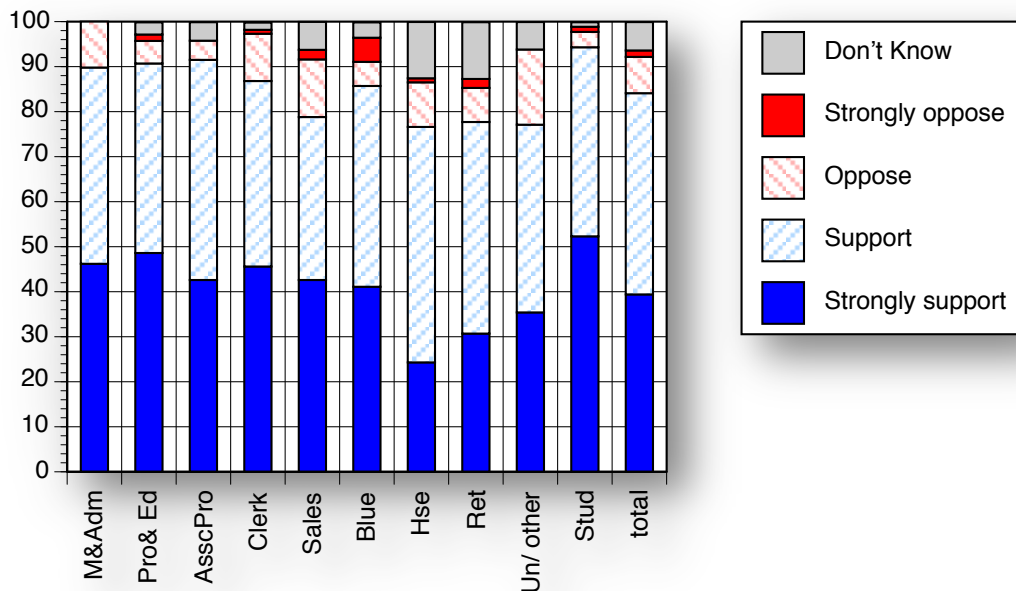
Support for direct election of all Legco members among students is 94% with a majority strongly in support, but support is also 90% among managers and administrators, professionals and educators, and associate professionals.

**Table 8 Support all Legco direct election BY Occupation**

	Man& Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	46	49	43	46	43	41	24	31	35	52	39
<b>Support</b>	44	42	49	41	36	45	52	47	42	42	45
<b>Oppose</b>	10	5	4	11	13	5	10	8	17	3	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	0	1	0	1	2	5	1	2	0	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	0	3	4	2	6	4	13	13	6	1	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 85.30 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 9 Support all Legco direct election BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	28	40	47	47	41
<b>Support</b>	48	42	42	39	43
<b>Oppose</b>	9	9	7	10	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	1	2	2	2
<b>Don't Know</b>	13	8	2	2	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.09 with 12 df p = 0.0013

Support is slightly stronger among public and non-profit sector workers than in the private sector (though both show 88% support, the private sector slightly more strongly supports by 47% to 44% in the public sector). The non-work sector, among retirees, is where most of the opposition is located.

**Table 10 Support all Legco direct election BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	44	47	34	40
<b>Support</b>	44	41	47	44
<b>Oppose</b>	5	9	8	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	2	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	2	10	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 36.79 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 11 Support all Legco direct election BY Identity to protect & promote**

	China's hist & culture ID	HK's pluralist & Int'l ID	China's ID as CCP ruled/DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	34	45	24	40
<b>Support</b>	47	42	48	44
<b>Oppose</b>	10	7	7	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	1	0	2
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	4	22	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

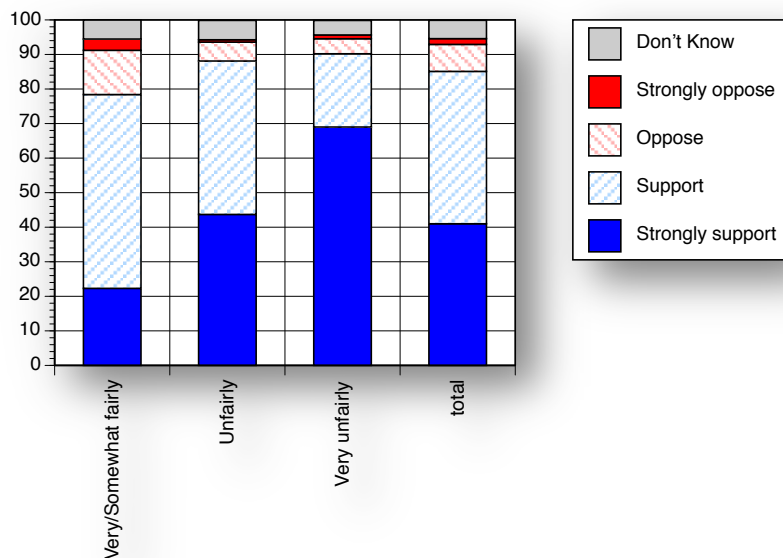
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 61.50 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Even those who believe policy making is fair show very high support for directly electing all members of Legco.

**Table 12 Support all Legco direct election BY Fairness of policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	22	44	69	41
<b>Support</b>	56	44	21	44
<b>Oppose</b>	13	5	4	8
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	1	1	2
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	6	4	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 122.8 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

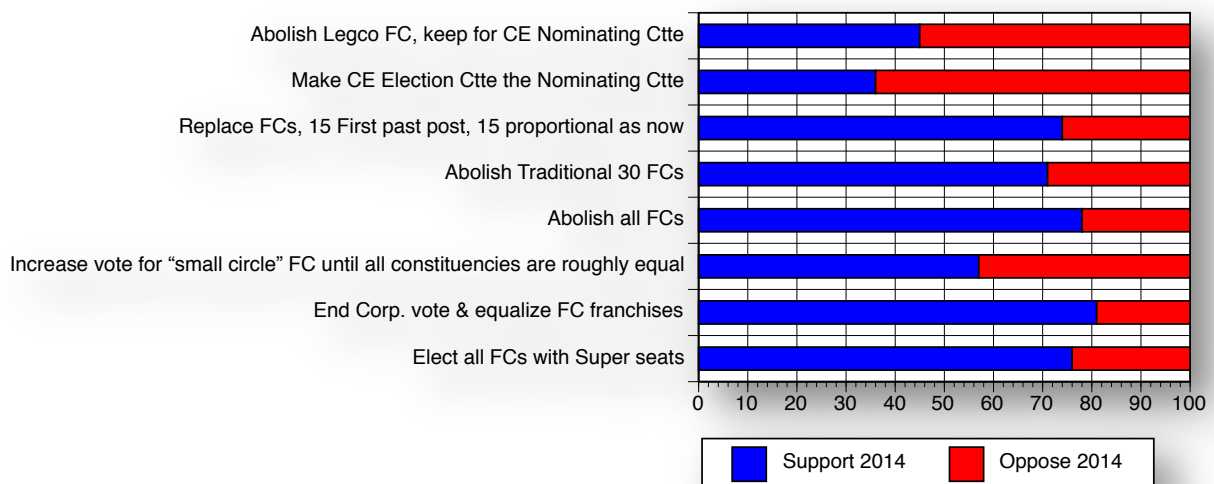


The two charts of Table 13 compare annual change. Opposition to simply making the Chief Executive Election Committee which exists now into the Nomination Committee, unchanged in composition and number, has risen from 52% in 2013 to 64% in 2014. While a majority still oppose keeping the FCs for the Nomination Committee, opposition is down slightly, but more want FCs abolished altogether, rising from 73% to 78% in 2014.

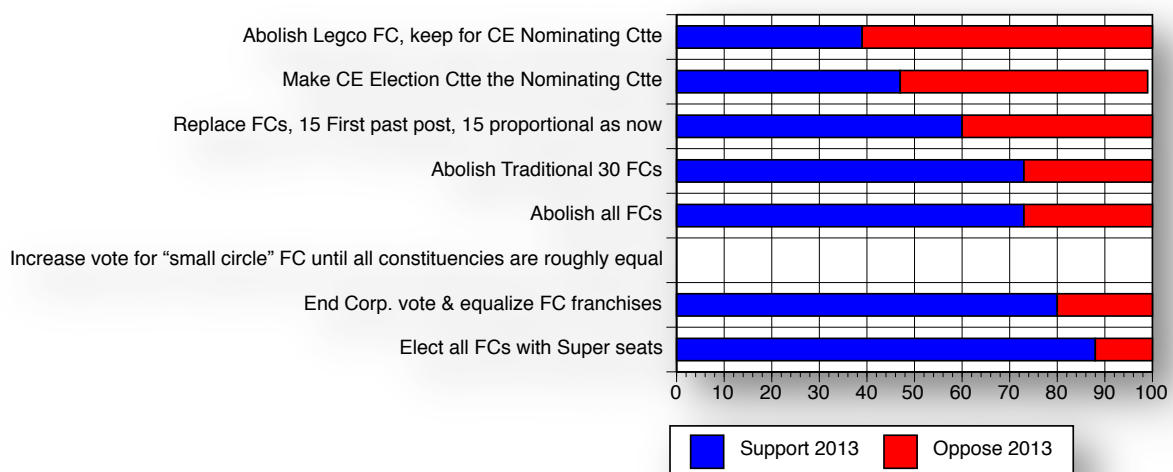
**Table 13 Summary Table, Support for options 2013-2014**

	<b>Support 2014</b>	<b>Oppose 2014</b>	<b>Support 2013</b>	<b>Oppose 2013</b>
<b>Elect all FCs with Super seats</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>End Corp. vote &amp; equalize FC franchises</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Increase vote for “small circle” FC until all constituencies are roughly equal</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>43</b>		
<b>Abolish all FCs</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Abolish Traditional 30 FCs</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Replace FCs, 15 First past post, 15 proportional as now</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Make CE Election Ctte the Nominating Ctte</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Abolish Legco FC, keep for CE Nominating Ctte</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>61</b>

**Chart 2014 Support/Oppose reform options**



**Chart 2013 Support/Oppose reform options**



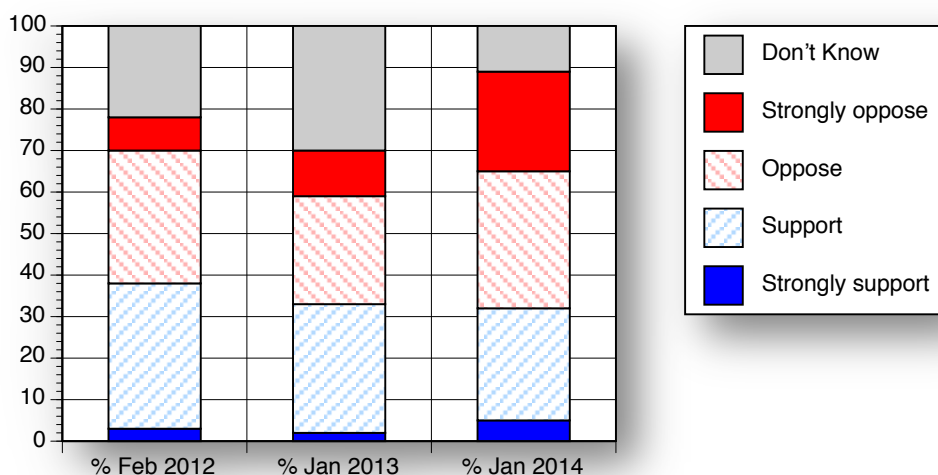


In the following tables each of the options above is examined for significant association with various attitudinal and demographic factors, in order to determine which groups feel most strongly opposed or supportive of the options.

In Table 14 the variance from 2012 through 2014 shows small drops in support from year to year, but a very steep rise in opposition, both in overall amount but particularly in strength of opposition, to simply keeping the present Election Committee as the Nomination Committee.

**Table 14 Would you support or oppose: Keep the Chief Executive Election Committee at 1200 members as presently elected and make it the nominating committee for candidates for the direct elections in 2017?**

Group	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	% Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	3	2	5
<b>Support</b>	35	31	27
<b>Oppose</b>	32	26	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	8	11	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	22	30	11



Men are significantly more polarized on this issue than women.

**Table 15 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	6	3	5
<b>Support</b>	24	31	27
<b>Oppose</b>	35	31	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	28	19	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	8	16	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 33.80 with 4 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 16 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	PRC	Elsewhere	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	7	8	5
<b>Support</b>	26	31	39	27
<b>Oppose</b>	35	28	21	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	27	16	23	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	19	10	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 39.37 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

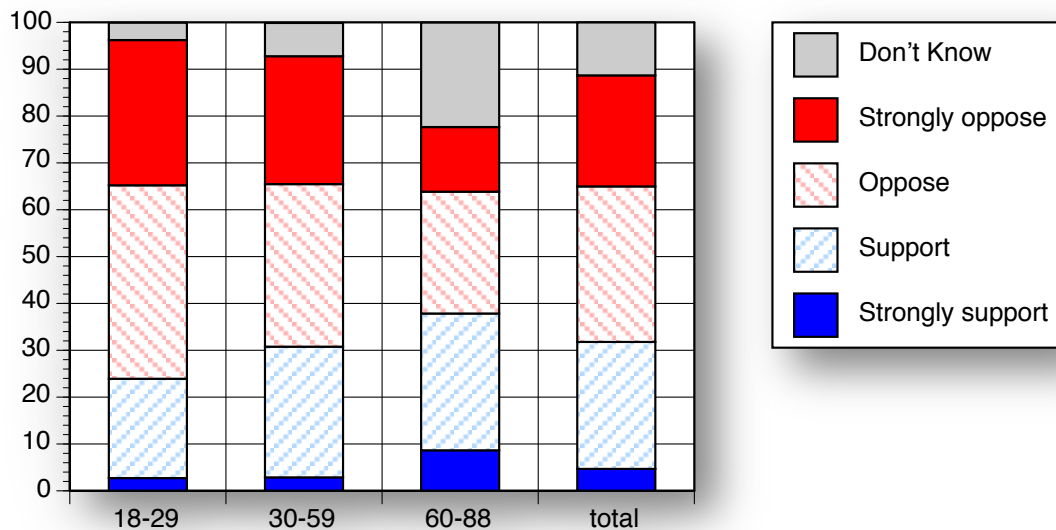
As with so many other issues, the youngest and oldest age groups are very far apart on this issue. While those over 60 are about equally divided, sentiment is decisively opposed in those under age 30 and heavily opposed in those 30-59.

**Table 17 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	3	3	9	5
<b>Support</b>	21	28	29	27
<b>Oppose</b>	41	35	26	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	31	27	14	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	4	7	22	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 97.32 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



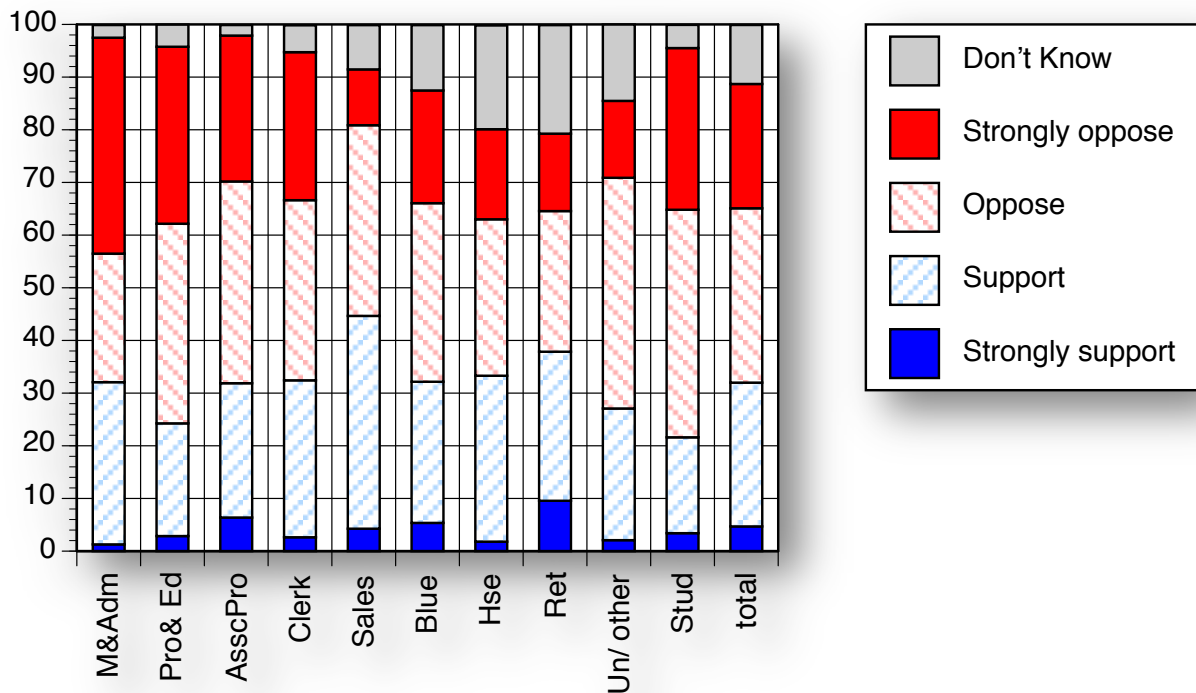
While overall opposition is greatest among students and professionals, the strongest feelings against keeping the Election Committee unchanged as the Nomination Committee is among business associated managers and administrators. While 31% of students strongly oppose keeping the Election Committee unchanged and 34% of professionals feel strongly opposed, 41% of business and administrators strongly oppose making no substantive change.

**Table 18 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	1	3	6	3	4	5	2	10	2	3	5
<b>Support</b>	31	21	26	30	40	27	32	28	25	18	27
<b>Oppose</b>	24	38	38	34	36	34	30	27	44	43	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	41	34	28	28	11	21	17	15	15	31	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	3	4	2	5	9	13	20	21	15	5	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 124.4 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001



While support is somewhat higher in the public sector for keeping the Election Committee as the Nomination Committee, strong opposition alone is nearly as large in amount as total support amongst both the public and private sectors.

**Table 19 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	3	6	4
<b>Support</b>	29	27	27	27
<b>Oppose</b>	32	35	32	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	26	30	19	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	8	6	17	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 41.62 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 20 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	8	5	3	5	5
<b>Support</b>	31	25	28	25	27
<b>Oppose</b>	27	34	35	35	34
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	9	24	29	31	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	24	13	4	3	10
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 64.68 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Table 21 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	4	6	6	3	4	5
<b>Support</b>	30	31	28	25	25	24	27
<b>Oppose</b>	28	23	35	33	40	26	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	6	18	22	28	29	42	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	31	24	10	7	4	5	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

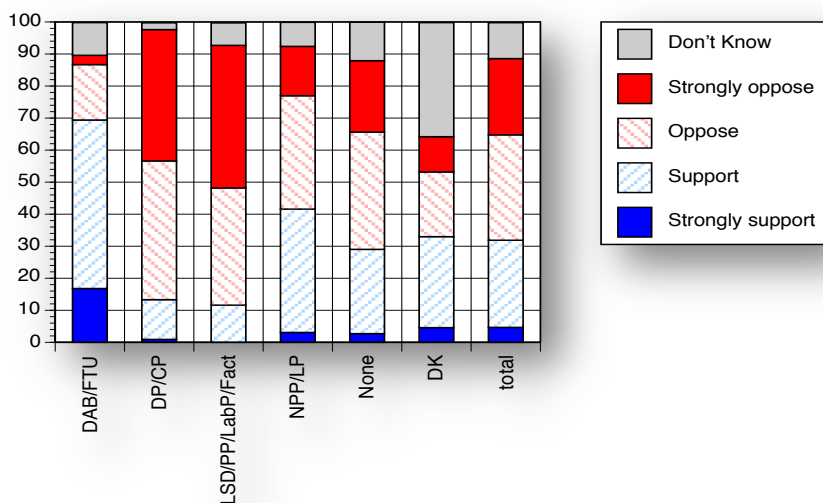
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 118.1 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001

The DAB/FTU coalition supporters are clearly out of sync in its views with the rest of Hong Kong in that 70% support keeping the Election Committee unchanged as the Nomination Committee. Meanwhile, nearly 70% of all respondents either oppose this or say they Don't Know, leaving DAB/FTU supporters a distinct minority.

**Table 22 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	17	1	0	3	3	5	5
<b>Support</b>	53	12	12	39	26	28	27
<b>Oppose</b>	17	43	37	35	37	20	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	41	45	15	22	11	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	10	2	7	8	12	36	11
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 332.0 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 23 Support Keep Election Committee same as Nominating Committee, no change BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	12	1	1	5
<b>Support</b>	46	19	13	27
<b>Oppose</b>	23	44	28	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	7	26	53	24
<b>Don't Know</b>	13	10	5	10
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

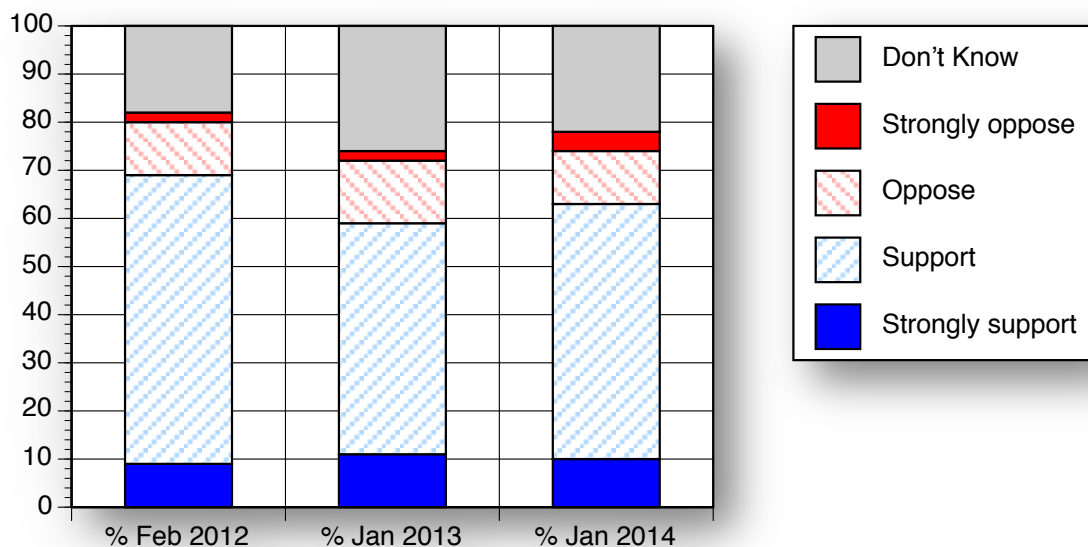
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 256.4 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Support for abolishing corporate voting and equalizing the FC constituencies has risen slightly from 2013. FC franchises vary from as few as 156 voters electing one Legco representative to nearly 100,000 voters choosing one representative, so relative power of each voter among the FCs is wildly different.

**Table 24 Would you support or oppose: Reform Functional Constituencies by eliminating corporate voting and equalizing, as much as possible, the number of voters in each constituency?**

Group	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	% Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	11	10
<b>Support</b>	60	48	53
<b>Oppose</b>	11	13	11
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	2	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	18	26	22

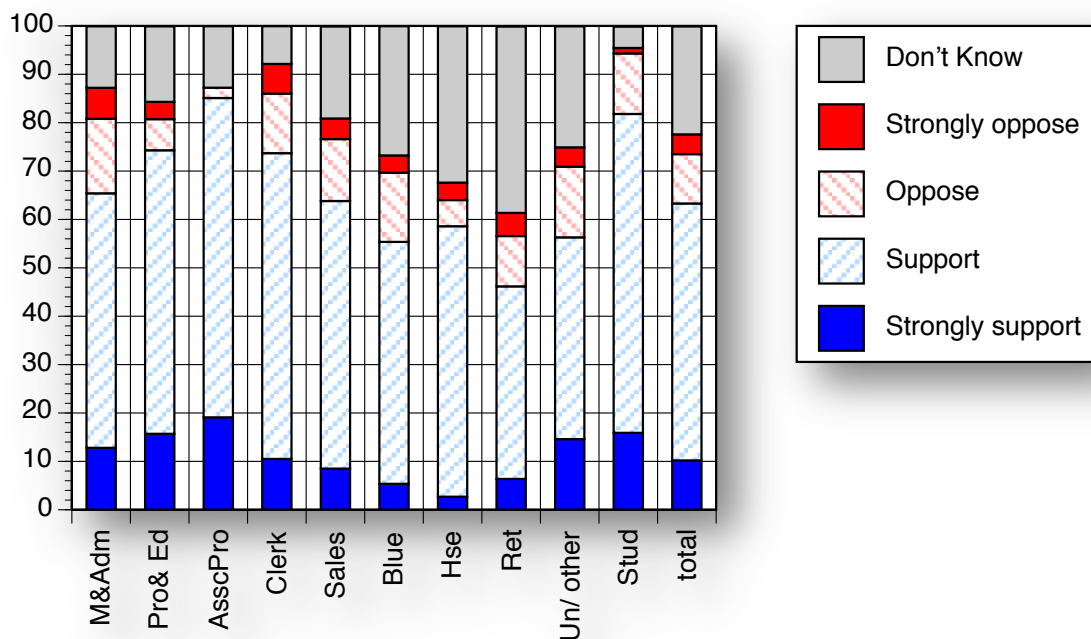


The key issue blocking reform of the FCs is that the interested groups who have this enormously unfair treatment oppose giving it up. But the two occupations which have the most voters in the FCs, managers and administrators and professionals show very strong support for these reforms.

**Table 25 Support reform FCs by eliminating corporate vote, equalize voter numbers BY Occupation**

	Mang & Adm	Pro& Ed	Assc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	13	16	19	11	9	5	3	6	15	16	10
<b>Support</b>	53	59	66	63	55	50	56	40	42	66	53
<b>Oppose</b>	15	6	2	12	13	14	5	10	15	13	10
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	6	4	0	6	4	4	4	5	4	1	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	13	16	13	8	19	27	32	39	25	5	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 125.7 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001



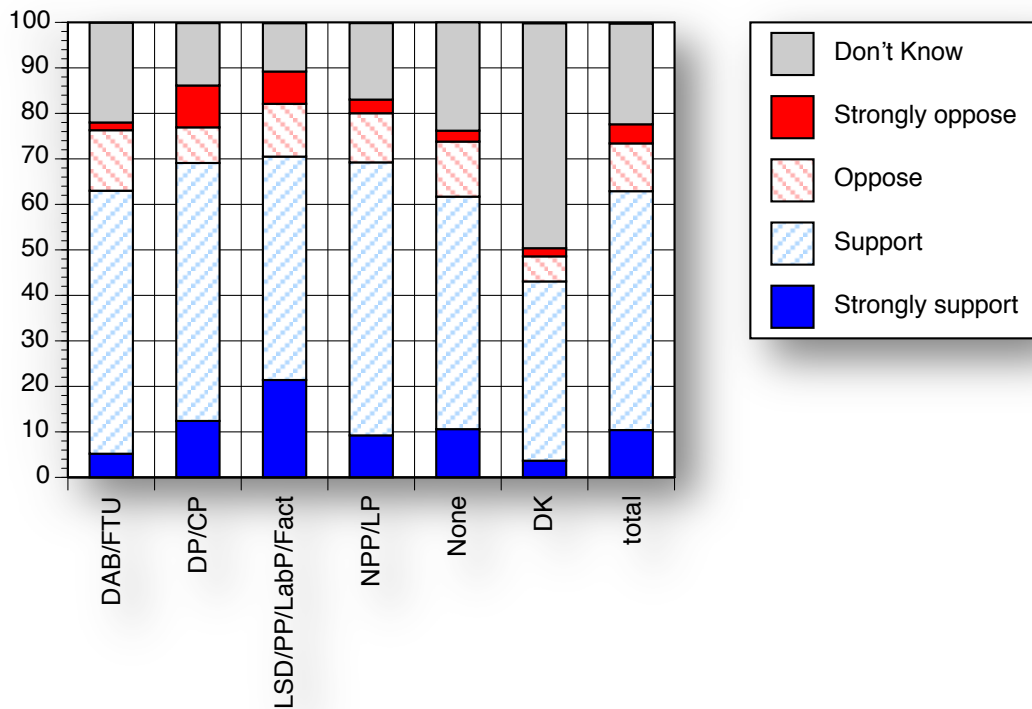
This is one reform that supporters of all the different parties support almost equally, with each party support group showing greater than 60% support for eliminating corporate voting and increasing the size of the smallest FCs. Even those who say no party represents them show 60% and more in support.

**Table 26 Support reform FCs by eliminating corporate vote, equalize voter numbers BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	12	21	9	11	4	10
<b>Support</b>	58	57	49	60	51	39	53
<b>Oppose</b>	13	8	12	11	12	6	11
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	9	7	3	2	2	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	22	14	11	17	24	50	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 108.7 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001

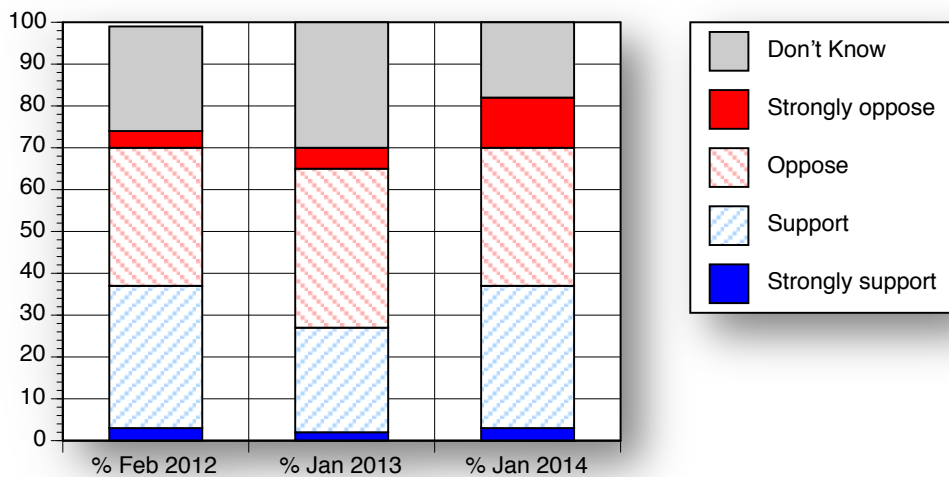
Chart of Table 26 Support reform FCs by eliminating corporate vote, equalize voter numbers BY Which party represents best



Keeping the FCs for the Nominating Committee is a more divisive issue in 2014 than in 2012 or 2013. More are opposed but more also support.

Table 27 Would you support or oppose: Abolish Functional Constituencies for Legco but keep them for the Chief Executive Nominating Committee

Group	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	% Jan 2014
Strongly support	3	2	3
Support	34	25	34
Oppose	33	38	33
Strongly oppose	4	5	12
Don't Know	25	30	19

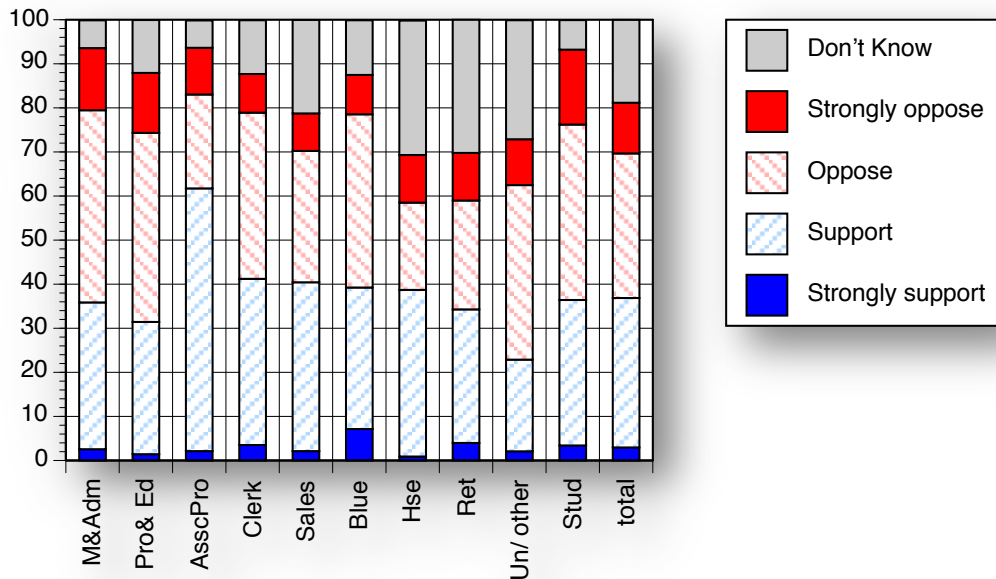


Sentiment against is a majority amongst managers and administrators and professionals, the two groups with most of the seats, and more supportive among associate professionals, who vote in only 4 of the 30 traditional FCs.

**Table 28 Support/oppose Abolish FCs for Legco, keep for Nominating Committee BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	3	1	2	4	2	7	1	4	2	3	3
<b>Support</b>	33	30	60	38	38	32	38	30	21	33	34
<b>Oppose</b>	44	43	21	38	30	39	20	25	40	40	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	14	14	11	9	9	9	11	11	10	17	12
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	12	6	12	21	13	31	30	27	7	19
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 101.9 with 36 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 29 Support/oppose Abolish FCs for Legco, keep for Nominating Committee BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	2	4	2	2	2	3	4	3
<b>Support</b>	34	35	33	41	34	26	31	34
<b>Oppose</b>	36	45	35	38	32	30	18	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	20	9	21	8	13	12	7	12
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	8	10	11	19	28	39	19
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 97.63 with 24 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

The parties are more divided on this issue than on abolishing corporate voting and equalizing the FCs. A bare majority of DAB/FTU supporters back abolishing the FCs for Legco but keeping the for the Nomination Committee. The other party groups, including the pro-establishment NPP/LP supporters, show stronger opposition.

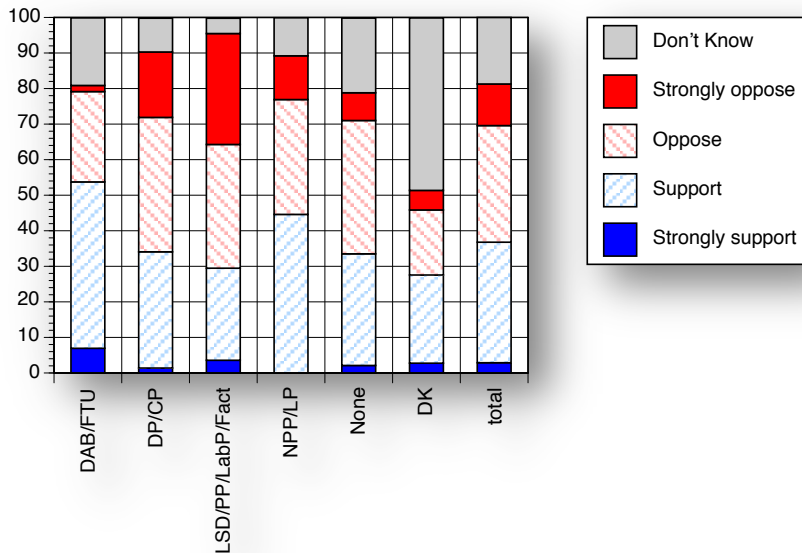


**Table 30 Support/oppose Abolish FCs for Legco, keep for Nominating Committee BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	7	1	4	0	2	3	3
<b>Support</b>	47	33	26	45	31	25	34
<b>Oppose</b>	25	38	35	32	38	18	33
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	18	31	12	8	6	12
<b>Don't Know</b>	19	10	4	11	21	49	19
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

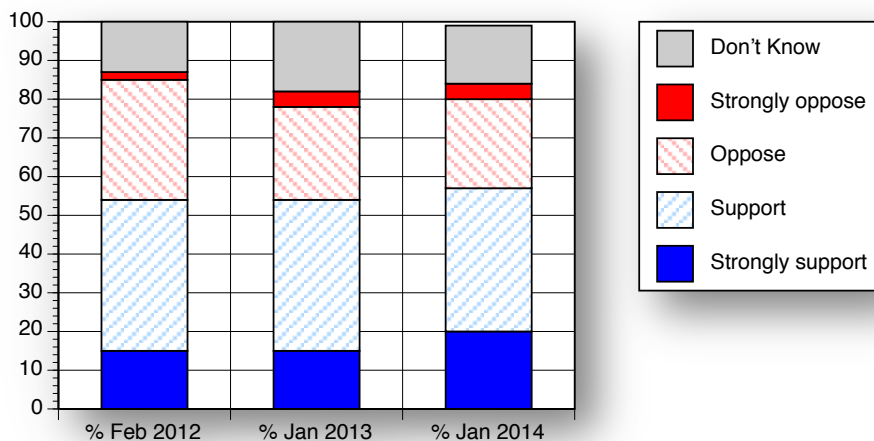
Chi-square = 188.4 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001



Support for complete abolition of the FCs has grown from 54% to 57% since 2012/2013.

**Table 31 Would you support or oppose the following: Abolish Functional Constituencies completely in all forms for all purposes?**

Group	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	% Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	15	15	20
<b>Support</b>	39	39	37
<b>Oppose</b>	31	24	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	4	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	13	18	15



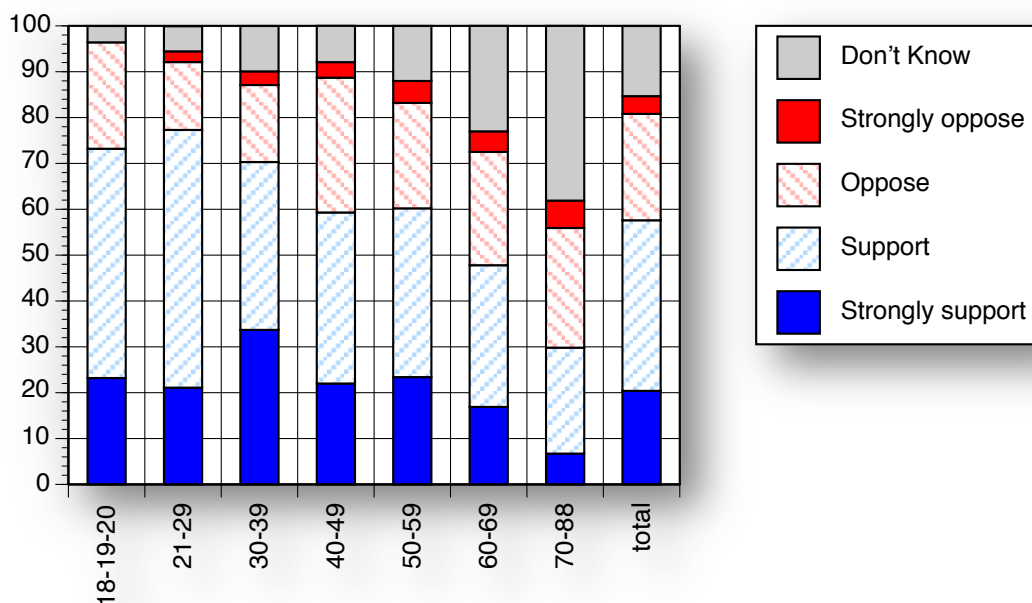
But as with so many other issues, the greatest gap in views is by age groups, with those under 40 showing 70% or more in favor of abolishing the FCs completely for all purposes, while those over 70 show the least support for abolition.

**Table 32 Support/oppose Abolish FCs completely BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	23	21	34	22	23	17	7	20
<b>Support</b>	50	56	37	37	37	31	23	37
<b>Oppose</b>	23	15	17	29	23	25	26	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	0	2	3	3	5	4	6	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	4	5	10	8	12	23	38	15
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 137.5 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001



Support for complete abolition is extremely high amongst students, professionals, associate professionals and even clerks. But managers and administrators show 61% support for complete abolition. Only housewives (who have no FC vote at all) and retirees (who the vast majority no longer have votes) show less than a majority in support of abolition.

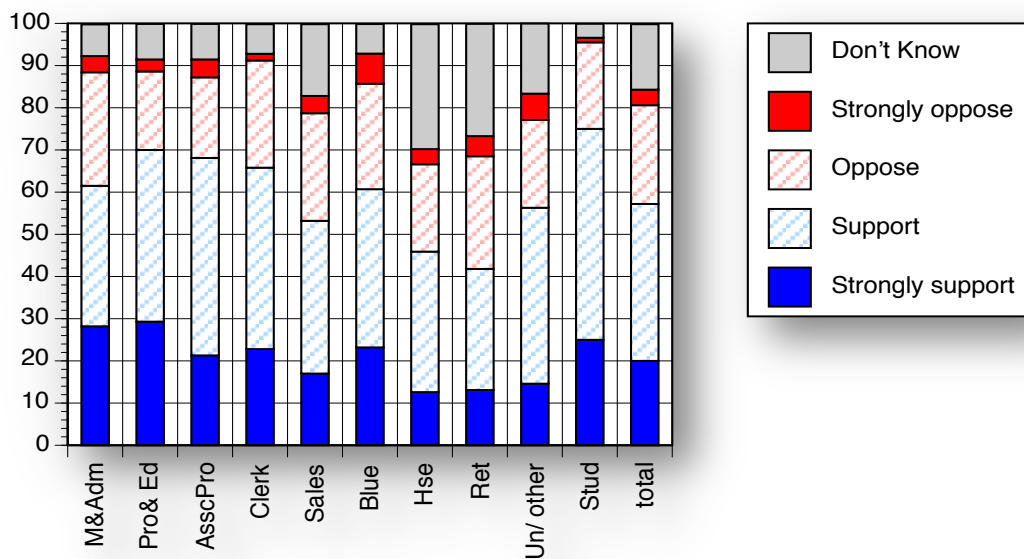
**Table 33 Support/oppose Abolish FCs completely BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro&Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	28	29	21	23	17	23	13	13	15	25	20
<b>Support</b>	33	41	47	43	36	38	33	29	42	50	37
<b>Oppose</b>	27	19	19	25	26	25	21	27	21	21	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	3	4	2	4	7	4	5	6	1	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	8	9	9	7	17	7	30	27	17	3	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 103.1 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001

Chart of Table 33 Support/oppose Abolish FCs completely BY Occupation

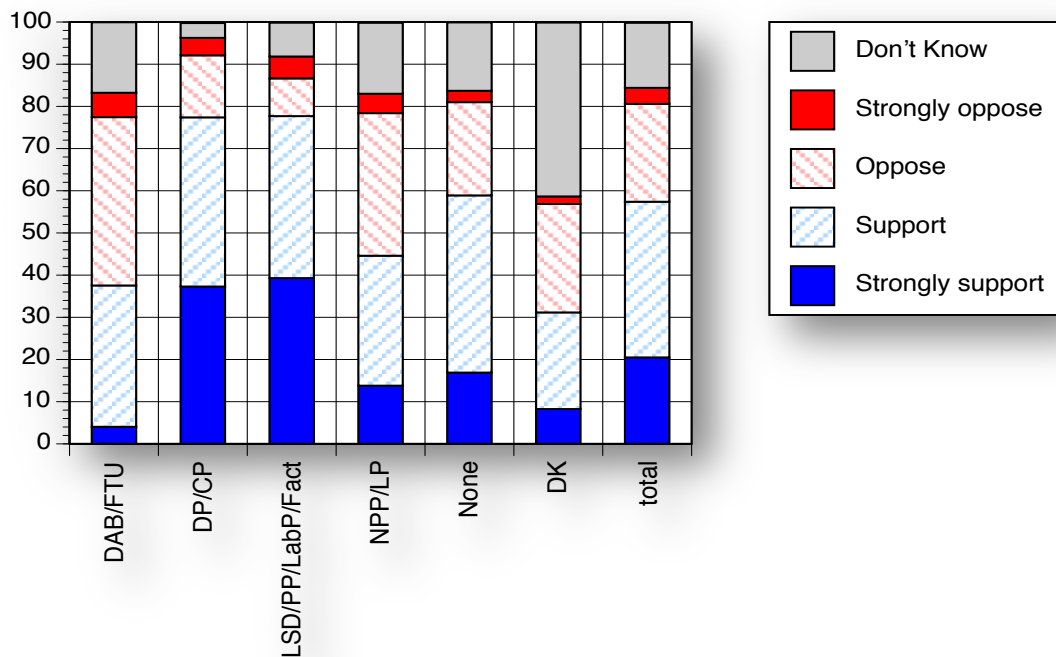


A third of DAB/FTU supporters back complete abolition while nearly 80% of all pro-democracy parties back complete abolition.

Table 34 Support/oppose Abolish FCs completely BY Which party represents best

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	37	39	14	17	8	21
<b>Support</b>	34	40	38	31	42	23	37
<b>Oppose</b>	40	15	9	34	22	26	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	6	4	5	5	3	2	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	17	4	8	17	16	41	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

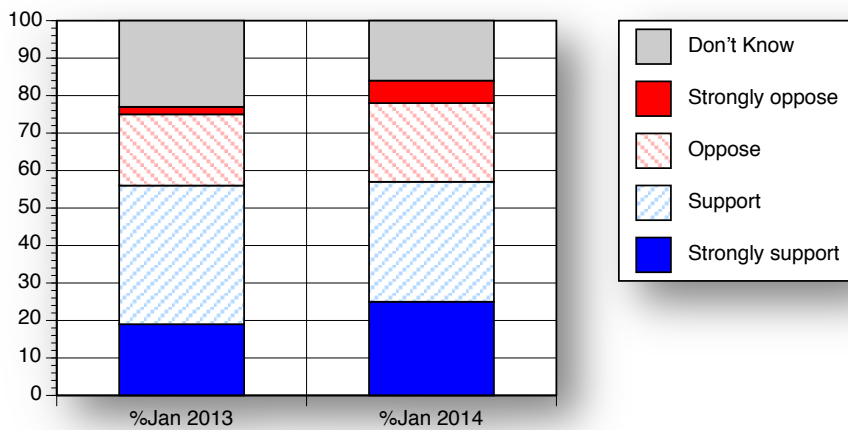
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 210.0 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001



Both support and opposition have grown when the choice between abolition of all FCs including the new “super seat” at large FCs is mentioned. But abolishing only the traditional small circle FC seats has seen support grow from 53% in 2013 to 59% in 2014, though opposition has also grown from 19% to 24%.

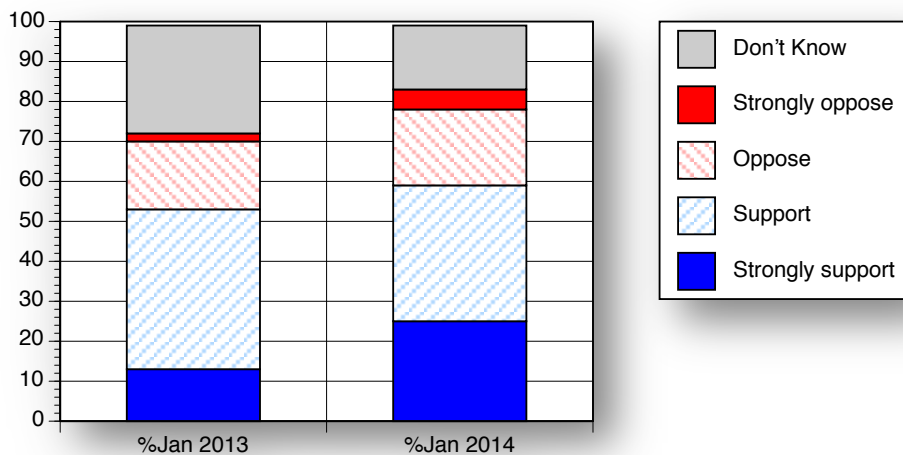
**Table 35 Do you currently support or oppose: Abolishing all FCs, both traditional and new DC FC seats**

Group	%Jan 2013	%Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	19	25
<b>Support</b>	37	32
<b>Oppose</b>	19	21
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	6
<b>Don't Know</b>	24	17



**Table 36 Do you currently support or oppose: Abolishing only the traditional small circle 30 FC seats**

Group	%Jan 2013	%Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	13	25
<b>Support</b>	40	34
<b>Oppose</b>	17	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	27	16



**Table 37 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	36	28	16	26
<b>Support</b>	44	34	28	34
<b>Oppose</b>	12	20	22	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	6	7	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	7	12	29	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

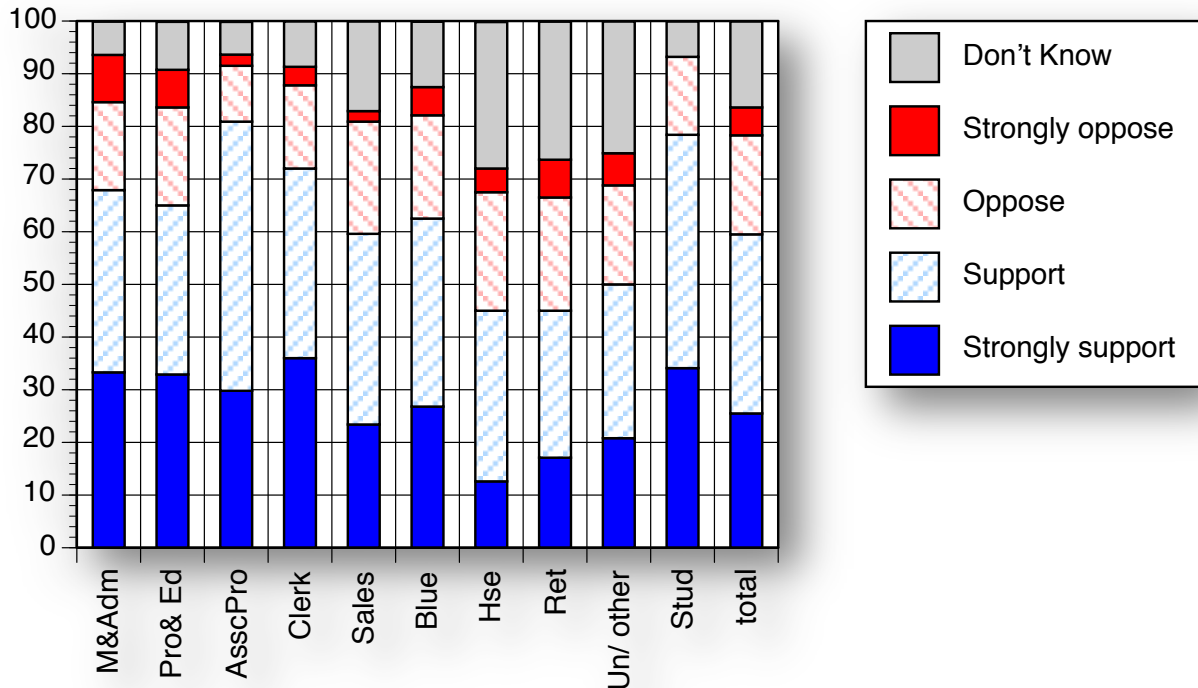
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 89.07 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Students drop just behind the associate professionals in supporting the abolition of the 30 traditional FC seats. Professionals are also pipped in their support of abolition by managers and administrators and clerks. Professionals dominate 7 of the 30 traditional FCs.

**Table 38 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Occupation**

	M&Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	33	33	30	36	23	27	13	17	21	34	26
<b>Support</b>	35	32	51	36	36	36	32	28	29	44	34
<b>Oppose</b>	17	19	11	16	21	20	23	22	19	15	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	9	7	2	4	2	5	5	7	6	0	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	6	9	6	9	17	13	28	26	25	7	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 102.2 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 39 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	13	12	28	33	28	31	26
<b>Support</b>	27	27	33	38	38	36	34
<b>Oppose</b>	15	22	21	18	17	24	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	10	6	2	5	9	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	42	30	12	9	12	0	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 123.1 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 40 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	14	26	32	28	27
<b>Support</b>	29	33	37	35	34
<b>Oppose</b>	23	16	19	23	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	7	5	7	6
<b>Don't Know</b>	31	19	7	6	15
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 64.02 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 41 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	30	32	20	26
<b>Support</b>	31	38	32	34
<b>Oppose</b>	24	15	20	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	6	5	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	11	10	23	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 45.52 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

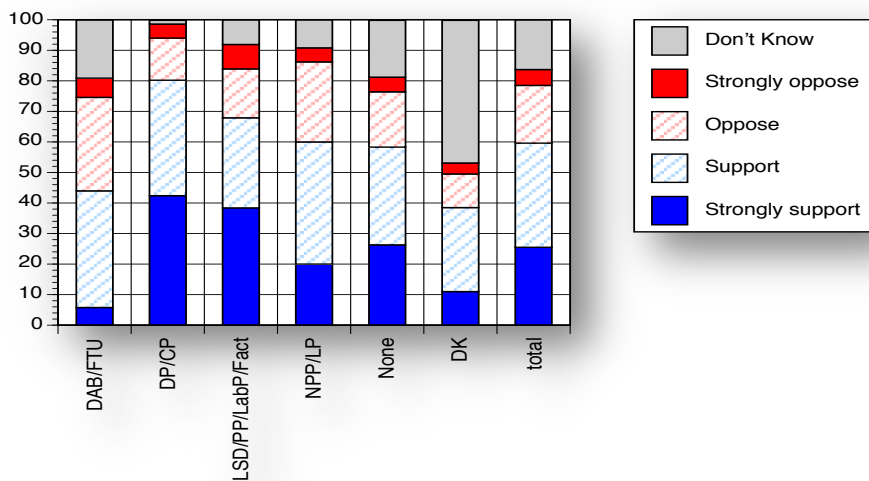
Surprisingly, more supporters of the radical democratic parties oppose abolition of the 30 traditional FC seats than among the Democratic Party and Civic Party supporters. More of the DAB/FTU supporters support abolition than oppose it.

**Table 42 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	6	42	38	20	26	11	26
<b>Support</b>	38	38	30	40	32	28	34
<b>Oppose</b>	31	14	16	26	18	11	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	6	5	8	5	5	4	5
<b>Don't Know</b>	19	1	8	9	19	47	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 197.7 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 42 Support abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Which party represents best**



**Table 43 Support/oppose abolishing traditional 30 FC seats BY Fairness of policy making**

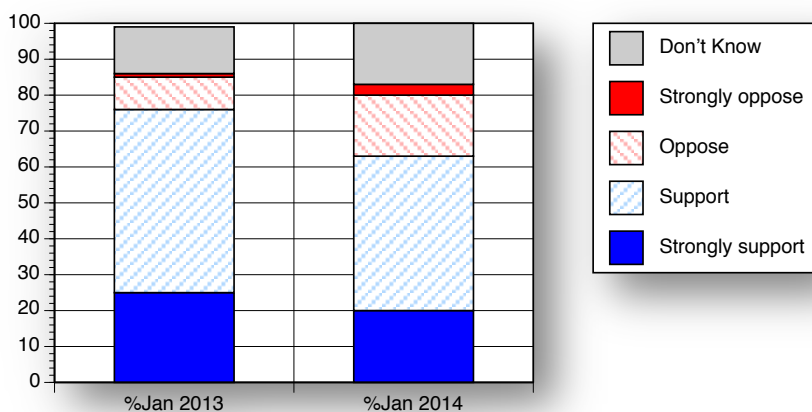
	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	13	29	46	27
<b>Support</b>	34	38	28	35
<b>Oppose</b>	28	17	9	19
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	7	3	8	6
<b>Don't Know</b>	18	13	9	14
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 93.58 with 8 df p ≤ 0.0001

Opposition to replacing the small circle FC seats with seats like the “super seats” has risen. Nevertheless, nearly two thirds still support such an option.

**Table 44 Do you currently support or oppose: Replacing the 30 small circle FC seats with 30 more seats elected by everyone like the 5 new DC seats**

Group	%Jan 2013	%Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	25	20
<b>Support</b>	51	43
<b>Oppose</b>	9	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	13	17



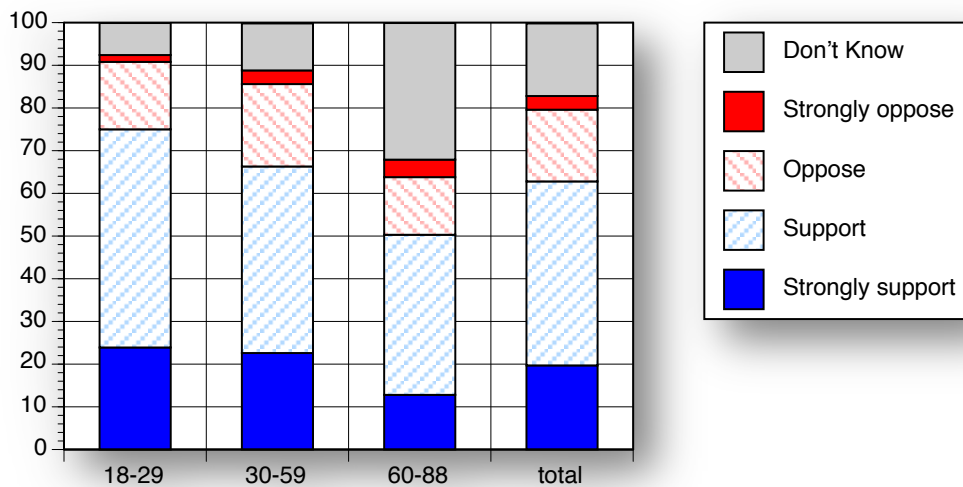
Support for replacing the small circle FC seats with super seats is highest among those under 30 and lowest in those over 60. However, all age groups show majorities in support.

**Table 45 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	24	23	13	20
<b>Support</b>	51	44	38	43
<b>Oppose</b>	16	19	14	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	3	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	8	11	32	17
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 83.33 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 46 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	11	13	20	22	24	24	20
<b>Support</b>	37	44	42	45	45	44	43
<b>Oppose</b>	12	13	21	16	17	13	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	3	4	5	3	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	37	27	14	13	12	16	17
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 57.72 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 47 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Occupation**

	M& Adm	Pro& Ed	Assc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	24	24	26	21	26	18	14	14	21	23	19
<b>Support</b>	41	46	51	47	45	43	45	37	35	52	43
<b>Oppose</b>	21	16	15	20	13	21	15	14	17	21	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	3	2	4	2	2	4	5	4	1	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	10	11	6	8	15	16	23	31	23	3	17
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 81.95 with 36 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 48 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	18	24	24	20
<b>Support</b>	37	43	47	43	43
<b>Oppose</b>	16	18	17	21	18
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	4	2	5	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	35	17	10	6	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

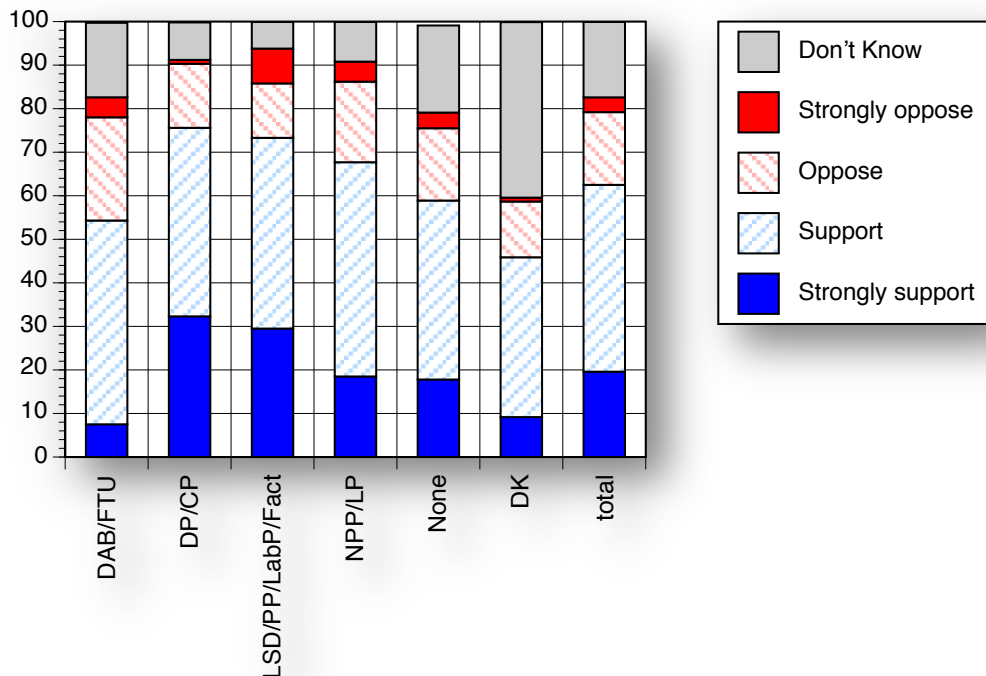
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 57.34 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

All political party supporters show majorities supporting the replacement of the 30 traditional FC seats with 30 DC super seats.

**Table 49 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	8	32	30	19	18	9	20
<b>Support</b>	47	43	44	49	41	37	43
<b>Oppose</b>	24	15	13	19	17	13	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	5	1	8	5	4	1	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	17	9	6	9	21	40	17
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 122.2 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 50 Support replacing 30 small circle FC seats with 30 DC “super seats” By Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	11	21	36	20
<b>Support</b>	43	46	37	43
<b>Oppose</b>	23	15	12	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	5	1	7	4
<b>Don't Know</b>	18	17	9	16
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

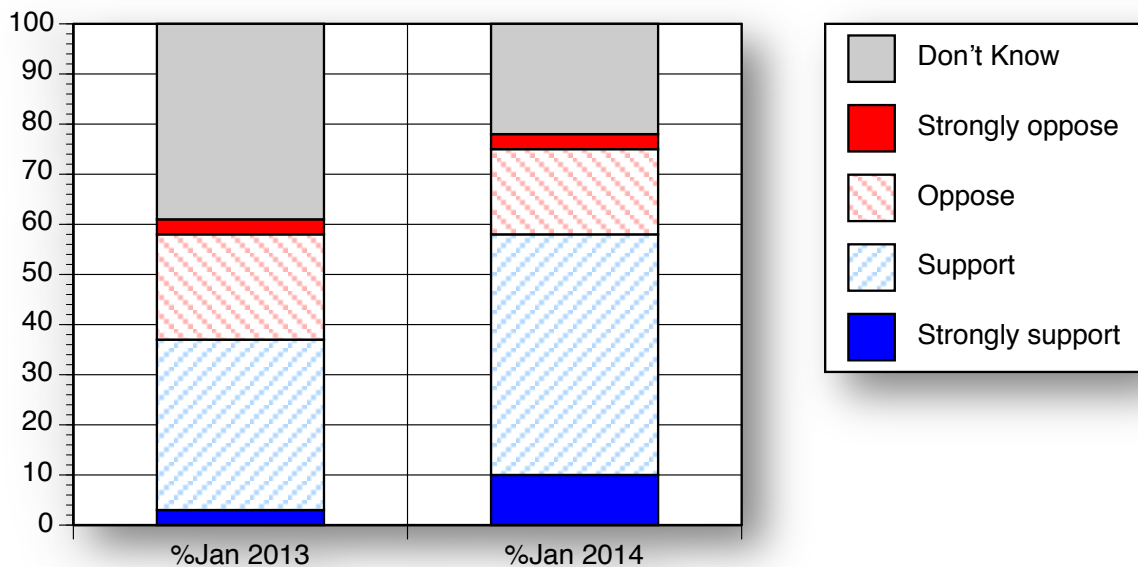
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 70.85 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Support has risen considerably for replacing all FC seats with directly elected geographic seats, half by first past the post elections and half by proportional representation. For the first time, a clear majority support this proposal. Opposition has also lessened from 24% opposed to 20% opposed.

**Table 51 Do you currently support or oppose: Replacing all FC seats with directly elected GC seats, half elected by first past the post single member districts, half elected like the other geographic seats?**

Group	%Jan 2013	%Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	3	10
<b>Support</b>	34	48
<b>Oppose</b>	21	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	39	22

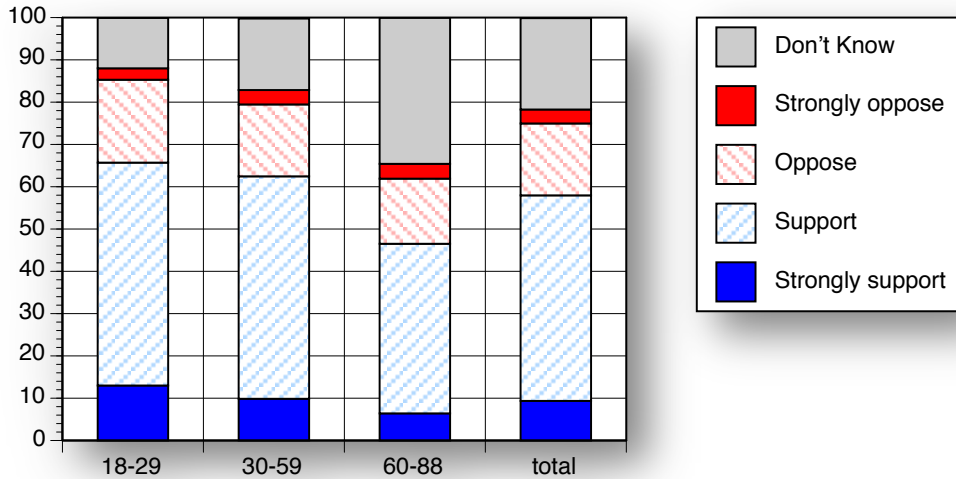


The lowest level of support occurs among those over 60, who also show very large proportions of Don't Know responses.

**Table 52 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	13	10	6	9
<b>Support</b>	53	53	40	49
<b>Oppose</b>	20	17	15	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	3	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	12	17	35	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 51.01 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 53 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Occupation**

	M& Adm	Pro& Ed	Assc Pro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	14	9	9	14	13	4	4	8	8	15	9
<b>Support</b>	49	53	64	50	43	55	47	39	54	53	48
<b>Oppose</b>	21	17	13	18	21	16	16	15	17	22	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	6	0	2	2	5	2	4	6	2	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	15	15	15	16	21	20	32	34	15	8	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 75.29 with 36 df  $p = 0.0001$

**Table 54 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	5	14	9	10	9	10
<b>Support</b>	41	44	47	54	53	42	48
<b>Oppose</b>	11	14	17	19	17	26	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	1	4	5	2	3	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	41	32	17	17	17	20	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 59.49 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 55 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	11	8	10
<b>Support</b>	50	53	45	48
<b>Oppose</b>	20	17	17	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	3	3	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	17	16	28	21
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 22.06 with 8 df p = 0.0048

**Table 56 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	9	10	7	9
<b>Support</b>	43	46	56	51	50
<b>Oppose</b>	13	18	17	25	18
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	5	2	5	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	34	22	14	12	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

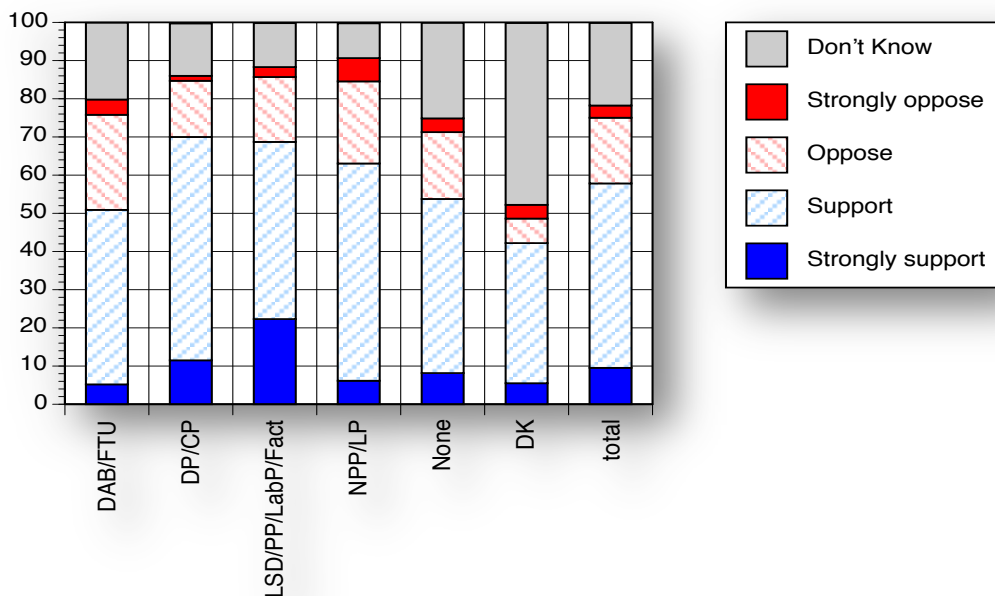
table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 36.39 with 12 df p = 0.0003

All party supporters show majorities of support for this proposal.

**Table 57 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	12	22	6	8	6	10
<b>Support</b>	46	59	46	57	46	37	48
<b>Oppose</b>	25	15	17	22	18	6	17
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	1	3	6	4	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	20	14	12	9	25	48	22
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 107.7 with 20 df p ≤ 0.0001



**Table 58 Support replacing 30 FC with half first past post, half proportional as now BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	10	19	10
<b>Support</b>	47	53	46	50
<b>Oppose</b>	21	16	15	18
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	5	2	4	3
<b>Don't Know</b>	22	20	15	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

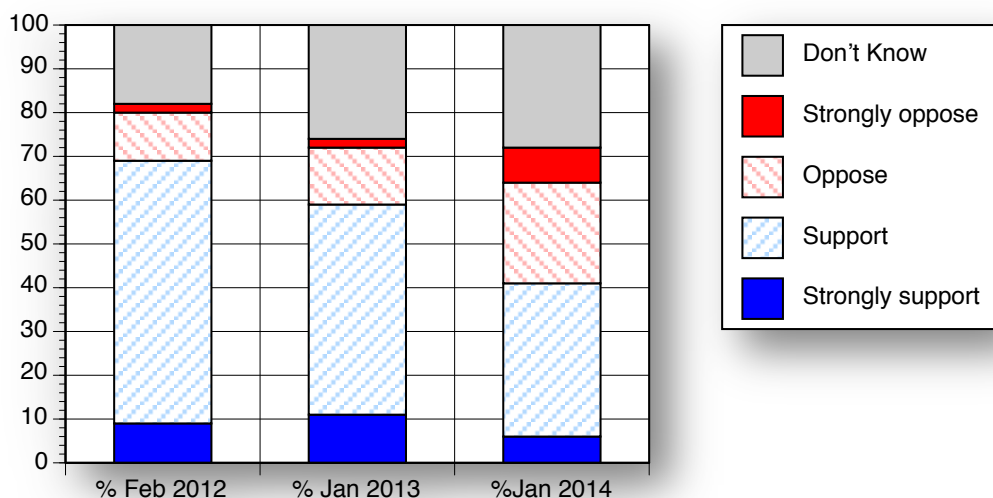
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 39.67 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

Support for equalizing the size of existing FCs has dropped considerably, well below a majority, for the first time since 2012. Opposition has increased in extent and intensity. As Table 60 shows, however, those under 30 show a majority in support while those over 60 show 45% unsure.

**Table 59 Would you support or oppose: increasing right to vote in small circle FC seats until all legislators represent roughly equal constituencies?**

Group	% Feb 2012	% Jan 2013	%Jan 2014
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	11	6
<b>Support</b>	60	48	35
<b>Oppose</b>	11	13	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	2	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	18	26	29



**Table 60 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Age**

	18-29	30-59	60-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	7	4	6
<b>Support</b>	51	32	30	35
<b>Oppose</b>	27	26	17	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	10	9	5	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	26	45	29
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 90.67 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 61 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Occupation**

	M& Adm	Pro& Ed	AsscPro	Clerk	Sales	Blue	Hse	Ret	Un/ other	Stud	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	9	9	2	11	6	4	2	4	4	1	6
<b>Support</b>	24	37	53	33	40	36	31	32	33	49	35
<b>Oppose</b>	32	21	21	24	26	27	22	18	25	28	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	14	9	11	10	4	9	2	6	4	14	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	21	23	13	22	23	25	44	41	33	8	28
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 105.0 with 36 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 62 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Work sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	9	3	6
<b>Support</b>	35	36	34	35
<b>Oppose</b>	29	23	21	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	7	11	6	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	24	21	36	28
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 36.53 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 63 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Education**

	Primary 1-6	F1-3/Jr. HS	F4-6/HS	SomeUniv/ Assoc D	U Grad	Post-grad	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	3	4	5	6	8	5	5
<b>Support</b>	25	34	36	43	34	29	35
<b>Oppose</b>	19	15	26	22	25	29	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	4	4	9	11	10	7	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	49	44	25	19	23	29	29
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 60.85 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Table 64 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Income**

	None	\$1-29,999	\$30,000-69,999	\$70,000 and up	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	5	8	9	6
<b>Support</b>	31	34	38	35	35
<b>Oppose</b>	20	22	24	30	24
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	9	10	7	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	43	30	21	18	27
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 35.87 with 12 df  $p = 0.0003$

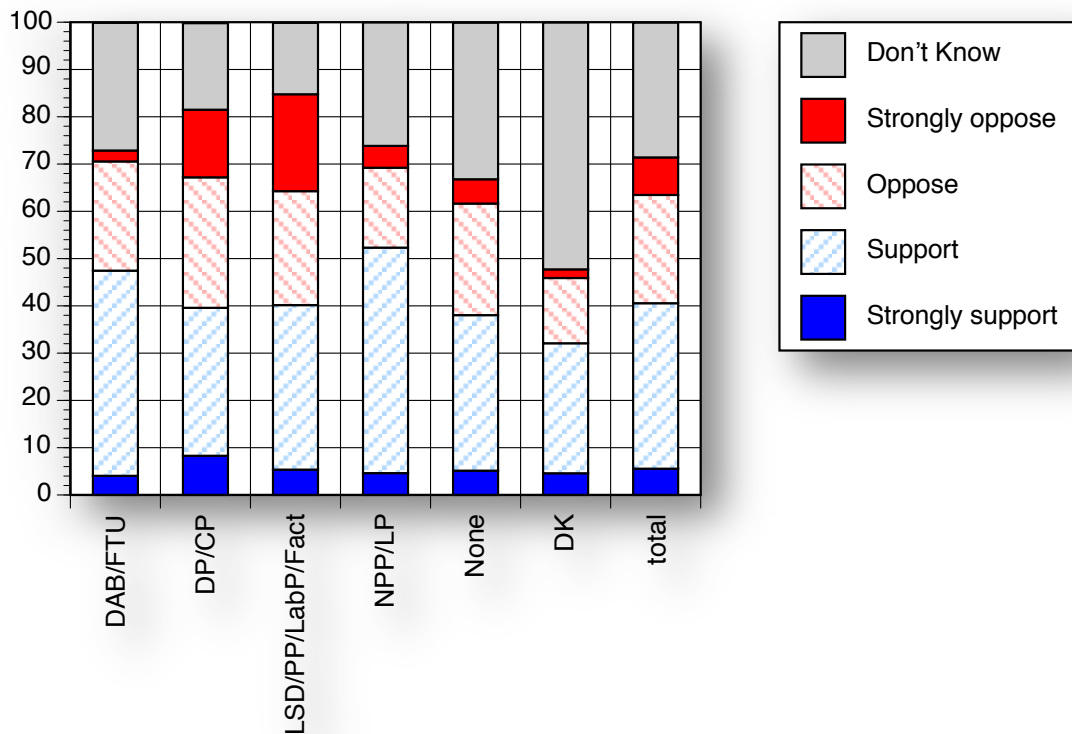
Respondent supporters of all parties are less clear on the implications of this proposals, with even the pro-democracy parties showing divided support and opposition as well as large segments of Don't Know responses.

**Table 65 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Which party represents best**

	DAB/FTU	DP/CP	LSD/PP/LabP/Fact	NPP/LP	None	DK	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	8	5	5	5	5	6
<b>Support</b>	43	31	35	48	33	28	35
<b>Oppose</b>	23	28	24	17	24	14	23
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	14	21	5	5	2	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	27	18	15	26	33	52	29
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 109.3 with 20 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



**Table 66 Support increasing vote in FC seats until constituencies are equal BY Fairness in policy making**

	Very/Somewhat fairly	Unfairly	Very unfairly	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	4	4	12	6
<b>Support</b>	40	39	21	36
<b>Oppose</b>	22	25	24	24
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	3	7	20	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	31	25	23	27
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 74.27 with 8 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

## 5. Appendix: Reacting to the Consultation: Occupy Central

(Results released in January 2014)

### Questions Addressed in this Briefing:

“How fairly do you think Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam will conduct a constitutional reform consultation process?”

“Do you currently support or oppose the possible Occupy Central protest?”

“Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest:

1. Hong Kong government finishes consultation and issue a report before 1 July 2014
2. Hong Kong government issues a draft law (white paper) by 1 July 2014
3. All pan-democratic parties call for support of Occupy Central
4. Radical democratic parties only call for support of Occupy Central
5. Beijing government warns against joining Occupy Central”

And finally, “How worried are you about violence and damage to Hong Kong’s economy from an Occupy Central Demonstration?”

### Summary of Findings:

In sum, the results detailed below show clearly that those who are most likely to participate, those who are most supportive, and those who are most educated and the youngest, worry the most about violence and economic damage from Occupy Central. There is clearly an expectation that Occupy Central will experience violence; nevertheless, from one in four to one in three or more still express support. These results are clear warning signs to any government: a significant proportion of the population is bent on confrontation if they feel their views are ignored. Many doubt the fairness of a consultation before it barely begins. A majority feel their preferred form of identity—Hong Kong as pluralistic and international—is not being protected. But there are also warnings for the pro-democracy parties. A split among the pan-democrats will deeply affect support for and opposition to Occupy Central. Already a small majority oppose Occupy Central as a strategy, but a split among pan-democrats swings that bare majority opposition into a decisive majority against.

Most people are willing to give the government a chance to conduct the consultation and issue results, but most are also uncertain just how fair the consultations being led by Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam will be. Intervention by Beijing against Occupy Central will, according to the survey, trigger a swing toward support of the protesters. Both the Hong Kong and Central Government need to move with clear and repeated commitment to a fair and open process of consultation, and with repeated commitment to fulfilling the oft-made promise of democratic means of electing the next Chief Executive. The results show most clearly that if the promise of direct, fair and free election of the Chief Executive, and of having a real choice of candidates, is broken there will very likely be very strong reactions, and these reactions, many fear, will not be peaceful or without damage to Hong Kong’s economy. After all, the objective of Occupy Central is to bring home the cost of ignoring democracy to the main occupants of Central: Big Business and Government. It appears that many are grimly determined to do so if this consultation, in their eyes, fails.

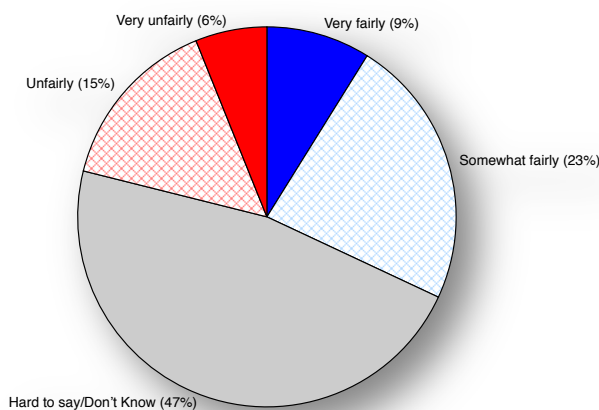


## 1. Trust in the Consultation Process

Hong Kong has a history of troubled consultations, particularly on political reform. In 1987 the colonial government twisted results of a consultation on introducing direct elections to the Legislative Council out of all relationship to reality, counting a petition with thousands of names on it as “1” submission, of equal weight to a form letter signed by 1 person. So the views of thousands, reported on one petition, were given far less weight than a few hundred form letters submitted by far fewer people. The heatedly controversial “Patten Plan” for the 1995 elections passed in 1993 by only one vote after an all-night battle in Legco, and led to the Beijing government unilaterally changing the rules during a provisional Legco that sat from July 1997 to May 1998. In 2005 proposals for constitutional reform failed altogether. In 2010 they only passed after last minute concessions by government and a highly controversial compromise by the Democratic Party that splintered pan-democrats. This legacy of controversy already affects this consultation, before it barely had begun. While a plurality of 47 percent were withholding judgment at the very start of the consultation process in December 2013, about one in five (21 percent) already think CSA Carrie Lam will conduct an unfair consultation. About a third (32 percent) think she will be fair.

**Table 1 “How fairly do you think Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam will conduct a constitutional reform consultation process?”**

Group	Count	%
Very fairly	88	9
Somewhat fairly	232	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	476	47
Unfairly	153	15
Very unfairly	58	6



An equal proportion of men and women think Lam will be fair, but significantly more men than women think the consultation will be unfair.

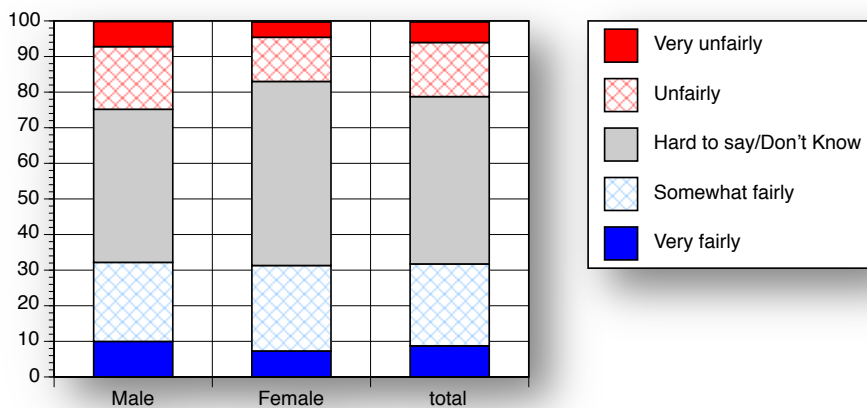
**Table 2 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
Very fairly	10	7	9
Somewhat fairly	22	24	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	43	52	47
Unfairly	18	12	15
Very unfairly	7	4	6
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.98 with 4 df p = 0.0074

**Chart of Table 2 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Gender**

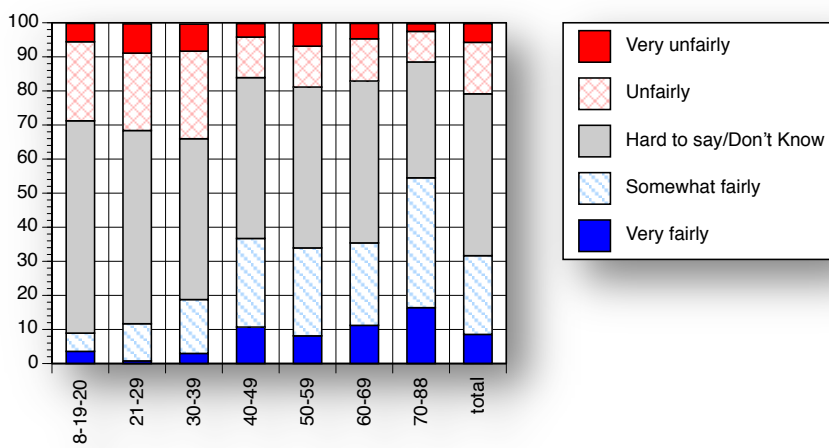


While men tend to be more confrontational than women, youth also join confrontations more than elders. There is a very significant difference in views between those in their teens, twenties and thirties from those over age 40. Only 9 percent of 18-20 year olds think Lam will be fair while 28 percent of the same group say she will be unfair. Only in those over 70 does belief CSA Lam will be fair command a majority.

**Table 3 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very fairly</b>	4	1	3	11	8	11	16	9
<b>Somewhat fairly</b>	5	11	16	26	26	24	38	23
<b>Hard to say/Don't Know</b>	63	57	48	48	47	48	34	48
<b>Unfairly</b>	23	23	26	12	12	12	9	15
<b>Very unfairly</b>	5	9	8	4	7	4	2	5
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 98.32 with 24 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



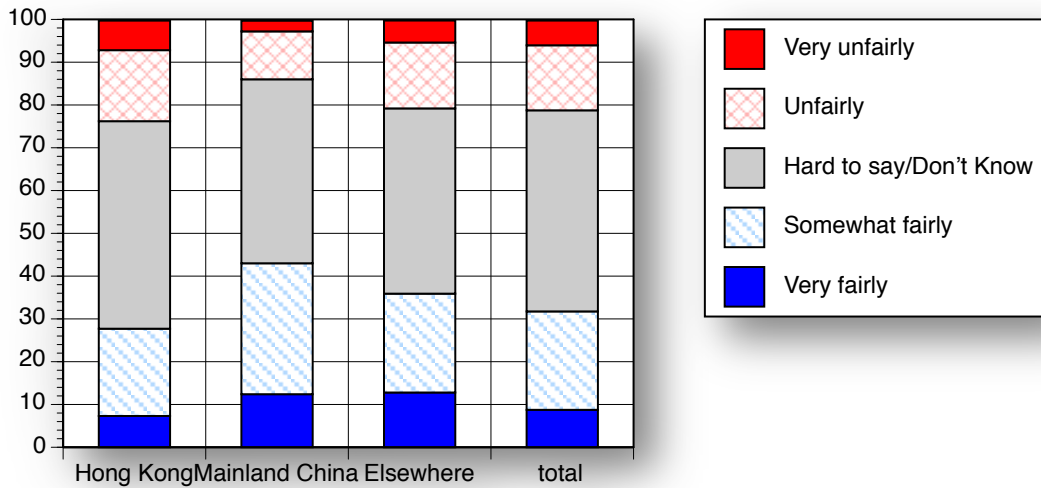
No group by birthplace shows a majority holding a particular view. However, those born in mainland China (who tend to be older as well) show the highest levels of believing in Lam's fairness, while those born in Hong Kong show the least who so believe. All groups show more believing in a fair consultation than those who doubt Lam's fairness.

**Table 4 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Very fairly	7	12	13	9
Somewhat fairly	20	31	23	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	49	43	44	47
Unfairly	17	11	15	15
Very unfairly	7	2	5	6
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.19 with 8 df p = 0.0014



Birthplace is somewhat inconclusive in its effect—and is more reflective of age than birthplace since more who are elderly were born in mainland China while younger generations show relatively few born there. But as Table 5 and the chart (next page) shows, students show the highest level of distrust and lowest levels of trust in CSA Carrie Lam’s fairness. The second highest level of belief in Lam’s unfairness appears among the business dominated Managers and Administrator category, closely followed by Professionals and Educators.

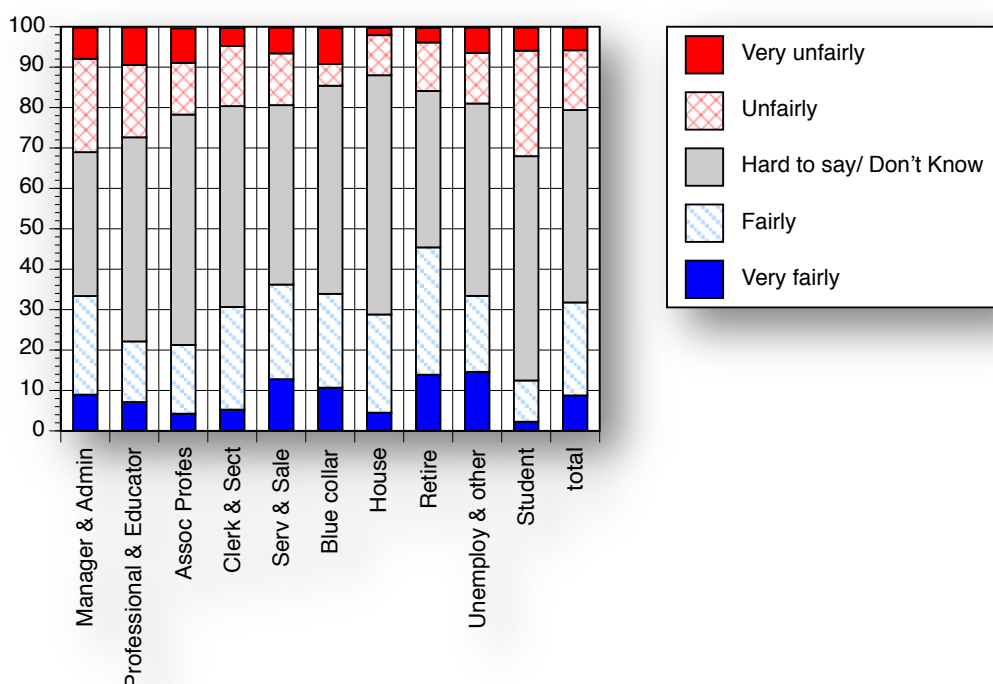
**Table 5 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Occupation**

	Manage & Admin	Profess & Educ	Assoc Profes	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unem pl & other	Stud	total
Very fairly	9	7	4	5	13	11	5	14	15	2	9
Fairly	24	15	17	25	23	23	24	32	19	10	23
Hard to say/ Don't Know	36	51	57	50	45	52	60	39	48	56	48
Unfairly	23	18	13	15	13	5	10	12	13	26	15
Very unfairly	8	9	9	4	6	9	2	4	6	6	6
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 81.99 with 36 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Chart of Table 5: Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Occupation**



The public sector holding more neutral and supportive views than the private sector.

**Table 6 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Work Sector**

	Public/non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>Very fairly</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Somewhat fairly</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Hard to say/Don't Know</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Unfairly</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Very unfairly</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 17.82 with 8 df p = 0.0226

Belief in unfairness tends to rise with income level (with the exception of the \$70,000 to \$99,999 per month category), with those whose families have the highest incomes showing the greatest distrust in Lam's fairness, but also higher than all but the lowest income group's levels of belief in Lam's fair handling of the consultation. (Chart next page.)

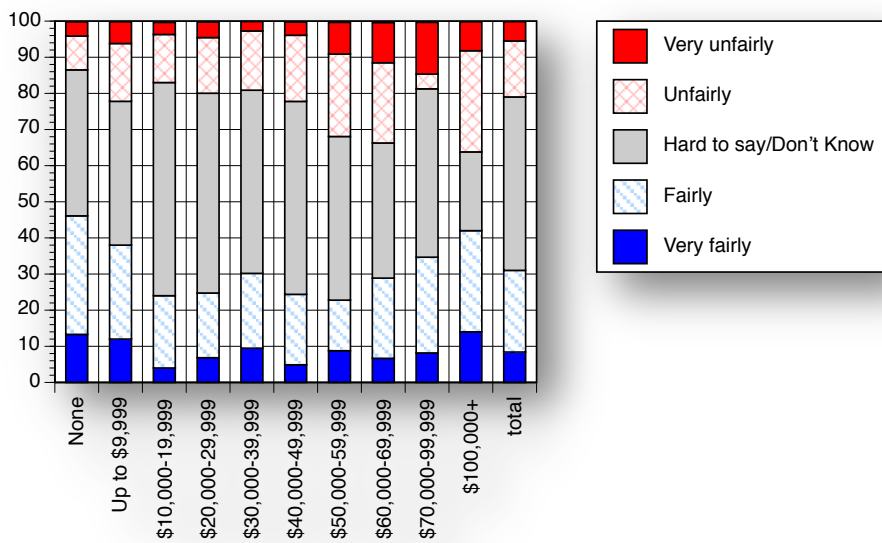
**Table 7 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Income**

	None	Up to \$9,999	\$10,000-19,999	\$20,000-29,999	\$30,000-39,999	\$40,000-49,999	\$50,000-59,999	\$60,000-69,999	\$70,000-99,999	\$100,000+	total
<b>Very fairly</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Fairly</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Hard to say/ Don't Know</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Unfairly</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Very unfairly</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 71.54 with 36 df p = 0.0004

**Chart of Table 7 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Income**

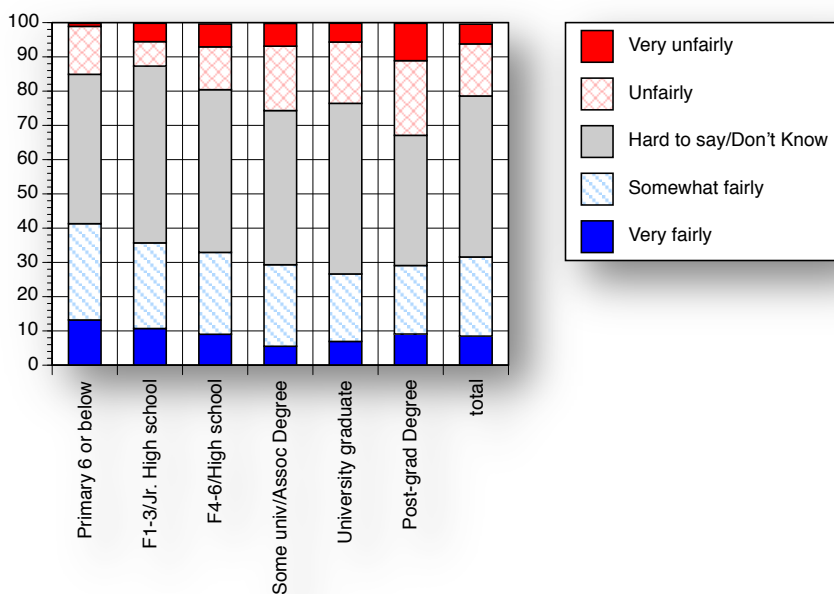


The level of belief in this consultation being unfair tends to rise with education, with those with post-secondary degrees having the highest level.

**Table 8 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Education**

	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High school	F4-6/High school	Some univ/Assoc Degree	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
<b>Very fairly</b>	13	11	9	6	7	9	8
<b>Somewhat fairly</b>	28	25	24	24	20	20	23
<b>Hard to say/Don't Know</b>	44	52	48	45	50	38	47
<b>Unfairly</b>	14	7	13	19	18	22	15
<b>Very unfairly</b>	1	5	7	7	5	11	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 30.14 with 20 df p = 0.0676



## II Conflicting Perceptions of Hong Kong

Some of the caution and distrust of the fairness of the consultation stems from the consultation document issued at the beginning of the process. *Let's talk and achieve universal suffrage: Methods for Selecting the Chief Executive in 2017 and for Forming the Legislative Council in 2016* raises suspicions among some starting with its title, which says “selecting” the Chief Executive and not “electing” the Chief Executive. It continues with contents that mention the Basic Law and National People’s Congress decisions frequently, but make no mention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that is part of the Basic Law, and which benchmarks elections according to equal opportunity to stand for election and equal and universal suffrage in casting of votes. Hong Kong’s current system has restrictions on standing for election and highly unequal voter representation in its Functional Constituency system. The Functional Constituencies control over two thirds of the current 1,200 member Chief Executive Election Committee—handing vast power to about 7% of the population. Only about 135 of those 1,200 members are directly elected by the population. The present governance system, as past surveys show and as the complete report of this survey will also show, is held by the vast majority to make policy decisions unfairly (see <http://www.hktp.org> for previous reports on fairness of policy making).

This division of views on the governance system also extends to what identity of Hong Kong people personally want to see protected and promoted. As Table 1 shows, a majority want Hong Kong’s identity as pluralistic and international to be protected and promoted, while 29% want China’s historical and cultural identity protected. Only 3% want China’s identity as a Communist Party ruled state promoted. So when the consultation document appears to entirely neglect Hong Kong’s identity as pluralistic and international, and appears to most promote China’s identity as ruled by the CCP via the National Peoples Congress Standing Committee, one can understand why this consultation starts off already under suspicion of partiality.

**Table 1 Which of these do you consider the most important to you personally to see protected and promoted?**

Group	Count	%
China’s historical & cultural ID	290	29
HK’s ID as pluralistic & international	625	62
China’s ID as ruled by the CCP	35	3
Don’t Know	57	6

**Table 1 Recoded with Don’t Know responses removed**

Group	Count	%
China’s historical & cultural ID	290	31
HK’s ID as pluralistic & international	625	66
China’s ID as ruled by the CCP	35	4

There is a huge age gap on identities preferred to be protected between those over 40 and under 40, and a gap that increases with age. (Chart next page).

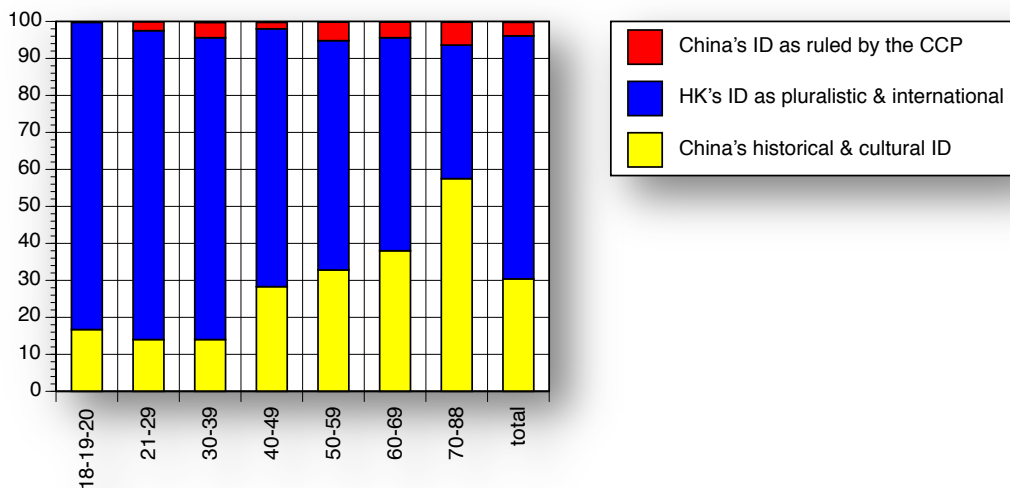
**Table 2 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
China’s historical & cultural ID	17	14	14	28	33	38	58	31
HK’s ID as pluralistic & international	83	84	82	70	62	58	36	66
China’s ID as ruled by the CCP	0	2	4	2	5	4	6	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 90.88 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 2 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Age**



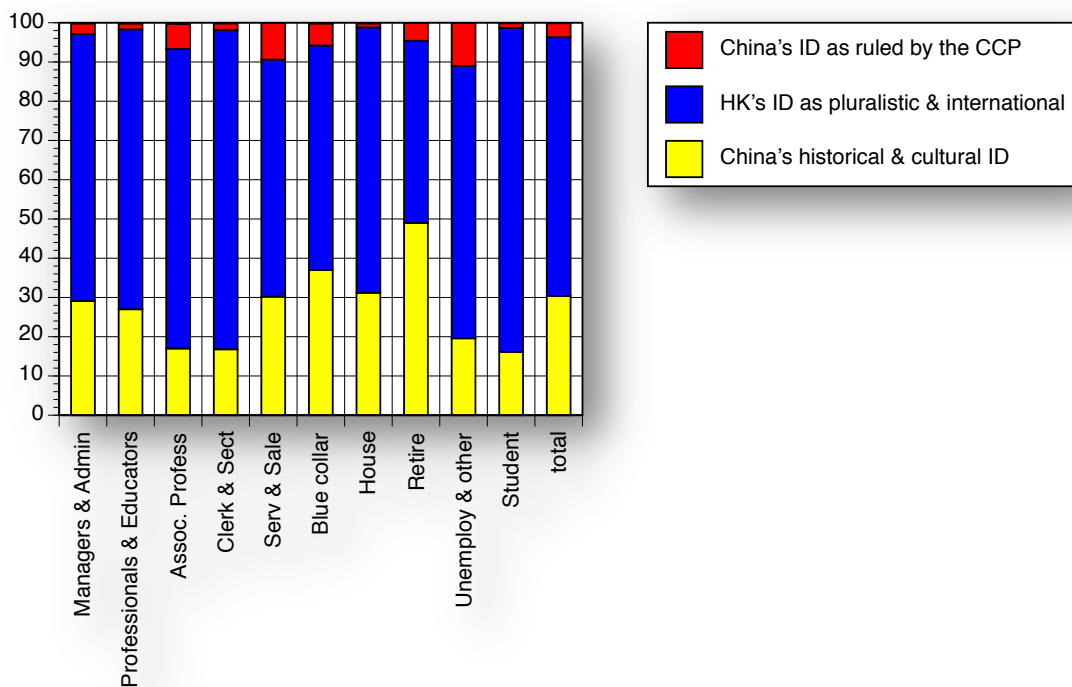
Students most strongly prefer Hong Kong's pluralistic, international identity.

**Table 3 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Occupation**

	Managers & Admin	Professionals & Educators	Assoc Profes	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unemploy & other	Student	total
China's historical & cultural ID	29	27	17	17	30	37	31	49	20	16	31
HK's ID as pluralistic & international	68	72	77	81	61	57	68	46	70	83	66
China's ID as ruled by the CCP	3	1	6	2	9	6	1	5	11	1	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 86.36 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



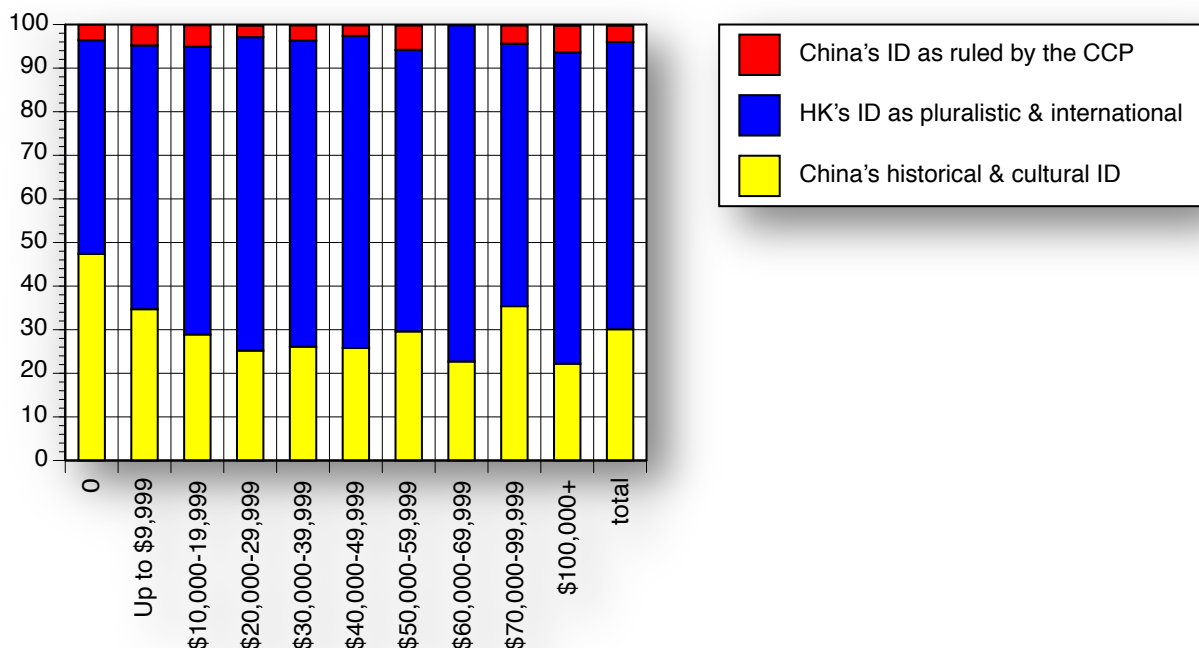
Higher incomes tend to prefer Hong Kong's international identity more (with the exception of the \$70,000-99,999 category).

**Table 4 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Income**

	0	Up to \$9,999	\$10,000-19,999	\$20,000-29,999	\$30,000-39,999	\$40,000-49,999	\$50,000-59,999	\$60,000-69,999	\$70,000-99,999	\$100,000+	total
China's historical & cultural ID	47	35	29	25	26	26	30	23	35	22	30
HK's ID as pluralistic & internatn'l	49	61	66	72	70	72	65	77	60	71	66
China's ID as ruled by the CCP	4	5	5	3	3	2	6	0	4	6	4
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.72 with 18 df p = 0.0665



And the most highly educated prefer Hong Kong's international identity protected at the highest level of all other educational groups. (See Chart next page.)

**Table 5 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Education**

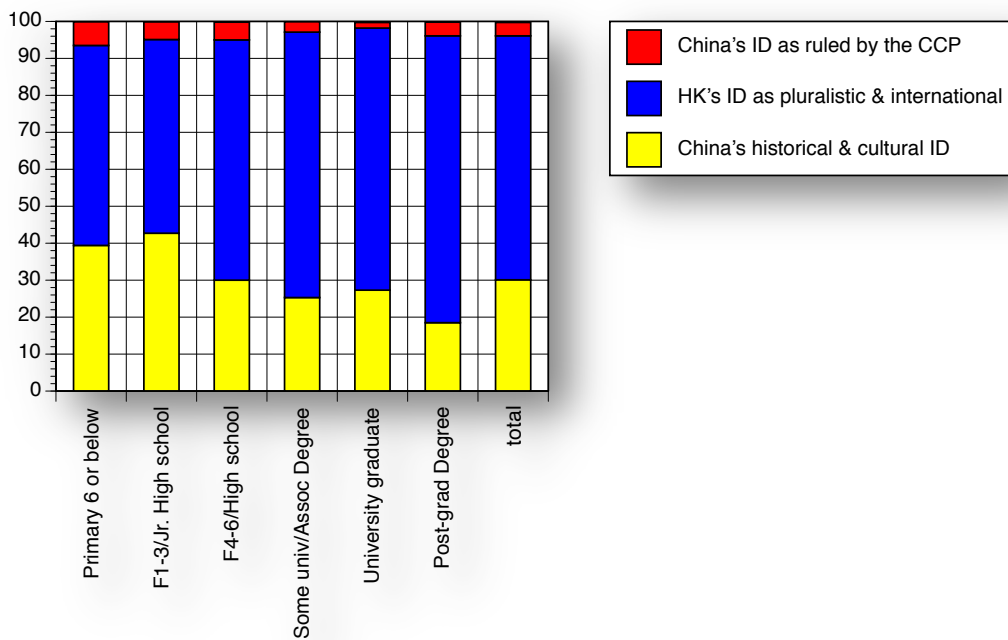
	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High school	F4-6/High school	Some univ/Assoc Degree	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
China's historical & cultural ID	39	43	30	25	28	19	30
HK's ID as pluralistic & international	54	52	65	72	71	78	66
China's ID as ruled by the CCP	6	5	5	3	2	4	4
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 27.78 with 10 df p = 0.0020



**Chart of Table 5 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Education**

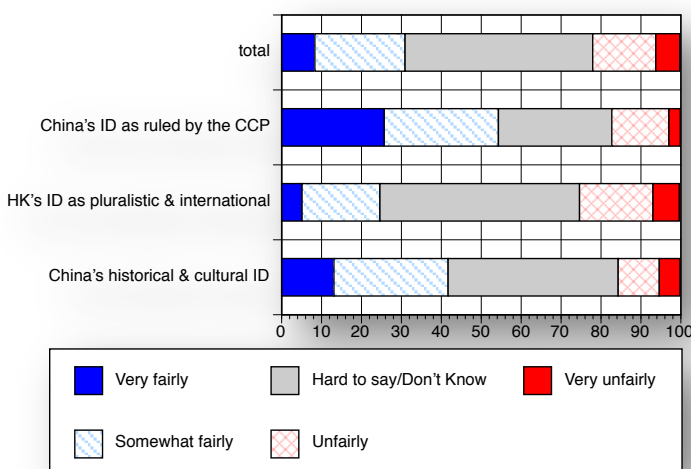


The bottom line of these preferences is that those who prefer Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international (the majority) are also most doubtful on fairness of this consultation.

**Table 6 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote**

	China's historical & cultural ID	HK's ID as pluralistic & international	China's ID as ruled by the CCP	total
<b>Very fairly</b>	13	5	26	8
<b>Somewhat fairly</b>	29	20	29	23
<b>Hard to say/Don't Know</b>	43	50	29	47
<b>Unfairly</b>	10	18	14	16
<b>Very unfairly</b>	5	7	3	6
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
Chi-square = 50.79 with 8 df p < 0.0001



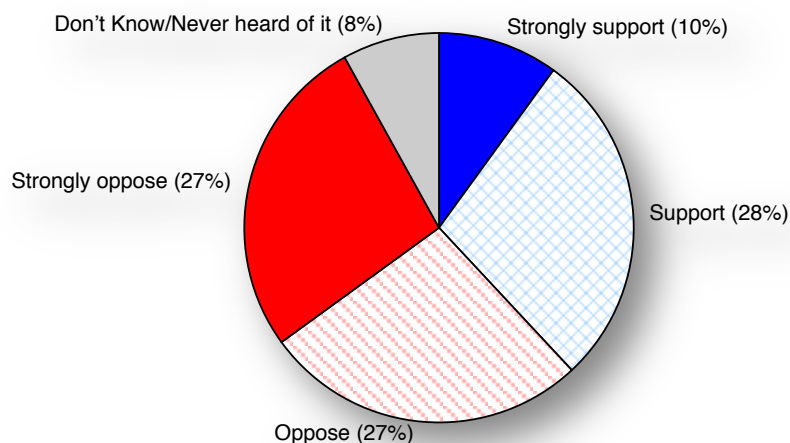
The profiles of those who have greatest doubts this consultation’s fairness and who most prefer Hong Kong’s pluralistic and international identity protected—the young, students, highly educated, professionals—are also key groups both for Hong Kong’s future prosperity and for the kind of relations Hong Kong may have with the government of China. Students and the younger cohorts are much more likely to support and participate in confrontations with Beijing over Hong Kong’s reforms, as the next section shows.

### III Confrontation: Occupy Central

Currently, about 38% support plans for a possible Occupy Central protest while the majority, 54%, oppose. A surprisingly small number—8 percent—say they have not heard of Occupy Central or say they Don’t Know. This plan has clearly caught the attention of Hong Kong people.

**Table 1 Do you currently support or oppose the possible Occupy Central protest in July 2014?**

Group	Count	%
Strongly support	101	10
Support	281	28
Oppose	269	27
Strongly oppose	274	27
Don’t Know/Never heard of it	82	8



Taking the small proportion who say they don’t know/never heard out, 42% initially say they support Occupy Central while 59% oppose.

**Table 2 Support/Oppose Occupy Central, Recoded with Don’t Know and Never heard out**

Group	Count	%
Strongly support	101	11
Support	281	30
Oppose	269	29
Strongly oppose	274	30

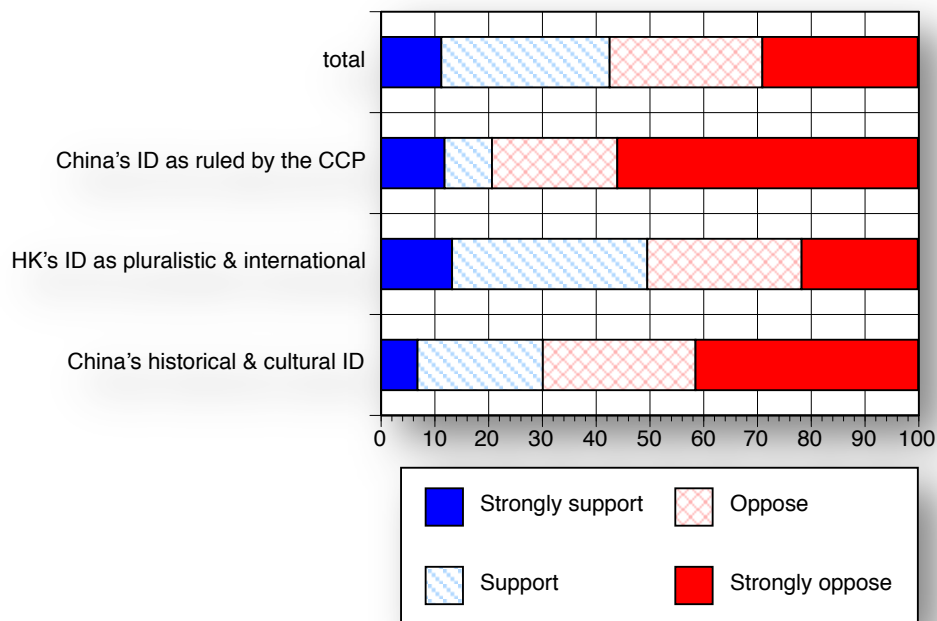
Interestingly, even among the very small proportion who personally prefer China’s identity as ruled by the CCP, a fair percentage (21%) or one in five of the 3% of the population preferring this identity support Occupy Central plans. Those preferring Hong Kong’s pluralistic and international identity are most evenly split on the issue. These identity differences form the basis for a “communication gap” between those who want Hong Kong more “Chinese” and those who want it more “international.”

**Table 3 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote**

	China's historical & cultural ID	HK's ID as pluralistic & international	China's ID as ruled by the CCP	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	7	13	12	11
<b>Support</b>	23	36	9	31
<b>Oppose</b>	29	29	24	29
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	41	22	56	29
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 56.02 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



The vast majority of students support Occupy Central, as do majorities of professionals and associate professionals. Even 45% of business dominated managers and administrators support the planned demonstrations. (Chart next page.)

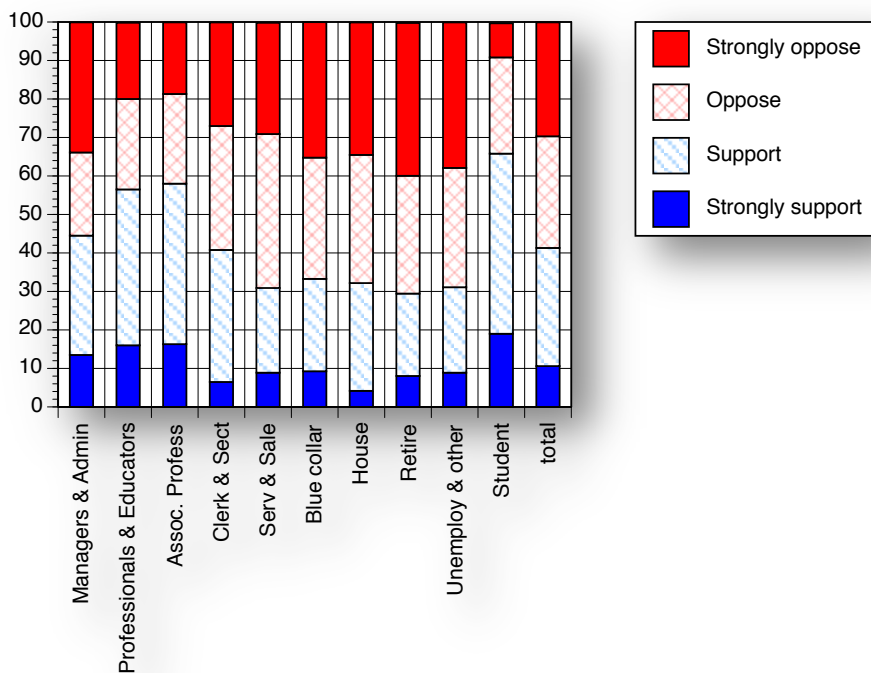
**Table 4 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Occupation**

	Managers & Admin	Professionals & Educators	Assoc. Profess	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unemploy & other	Student	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	14	16	16	6	9	9	4	8	9	19	11
<b>Support</b>	31	41	42	34	22	24	28	21	22	47	31
<b>Oppose</b>	22	24	23	32	40	32	33	31	31	25	29
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	34	20	19	27	29	35	34	40	38	9	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 75.50 with 27 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

**Chart of Table 4 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Occupation**



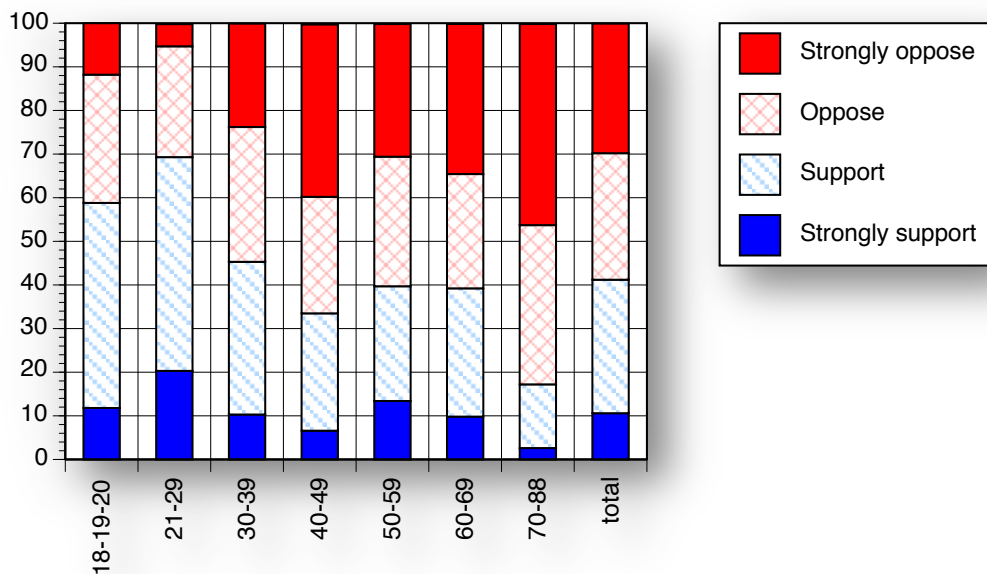
As before, there is a large gap in expressions of support by age group, with majorities of those under 30 in support. Students and youth tend to be more socially volatile than elders.

**Table 5 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	12	20	10	7	13	10	3	11
<b>Support</b>	47	49	35	27	26	29	15	31
<b>Oppose</b>	29	25	31	27	30	26	37	29
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	12	5	24	40	30	34	46	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 102.7 with 18 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



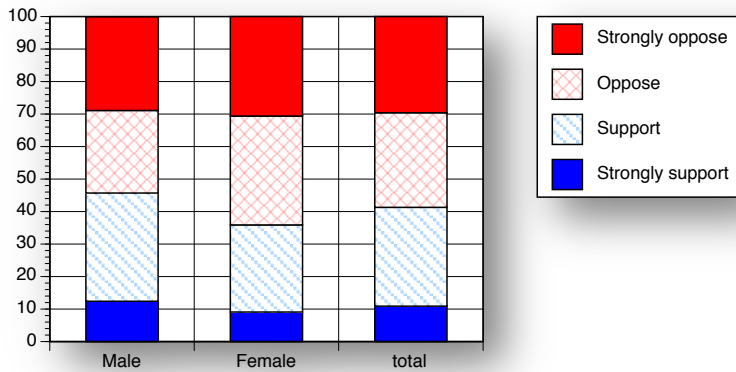
Men are also more supportive of the confrontation plans than women.

**Table 6 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Support</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Oppose</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.92 with 3 df p = 0.0122



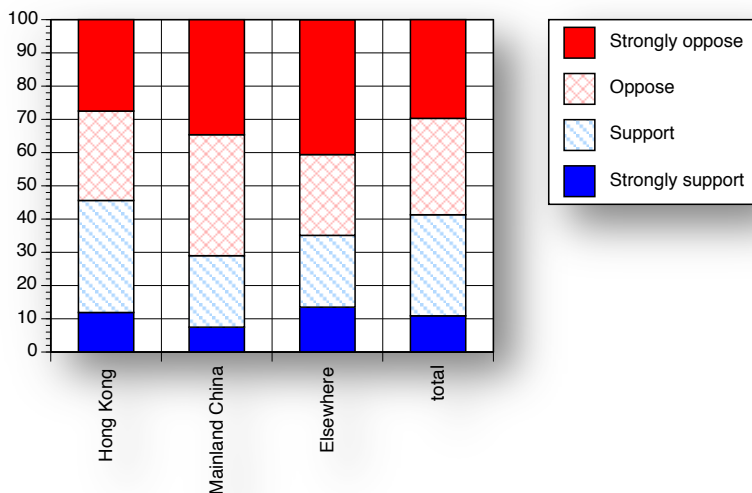
While Hong Kong born persons are more supportive than other groups, the highest levels of strongest opposition and strongest support appear among those born elsewhere.

**Table 7 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Support</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Oppose</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 21.79 with 6 df p = 0.0013



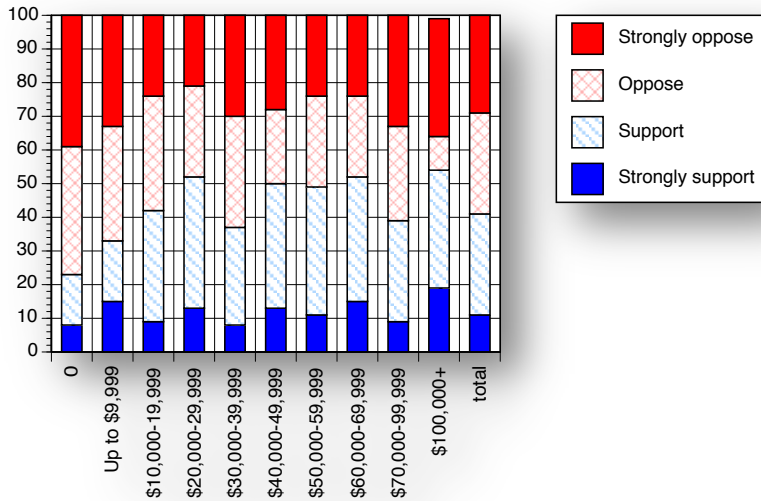
Support for Occupy Central also rises with family income and clearly does with education.

**Table 8 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Income**

	0	Up to \$9,999	\$10,000-19,999	\$20,000-29,999	\$30,000-39,999	\$40,000-49,999	\$50,000-59,999	\$60,000-69,999	\$70,000-99,999	\$100,000+	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	8	15	9	13	8	13	11	15	9	19	11
<b>Support</b>	15	18	33	39	29	37	38	37	30	35	31
<b>Oppose</b>	39	35	34	27	33	22	27	24	28	10	30
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	39	33	24	21	30	28	24	24	33	35	29
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 46.69 with 27 df p = 0.0107

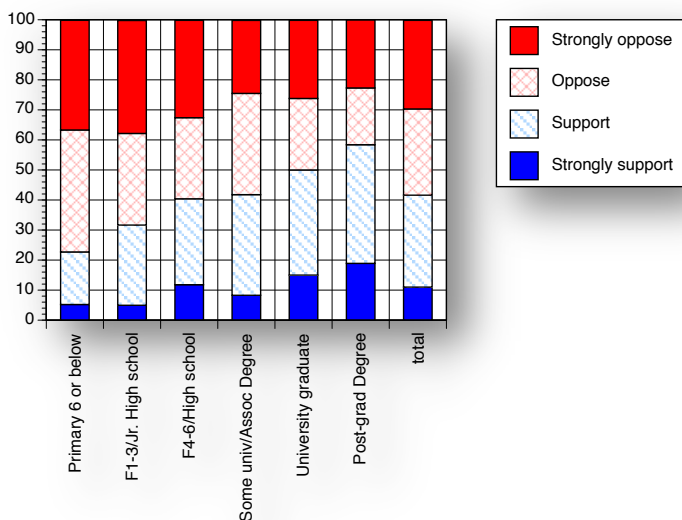


**Table 9 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Education**

	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High school	F4-6/High school	Some univ/Assoc Dg	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	5	5	12	8	15	19	11
<b>Support</b>	18	27	29	34	35	40	31
<b>Oppose</b>	41	31	27	34	24	19	29
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	37	38	32	24	26	23	30
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

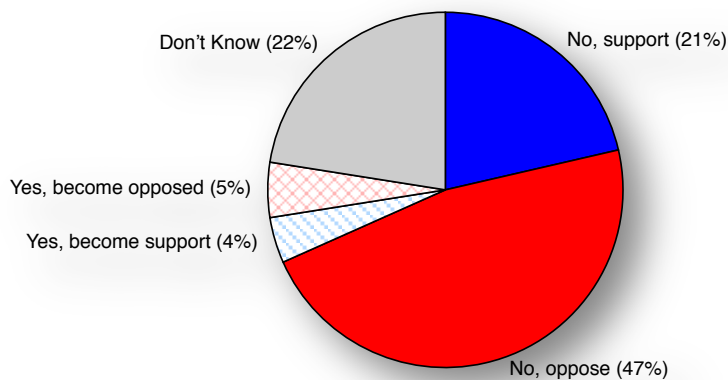
Chi-square = 41.96 with 15 df p = 0.0002



So while a majority do not support Occupy Central plans, significant numbers in the most volatile groups—men, students, under 30—do. The survey then asked what measures or events might change minds about Occupy Central. As Table 10 and 11 show, progress in terms of report or a white paper by mid-year sways about one in ten to shift views, but in no clear direction. However, instead of 38% supporting Occupy Central as in Table 1 above, 25% to 27% support Occupy Central in Tables 10 and 11, so clearly, progress on the consultation tends to move people toward the Don't Know response and away from support of a confrontation.

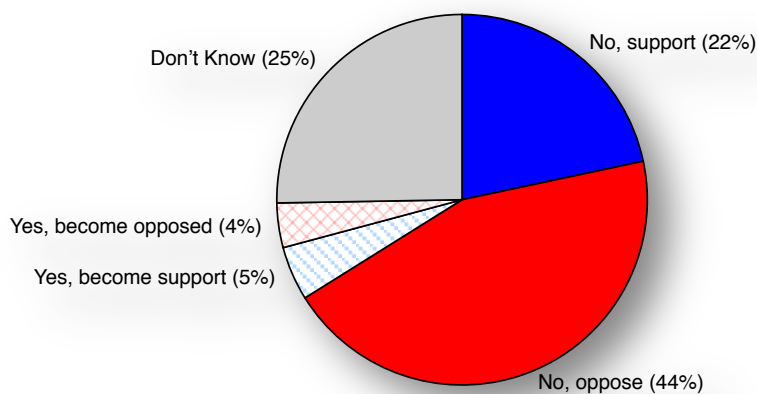
**Table 10 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Hong Kong Government finishes consultation on reforms and issues a report before 1 July 2014?**

Group	Count	%
No, support	198	21
No, oppose	433	47
Yes, become support	40	4
Yes, become opposed	46	5
Don't Know	208	22



**Table 11 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Government issues a draft law (white paper) by 1 July 2014.**

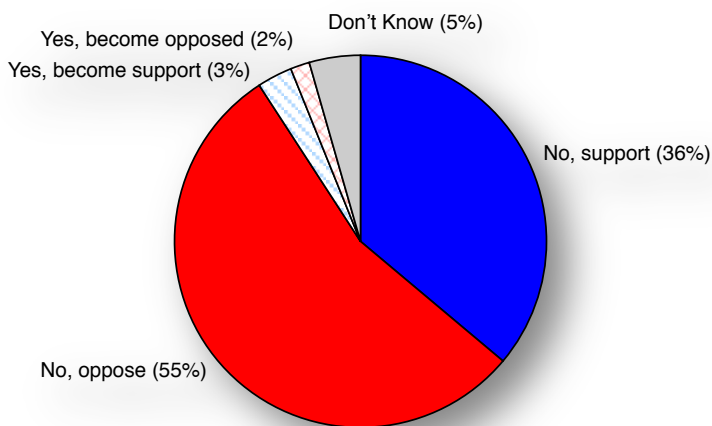
Group	Count	%
No, support	201	22
No, oppose	411	44
Yes, become support	42	5
Yes, become opposed	36	4
Don't Know	235	25



We cannot know at this time what will be in the report or next set of proposals, but the next three questions probe reactions to key groups. First, if all pan-democrats call for support of Occupy Central, nearly all the Don't Know responses in Tables 10&11 shift into a position, with support for Occupy rising to 39% from 25-27% in the first questions, and opposition rising from 48-52% in the first tables to 57%. However, as Table 13 shows, if only the radical democratic parties call for an Occupy Central protest, support drops to 31% and opposition rises to 63%.

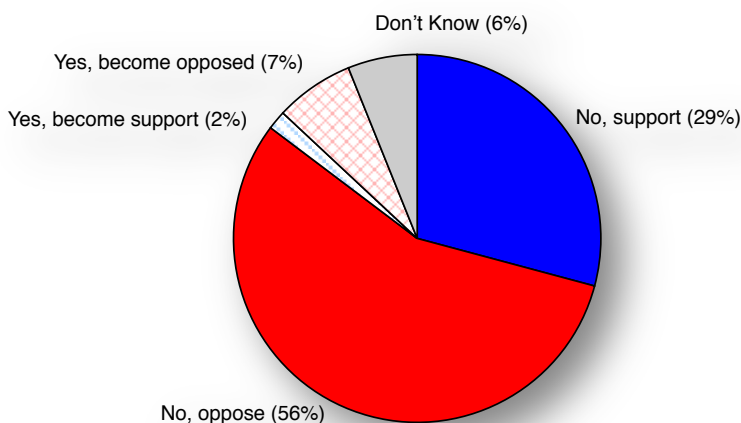
**Table 12** Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: All Pan-democratic parties call for support of Occupy Central

Group	Count	%
No, support	333	36
No, oppose	508	55
Yes, become support	28	3
Yes, become opposed	14	2
Don't Know	42	5



**Table 13** Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Radical democratic parties only call for support of Occupy Central

Group	Count	%
No, support	271	29
No, oppose	518	56
Yes, become support	14	2
Yes, become opposed	66	7
Don't Know	56	6

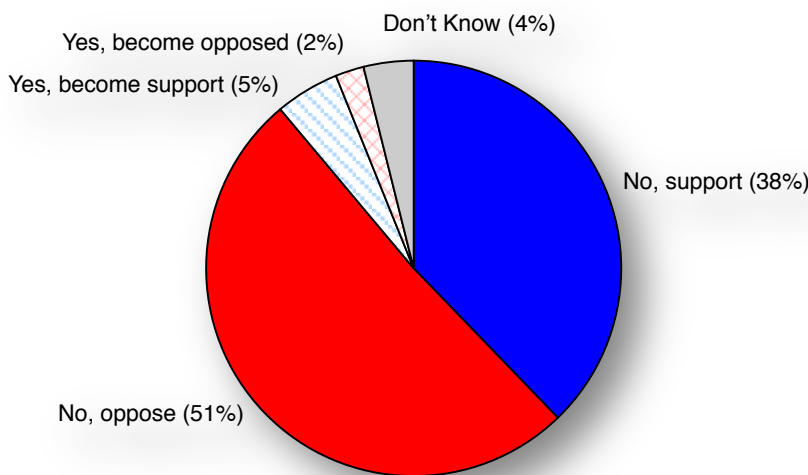




These results show how important unity is for the pro-democracy parties to support for Occupy Central. However, the Beijing government also runs a risk if it intervenes. If Beijing warned Hong Kongers not to join Occupy Central, support leaps to 43%, highest of all, while opposition drops to 53%, a significant reduction from the level of opposition if only the radical pro-democracy parties support the protest.

**Table 14 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Beijing government warns against joining Occupy Central**

Group	Count	%
No, support	349	38
No, oppose	474	51
Yes, become support	46	5
Yes, become opposed	21	2
Don't Know	35	4



#### IV Worry about Occupy Central Confrontation

In this final section of this report, the survey asked respondents about their degree of worry over violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy resulting from an Occupy Central protest. As Table 1 shows, a majority of Hong Kongers are very or somewhat worried about such damage taking place, with only one in five saying they have no worries about this happening.

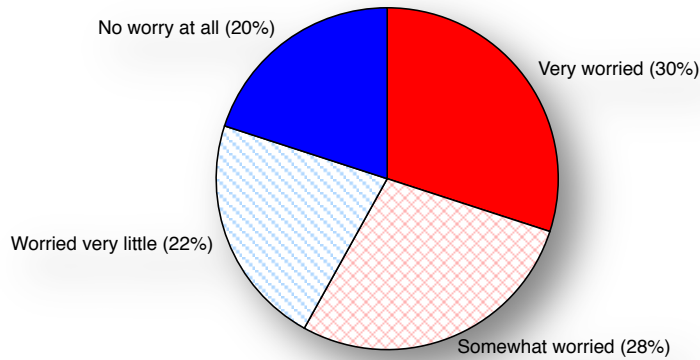
**Table 1 How worried are you about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy from an Occupy Central demonstration?**

Group	Count	%
Very worried	275	30
Somewhat worried	252	27
Worried very little	197	21
No worry at all	186	20
Don't Know	15	2

In Table 2 the few who say they Don't Know about this issue are removed.

**Table 2 Recoded Worry about violence & damage to economy**

Group	Count	%
Very worried	275	30
Somewhat worried	252	28
Worried very little	197	22
No worry at all	186	20



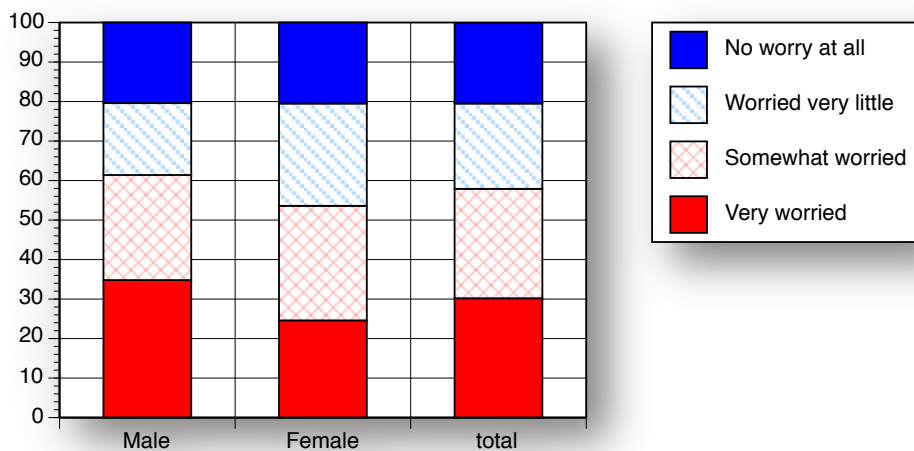
In a very unusual survey result, more men than women say they are very or somewhat worried about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy from Occupy Central. Normally, and in almost all cases of questions about worry, more women than men tend to worry. Not in this case.

**Table 3 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Gender**

	Male	Female	total
Very worried	35	25	30
Somewhat worried	27	29	28
Worried very little	18	26	22
No worry at all	20	21	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.28 with 3 df p = 0.0025

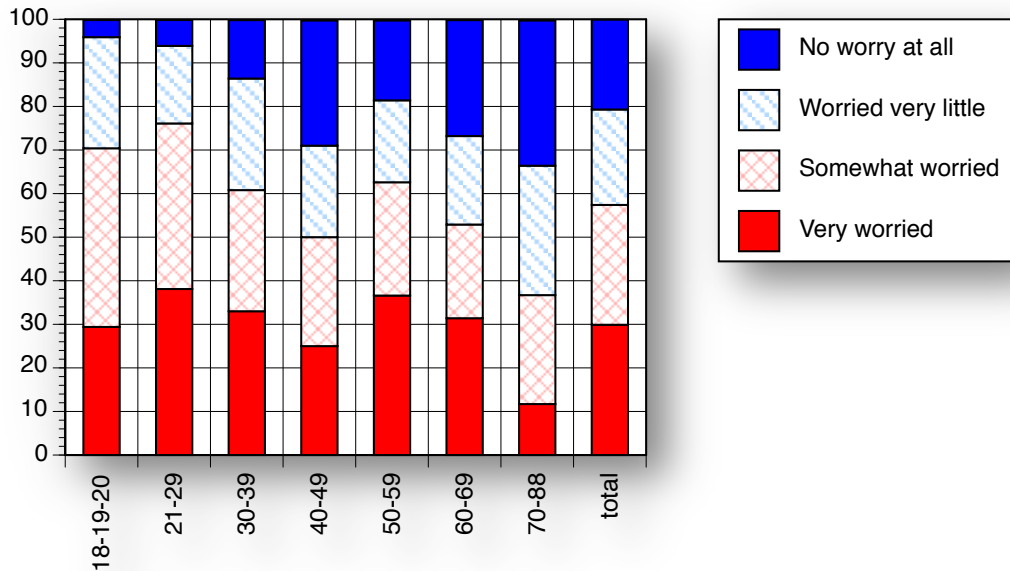


Also in another very unusual result, teens and twenties show significantly higher levels of worry than older cohorts.

**Table 4 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Age**

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
<b>Very worried</b>	29	38	33	25	37	32	12	30
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	41	38	28	25	26	22	25	28
<b>Worried very little</b>	26	18	26	21	19	20	30	22
<b>No worry at all</b>	4	6	13	29	18	27	33	21
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 75.55 with 18 df p ≤ 0.0001



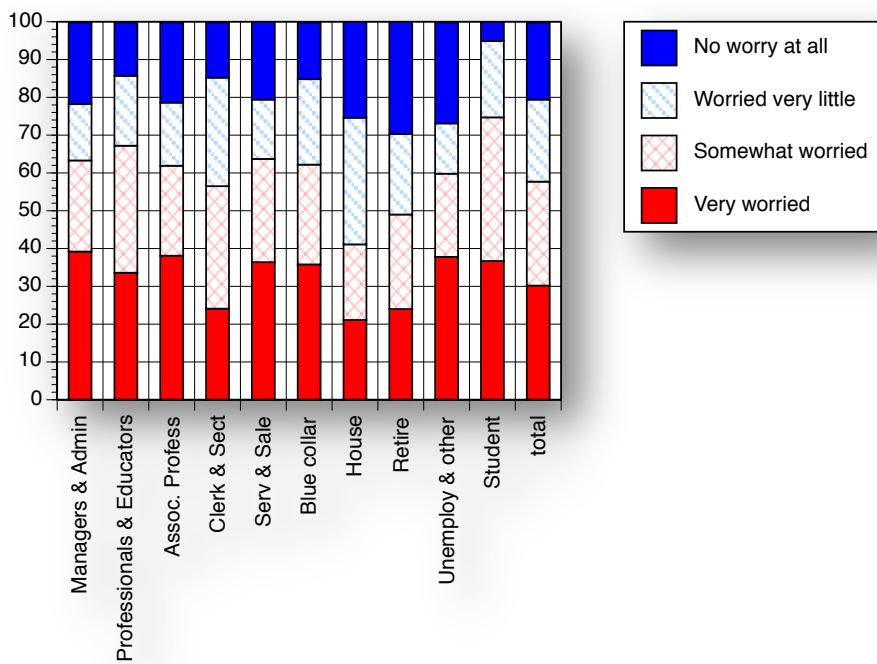
In yet another unusual pattern of responses, students show the highest levels of worry about Occupy Central bringing with it violence and damage to the economy. Professionals show the next highest levels. (Chart is next page.) And as Table 6 shows, worry rises with level of education. Those with post graduate degrees show nearly twice the level of very and somewhat worried as those with primary or less education.

**Table 5 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Occupation**

	Managers & Admin	Professionals & Educators	Assoc. Profess	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unemploy & other	Student	total
<b>Very worried</b>	39	34	38	24	36	36	21	24	38	37	30
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	24	34	24	32	27	26	20	25	22	38	28
<b>Worried very little</b>	15	19	17	29	16	23	34	21	13	20	22
<b>No worry at all</b>	22	14	21	15	21	15	25	30	27	5	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 60.88 with 27 df p = 0.0002

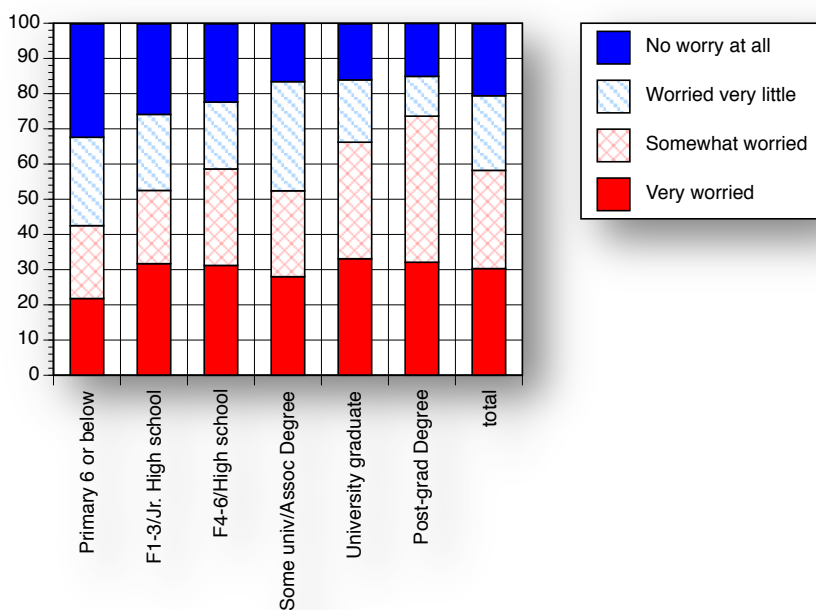
**Chart of Table 5 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Occupation**



**Table 6 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Education**

	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High	F4-6/High school	Some univ/ Assoc Degree	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
<b>Very worried</b>	22	32	31	28	33	32	30
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	21	21	27	24	33	42	28
<b>Worried very little</b>	25	22	19	31	18	11	21
<b>No worry at all</b>	32	26	22	17	16	15	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 37.78 with 15 df p = 0.0010



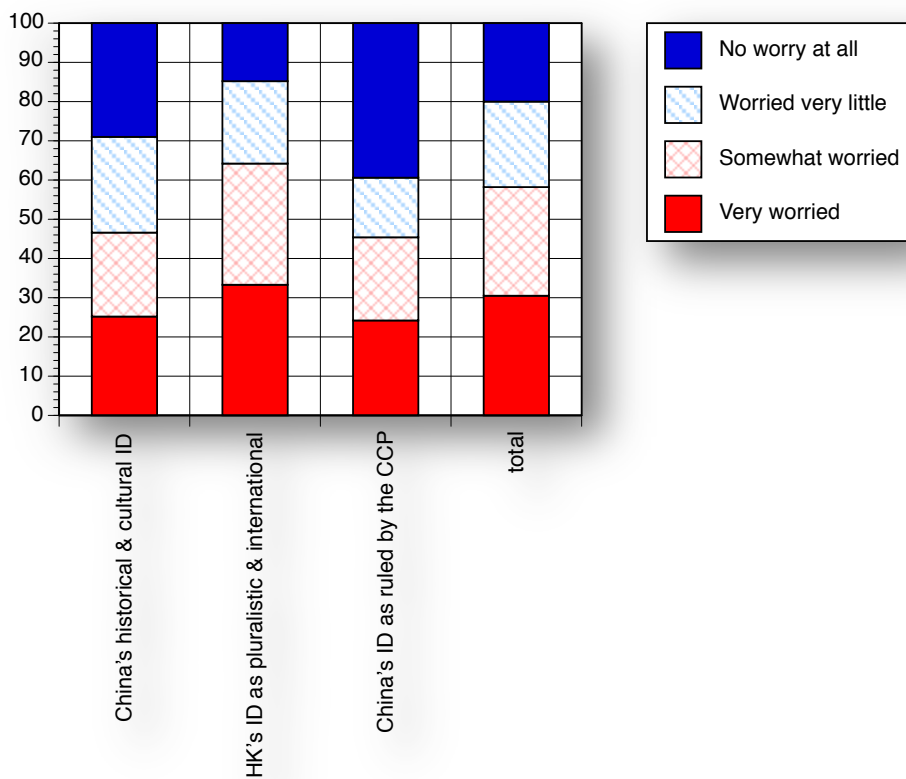
Those who want Hong Kong’s identity as pluralistic and international most protected and promoted show the highest levels of very worried and somewhat worried.

**Table 7 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote**

	China’s historical & cultural ID	HK’s ID as pluralistic & international	China’s ID as ruled by the CCP	total
<b>Very worried</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Worried very little</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>No worry at all</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.23 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



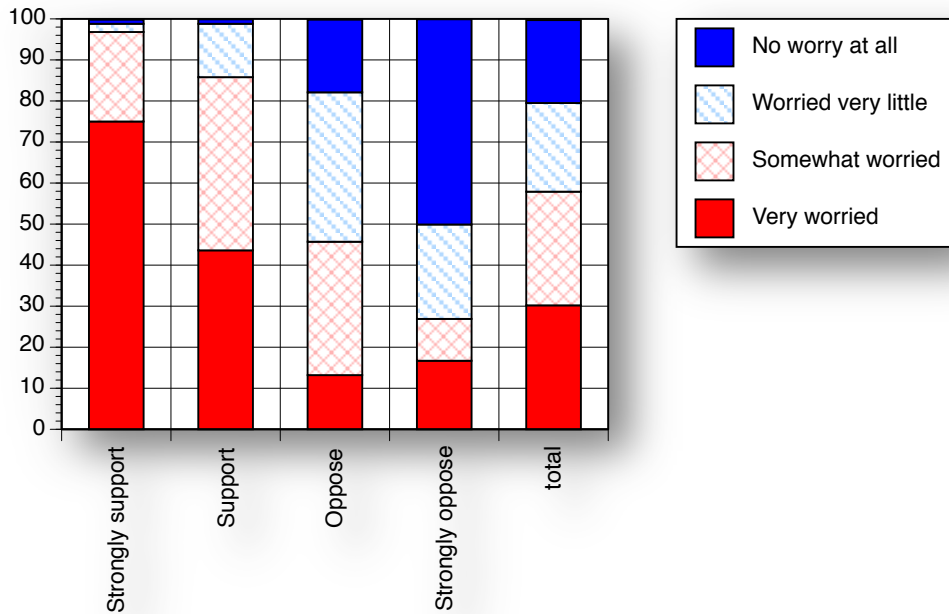
Showing that worry is not a matter of projection by those who oppose Occupy Central—those who are most supportive of confrontation are by far the most worried about violence and damage to Hong Kong’s economy. Nevertheless, they strongly support taking this action.

**Table 8 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Support/oppose Occupy Central**

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	total
<b>Very worried</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Somewhat worried</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Worried very little</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>No worry at all</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 417.9 with 9 df  $p \leq 0.0001$



In sum, the final section of results shows clearly that those who are most likely to participate, those who are most supportive, and those who are most educated and the youngest, worry the most about violence and economic damage from Occupy Central. There is clearly an expectation that Occupy Central will experience violence; nevertheless, from one in four to one in three or more still express support. These results are clear warning signs to any government: a significant proportion of the population is bent on confrontation if they feel their views are ignored. Many doubt the fairness of a consultation before it barely begins. Many feel their preferred form of identity is not being protected.

If the promise of direct, fair and free election of the Chief Executive and of having a real choice of candidates is broken, there will very likely be very strong reactions, and these reactions, many fear, will not be peaceful or without damage to Hong Kong's economy. After all, the objective of Occupy Central is to bring home the cost of ignoring democracy to the main occupants of Central: Big Business and Government. It appears that many are grimly determined to do so if this consultation, in their eyes, fails.

## Demographic Characteristics of those surveyed

### Gender

Group	Count	%
Male	541	54
Female	466	46

### Age

Group	Count	%
18-19-20	56	6
21-29	128	13
30-39	101	10
40-49	177	18
50-59	209	21
60-69	178	18
70-88	134	14

### Gender BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Male	<b>66</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>54</b>
Female	<b>34</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>46</b>
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.72 with 6 df p = 0.0031

### Birthplace\*

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong	725	72
Mainland China	242	24
Elsewhere	39	4

\*Of permanent residents (birth in Hong Kong or residency over 7 years)

### Birthplace BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Hong Kong	88	88	84	82	82	58	30	72
Mainland China	9	9	16	16	16	38	56	24
Elsewhere	4	3	0	2	2	3	14	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 192.8 with 12 df p ≤ 0.0001

### Census Figures, Birthplace, Age (2011 Census)

Age group	Hong Kong	mainland of China, Macao, Taiwan	Elsewhere	Total*
15 - 19	325 992	80 969	16 732	423 693
20 - 24	315 736	107 549	28 256	451 541
25 - 29	351 900	96 471	85 744	534 115
30 - 34	354 088	108 780	87 137	550 005
35 - 39	330 061	156 306	76 239	562 606
40 - 44	347 471	167 505	57 703	572 679
45 - 49	439 418	173 569	38 748	651 735
50 - 54	403 400	206 471	27 824	637 695
55 - 59	293 472	196 979	22 618	513 069
60 - 64	186 232	205 362	17 972	409 566
65 - 69	56 032	164 110	14 158	234 300
70 - 74	58 555	159 266	12 619	230 440
75 - 79	46 142	152 671	6 338	205 151
80 - 84	28 413	114 223	3 446	146 082
85+	24 927	98 121	2 291	125 339
Total*	4 278 126	2 267 917	525 533	7 071 576
%**	60.5%	32%	7.4%	100%

Source: 2011 Population Census Office, Census and Statistics Department

The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

\*Total includes those aged 0-14, not shown in this table

\*\*Of all persons in Hong Kong, including domestic helpers and those not permanent residents

### Occupation

Group	Count	%
Managers/Admin	78	8
Professionals/Educators	140	14
Associate professionals	47	5
Clerks/Secretary	114	12
Service & Sales	47	5
Blue collar	56	6
Housewife	111	11
Retiree	251	26
Unemployed/Other	48	5
Student	88	9

### Occupation BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Managers/Admin	0	5	12	13	14	4	1	8
Professionals/Educators	4	24	22	26	17	3	1	14
Associate professionals	0	13	8	4	8	0	0	5
Clerks/Secretary	6	19	25	22	10	2	1	12
Service & Sales	2	4	9	8	6	3	1	5
Blue collar	0	4	5	7	11	6	1	6
Housewife	0	0	9	15	17	18	6	11
Retiree	0	0	0	0	11	61	87	26
Unemployed/Other	0	4	7	4	8	5	4	5
Student	89	28	2	1	0	0	0	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 1193 with 54 df p ≤ 0.0001



### Work Sector

Group	Count	%
Civil Service	81	16
Public (Airport Auth/Housing Auth etc)	24	5
Private	378	73
Non-Governmental/non-profit	34	7

### Work Sector Reclassified

Group	Count	%
Public/non-profit	139	14
Private	378	38
Non-Work	465	47

### Work Sector BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Public/non-profit	2	16	19	24	22	4	2	14
Private	13	54	66	58	46	16	2	38
Non-Work	86	30	15	18	31	80	96	47
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 372.7 with 12 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

### What year of education did you finish?

Group	Count	%
None	25	2
Primary 1-6	89	9
Form 1/7 <sup>th</sup> year	11	1
Form 2	19	2
Form 3	82	8
Form 4/10 <sup>th</sup> year	16	2
Form 5 graduate	189	19
Form 6/12 <sup>th</sup> year/Hi-school graduate	50	5
Form 7/Univ Yr 1	79	8
Univ Yr 2/Assoc. Degree	20	2
Univ Yr 3	82	8
University graduate	274	27
MA degree	47	5
Ph.D./J.D.	8	1
Refuse to answer	16	2

### Education Reclassified

Group	Count	%
Primary or below	114	12
F1-3/Jr. High school	112	11
F4-6/High school	255	26
Some univ/Assoc Degree	181	18
University graduate	274	28
Post-grad degree	55	6

### Education BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Primary or below	0	0	1	2	9	25	35	12
F1-3/Jr. High school	0	0	5	10	15	23	13	12
F4-6/High school	22	11	21	39	32	23	21	26
Some univ/Assoc Degree	75	31	13	13	16	9	10	18
University graduate	4	52	50	29	22	15	19	27
Post-grad degree	0	7	10	7	6	5	2	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 424.0 with 30 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

### What is your approximate family income?

Group	Count	%
None	128	13
Under \$5,000	16	2
\$5,000-9,999	34	3
\$10,000-14,999	84	8
\$15,000-19,999	66	7
\$20,000-24,999	84	8
\$25,000-29,999	33	3
\$30,000-34,999	89	9
\$35,000-39,999	27	3
\$40,000-49,999	82	8
\$50,000-59,999	57	6
\$60,000-69,999	45	4
\$70,000-79,999	21	2
\$80,000-89,999	23	2
\$90,000-99,999	5	.5
\$100,000+	50	5
Refuse to answer	163	16

### Income Reclassified

Group	Count	%
None	128	15
Up to \$9,999	50	6
\$10,000-19,999	150	18
\$20,000-29,999	117	14
\$30,000-39,999	116	14
\$40,000-49,999	82	10
\$50,000-59,999	57	7
\$60,000-69,999	45	5
\$70,000-99,999	49	6
\$100,000+	50	6

### Income BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
None	3	0	0	1	5	29	65	15
Up to \$9,999	5	0	0	4	6	10	13	6
\$10,000-19,999	28	20	14	14	17	27	10	18
\$20,000-29,999	15	23	16	14	18	8	3	14
\$30,000-39,999	15	15	21	20	16	8	3	14
\$40,000-49,999	13	7	21	15	10	4	2	10
\$50,000-59,999	3	7	13	10	7	3	2	7
\$60,000-69,999	8	12	3	7	5	2	2	5
\$70,000-99,999	8	6	8	7	8	3	1	6
\$100,000+	3	9	4	8	7	5	1	6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 433.0 with 54 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

### Do you have experience living outside Hong Kong 1 year or more

Group	Count	%
No experience outside HK	651	65
Lived outside Hong Kong 1 Yr+	356	35

### Experience living outside Hong Kong By Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
No experience outside HK	71	71	73	71	71	56	44	65
Lived outside Hong Kong 1 Yr+	29	29	27	29	29	44	56	35
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 44.15 with 6 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

## Methods and contact details

Statistical Analysis and Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer, Professor of Government & International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University and Director, Hong Kong Transition Project

Survey administration and Chinese translation: Centre for the Advancement of Social Science Research at Hong Kong Baptist University. At the 95% confidence level, range of error is plus or minus 3 points for surveys 900-1,200 respondents. The “next birthday” method is a means of randomization in which the respondent is chosen by who had the most recent birthday in the household. See

[http://www.aapor.org/Standard\\_Definitions2.htm](http://www.aapor.org/Standard_Definitions2.htm) for calculating completion and error rates. Respondents are interviewed in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, and other languages/dialects as they prefer and as interviewers with languages needed are available.

The number of respondents in the HKTP political development surveys:

Date	#	Date	#	Date	#	Date	#	Date	#
<b>Nov 1991</b>	902								
<b>Feb 1993</b>	615	<b>Aug 1993</b>	609						
<b>Feb 1994</b>	636	Aug 1994	640						
<b>Feb 1995</b>	647	<b>Aug 1995</b>	645						
<b>Feb 1996</b>	627	July 1996	928					Dec 1996	326
<b>Feb 1997</b>	546	June 1997	1,129						
<b>Jan 1998</b>	700	<b>April 1998</b>	852	<b>June 1998</b>	625	<b>July 1998</b>	647	<b>Oct 1998</b>	811
<b>Apr 1999</b>	838	July 1999	815					<b>Nov 1999</b>	813
<b>Apr 2000</b>	704	<b>Aug 2000</b>	625	<b>Aug 2000</b>	1059	<b>Oct 2000</b>	721	<b>Nov 2000</b>	801
<b>Apr 2001</b>	830	June 2001	808	Jul (media )	831	Jul (party)	1029	Nov 2001	759
<b>Apr 2002</b>	751			<b>Aug 2002</b>	721			Nov 2002	814
<b>Mar 2003</b>	790	June 2003	776			<b>Nov 2003</b>	836	<b>Dec 03</b>	709
<b>Apr 2004</b>	809	<b>June 2004*</b>	680	<b>July 2004*</b>	695	<b>Sept 2004*</b>	410	<b>Dec 2004</b>	800
<b>May 2004</b>	833	<b>July 04 *</b>	955	<b>Aug 2004*</b>	781	<b>Nov 2004</b>	773	<b>Dec FC**</b>	405
									(365)
<b>May 2005</b>	829	<b>May FC**</b>	376	July 2005	810			Nov 2005	859
<b>Mar 2006</b>	805	Apr 2006	807	July 2006	1,106	Nov 2006	706	Nov 2006	FC**
									374
<b>Apr 2007</b>	889			<b>May 2007</b>	800				
<b>May 2008</b>	714	<b>June 2008</b>	710	<b>July 2008</b>	710	<b>Aug 2008</b>	705	<b>Sept 2008</b>	721
<b>GC</b>		<b>GC</b>		<b>GC</b>		<b>GC</b>		<b>GC</b>	
<b>May 2008</b>	409	<b>June 2008</b>	300	<b>July 2008</b>	300	<b>Aug 2008</b>	305	<b>Sept 2008</b>	304
<b>FC**</b>		<b>FC</b>		<b>FC</b>		<b>FC</b>		<b>FC</b>	
<b>May 2009</b>	1,205			Aug	1704			Nov 2009	832
				2009***					
<b>Jan 2010</b>	1,500	May 2010	715	June 2010	934	Aug 2010	816	Dec 2010	807
<b>April 2011</b>	829					<b>Oct 2011</b>	820		
<b>Jan 2012</b>	601/246#					<b>Aug 2012</b>	1309		
<b>Jan 2013</b>	920							Dec 2013	(start)
<b>Jan 2014</b>	1007								

\*permanent residents, registered voters only (part of a special 2004 election series) **Highlighted** surveys are Legco election related surveys

\*\*Functional constituency registered voters (voters in September 2004/2008 Legco election)

\*\*\*638FC&CertPersons

†Not all surveys are referred to in trend series. Highlighted figures are Legco election series surveys; bolded dates are District Council related surveys; italicized are Chief Executive related surveys

#First figure is number of General public and FC voters randomly contacted (including 41 FC voters). Second figure is number of FC voters contacted randomly by quota sample after first 600 randomly contacted, 205 plus the 41 FC voters contacted in the earlier calling. The proportion of registered FC voters in 2011 (240,000) is approximately 7 percent of the amount of GC registered voters (3.5 million). The 41 registered FC voters in this sample are slightly overweight to the actual proportion of FC voters among the general population. The 246 FC voters randomly contacted represent about a .001 percent sample of all FC voters. Range of error is +/-6 points for this more homogeneous FC sample. Similarity of education, age and profession reduces the distribution of views across samples, for example, a survey of housewives aged 30 to 50 would tend to show more agreement on views than would a survey of a whole population including males, other ages and occupations. This survey (both Gen public and FC voters) had 4,156 respondent identified contacts, with 2,335 refusals, giving a 44.6% contact rate (using Kish Table to identify respondents). 838 cases were completed with 1014 interviews partially completed, for a 20% completion rate. In a survey targeting FC voters, who are not only hard to find but often hard to interview for any length of time or depth (such as lawyers, who charge for their time and are often careful or reluctant to answer questions), the completion rate is lower than normal but acceptable.

†All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated. All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number following public opinion guidelines of the WAPOR (World Association for Public Opinion Research) and the AAPOR (American Association of Public Opinion Research). See: [http://www.aapor.org/Best\\_Practices1.htm](http://www.aapor.org/Best_Practices1.htm) Details of the surveys and reports of same may be found on the Hong Kong Transition Project website at <http://www.hktp.org> Hong Kong Transition Project does not weight results according to any criteria such as gender or income since these figures, usually based on once a decade census data, can quickly go out of date and then become a source of error, not correction. We use several means of randomizing our sample selection (randomizing the final numbers of the telephone numbers, randomizing the selection of those numbers in the CATI system, randomizing with the Kish Table who is chosen to interview, stipulating up to 5 call back attempts if that interviewee is not available, and calling across at least a week so all days of a week are called in order to avoid schedule bias), and then compare samples across time as well.

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 analysis which is done independently by project members. HKTP 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. Project members who are members of a political party (2) do not participate in the drafting of questions or the analysis of same for the survey reports. They may and do provide their own analysis of survey results in media and academic studies. 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. Earlier funding of research was supported by competitively awarded grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee and in the early start-up phase in the early 1990s, by an HKBU staff research grant. None of the institutions mentioned above is responsible for any of the views expressed herein. Hong Kong Transition Project is based at Hong Kong Baptist University due to the location and university affiliation of the project's primary investigator (Prof. M. E. DeGolyer), but is not in any way research conducted or funded by that university. The project website is no longer located on the university servers nor is government funding sought for its research initiatives, in order to ensure its complete independence and impartiality. See <http://www.hktp.org>

## Appendix Two: Survey Instrument

Hong Kong Baptist University

*Hong Kong Transition Project*

11.13

Dec 2013 Constitutional Reform survey

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### 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.

I'm calling from the Hong Kong Baptist University. We're conducting a survey for the Hong Kong Transition Project, a research project on people's livelihood and social participation in Hong Kong. We would appreciate getting your anonymous views and opinions.

This is an anonymous and random survey; our computer has selected your number and there is no way to trace any of your comments back to you. The information that you are provided 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. We need to be sure that we give every adult a chance to be interviewed for this study, please tell me how many members are LIVING in your household is over 18 years of age

Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
(END the interview if no qualified adult.)

S3. Interviewer: May I speak with the person 18 years old or older whose birthday will be coming up soonest in your household?

Please ask the person in the household to come to the phone.

- 1 This is the right person
- 2 The right person comes to the phone (repeat introduction)
- 3 Fail to locate the right person (schedule a callback)
- 4 Fail to contact the right person (schedule a callback)

RECORD the information on the callback sheet first.

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## INTERVIEWING

Q1. Sir/ Madam, Are you a Permanent Resident of Hong Kong?

1. Yes
2. No (Thank you. We are looking for permanent residents)

Q2. Were you born in Hong Kong?

- 1 Born in Hong Kong → Go to Q3
- 2 Born in China → Go to Q2a
- 3 Born elsewhere → Go to Q2a
- 4 Refuse to answer → Go to Q3

Q2a. How many years living in HK?  
(99 = Refuse to answer / DON'T KNOW)

\_\_\_\_\_ (Key in Number)

Q3. 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 Q5
- 11 Retired → Go to Q5
- 12 Unemployed → Go to Q5
- 13 Student → Go to Q5
- 14 Education Sector (teachers n primary, secondary, tertiary level and principals )
- 15 Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- 16 Refuse to answer

Q4. Do you work for the private sector or for the public sector?

1. Civil servant
2. Privatized Public facilities (Housing Authority/Hospital Authority, Airport Authority)
3. Private sector
4. Non-profit organization
5. Refuse to answer

Q5. Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with:

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DON'T KNOW
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 Leung Chung-Ying	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

Q6. How much do you believe CY Leung has:

- a. Made policies fair to everyone
- b. Conducted transparent and open consultations
- c. Protected against corruption
- d. Handled big business influence fairly for business and the public
- e. Protected Hong Kong's interest in national matters
- f. Will implement a fair system of nomination and direct election for the Chief Executive in 2017

Great deal	Some	Very little	Not at all	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5

Q7 How fairly do you think Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam will conduct a constitutional reform consultation process?

Very fairly	Somewhat fairly	Hard to say/DK	Unfairly	Very unfairly
1	2	3	4	5

Q8. Are you currently registered to vote in the Geographic or Functional Constituency elections?



1. Geographic only (go to Q8a)
2. Traditional 30 FCs only
3. Both Geographic and Traditional FC
4. Not registered to vote
5. DON'T KNOW

Q8a Did you also vote in 2012 for one of the new 5 "super seat" District Council Functional Constituency candidates?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't Know

Q9. Do you currently support or oppose:

- a. Abolishing all FCs, both traditional and new DC FC seats
- b. Abolishing only the traditional small circle 30 FC seats
- c. Replacing the 30 small circle FC seats with 30 more seats elected by everyone like the 5 new DC "super seats"
- d. Replacing all 30 FC seats with directly elected Geographic seats, half elected by first past the post single member districts, the other half elected like the other Geographic seats.
- e. Increase right to vote for "small circle" FC seats until all legislators represent roughly equal constituencies

Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5

Q10. In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of the Chief Executive?

- 1 Strongly support
- 2 Support
- 3 Oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- 5 Don't know

Q11. In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of all Legislative Council seats?

- 1 Strongly support
- 2 Support
- 3 Oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- 5 Don't know

Q12. Would you support or oppose the following:

- a. Keep the Chief Executive Election Committee at 1200 members as presently elected and make it the nominating committee for candidates for the direct elections in 2017
- b. Reform Functional Constituencies by eliminating corporate voting and equalizing, as much as possible, the number of voters in each constituency
- c. Abolish Functional Constituencies for Legco but keep them for the Chief Executive Nominating Committee
- d. Abolish Functional Constituencies completely in all forms for all purposes

Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5

Q13 Do you currently support or oppose the possible Occupy Central protest in July 2014?

Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know/Never heard of it (skip to Q15)
1	2	3	4	5

Q14 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest?

- a. Hong Kong Government finishes consultation on reforms and issues a report before 1 July 2014
- b. Government issues a draft law (white paper) by 1 July 2014
- c. All Pan-democratic parties call for support of Occupy Central
- d. Radical democratic parties only call for support Occupy Central
- e. Beijing government warns against joining Occupy Central

Options becomes:

- 1. No, still support
- 2. No, still oppose
- 3. Yes, become support
- 4. Yes, become oppose
- 5. Don't know / Have not heard before

Q 15 If Beijing government warns against joining Occupy Central would you now support or oppose the Occupy Central protest?

- 1. No, still support
- 2. No, still oppose
- 3. Yes, become support
- 4. Yes, become oppose
- 5. Don't know / Have not heard before

Q15 How worried are you about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy from an Occupy Central demonstration?

No worry at all   Very little worried   Somewhat worried   Very worried   Don't Know

1

2

3

4

5

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 DON'T KNOW

Q17. Which Problem in 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 | Others                           |
|    |   | 29 | None                             |

Q18. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's performance on this problem?

- 1 Very Satisfied
- 2 Satisfied
- 3 Dissatisfied
- 4 Very Dissatisfied
- 5 DON'T KNOW
- 6 Not a Government Problem

Q19. 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	Clan association	1	2
g	Pressure or Political group	1	2
h	Social service or Charitable association	1	2
i	Cultural and recreational organization	1	2
j	Religious group or Church	1	2
k	Environmental group	1	2

Q20. Of the political parties in Legco, which party if any, do you feel represents or protects your interests best? **(READ OUT OPTIONS)**

- 1 DAB
- 2 DP
- 3 LSD
- 4 Civic Party
- 5 People's Power
- 6 New People's Party
- 7 FTU
- 8 Labour Party
- 9 Liberal Party
- 10 None of them
- 11 Don't Know
- 12 Other party (please record name \_\_\_\_\_ )

Q21. 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 following list

	Yes	No
a. Government Department	1	2
b. Directly elected Legco Reps	1	2
c. Functional Constituency Legco members	1	2
d. District Council / District Officer	1	2
e. The mass media	1	2
f. The local-level group/Kaifong	1	2
g. The pressure / political party member	1	2
h. Sign a petition	1	2
i. Join rally /Demonstration / protest (include sit-in, hunger strike)	1	2

Q22. Did you give a donation to any political group in the past 12 months?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Refuse to answer/forget

**(Additional questions on an unrelated environmental policy issue.)**

**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.**

Q28. (Interviewer's Judgment) Sex of the respondent

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

Q29. How old are you ?

Actual age: \_\_\_\_\_ (111=no ans or refuse to ans)

Q30. The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you ? (Read out)

- 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. I'm a Chinese Hong Konger
- 7 Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Q31. Which of these do you consider the most important to you personally to see protected and promoted:

- 1 China's historical and cultural identity
- 2 Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international
- 3 China's identity as ruled by the CCP
- 4 Don't know

Q32. What is your marital status?

- 1 Never married → Go to Q33
- 2 Married (excepted widowed/divorced/separated)
- 3 Widowed
- 4 Divorced /Separated
- 5 (Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

Q32a. How many children do you have, if any? (None=0) (Don't know = 99)

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

**Q33. What is your educational standard?  
finish?**

**What year of schooling did you**

1. Below primary (Record year, Example: Form 2, Primary 4)
2. 1 - 6. Primary 1 thru 6
3. F1
4. F2
5. F3
6. F4 / TI (Form 3) 1st Year
7. F5 / TI (Form 3) Graduate
8. F6 / TI (Form 5) 1st Year
9. F7 / TI (Form 7) Graduate / TC Graduate / US University Freshman
10. University 1st Year / Sophomore
11. University 2nd Year / Junior / Associate Degree graduate (holder)
12. University Graduate
13. Master Degree
14. PhD. Degree
15. Refuse to answer

**Q34. 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
- 10 Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Q35. What is your religion, if any (include ancestor worship and Chinese Folk Belief)?**

- 1 None
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Protestant
- 4 Buddhist
- 5 Taoist
- 6 Ancestor worship / Chinese Folk Belief
7. Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Q36. Do you have experience living outside Hong Kong for 1 year or more?**

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Q38
3. Refuse → Go to Q38

**Q37. Besides Hong Kong, Do you have the right of abode in another country?**

1. Yes
2. No
3. DON'T KNOW / Refuse to answer

Q38. What is your approximate monthly family income?

- 1 None If NONE → Go to Q38a
- 2 Less than \$ 5,000
- 3 \$ 5,000 – 9,999
- 4 \$ 10,000 – 14,999
- 5 \$ 15,000 – 19,999
- 6 \$ 20,000 – 24,999
- 7 \$ 25,000 – 29,999
- 8 \$ 30,000 – 34,999
- 9 \$ 35,000 – 39,999
- 10 \$ 40,000 – 49,999
- 11 \$ 50,000 – 59,999
- 12 \$ 60,000 – 69,999
- 13 \$ 70,000 – 79,999
- 14 \$ 80,000 – 89,999
- 15 \$ 90,000 – 99,999
- 16 \$100,000 and up
- 17 Refuse to answer

Q38a. Are you receiving any government financial support, such as CSSA (Comprehensive Social Security Assistance) or old age allowance?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 DON'T KNOW
- 4 Refuse

Q39. Approximately what percentage of your personal income do you contribute to your parents?

- 1 None
- 2 Less than 20%
- 3 20% - 40%
- 4 40% - 60%
- 5 Over 60%

**We have completed the interview.  
Thank you very much for your cooperation. Bye Bye.**