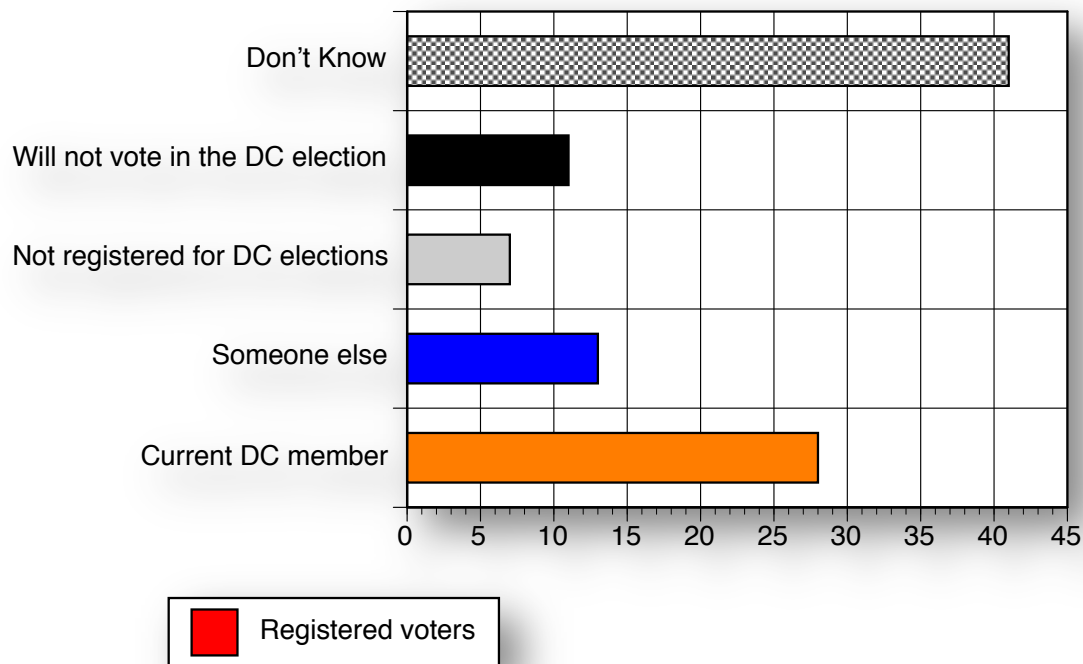


### 3. The Players: Parties and Candidates

There are significant differences when those who say they are registered to vote are compared to those who are not, and there are still more differences between those who say they have already decided to vote for someone (or against them) and everyone else. So Section 3 explores voting intent and turnout. Chart/Table 63 indicates while less than half of respondents have decided on how they will vote (41 percent), of those who have decided to vote already about twice as many intend to vote for their current DC member as those who have decided they will vote for someone else (28 percent versus 13 percent).

**Chart/Table 63 Do you plan to vote for your current DC representative or for someone else?**

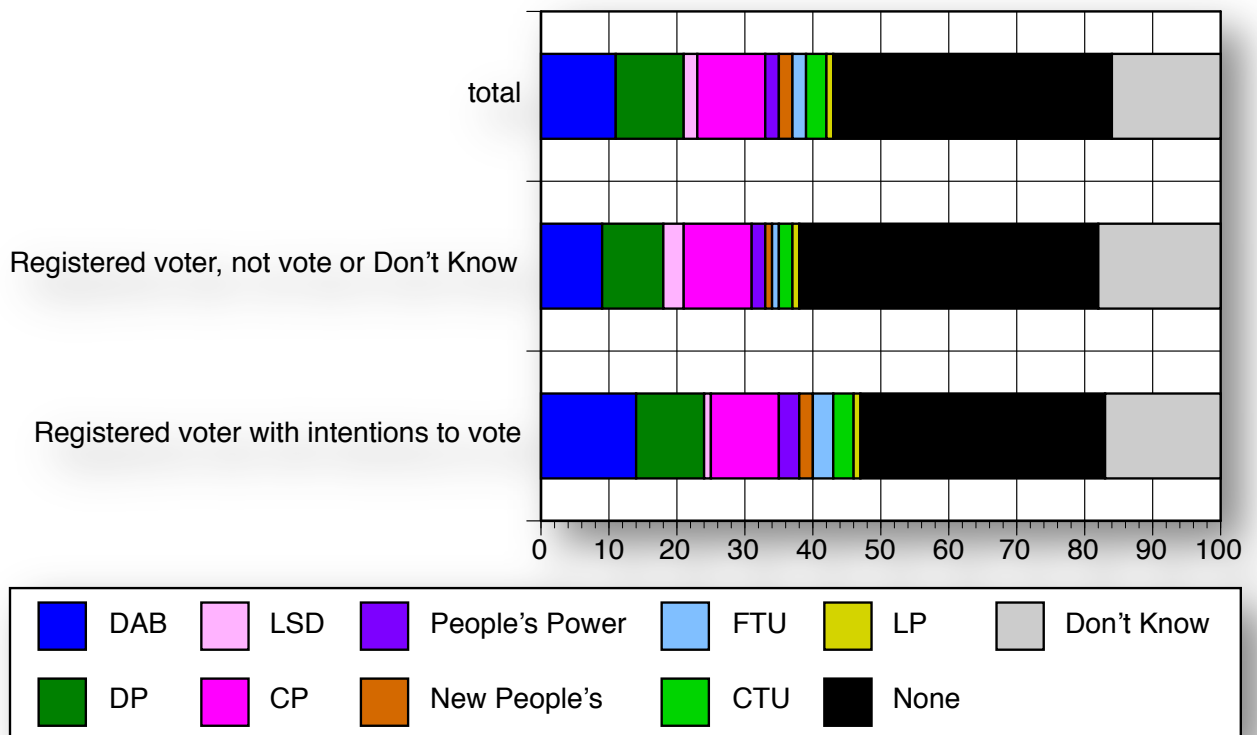


	Registered voters
Current DC member	28
Someone else	13
Not registered for DC elections	7
Will not vote in the DC election	11
Don't Know	41
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>

Taking those as having made a decision already on how they will vote as those most likely to turn up at the polls, turnout is most likely to be 41 percent +/- 4 points. This takes intent to vote for someone specific of 41 percent and the range of error of the survey as the range of turnout. Previous turnout rates were 44.1 percent in 2003 and 38 percent in 2007. This election should, given past elections following reforms which gave more power to voters, see a higher turnout if not a new record turnout with the increased powers and responsibilities given DC members in the Chief Executive Election Committee and on Legco, but infighting among pan-democrats and disgruntlement with the way Beijing officials treated pro-government parties during the reforms process may depress turnout from what would likely have been a new record.

Also, observation and focus group research shows that voters have not made the connection yet between the reforms and increased power at the DC level, nor have the parties made a strong push to inform voters that, for example, their directly elected DC representatives will have 117 seats on the new Chief Executive Election Committee, far outnumbering the 30 directly elected Legco members on the same committee. If they want to ensure local concerns are taken into account by the new Chief Executive, there is no better way than voting for someone they want on the committee electing the new Chief Executive. Nor have parties made good explanations of how local concerns are now being given much higher profile at the Chief Executive and Legco level, and therefore they may want to rethink the qualities and affiliations of the person they elect at the local level. But the likelihood is that most voters will not understand the new powers given DC members until after the Chief Executive election, and even more likely they will not fully understand what has changed until after the Legco election in September 2012 when the 5 new DC based super representatives begin to reveal the differences between themselves and other FC voters under the split voting system.<sup>8</sup> The Democratic Party is also doing a poor job of explaining how its proposals to put more power down to the grassroots level deserves the credit for these changes in the significance and functioning of the District Councils.

**Chart/Table 64 Which party best represents, by Registered voter with intentions to vote or not**

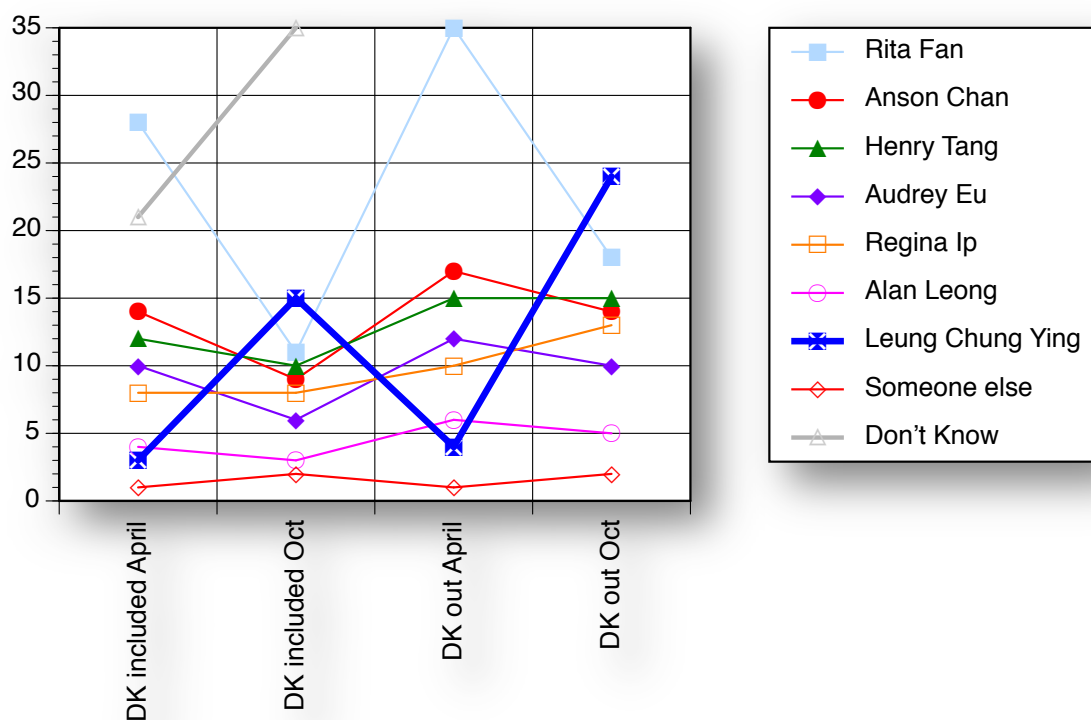


<sup>8</sup> The split voting system is when the FC representatives in Legco vote separately from the geographic or directly elected representatives. This happens on private member bills or non-government approved amendments to bills. In order for such amendments or bills to pass, a majority among both FC and GC members must approve. Currently, just 16 FC members elected by fewer than 10,000 voters can veto the votes of directly elected members representing a franchise of over 3.4 million.

**Table 64 Which party represents, by registered voter with intentions to vote**

	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Registered voter, not vote or Don't Know	total
DAB	13	8	9
DP	10	8	9
LSD	1	2	2
CP	10	9	9
People's Power	3	2	2
New People's	2	3	3
FTU	3	2	2
CTU	3	2	2
LP	1	1	1
None	37	42	40
Don't Know	17	21	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

In looking at the Chief Executive election coming up, there is considerable change since April 2011 in whom voters would vote for if they could among Chief Executive candidates. Since April Rita Fan has wavered and announced her support for Henry Tang unless he decides not to run or something else happens. C.Y. Leung went to Beijing supposedly to be told not to run, and came back announcing he had not been given any instructions not to run. He has now shot to the top of the list in support, though there has also been a steep rise in Don't Know responses. Tang admitted his infidelity to his wife to the public (whether one or many times and with whom remains in dispute). Democrats have yet to announce a candidate, though increasingly the Democratic Party head Albert Ho appears likely to run, though with very reduced support from other pan-democratic groups.

**Chart/Table 65 In light of direct elections for Chief Executive in 2017, who would you like to vote for if they agree to run for Chief Executive in 2012? RANKED APRIL 2011**

**Table 65 Vote for Chief Executive if voters could vote**

Candidate	DK included April	DK included Oct	DK out April	DK out Oct
Rita Fan	28	11	35	18
Anson Chan	14	9	17	14
Henry Tang	12	10	15	15
Audrey Eu	10	6	12	10
Regina Ip	8	8	10	13
Alan Leong	4	3	6	5
Leung Chung Ying	3	15	4	24
Someone else	1	2	1	2
Don't Know	21	35	--	--

So far, a majority of voters have not settled on one candidate over any others. Indeed, the Don't Know responses have gone up since April 2011. But with the DC elections returning so many voters onto the Chief Executive Election Committee, and with those DC representatives forming by far the biggest block of directly elected representatives on the committee, this is one oversight by the parties, and particularly the pro-democracy parties, that will have a significantly greater effect in the long run. The Chief Executive elected in March 2012 will make the proposals for the reforms that will set the rules for the direct elections promised in 2017.

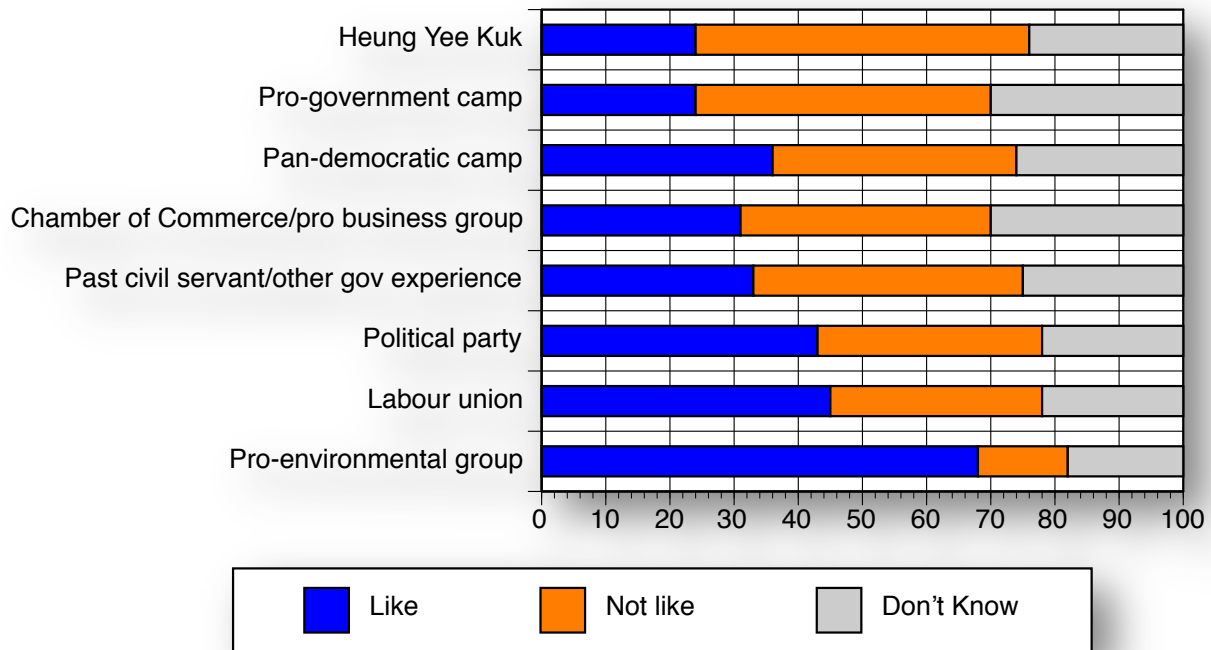
While DC voters have not made up their minds about and seem mostly unaware of affiliations of DC candidates and parties with a particular Chief Executive candidate or reform proposal for the next, direct election for Chief Executive that is supposed to occur in 2017, they do have views on what they would like or not like their candidates' other affiliations to be. Table 66 shows the results of all the public polled, whether registered to vote or not and whether they plan to vote.

**Table 66 Would you like or not like to have your DC representative affiliated with the following group (among all)**

	Like	Not like	Don't Know
Pro-environmental group	67	16	17
Labour union	41	33	26
Political party	<b>38</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>28</b>
Past civil servant/other government experience	32	39	29
Chamber of Commerce or pro business group	31	39	30
Pan-democratic camp	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>34</b>
Pro-government camp	22	41	37
Heung Yee Kuk	21	50	39

Chart/Table 67 shows the results of those who have already decided on the candidate to vote for. It indicates a considerable pickup in support for the pan-democratic camp, from 29% in Table 66 to 36 percent in Table 67 while the pro-government camp support rises from 22 percent to 24 among these likely voters. Support for political party affiliation also rises, but the only groups getting clear majority liking is affiliation with an environmental group, and of dislike affiliation with the Heung Yee Kuk.

Chart/Table 67 Among registered voters indicating an intent to vote



	Like	Not like	Don't Know
Pro-environmental group	68	14	18
Labour union	45	33	22
Political party	43	35	22
Past civil servant/other government experience	33	42	25
Chamber of Commerce or pro business group	31	39	30
Pan-democratic camp	36	38	27
Pro-government camp	24	46	30
Heung Yee Kuk	24	52	25

There is clear opposition to the appointment system. Among those who intend to vote, 55 percent oppose government making appointments to the DCs while 23 percent support. And 78 percent among these likely voters support all members to be directly elected while 73 percent of whole sample feel the same. The lack of understanding of the five super seats can also be seen in this Table, with just 44 percent supporting the direct election of the five while 30 percent oppose and one in four just don't know.

**Table 68 Among registered voters indicating an intent to vote, Do you support or oppose:** among all others surveyed in parentheses where significant difference

	Strongly oppose	Oppose	Support	Strongly support	Don't Know
Chief Executive to appoint 102 members of the new District Councils?	21	34	22	1	22
All DC members to be directly elected	2 (3)	12 (15)	45 (46)	33 (27)	7 (9)
More DC members to be included on the Chief Executive Election Committee	14	30	33	5	18
5 DC members to be directly elected to Legco in the Functional Constituencies	7	23	39	5	26

However, a majority believe that elected members do their work better than appointed members, with 63 percent of all and 71 percent among likely voters saying elected members do their better or much better than appointees.

**Table 69 Do you think elected members do their work on the District Councils better, worse or the same as appointed members?**

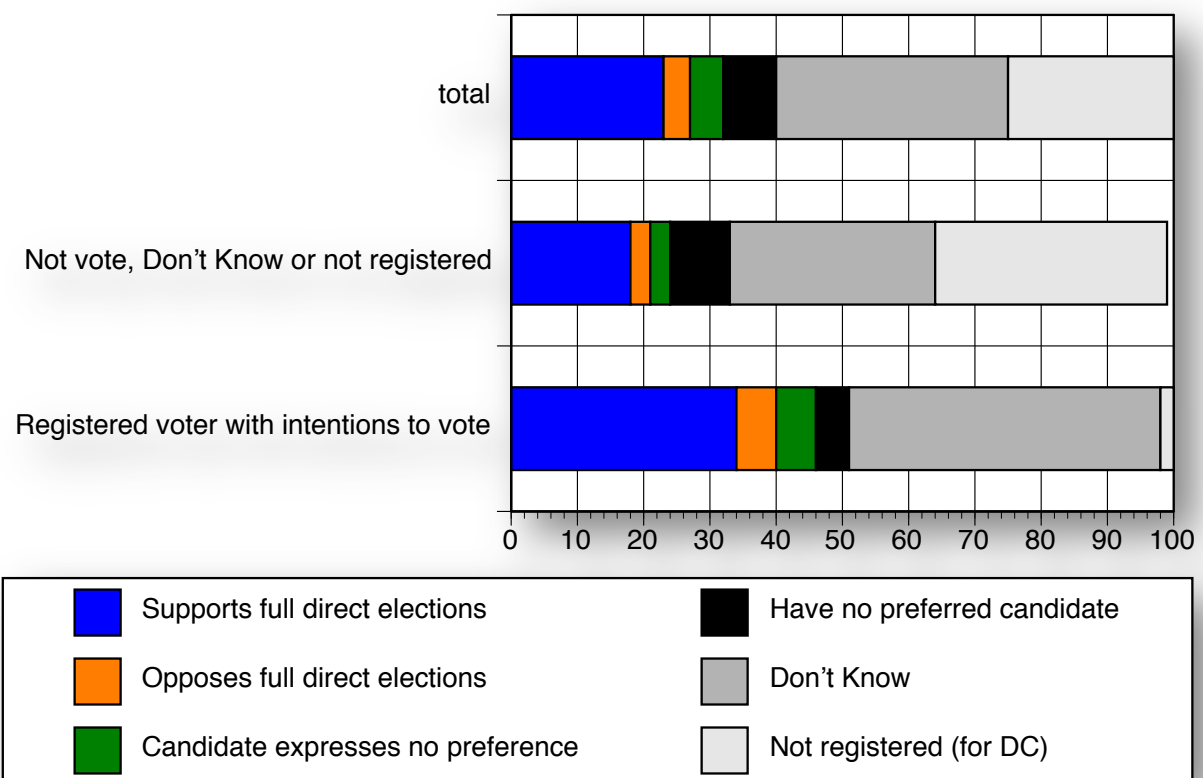
	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Not vote, Don't Know or not registered	total
<b>Much better</b>	38	27	30
<b>Better</b>	33	36	35
<b>Same</b>	13	15	14
<b>Worse</b>	5	5	5
<b>Much worse</b>	2	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	16	14
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.85 with 5 df p = 0.0110

Yet, most of those with intentions to vote do not know whether their preferred candidate or party for District Council supports or opposes directly electing all members of the District Councils. Nearly half (47 percent) say they don't know their preferred candidate's stance on full direct elections for DC. If they don't know that stance, they likely don't know how their candidate for DC will vote in the Chief Executive election, but more than one in four DC representatives will sit on the committee electing the person who will decide the way forward to direct elections in Hong Kong.

**Table 69 Does your preferred candidate or party for DC support or oppose directly electing members of the District Councils?**



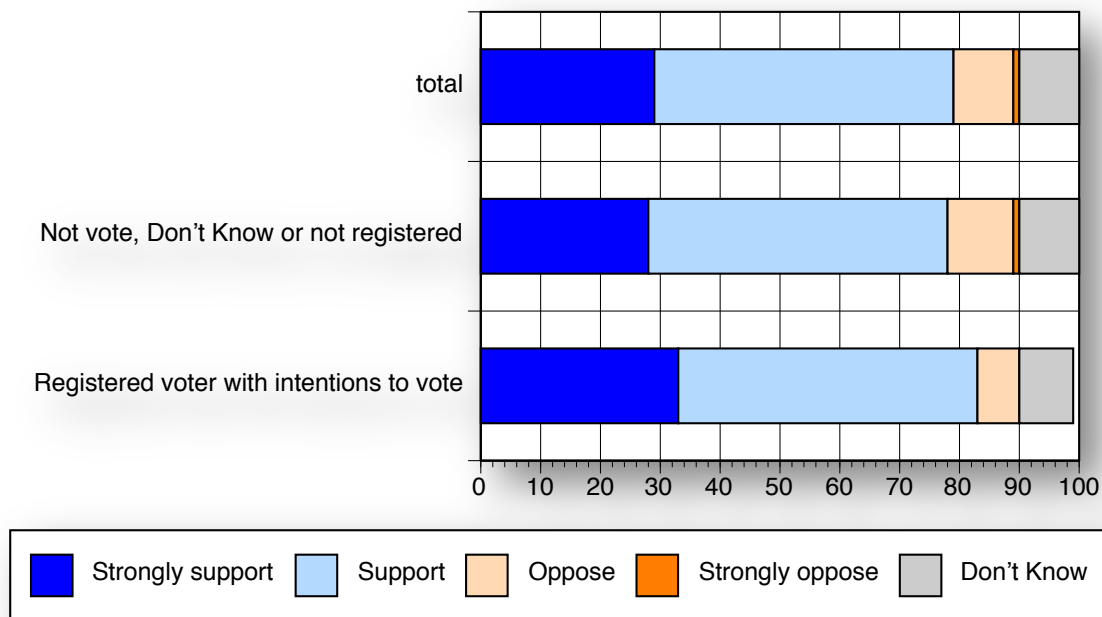
**Table 69 Does your preferred candidate support or oppose directly electing DC members**

	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Not vote, Don't Know or not registered	total
<b>Supports full direct elections</b>	34	18	23
<b>Opposes full direct elections</b>	6	3	4
<b>Candidate expresses no preference</b>	6	3	5
<b>Have no preferred candidate</b>	5	9	8
<b>Don't Know</b>	47	31	36
<b>Not registered (for DC)</b>	2	35	25
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 122.3 with 5 df  $p \leq 0.0001$

But again, in principle, an overwhelming majority support directly electing all Legco seats and directly electing the Chief Executive (Chart/Table 71). The disjunction between the DC elections and the Chief Executive and Legco elections is very large, and many voters are unaware of the critical changes to the DCs the constitutional reform enacted.

**Chart/Table 70 In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of all Legco seats?**

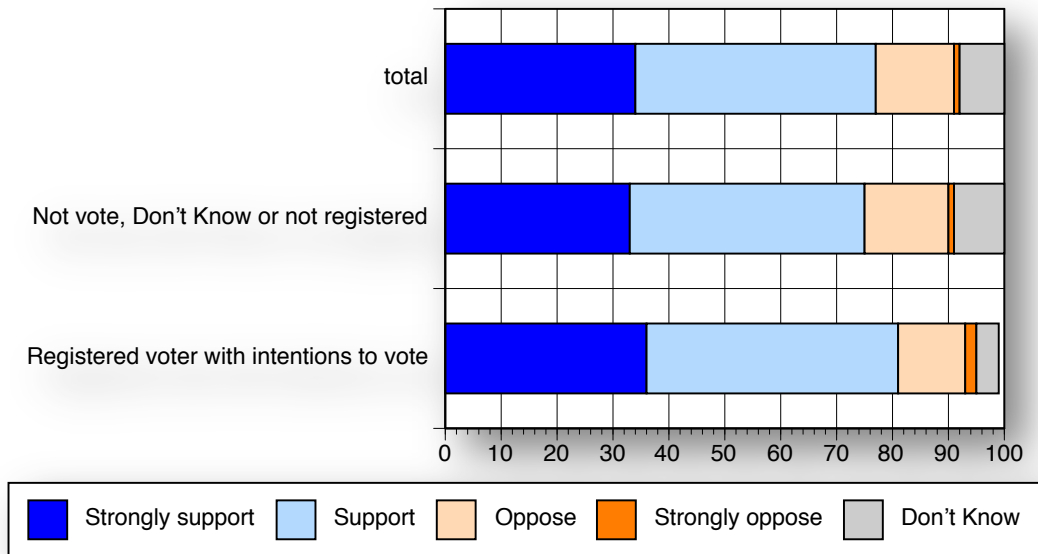
	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Not vote, Don't Know or not registered	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	33	28	29
<b>Support</b>	50	50	50
<b>Oppose</b>	7	11	10
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	--	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	9	11	10
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 5.224 with 4 df  $p = 0.2650$

Among voters who have chosen their candidates for DC, 81 percent support direct election of the Chief Executive. Just 14 percent oppose direct Chief Executive election.

**Chart/Table 71 In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of the Chief Executive?**

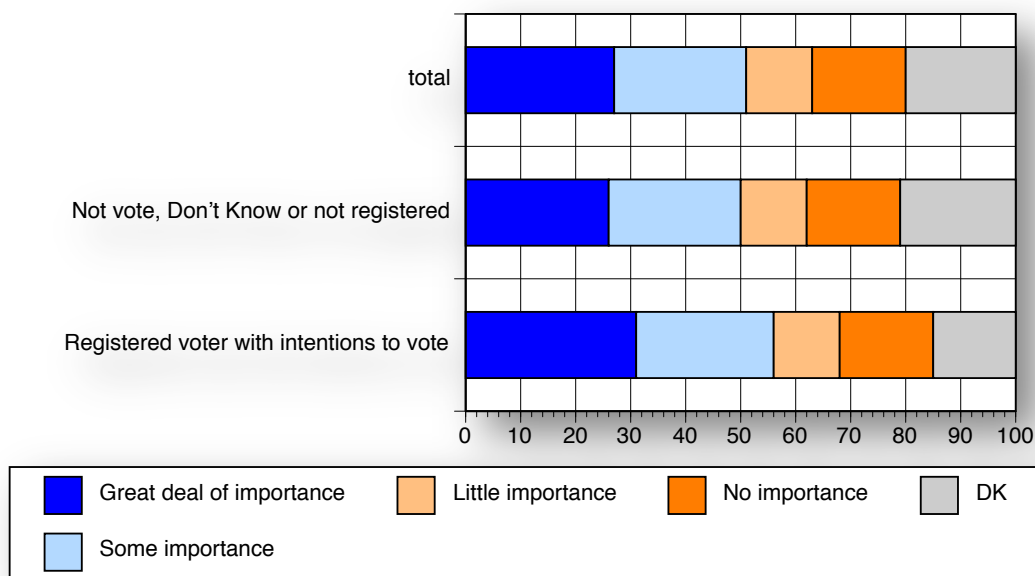


	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Not vote, Don't Know or not registered	total
<b>Strongly support</b>	36	33	34
<b>Support</b>	45	42	43
<b>Oppose</b>	12	15	14
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	2	1	1
<b>Don't Know</b>	4	10	8
<b>total</b>	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 12.41 with 4 df p = 0.0146

A majority even puts great or some importance to whether their DC member supports direct elections. Barely one in six says it has no importance.

**Chart/Table 72 How important is it for your District Councilor to support direct elections for the DCs, the Chief Executive and all members of Legco?**





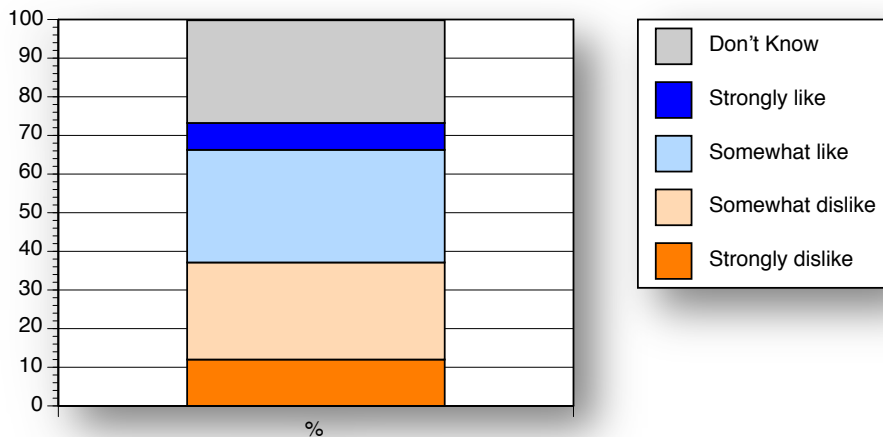
**Table 72 How important is it for your District Councilor to support direct elections for the DCs, the Chief Executive and all members of Legco?**

	Registered voter with intentions to vote	Not vote, Don't Know or not registered	total
Great deal of importance	31	26	27
Some importance	25	24	24
Little importance	12	12	12
No importance	17	17	17
DK	16	22	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 4.552 with 4 df p = 0.3365

The parties may run into trouble in future for not making the nature of this DC election clearer. Support and opposition for their DC member running as one of the 5 super representatives is equally divided. The focus group members indicated they feared their DC member would get caught up in Legco affairs and forget about their district problems. So connecting up the lower levels of government with higher levels as a concept and a practice has yet to be made clear to voters.

**Chart/Table 73 Would you like or not like to see your current District Councilor on the Chief Executive Election Committee or on Legco as one of the super Legco representatives?**

Group	Count	%
Strongly dislike	100	12.195
Somewhat dislike	206	25.122
Somewhat like	239	29.146
Strongly like	57	6.951
Don't Know	218	26.585

There is no difference on this issue between registered voters with intent to vote and others. In May 2010 during the by-election contest, satisfaction with political parties was as shown in Table 74.

**Table 74 Satisfaction with party performance May 2010**

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

\*\*Indicates significant differences from January 2010 survey

After the constitutional reform vote, satisfaction with party performances was as below.

**Table 75 Satisfaction with party performance Aug 2010**

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

\*\*Indicates significant differences from January 2010 survey

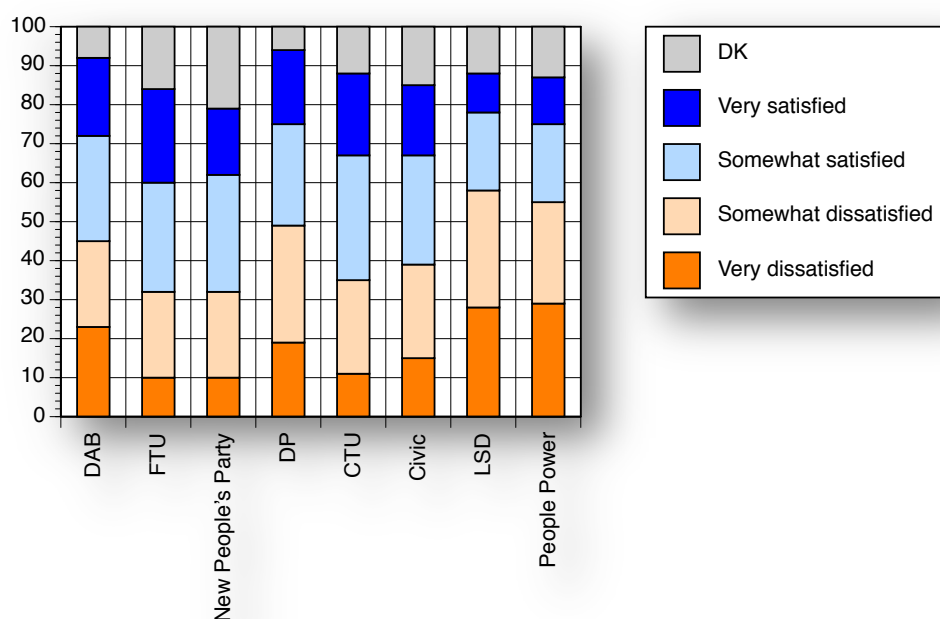
In October 2011, satisfaction with party performance among all voters was as in Table 76.

**Table 76 Satisfaction with party performance Oct 2011 (among all)**

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	18	25	26	18	13
FTU	10	23	30	19	18
New People's Party	11	19	30	15	25
DP	16	28	29	17	10
CTU	11	25	29	18	16
Civic	15	22	28	17	18
LSD	29	26	20	9	16
People Power	31	25	18	8	18

Satisfaction with party performance among registered voters with an intent to vote (those who have already decided which candidate they are going to vote for) shows the greatest dissatisfaction with the two parties that split after the reform vote in December 2010, the LSD and the People's Power parties. But dissatisfaction is also high for the Democratic Party, and they have a higher dissatisfaction level among voters than they have with the DAB or any other party.

**Chart/Table 77 Satisfaction with party performance Oct 2011 (among registered voters indicating intention to vote)**



**Table 77 Satisfaction with party performance Oct 2011 (among registered voters indicating intention to vote)**

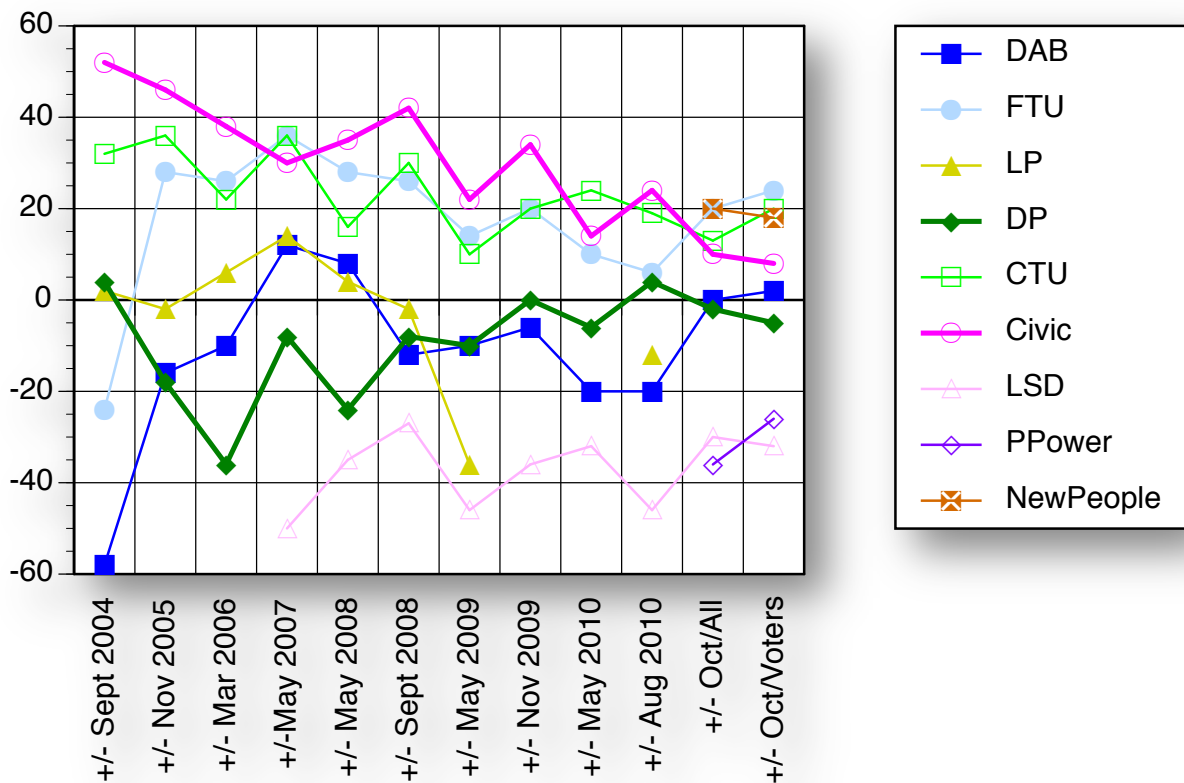
Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	23	22	27	20	9
FTU	10	22	28	24	17
New People's Party	10	22	30	17	22
DP	19	30	26	19	6
CTU	11	24	32	21	13
Civic	15	24	28	18	15
LSD	28	30	20	10	12
People Power	29	26	20	12	14

In Chart/Table 78 below the Don't Know responses are removed, the very dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied responses are combined (as are the satisfied responses) and the difference is calculated. If the result is a negative number, that indicates there are more dissatisfied than satisfied. If a positive number, the result shows more are satisfied with the performance of the party than dissatisfied. The last two columns show the results of all surveyed in Oct 2011, and of those voters who have already made up their minds to vote and for whom.

The chart shows that the parties have never entered an election before so evenly matched in satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Only the DAB and DP are above their levels of satisfaction seen in the 2008 Legco election, and Civic Party is down considerably from its 2008 performance. This survey was completed just before the controversy over domestic servants getting right of abode in Hong Kong arose, an issue that has caught up the Civic Party in great controversy. No doubt, the results would be even less satisfactory for the CP now than in the first week of October when this survey was conducted.

The data in Chart/Table 78, especially when compared with the last time DC elections were held in 2007, shows that the dynamics of this election will be different, with many of the traditional measures of relative party performance affected by issues and events that have changed attitudinal patterns toward political parties. The gap between the DAB and DP is much smaller in 2011 than in 2007, so the outcome may not be as heavily toward the DAB as might be supposed, or it might not have been except for the split in the pan-democrats that triggered the PP to run candidates against its former ally. And while many of the issues are the same and are local, there are new issues (such as domestic servant right of abode) and the DP's support for constitutional reform that will change the calculus of both turnout and outcome in this election.

**Chart/Table 78 Trend Analysis: Difference between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with performance**



Difference	DAB	FTU	LP	DP	CTU	Civic	LSD	PPower	NewPeople
+/- Sept 2004	-58	-24	+2	+4	+32	+52	--		
+/- Nov 2005	-16	+28	-2	-18	+36	+46	--		
+/- Mar 2006	-10	+26	+6	-36	+22	+38	--		
+/- May 2007	+12	+36	+14	-8	+36	+30	-50		
+/- May 2008	+8	+28	+4	-24	+16	+35	-35		
+/- Sept 2008	-12	+26	-2	-8	+30	+42	-27		
+/- May 2009	-10	+14	-36	-10	+10	+22	-46		
+/- Nov 2009	-6	+20	**	0	+20	+34	-36		
+/- May 2010	-20	+10	**	-6	+24	+14	-32		
+/- Aug 2010	-20	+6	-12	+4	+19	+24	-46		
+/- Oct 2011	0	+20	--	-2	+13	+10	-30	-36	+20
+/- Oct/Voters*	+2	+24	--	-5	+20	+8	-32	-26	+18

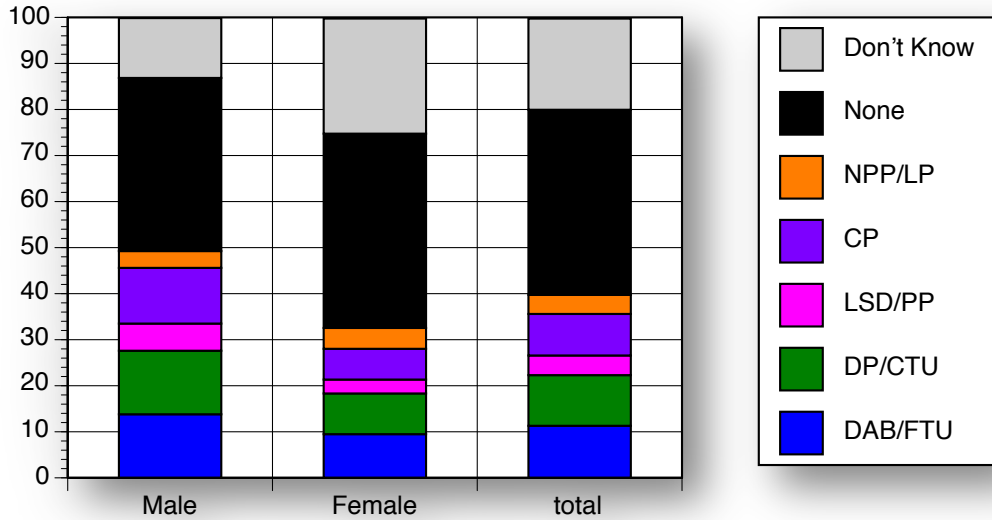
\*voters with intentions to vote

### Party profiles

This subsection looks more closely at the demographic characteristics of those who say a particular party best represents them or protects their interests best. For analysis, the DAB and FTU which are allied parties are combined, as are the DP and CTU. The LSD and PP, which split in December 2010, are recombined since each barely tallies 2 percent of the sample when separated. The NPP and LP are combined since each of these parties shares backgrounds and often the more direct election oriented LP folks left the LP to join the NPP and the LP has been shrinking in public support and profile.

Chart/Table 79 shows that many more men than women cite a party as best representing them, even though women outnumber men in terms of voter registration.

**Chart/Table 79 Which party represents best by Sex**

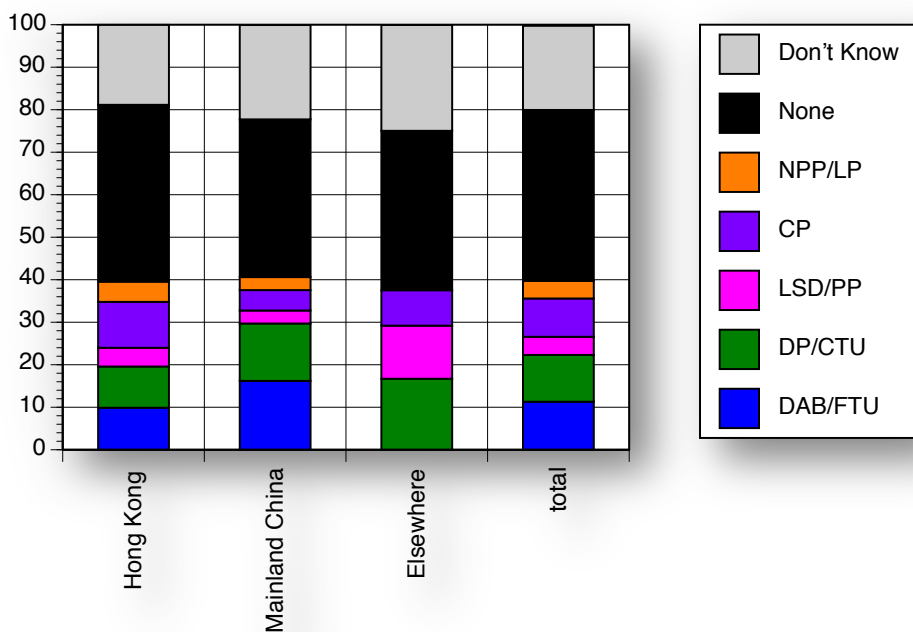


	Male	Female	total
DAB/FTU	14	9	11
DP/CTU	14	9	11
LSD/PP	6	3	4
CP	12	7	9
NPP/LP	4	5	4
None	38	42	40
Don't Know	13	25	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 34.10 with 6 df p ≤ 0.0001

The proportion of party identity by birthplace is nearly the same, though the CP is clearly more favored among those born in Hong Kong while DAB does better with mainland China born.

**Chart/Table 80 Which party represents best by Birthplace**



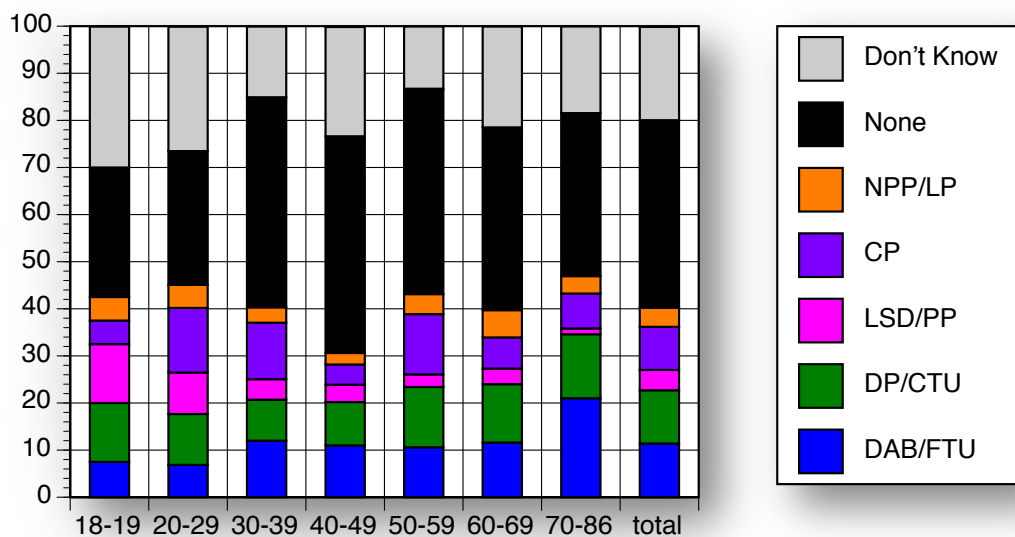
**Table 80 Which party represents best by Birthplace**

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
DAB/FTU	10	16	0	11
DP/CTU	10	14	17	11
LSD/PP	4	3	13	4
CP	11	5	8	9
NPP/LP	5	3	0	4
None	42	37	38	40
Don't Know	19	22	25	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.73 with 12 df p = 0.0084

While younger voters and older voters are more likely to cite a party as best representing them, they are also less likely to turn out.

**Chart/Table 81 Which party represents best by Age group**

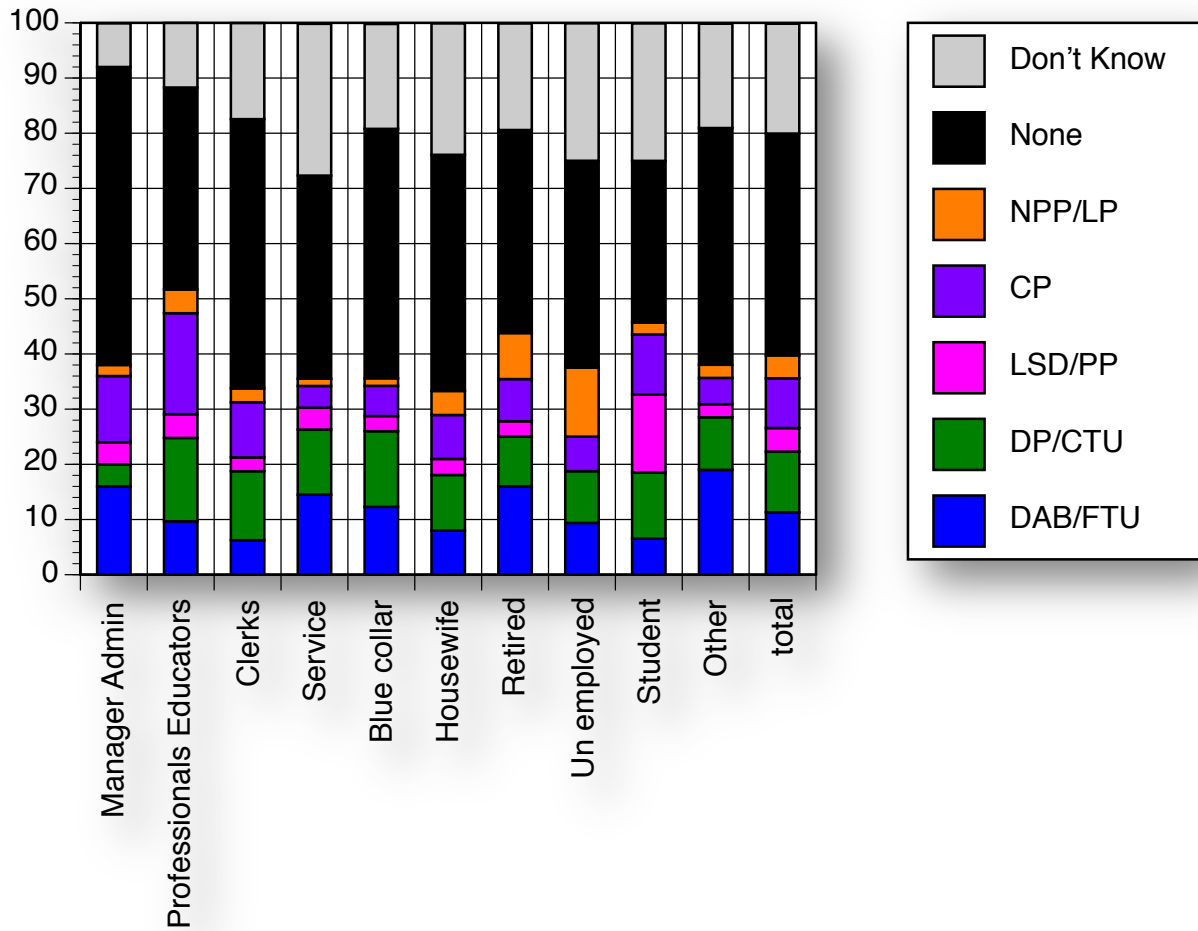
	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-86	total
DAB/FTU	8	7	12	11	11	12	21	11
DP/CTU	13	11	9	9	13	12	14	11
LSD/PP	13	9	4	4	3	3	1	4
CP	5	14	12	4	13	7	7	9
NPP/LP	5	5	3	2	4	6	4	4
None	28	28	45	46	44	39	35	40
Don't Know	30.0	27	15	23	13	22	19	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 58.58 with 36 df p = 0.0101

Occupationally, a surprisingly large proportion of managers and administrators cite the DAB or CP over the more pro-business NPP. Among the unemployed and retired NPP does much better, while LSD and PP does best among students, which accounts for so many of their candidates being young.

Chart/Table 82 Which party represents best by Occupation

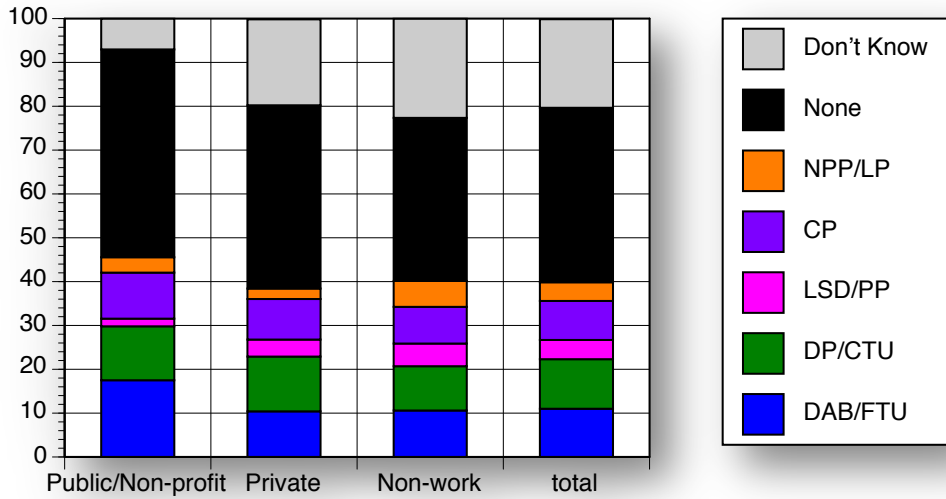


	Manager Admin	Professionals Educators	Clerks	Service	Blue collar	Housewife	Retired	Un employed	Student	Other	total
DAB/FTU	16	10	6	15	12	8	16	9	7	19	11
DP/CTU	4	15	13	12	14	10	9	9	12	10	11
LSD/PP	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	0	14	2	4
CP	12	18	10	4	5	8	8	6	11	5	9
NPP/LP	2	4	3	1	1	4	8	13	2	2	4
None	54	37	49	37	45	43	37	38	29	43	40
Don't Know	8	12	18	28	19	24	19	25	25	19	20
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 93.44 with 54 df p = 0.0007

As might be expected, more among the public and government oriented non-profit sector cite a party as best representing them. And the DAB does particularly well among the public sector, which may also help explain their “pro-government” stance; or the stance may explain their appeal to those in the government sector.

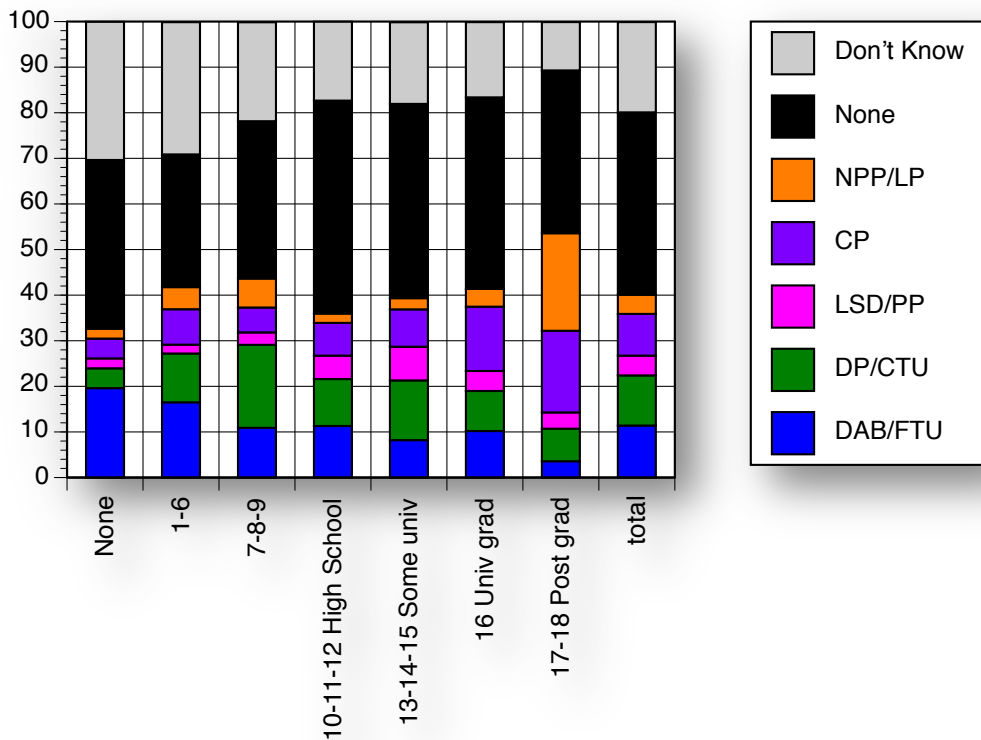
**Chart/Table 83 Which party represents best by Work sector**



	Public/Non-profit	Private	Non-work	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	18	10	11	11
<b>DP/CTU</b>	12	13	10	11
<b>LSD/PP</b>	2	4	5	4
<b>CP</b>	11	9	8	9
<b>NPP/LP</b>	4	2	6	4
<b>None</b>	47	42	37	40
<b>Don't Know</b>	7	20	23	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 18.80 with 12 df p = 0.0935

**Chart/Table 84 Which party represents best by Years of Education**





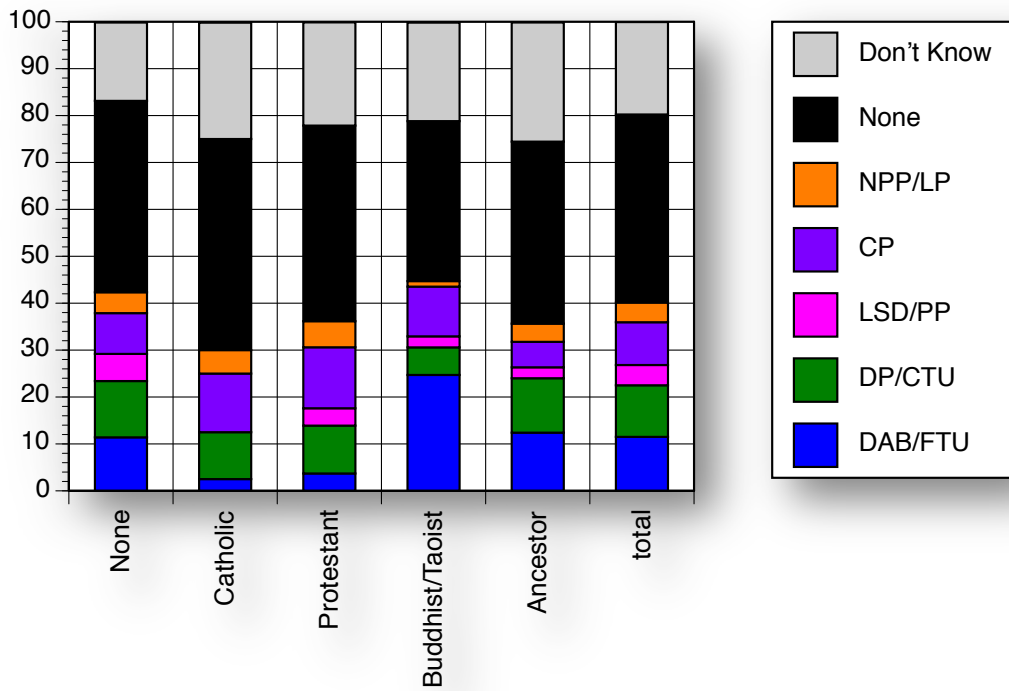
**Table 84 Which party represents best by Years of Education**

	0	1-6 Primary	7-8- 9	10-11-12 High School	13-14-15 Some univ	16 Univ grad	17-18 Post grad	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	20	17	11	11	8	10	4	11
<b>DP/CTU</b>	4	11	18	10	13	9	7	11
<b>LSD/PP</b>	2	2	3	5	7	4	4	4
<b>CP</b>	4	8	5	7	8	14	18	9
<b>NPP/LP</b>	2	5	6	2	2	4	21	4
<b>None</b>	37	29	35	47	43	42	36	40
<b>Don't Know</b>	30	29	22	17	18	17	11	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 75.75 with 36 df p = 0.0001

Catholics are the least likely to cite a party as best representing their interests.

**Chart/Table 85 Which party represents best by Religion**

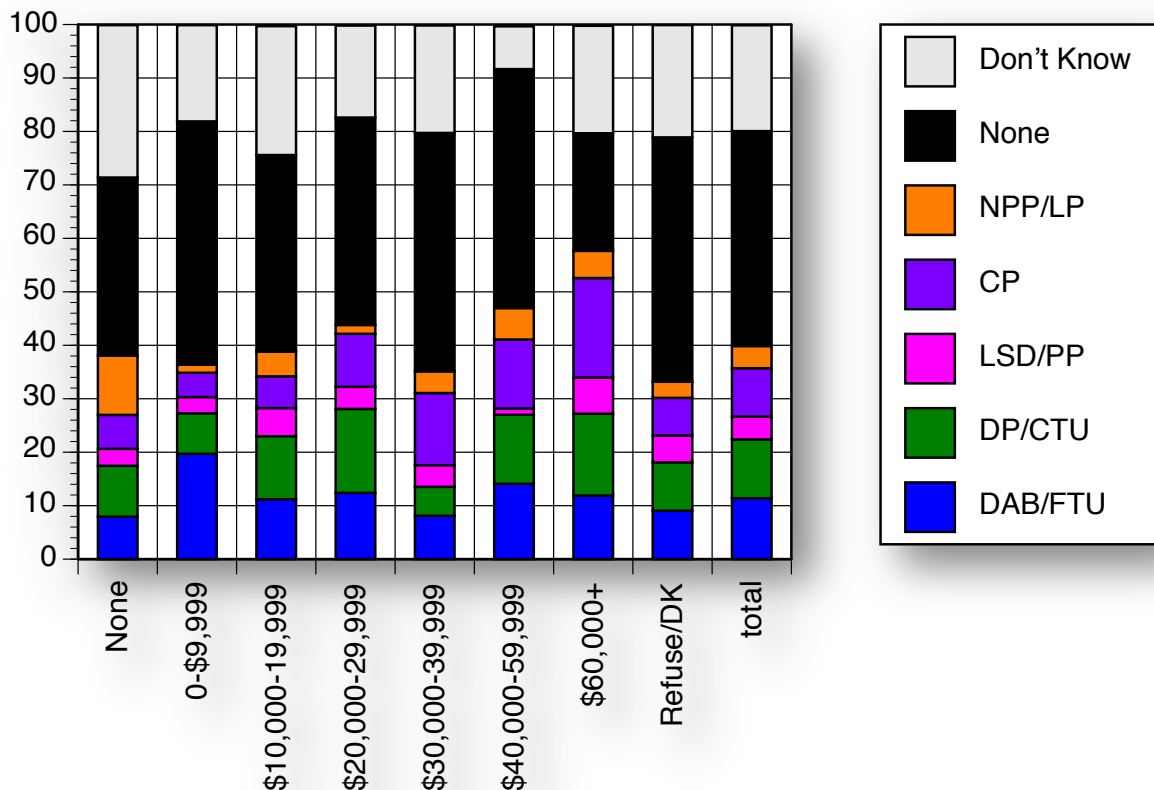


	None	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhist/Taoist	Ancestor	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	11	3	4	25	12	12
<b>DP/CTU</b>	12	10	10	6	12	11
<b>LSD/PP</b>	6	0	4	2	2	4
<b>CP</b>	9	13	13	11	5	9
<b>NPP/LP</b>	4	5	6	1	4	4
<b>None</b>	41	45	42	34	39	40
<b>Don't Know</b>	17	25	22	21	26	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total  
 Chi-square = 43.32 with 24 df p = 0.0091

The LSD/PP draws across all income groups, with a surprisingly large component among those whose family incomes exceed \$60,000 per month.

**Chart/Table 86 Which party represents best by Income**



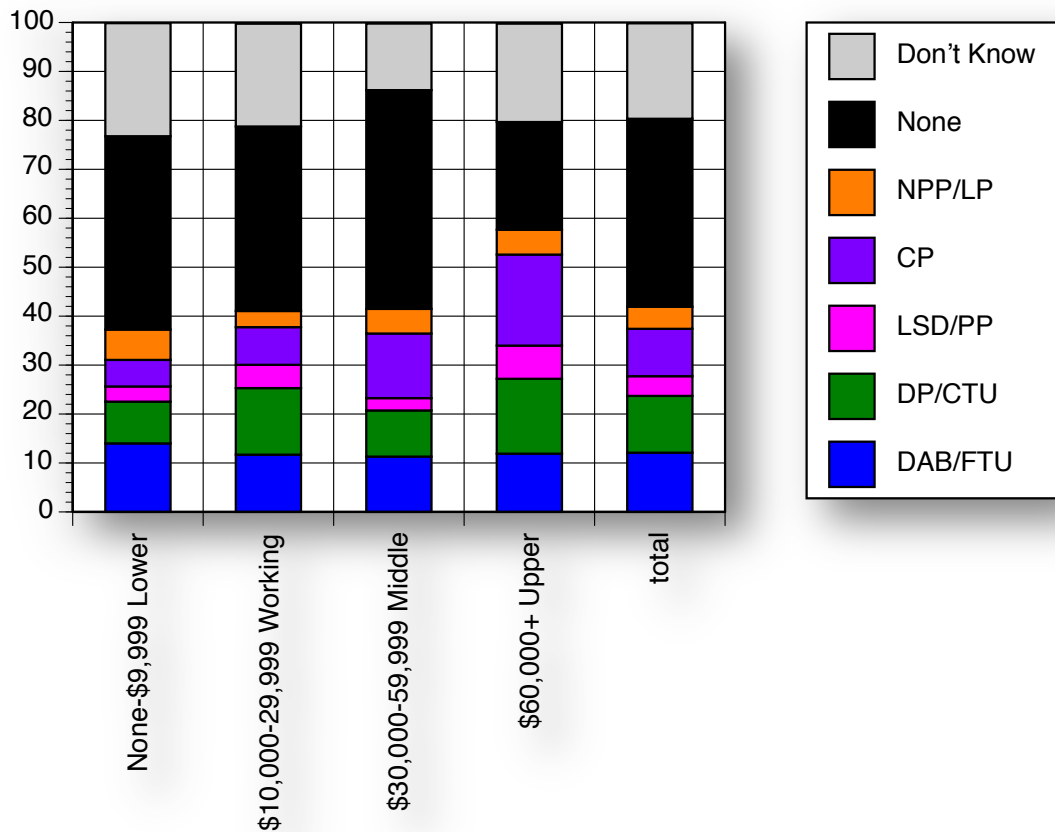
	None	0-\$9,999	\$10,000-19,999	\$20,000-29,999	\$30,000-39,999	\$40,000-59,999	\$60,000+	Refuse/DK	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	8	20	11	12	8	14	12	9	11
<b>DP/CTU</b>	10	8	12	16	5	13	15	9	11
<b>LSD/PP</b>	3	3	5	4	4	1	7	5	4
<b>CP</b>	6	5	6	10	14	13	19	7	9
<b>NPP/LP</b>	11	2	5	2	4	6	5	3	4
<b>None</b>	33	46	37	39	45	45	22	46	40
<b>Don't Know</b>	29	18	24	17	20	8	20	21	20
<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>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 62.77 with 42 df p = 0.0205

Chart/Table 87 reclassifies the income groups above into classifications or class. Clearly, those who make the most tend to be more politically oriented or aware. The pro-democracy element is also clearly stronger among upper income groups, and weakest among the lowest income groups. The middle class has the largest element saying none of the parties represent them, so the pretensions of several of the parties to represent or court the middle class are clearly just that, pretensions or intentions that have yet to galvanize a majority of that income group.

Chart/Table 87 Which party represents best by Income/Class



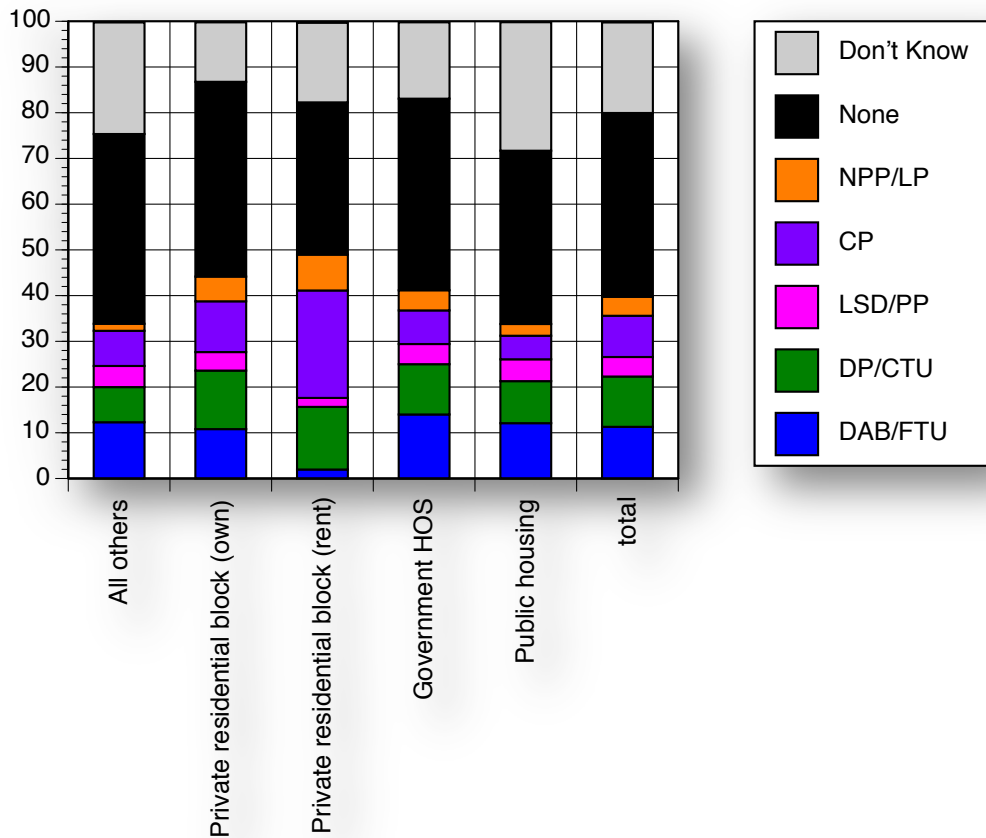
	None-\$9,999 Lower	\$10,000-29,999 Working	\$30,000-59,999 Middle	\$60,000+ Upper	total
<b>DAB/FTU</b>	14	12	11	12	12
<b>DP/CTU</b>	9	14	9	15	12
<b>LSD/PP</b>	3	5	3	7	4
<b>CP</b>	5	8	13	19	10
<b>NPP/LP</b>	6	3	5	5	5
<b>None</b>	40	38	45	22	38
<b>Don't Know</b>	23	21	14	20	20
<b>total</b>	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 28.48 with 18 df p = 0.0552

The CP, which has been making a number of statements lately about rental raises and gouging on the part of landlords, has clearly left an impression among those who live in rented accommodation. The DAB, being pro-government in reputation, clearly is suffering with its association with government housing policy. On the other hand, the professional oriented CP party has its smallest proportion of supporters among the public housing blocks where DAB and DP do best.

Chart/Table 88 Which party represents best by Housing



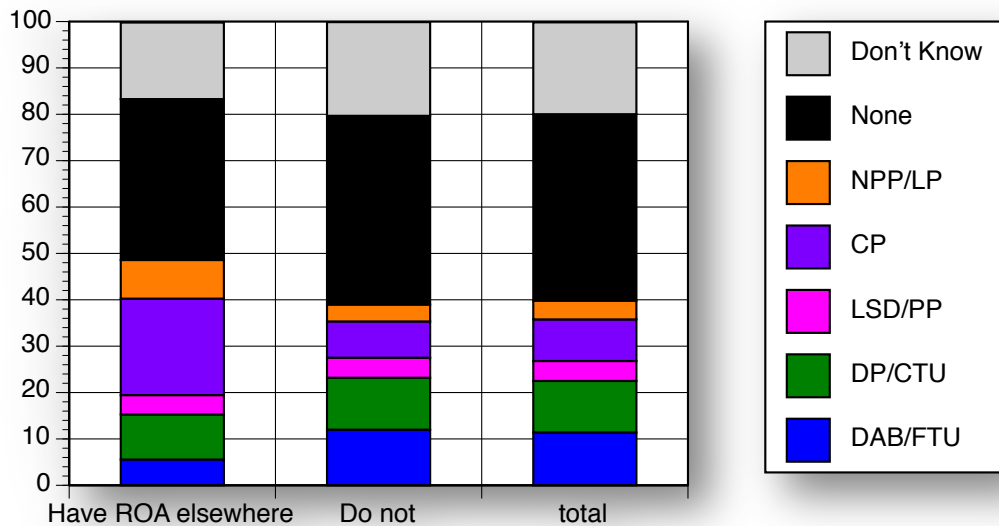
	All others	Private residential block (own)	Private residential block (rent)	Government HOS	Public housing	total
DAB/FTU	12	11	2	14	12	11
DP/CTU	8	13	14	11	9	11
LSD/PP	5	4	2	4	5	4
CP	8	11	24	7	5	9
NPP/LP	2	5	8	4	3	4
None	42	43	33	42	38	40
Don't Know	25	13	18	17	28	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 51.88 with 24 df p = 0.0008

Among those who have right of abode outside Hong Kong, the CP, dominated by professionals, does best. Despite that, just over half of these usually better educated, higher income folks say no party or they don't know which party represents them and their interests best.

Chart/Table 89 Which party represents best by Right of Abode outside Hong Kong



	Have ROA elsewhere	Do not	total
DAB/FTU	6	12	11
DP/CTU	10	11	11
LSD/PP	4	4	4
CP	21	8	9
NPP/LP	8	4	4
None	35	41	40
Don't Know	17	20	20
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

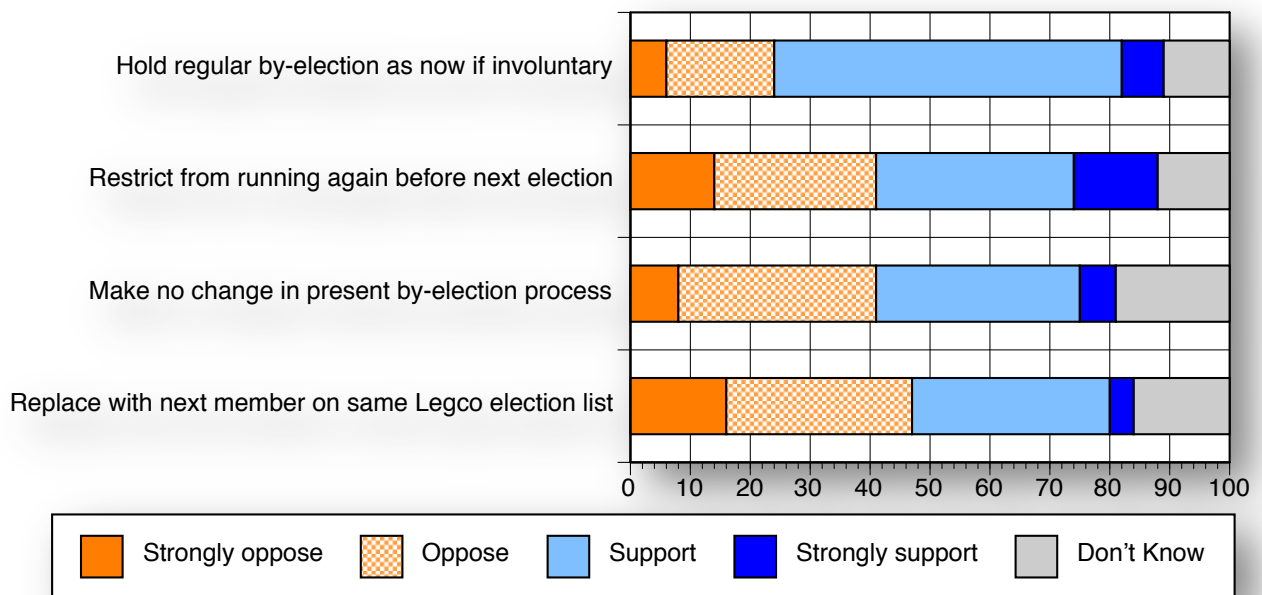
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 19.51 with 6 df p = 0.0034

#### 4. The Issues: Worries, Reforms, and Performance

This section looks in more detail at some of the issues and attitudes which will affect turnout and outcome of this election. The first Chart/Table in this section deals with an issue triggered by the resignation and by-election tactics taken by pan-democrats over the constitutional reform issue. Respondents to the survey are equally divided on whether change should be made in the by election process, but if change is made more oppose than support replacing the resigning Legco member with the next person on the list. Many more support than oppose holding a regular by election if the resignation was involuntary, and more support than oppose restricting a member from running again until the next regularly scheduled election if resignation was voluntary.

**Chart/Table 90 Following the by-elections in May 2010, the government has proposed changes. Do you support or oppose the following:**



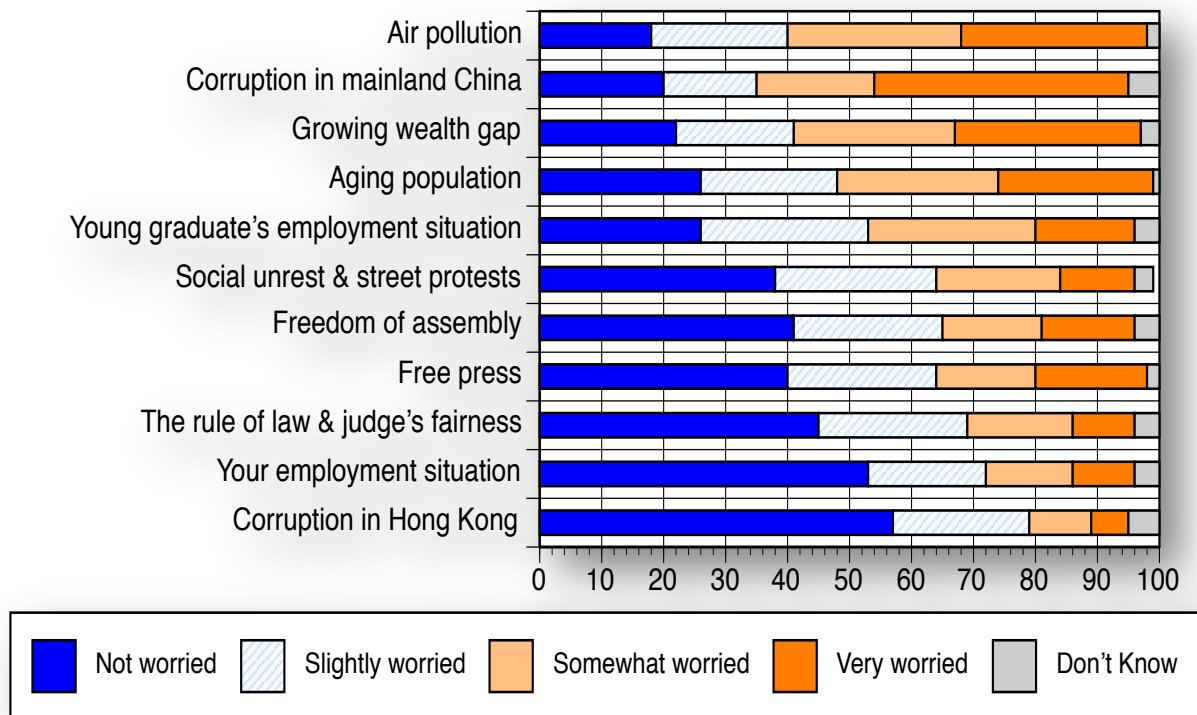
	Strongly oppose	Oppose	Support	Strongly support	Don't Know
Replace with next member on the same Legco election list	16	31	33	4	16
Make no change in present by-election process	8	33	34	6	19
Restrict Legco members who resign from running again before the next regular election	14	27	33	14	13
Hold regular by-election as now if resignation is caused by death or involuntary means	6	18	58	7	12

Table 80 shows the results of questions posed about issues of worry in April 2011 while Chart/Table 81 shows the results of these questions posed in October 2011. A majority of people are worried about air pollution, corruption in mainland China, the growing wealth gap and an aging population. Significant numbers are worried about young graduate's employment, social unrest and free press and free assembly.

**Table 91 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong? (April 2011) Chart Ranked by not worried**

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Your employment situation	59	16	13	7	4
The rule of law & judge's fairness	56	23	13	6	3
Free press	44	26	16	11	3
Social unrest & street protests	37	23	25	13	3
Young graduate's employment situation	23	23	30	19	5
Aging population	20	22	33	22	2
Air pollution	18	32	31	16	2
Growing wealth gap	15	15	31	36	2

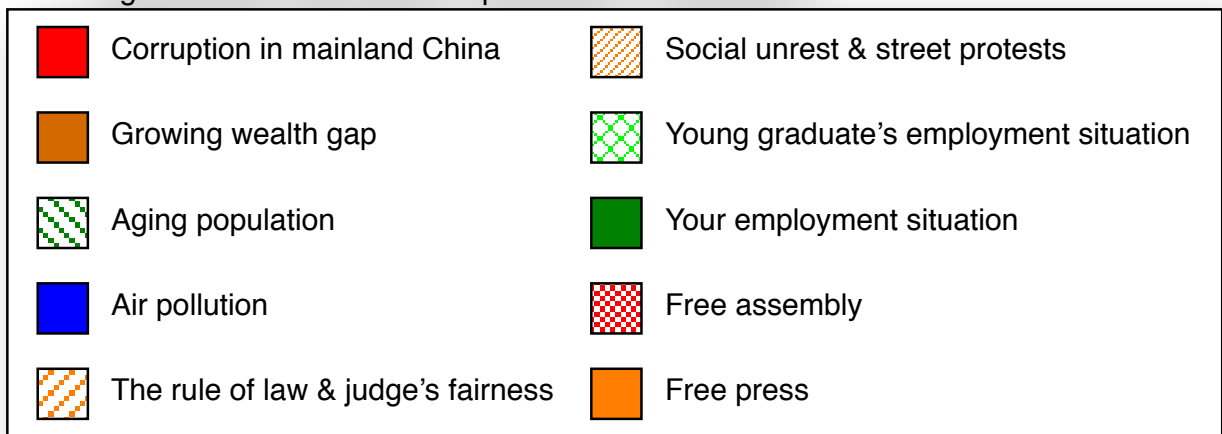
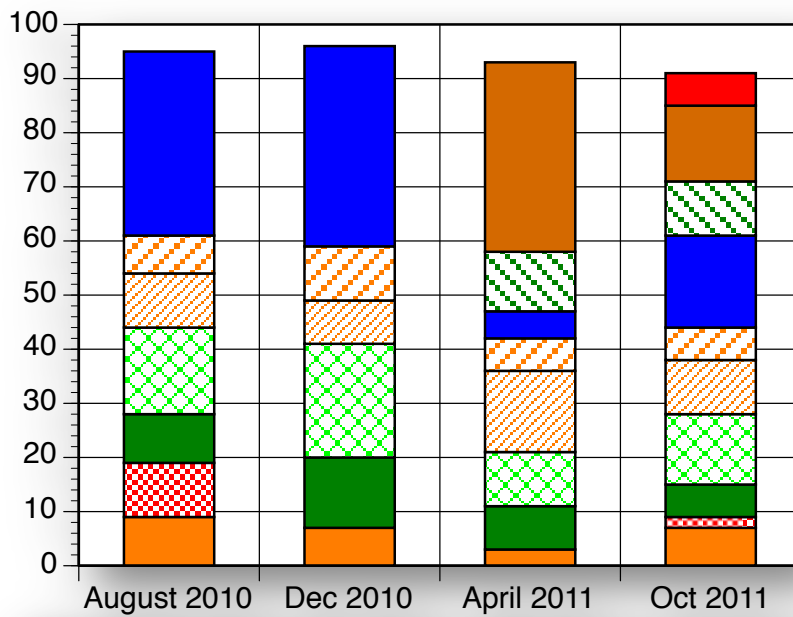
**Chart/Table 81 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong? (Oct 2011) Chart Ranked by not worried**



	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	Don't Know
Corruption in Hong Kong	57	22	10	6	5
Your employment situation	53	19	14	10	4
The rule of law & judge's fairness	45	24	17	10	4
Free press	40	24	16	18	2
Freedom of assembly	41	24	16	15	4
Social unrest & street protests	38	26	20	12	3
Young graduate's employment situation	26	27	27	16	4
Aging population	26	22	26	25	1
Growing wealth gap	22	19	26	30	3
Corruption in mainland China	20	15	19	41	5
Air pollution	18	22	28	30	2

Chart/Table 82 shows that concerns about air pollution are ranked higher in October than in April, while concern with the growing wealth gap has dropped. Also in ranking, worry about free press and assembly have popped back up, but still not as high as in August 2010 just after the constitutional reform vote triggered sharp, bitter demonstrations and attacks by PP supporters on DP supporters.

Chart/Table 92 Of the worries mentioned, which worries you the most?



Group	August 2010	Dec 2010	April 2011	Oct 2011
Free press	9	7	3	7
Free assembly	10	NA	NA	2
Your employment situation	9	13	8	6
Young graduate's employment situation	16	21	10	13
Social unrest & street protests	10	8	15	10
The rule of law & judge's fairness	7	10	6	6
Air pollution	34	37	5	17
Aging population	NA	NA	11	10
Growing wealth gap	NA	NA	35	14
Corruption in mainland China				6
Don't Know	5	3	6	9



## 5. Conclusion

The changes in the District Councils following the passage of constitutional reforms in July 2010 which elevate their influence on the Chief Executive voting and in the Legislative Council have clearly not been communicated down to this most grassroots level of governance. Voters appear indifferent, or even focused on intensely and solely local neighborhood concerns. Yet one of the biggest problems in Hong Kong governance, connecting the grassroots with executive and legislative processes and persons, has taken one of its biggest steps forward since the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa took his ill-fated steps of abolishing the Urban and Regional Councils, thus cutting all connections between the top and bottom levels of governance. While the District Councils do not gain the kind of local and limited policy making and tax collecting powers like the old Urban and Regional Councils had, they will put 117 directly elected members onto the expanded, 1200 member Chief Executive Election Committee, and thus vastly outnumber the 30 directly elected Legco members who sit on that body. They will increase the proportion of directly elected members to that group to its highest yet. They will thus have considerable influence on who gets elected as the Chief Executive who will propose the rules for the promised direct election of the next Chief Executive in 2017. And the party that puts the most directly elected representatives on the Chief Executive Election Committee will have more influence over the type of direct election processes that next Chief Executive will propose.

The reforms also put the District Councils into a situation where they could, and likely will, much more strongly influence policy-making in Hong Kong. Five of the directly elected members will be elected in at large elections. If the pro-democracy parties run candidates in a kind of referendum on policy, with one candidate pooling all the votes for those who support an uncompromising position of democracy now, and another pooling all votes behind a candidate supporting step by step, reformist moves forward toward democracy, the sentiments of Hong Kongers could be made clear for the first time, and the infighting among pro-democracy parties over this issue could be settled by counting the votes and seeing whose candidate does best at the polls. Another candidate could run for the votes of those of who want democratization slowed down or even halted. If elected, that candidate has a mandate the size of his turnout, and if it is much less than among the pro-democracy candidates, the will of the people will have been revealed. Thus the reforms of 2010 have put in place the possibility of the type of referendum that pro-democracy groups have long demanded and constantly tried to implement, as they did in May 2010 with the resign to run again "referendum" by-elections that failed miserably to get all Hong Kong voters to turn out (the turnout was a record low, even for by-elections).

But there is one more, perhaps unintended and certainly unnoticed result of the 2010 reforms. The five directly elected DC members who will sit on Legco starting in 2012 will no doubt accumulate several million votes among them, but they will sit with the Functional Constituency legislators who, counting all 30 of them, represent barely over 200,000 voters. And of this elite group, 80 percent of all the voters are concentrated in just 7 of those 30 seats, leaving a vast amount of voting power in the hands of just a few thousand people and corporations, for indeed, in 8 of those seats, corporations, not people, vote. When an amendment comes up in which the directly elected Geographic Constituency representatives vote separately for an amendment, and a handful of these tiny, corporate voted "representatives" vote separately in the Functional Constituency side against it, and the amendment fails because it did not get a majority in both sections of the legislature, the true nature of the unfair, unbalanced voting system in Hong Kong will become crystal clear. And the DC members elected by vast numbers of people will have to explain this discrepancy, again and again, as they are asked by constituents who once ignored this seemingly arcane procedural rule, why a popular policy, backed by, needed by, and demanded by millions, got shot down by a few thousand shadowy, favored, and unfairly empowered "representatives." The real lessons about the nature and practice of majoritarian democracy and what one person, one vote means have barely begun to be taught, and learnt, in this one part of China free to listen and learn them.

## 6. Demographics

### Gender

Group	Count	%
Male	356	44
Female	464	56

### Birthplace

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong	567	69
Mainland China	229	28
Elsewhere	24	3

### Time living in Hong Kong, if not born in Hong Kong

Group	Count	%
7-15	45	5
16-30	75	9
32-70	131	16
HK Born	569	69

### Age Group

Group	Count	%
18-19	40	5
20-29	102	13
30-39	92	12
40-49	163	21
50-59	188	24
60-69	121	15
70-86	81	10

### Marital status

Group	Count	%
Never married	227	28
Married	575	70
Widowed	7	1
Divorced/separated	7	1
Other	4	0.488

### Religion

Group	Count	%
None	449	55
Catholic	40	5
Protestant	108	13
Buddhist	83	10
Taoist	2	0.244
Ancestor worship	129	16
Other	9	1

**Religion recoded**

Group	Count	%
None	449	55
Catholic	40	5
Protestant	108	13
Buddhist/Taoist	85	10
Ancestor worship	129	16

**Years of education**

Group	Count	%
0 No formal school	46	6
1	7	1
2	10	1
3	10	1
5	13	2
6 Primary 6	63	8
7	25	3
8	10	1
9 F3 (current free school limit)	75	9
10 F4	6	1
11 F5 graduate (current standard)	158	19
12 F6 High School graduate	31	4
13 F7 (current) University 1 <sup>st</sup> year (2012 forward)	101	12
14 University 2	13	2
15 University 3	8	1
16 University graduate (3 or 4 year courses)	205	25
17 MA	25	3
18 Ph.D.	3	0.366

**Education recoded**

Group	Count	%
None	46	6
1-6 Primary	103	13
7-8-9 Middle	110	14
10-11-12 High	195	24
13-14-15 Some University	122	15
16 Univ graduate	205	25
17-18 Post-graduate	28	3

**Housing type**

Group	Count	%
Villa	11	1
Private residential block (own)	296	36
Private residential block (rent)	51	6
Government HOS	136	17
Public housing	272	33
Modern village house	20	2
Temporary housing	18	2
Quarters provided by employer	6	1
Other	10	1

**Housing recode**

Group	Count	%
All others	65	8
Private residential block (own)	296	36
Private residential block (rent)	51	6
Government HOS	136	17
Public housing	272	33

**Occupation**

Group	Count	%
Managers & Admin	50	6
Professionals	59	7
Associate Professionals	15	2
Clerks	80	10
Service & sales	76	9
Ag & Fish	2	0.244
Craft & performers	6	1
Plant & machine	29	4
Elementary	36	4
Housewife	138	17
Retired	144	18
Unemployed	32	4
Student	92	11
Educators	19	2
Other	24	3
Refuse to say	18	2

**Occupation (Recoded for analysis)**

Group	Count	%
Managers & Administrators	50	6
Professionals & Educators	93	11
Service	80	10
Clerks	76	9
Blue collar	73	9
Housewife	138	17
Retired	144	18
Unemployed	32	4
Student	92	11
Other	42	5

**Work Sector**

Group	Count	%
Public/Non-profit	57	7
Private	335	42
Non-work	406	51

**Experience at least one year outside Hong Kong**

Group	Count	%
Yes	182	22
None	633	78

**Right of Abode**

Group	Count	%
ROA	72	9
None	742	91

**Income**

Group	Count	%
None	63	8
1-5,000	23	3
5,000-9,999	43	5
10,000-14,999	86	10
15,000-19,999	66	8
20,000-24,999	84	10
25,000-29,999	37	5
30,000-34,999	56	7
35,000-39,999	18	2
40,000-49,999	45	5
50,000-59,999	40	5
60,000-69,999	10	1
70,000-79,999	8	1
80,000-89,999	7	1
90,000-99,999	7	1
100,000+	27	3
Refuse to answer	199	24

**Income recoded**

Group	Count	%
None	63	8
0-\$9,999	66	8
\$10,000-19,999	152	19
\$20,000=29,999	121	15
\$30,000-39,999	74	9
\$40,000-59,999	85	10
\$60,000+	59	7
Refuse/DK	199	24

**Income by birthplace**

	Hong Kong born	Mainland born	Elsewhere	total
None	5	14	9	8
0-\$9,999	8	9	4	8
\$10,000-19,999	19	18	13	19
\$20,000=29,999	14	16	22	15
\$30,000-39,999	10	7	4	9
\$40,000-59,999	12	7	9	10
\$60,000+	9	3	9	7
Refuse/DK	23	27	30	24
<b>total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 32.87 with 14 df p = 0.0030

**Income by Age group**

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-86	total
None	0	0	0	2	7	14	36	8
0-\$9,999	5	5	5	7	7	10	20	8
\$10,000-19,999	15	16	15	28	20	21	2	19
\$20,000=29,999	20	20	17	15	20	9	2	15
\$30,000-39,999	13	3	15	17	9	6	0	9
\$40,000-59,999	3	16	24	10	10	5	4	11
\$60,000+	3	17	14	4	7	5	0	7
Refuse/DK	43	25	9	17	19	31	36	23
<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>

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 278.7 with 42 df p ≤ 0.0001

**Class Income**

Group		Count	%
None-\$9,999	Lower	129	21
\$10,000-29,999	Working	273	44
\$30,000-59,999	Middle	159	26
\$60,000+	Upper	59	10

## Methods and contact details

Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer

Survey administration and Chinese translation: P.K. Cheung

At the 95% confidence level, range of error is plus or minus 3 points for surveys 900-1,200 respondents and 4 points for those 600-800. The range of error for this survey of 820 completed cases is +/- 4 points. Completion rates for the surveys range from 28% to 32% of those contacted by telephone. The project used a Kish table to randomly identify correspondents and then scheduled a callback if that specific respondent was not at home until 2009. Surveys now use the “next birthday” method in which the respondent is chosen by who had the most recent birthday in the household. Completion rates tend to be lower with a Kish table, but randomization of responses (needed for accurate statistics) tended to be higher than surveys which interview readily available respondents using the next birthday method. Older respondents with this method in the early 1990s tended to use traditional Chinese calendar where all “birthdays” are celebrated on the second day of the lunar new year, thus degrading randomization dependent on this method (in lunar calendar using societies in Asia). Education and familiarization with western practices has now risen so that the next birthday method is approaching the randomization level of the Kish method. Next birthday method is faster to administer, moderately shortening time for interviewing. Respondents are interviewed in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, Hakka and other languages/dialects as they prefer and as interviewers with languages needed are available. Other surveys referred to are Hong Kong Transition Project surveys. Details of the surveys and reports of same may be found on the Hong Kong Transition Project website at <http://www.hktp.org>

The number of respondents in the HKTP political development surveys:

Date	#	Date	#	Date	#	Date	#	Date	#
Nov 1991	902								
Feb 1993	615	<b>Aug 1993</b>	609						
Feb 1994	636	Aug 1994	640						
Feb 1995	647	<b>Aug 1995</b>	645						
Feb 1996	627	July 1996	928					Dec 1996	326
Feb 1997	546	June 1997	1,129						
Jan 1998	700	<b>April 1998</b>	852	<b>June 1998</b>	625	<b>July 1998</b>	647	<b>Oct 1998</b>	811
Apr 1999	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
Apr 2001	830	June 2001	808	Jul (media )	831	Jul (party)	1029	Nov 2001	759
<i>Apr 2002</i>	751			Aug 2002	721			Nov 2002	814
Mar 2003	790	June 2003	776			<b>Nov 2003</b>	<b>836</b>	<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)
<i>May 2005</i>	829	<i>May FC**</i>	376	July 2005	810			Nov 2005	859
Mar 2006	805	Apr 2006	807	July 2006	1,106	Nov 2006	706	Nov 2006	FC** 374
Apr 2007	889			<i>May 2007</i>	800				
<b>May 2008</b> GC	714	<b>June 2008</b> GC	710	<b>July 2008</b> GC	710	<b>Aug 2008</b> GC	705	<b>Sept 2008</b> GC	721
<b>May 2008</b> FC**	409	<b>June 2008</b> FC	300	<b>July 2008</b> FC	300	<b>Aug 2008</b> FC	305	<b>Sept 2008</b> FC	304
May 2009	1,205			Aug 2009***	1704			Nov 2009	832
Jan 2010	1,500	May 2010	715	June 2010	934	Aug 2010	816	Dec 2010	807
April 2011	829					<b>Oct 2011</b>	820	<i>Dec 2011</i>	

\*permanent residents, registered voters only (part of a special 2004 election series)

\*\*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

†All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated. The Hong Kong Transition Project is funded since January 2009 by a grant from the Community Development Initiative and by commissioned

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