

Constitutional Reform: Consultations and Confrontations

(January 2014)

Methodology:

1007 Permanent Residents surveyed 18 December to 31 December 2013 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.

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 excerpts key responses from the latest survey, relating to the fairness of the current consultation process and initial reactions to a possible confrontation with Beijing.

The full and detailed report of this survey held 18-31 December will be released in March. But as Chief Executive C.Y. Leung prepares to give his Policy Address 15 January, how Hong Kong people will react to the current 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 highlights the key findings on that part of the survey which focuses 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. Views on options for these reforms, and views on the current system and its leadership in the government and of political parties will be released in March along with detailed analysis by demographic and attitudinal variables.

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?"

Background to the principals

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

Methodology: 1

¹ The Hong Kong Transition Project, established in 1988, (<http://www.hktp.org>) has been funded via competitive grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of the Hong Kong Government and is currently funded by the Community Development Initiative (<http://www.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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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.

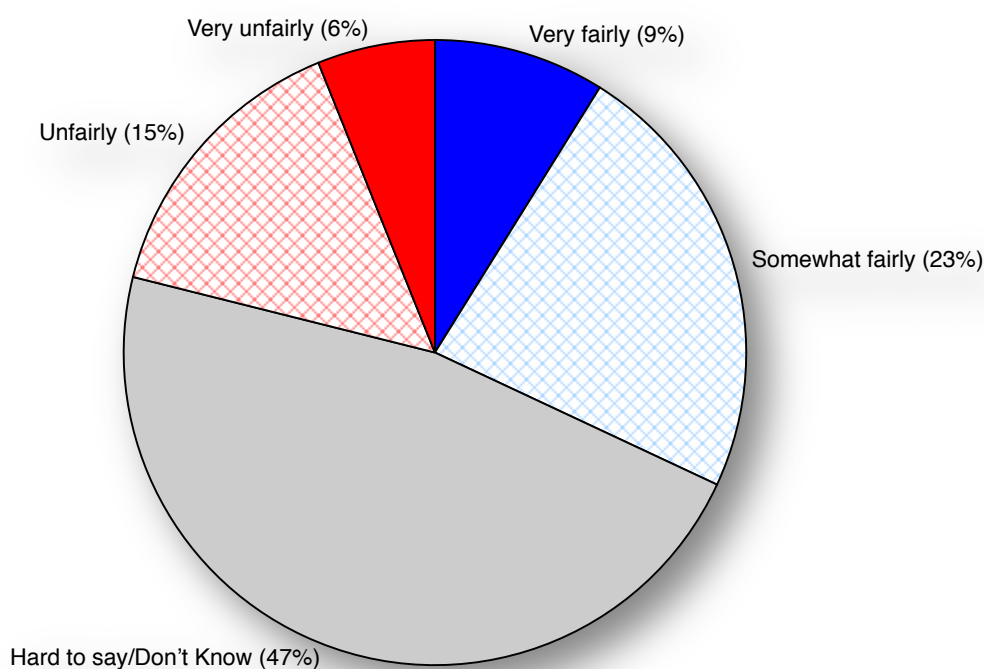
Most people are willing to give the government a chance to conduct the consultation and issue results, but most are also uncertain just how fair the consultations being led by Chief Secretary for Administration Carrie Lam will be. Intervention by Beijing against Occupy Central will, according to the 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



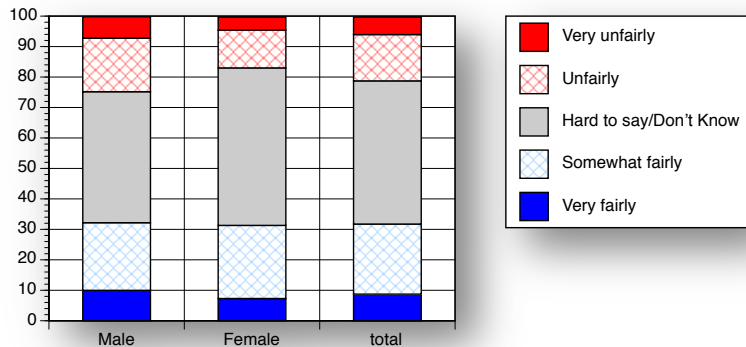
An equal proportion of men and women think Lam will be fair, but significantly more men than women think the consultation will be unfair.

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
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.98 with 4 df p = 0.0074



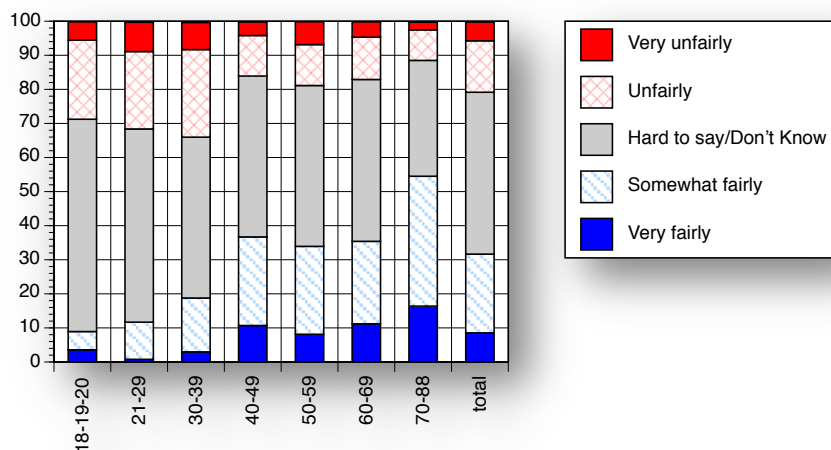
While men tend to be more confrontational than women, youth also join confrontations more than elders. There is a very significant difference in views between those in their teens, twenties and thirties from those over age 40. Only 9 percent of 18-20 year olds think Lam will be fair while 28 percent 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
Very fairly	4	1	3	11	8	11	16	9
Somewhat fairly	5	11	16	26	26	24	38	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	63	57	48	48	47	48	34	48
Unfairly	23	23	26	12	12	12	9	15
Very unfairly	5	9	8	4	7	4	2	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 98.32 with 24 df p ≤ 0.0001



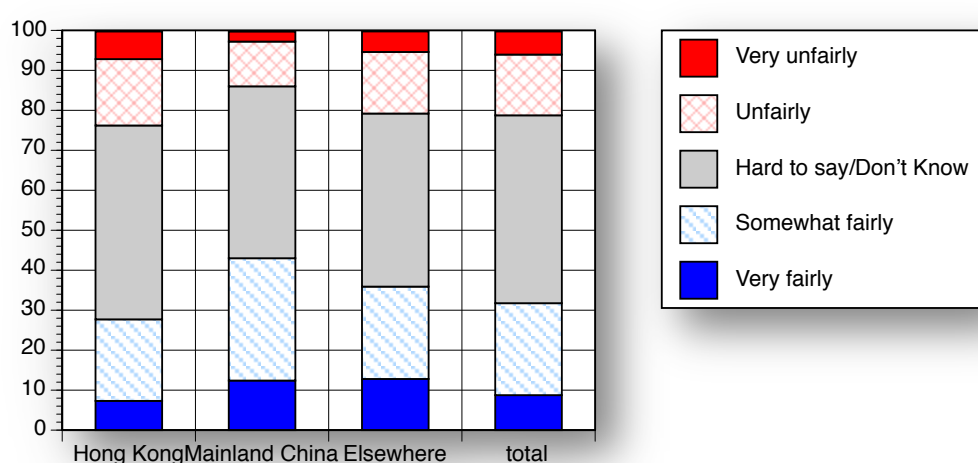
No group by birthplace shows a majority holding a particular view. However, those born in mainland China (who tend to be older as well) show the highest levels of believing in Lam's fairness, while those born in Hong Kong show the least who so believe. All groups show more believing in a fair consultation 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
total	100	100	100	100

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.

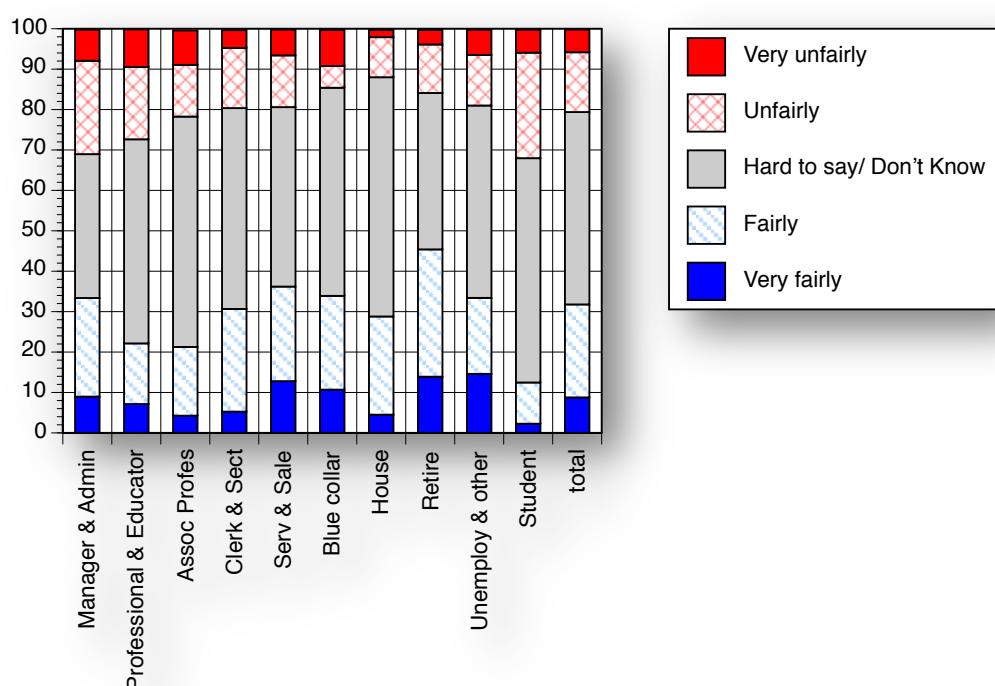
Table 5 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Occupation

	Manager & Admin	Professional & Educator	Assoc Profes	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unemploy & other	Student	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
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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
Very fairly	11	6	10	9
Somewhat fairly	22	21	23	22
Hard to say/Don't Know	52	47	48	48
Unfairly	9	19	15	15
Very unfairly	6	8	4	6
total	100	100	100	100

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.)

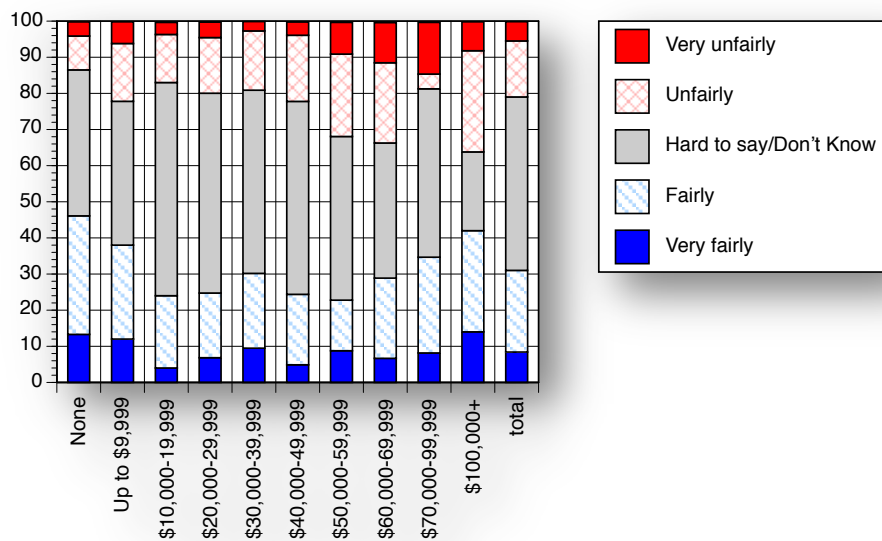
Table 7 Fairness of consultation conducted by CSA Carrie Lam BY Income

	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
Very fairly	13	12	4	7	9	5	9	7	8	14	8
Fairly	33	26	20	18	21	20	14	22	27	28	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	41	40	59	56	51	54	46	38	47	22	48
Unfairly	9	16	13	15	16	18	23	22	4	28	16
Very unfairly	4	6	3	4	3	4	9	11	14	8	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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



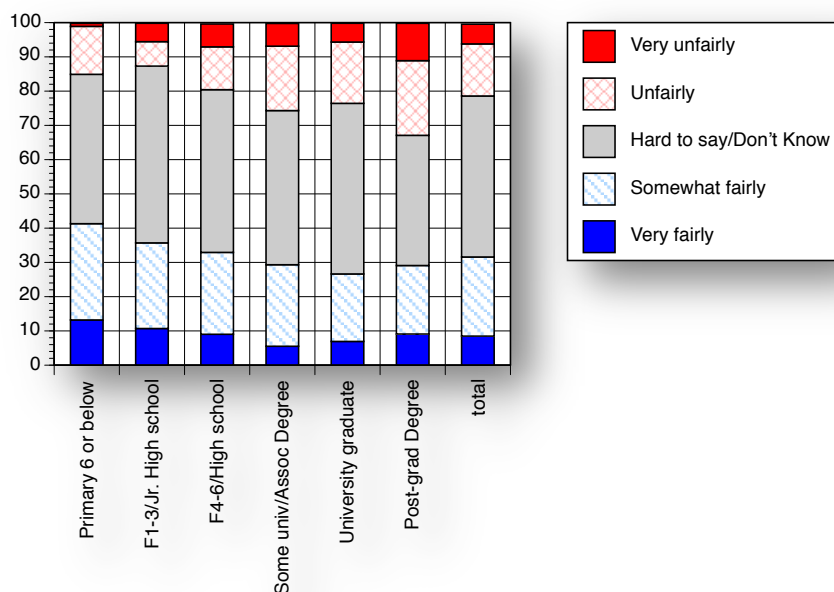
The level of belief in this consultation being unfair tends to rise with education, with those with post-secondary degrees having the highest level.

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
Very fairly	13	11	9	6	7	9	8
Somewhat fairly	28	25	24	24	20	20	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	44	52	48	45	50	38	47
Unfairly	14	7	13	19	18	22	15
Very unfairly	1	5	7	7	5	11	6
total	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).

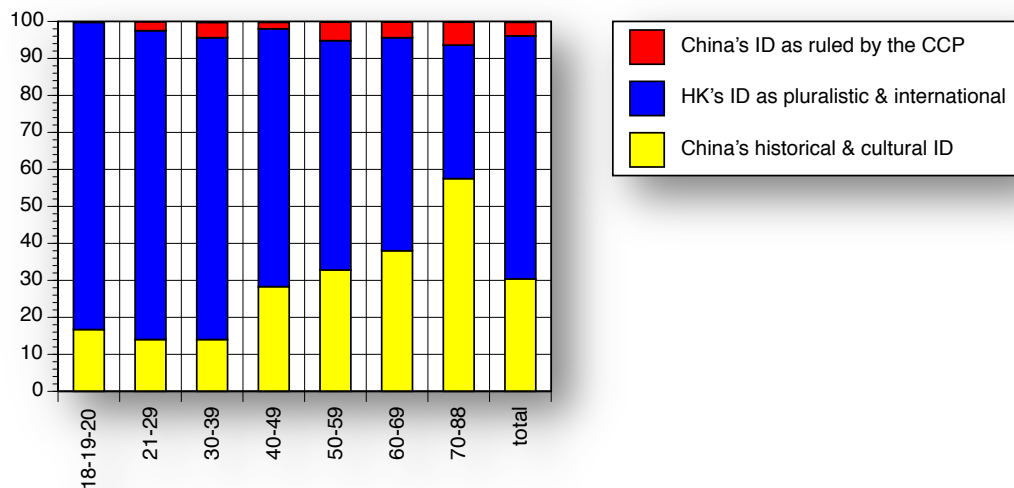
Table 2 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Age

	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



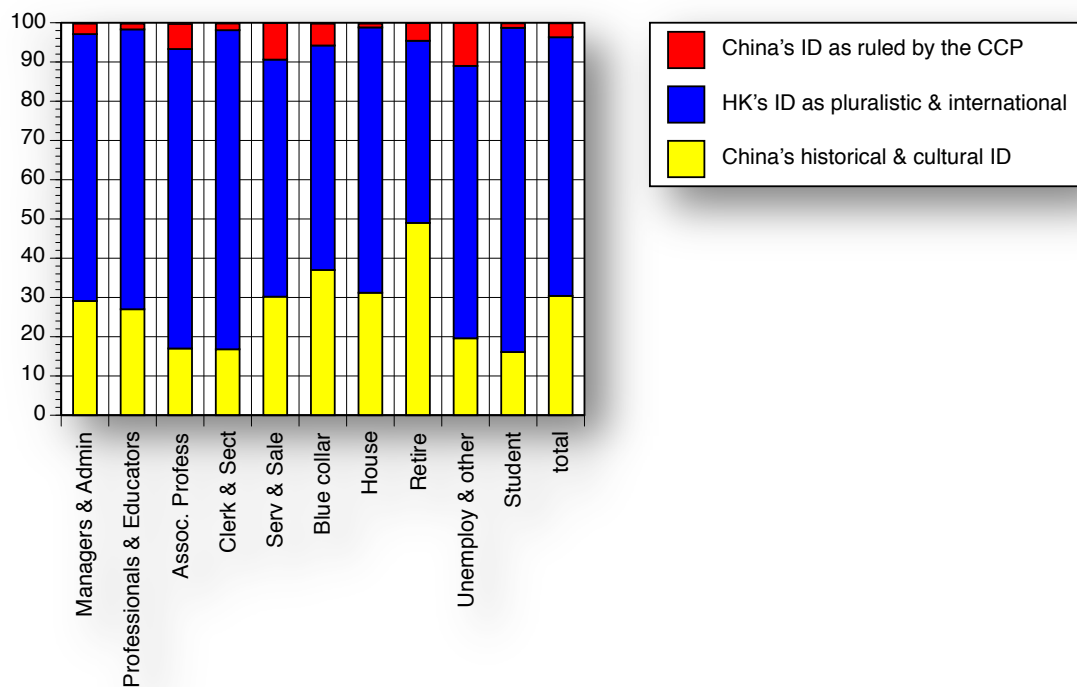
Students most strongly prefer Hong Kong's pluralistic, international identity.

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 $p \leq 0.0001$



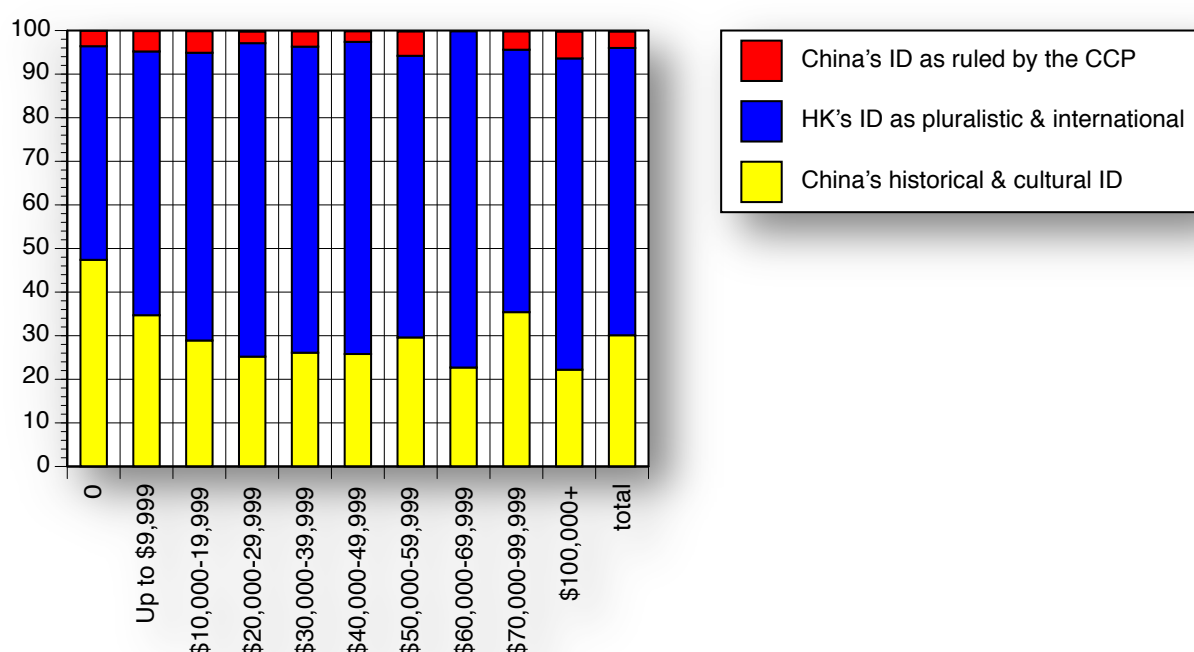
Higher incomes tend to prefer Hong Kong's international identity more (with the exception of the \$70,000-99,999 category).

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
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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.)

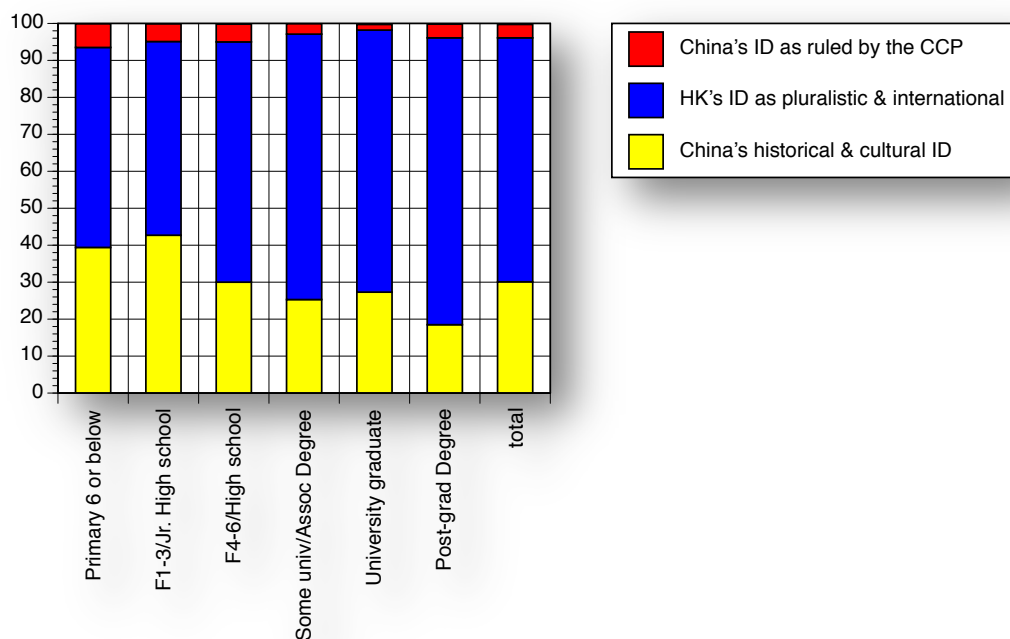
Table 5 Preference of Identity to Protect & Promote BY Education

	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
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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



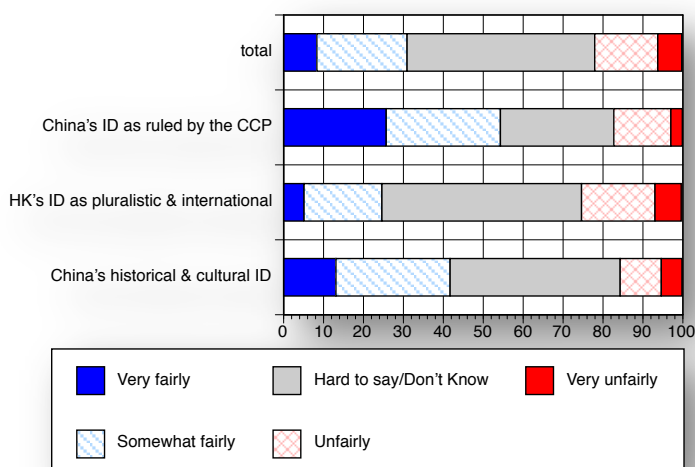
The bottom line of these preferences is that those who prefer Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international (the majority) are also most doubtful on fairness of this consultation.

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
Very fairly	13	5	26	8
Somewhat fairly	29	20	29	23
Hard to say/Don't Know	43	50	29	47
Unfairly	10	18	14	16
Very unfairly	5	7	3	6
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 50.79 with 8 df $p \leq 0.0001$



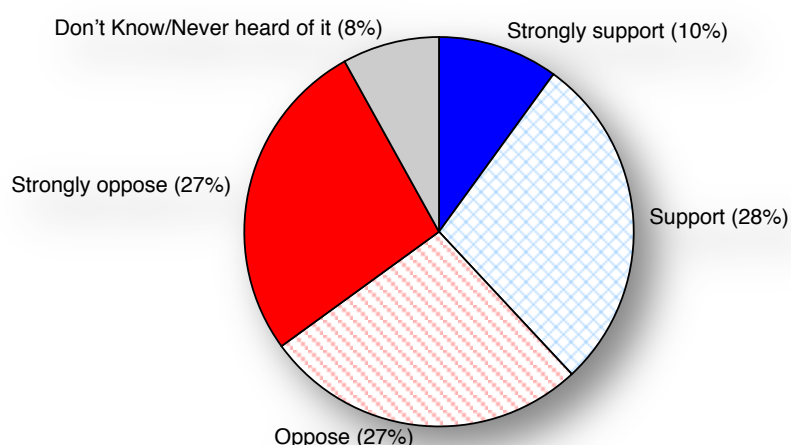
The profiles of those who have greatest doubts this consultation's fairness and who most prefer Hong Kong's pluralistic and international identity protected—the young, students, highly educated, professionals—are also key groups both for Hong Kong's future prosperity and for the kind of relations Hong 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

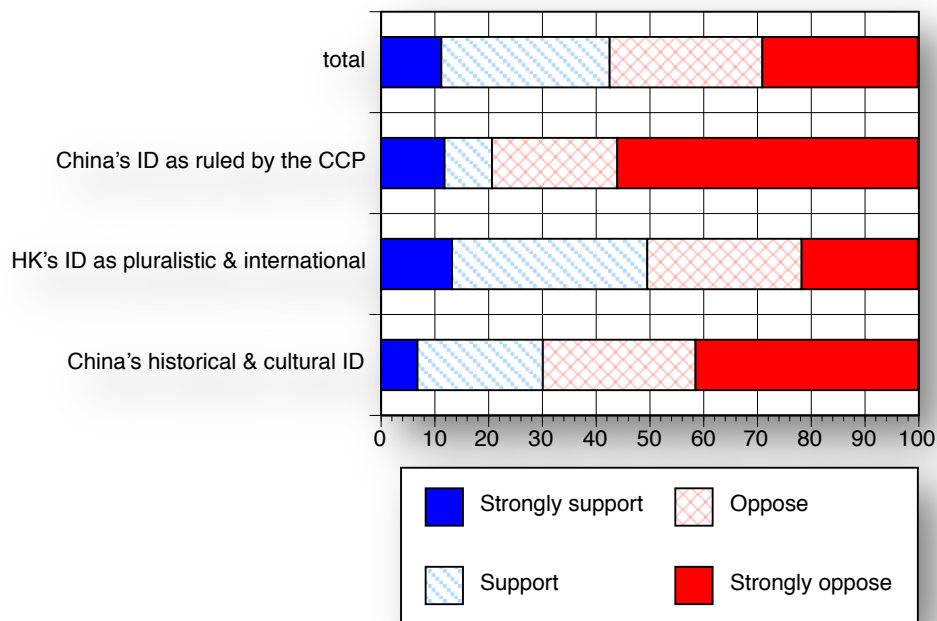
Interestingly, even among the very small proportion who personally prefer China's identity as ruled by the CCP, a fair percentage (21%) or one in five of the 3% of the population preferring this identity support Occupy Central plans. Those preferring Hong Kong's pluralistic and international identity 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
Strongly support	7	13	12	11
Support	23	36	9	31
Oppose	29	29	24	29
Strongly oppose	41	22	56	29
total	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.)

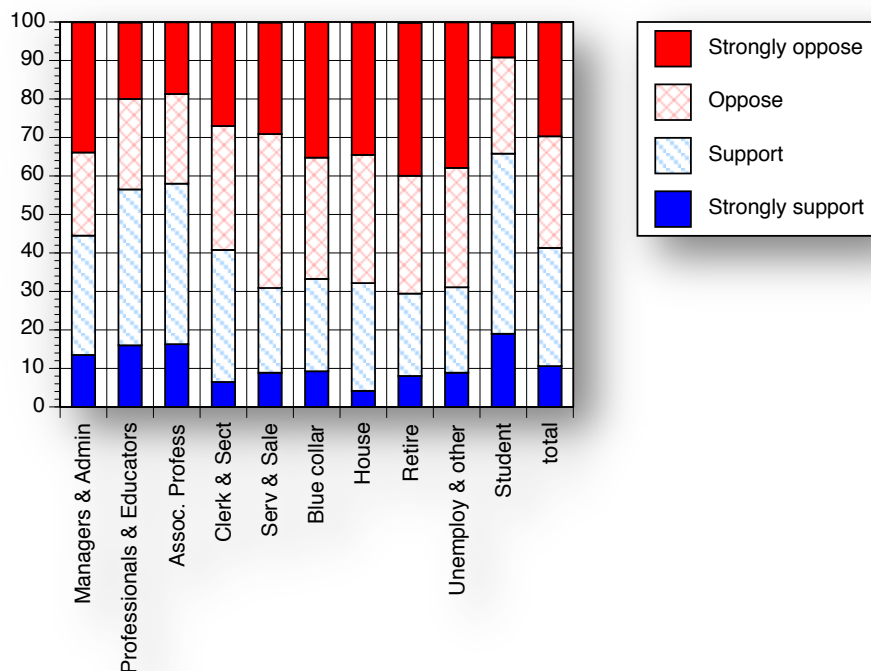
Table 4 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Occupation

	Managers & Admin	Professionals & Educators	Assoc. Profess	Clerk & Sect	Serv & Sale	Blue collar	House	Retire	Unemploy & other	Student	total
Strongly support	14	16	16	6	9	9	4	8	9	19	11
Support	31	41	42	34	22	24	28	21	22	47	31
Oppose	22	24	23	32	40	32	33	31	31	25	29
Strongly oppose	34	20	19	27	29	35	34	40	38	9	30
total	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



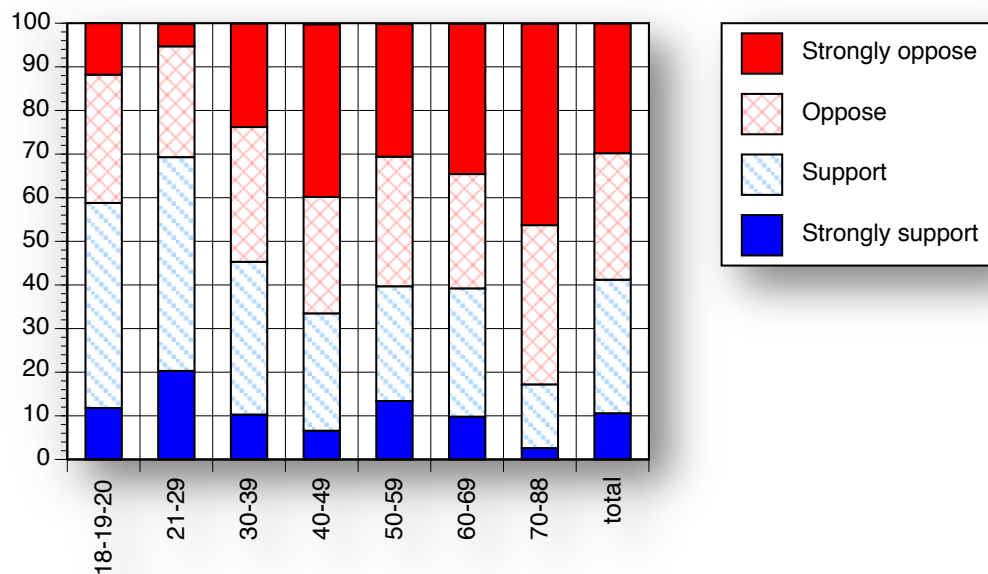
As before, there is a large gap in expressions of support by age group, with majorities of those under 30 in support. Students and youth tend to be more socially volatile than elders.

Table 5 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Age

	18-19-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-88	total
Strongly support	12	20	10	7	13	10	3	11
Support	47	49	35	27	26	29	15	31
Oppose	29	25	31	27	30	26	37	29
Strongly oppose	12	5	24	40	30	34	46	30
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 102.7 with 18 df $p \leq 0.0001$



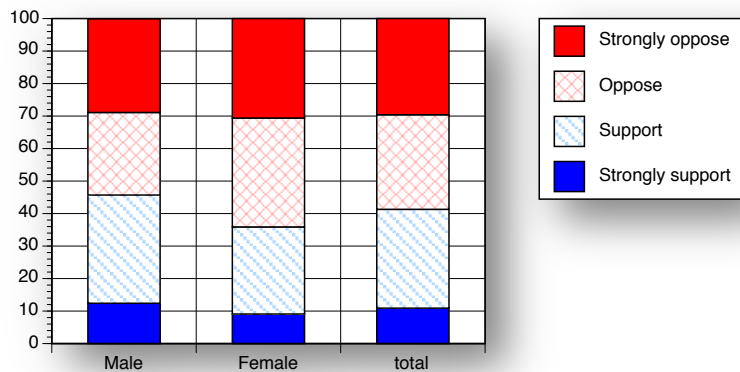
Men are also more supportive of the confrontation plans than women.

Table 6 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Gender

	Male	Female	total
Strongly support	12	9	11
Support	33	27	30
Oppose	25	34	29
Strongly oppose	29	31	30
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 10.92 with 3 df p = 0.0122



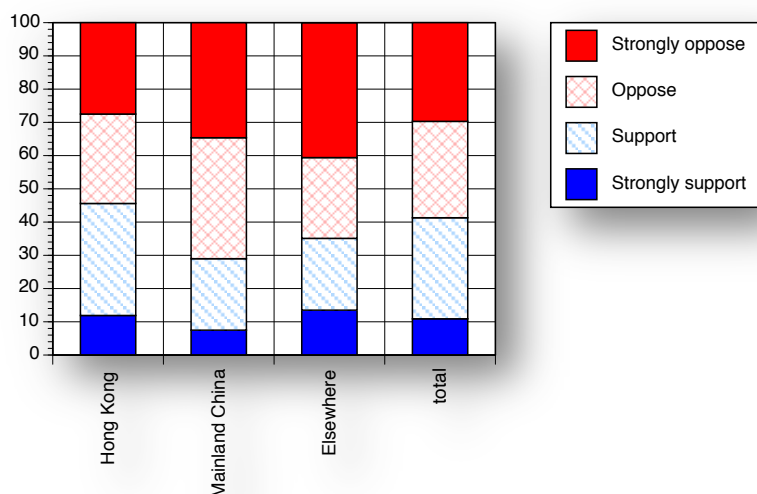
While Hong Kong born persons are more supportive than other groups, the highest levels of strongest opposition and strongest support appear among those born elsewhere.

Table 7 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Birthplace

	Hong Kong	Mainland China	Elsewhere	total
Strongly support	12	7	14	11
Support	34	22	22	30
Oppose	27	36	24	29
Strongly oppose	28	35	41	30
total	100	100	100	100

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
Strongly support	8	15	9	13	8	13	11	15	9	19	11
Support	15	18	33	39	29	37	38	37	30	35	31
Oppose	39	35	34	27	33	22	27	24	28	10	30
Strongly oppose	39	33	24	21	30	28	24	24	33	35	29
total	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

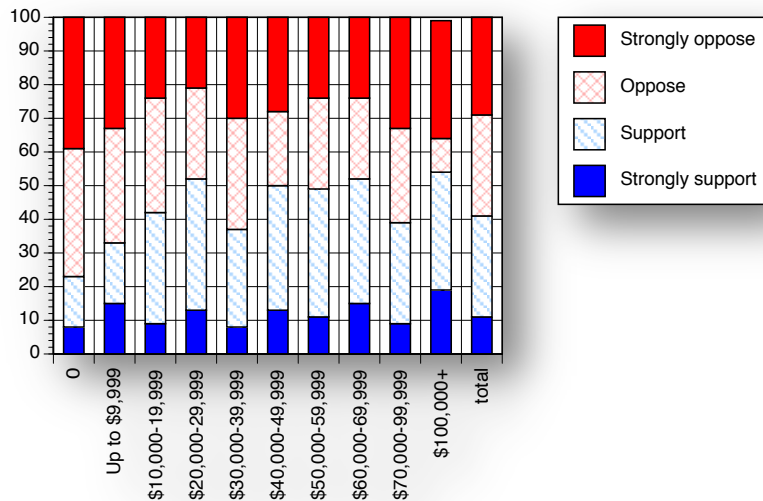
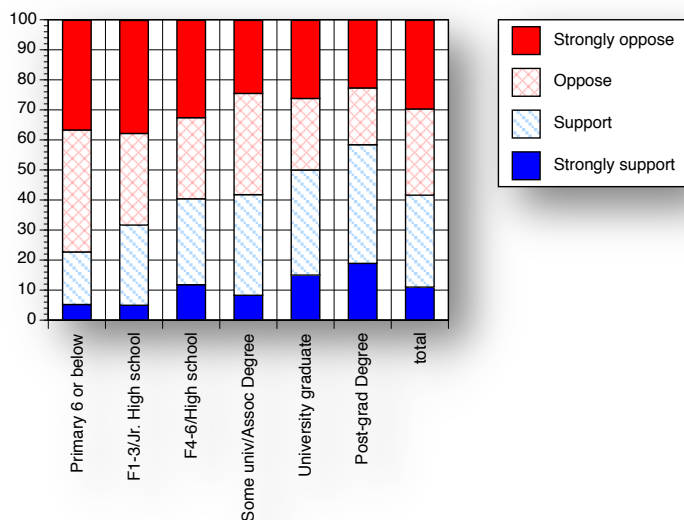


Table 9 Support/Oppose Occupy Central BY Education

	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High school	F4-6/High school	Some univ/Assoc Dg	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
Strongly support	5	5	12	8	15	19	11
Support	18	27	29	34	35	40	31
Oppose	41	31	27	34	24	19	29
Strongly oppose	37	38	32	24	26	23	30
total	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

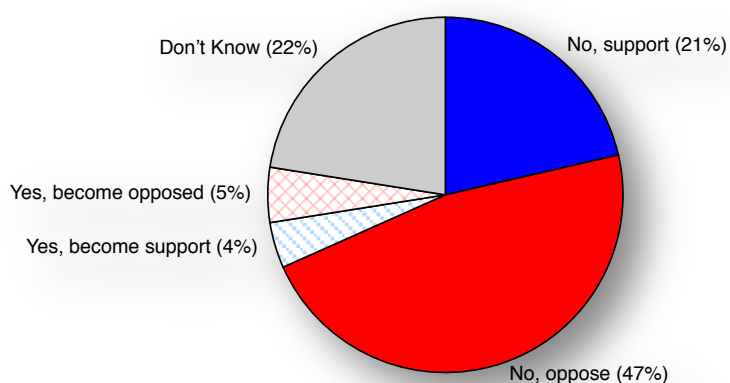
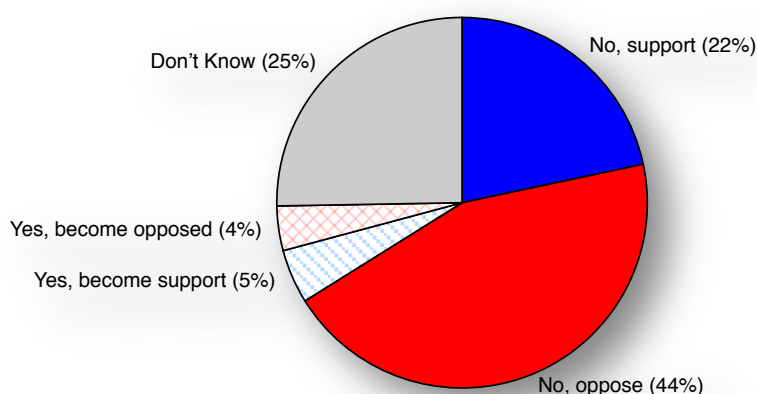


Table 11 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Government issues a draft law (white paper) by 1 July 2014.

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

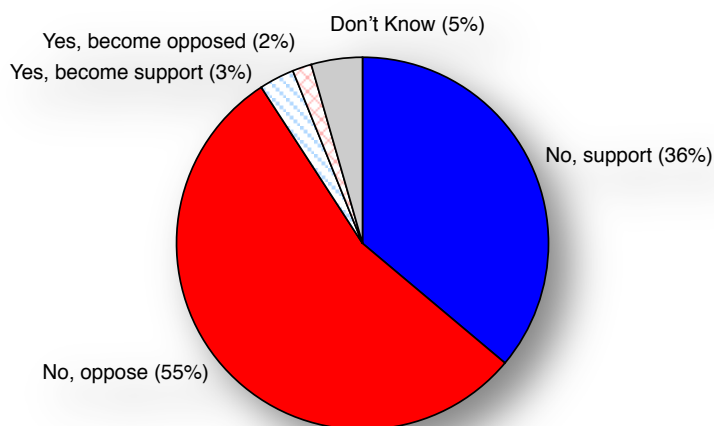
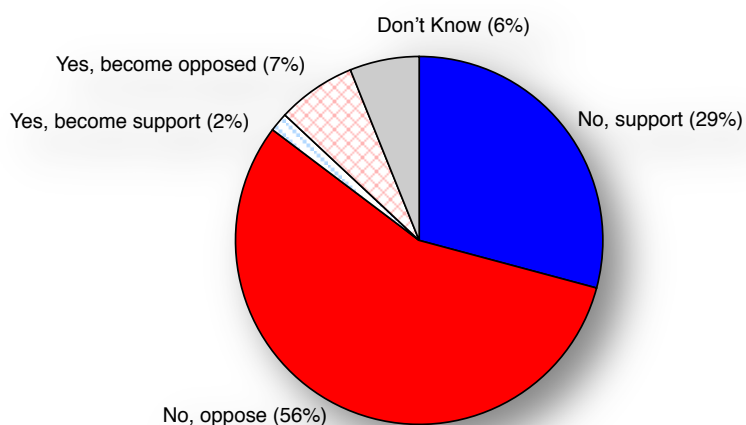


Table 13 Would any of the following make you change your mind to support or oppose the Occupy Central protest: Radical democratic parties only call for support of Occupy Central

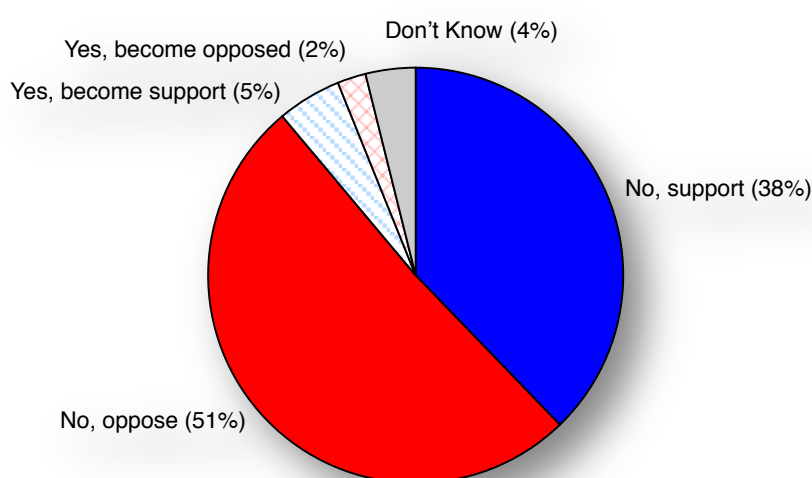
Group	Count	%
No, support	271	29
No, oppose	518	56
Yes, become support	14	2
Yes, become opposed	66	7
Don't Know	56	6



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.

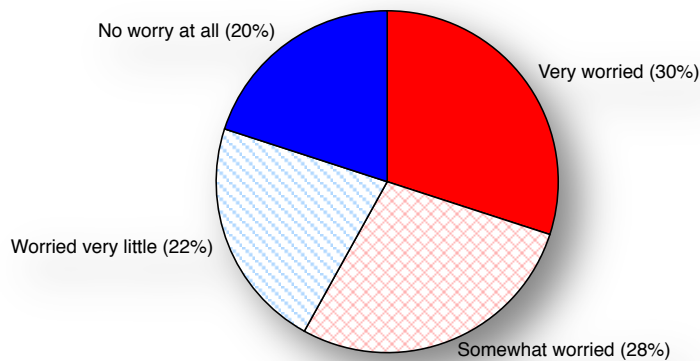
Table 1 How worried are you about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy from an Occupy Central demonstration?

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



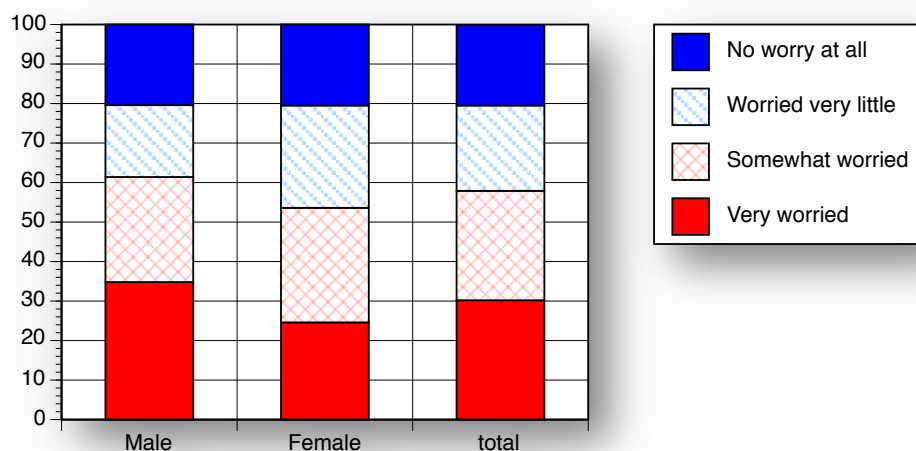
In a very unusual survey result, more men than women say they are very or somewhat worried about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy from Occupy Central. Normally, and in almost all cases of questions about worry, more women than men tend to worry. Not in this case.

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
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.28 with 3 df p = 0.0025



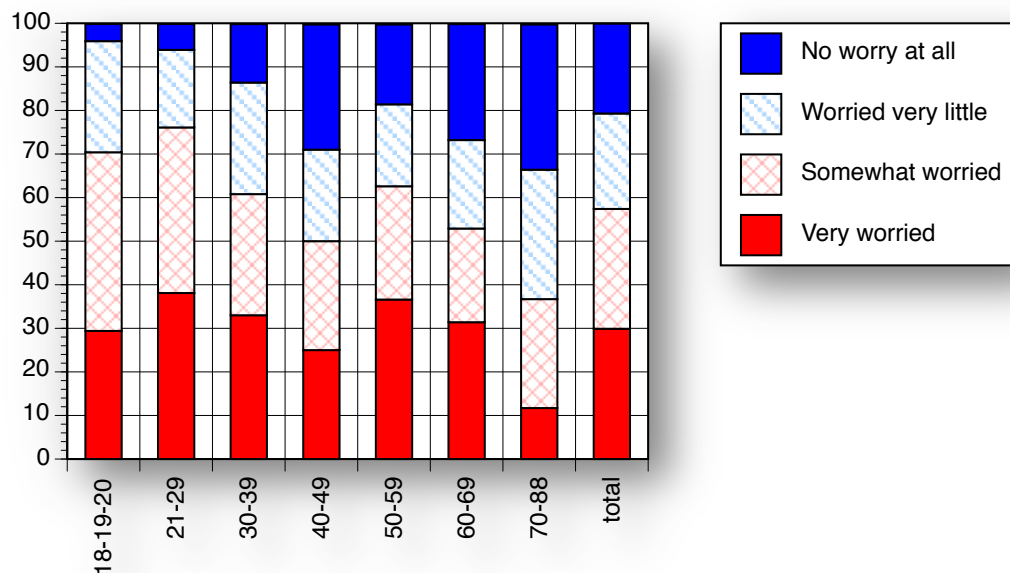
Also in another very unusual result, teens and twenties show significantly higher levels of worry than older cohorts.

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
Very worried	29	38	33	25	37	32	12	30
Somewhat worried	41	38	28	25	26	22	25	28
Worried very little	26	18	26	21	19	20	30	22
No worry at all	4	6	13	29	18	27	33	21
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 75.55 with 18 df $p \leq 0.0001$



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
Very worried	39	34	38	24	36	36	21	24	38	37	30
Somewhat worried	24	34	24	32	27	26	20	25	22	38	28
Worried very little	15	19	17	29	16	23	34	21	13	20	22
No worry at all	22	14	21	15	21	15	25	30	27	5	20
total	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

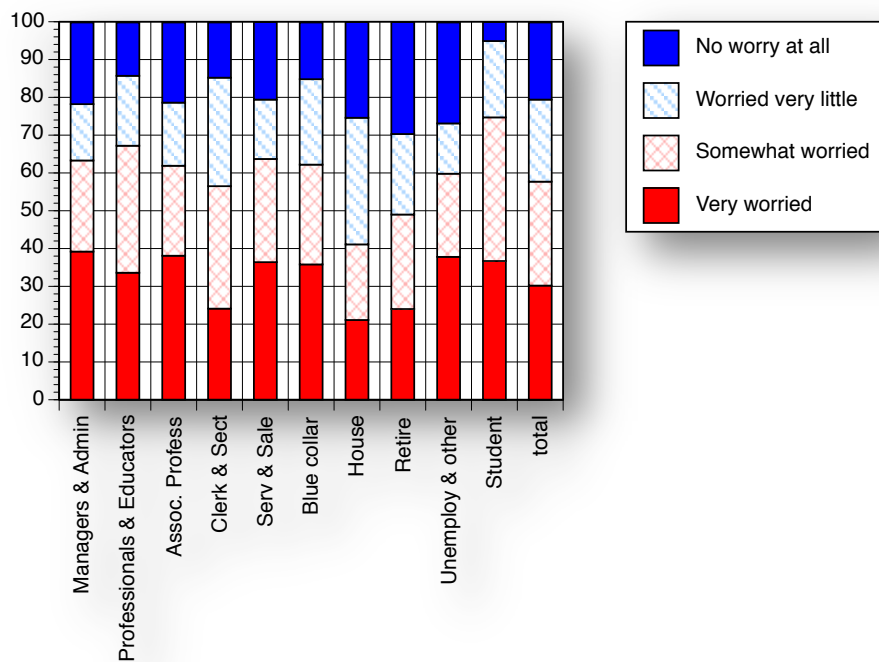
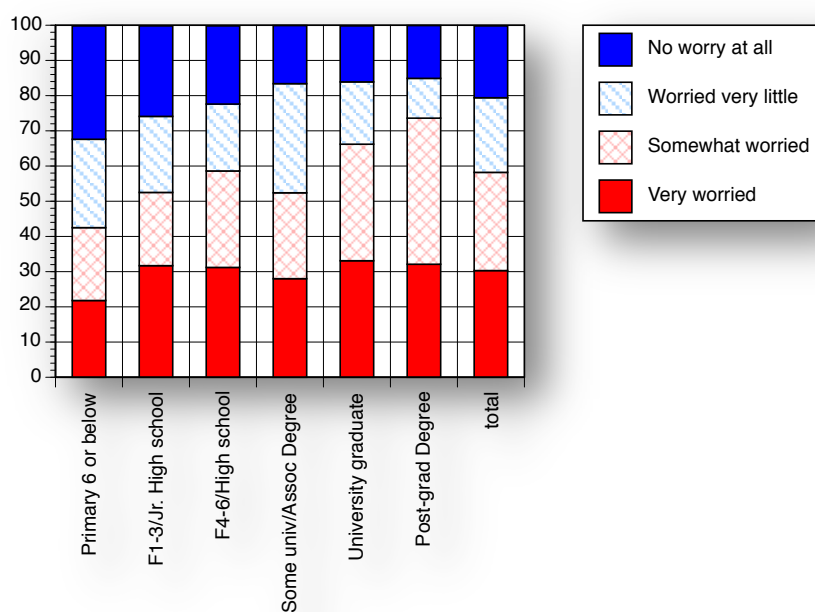


Table 6 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Education

	Primary 6 or below	F1-3/Jr. High	F4-6/High school	Some univ/ Assoc Degree	University graduate	Post-grad Degree	total
Very worried	22	32	31	28	33	32	30
Somewhat worried	21	21	27	24	33	42	28
Worried very little	25	22	19	31	18	11	21
No worry at all	32	26	22	17	16	15	20
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.78 with 15 df p = 0.0010



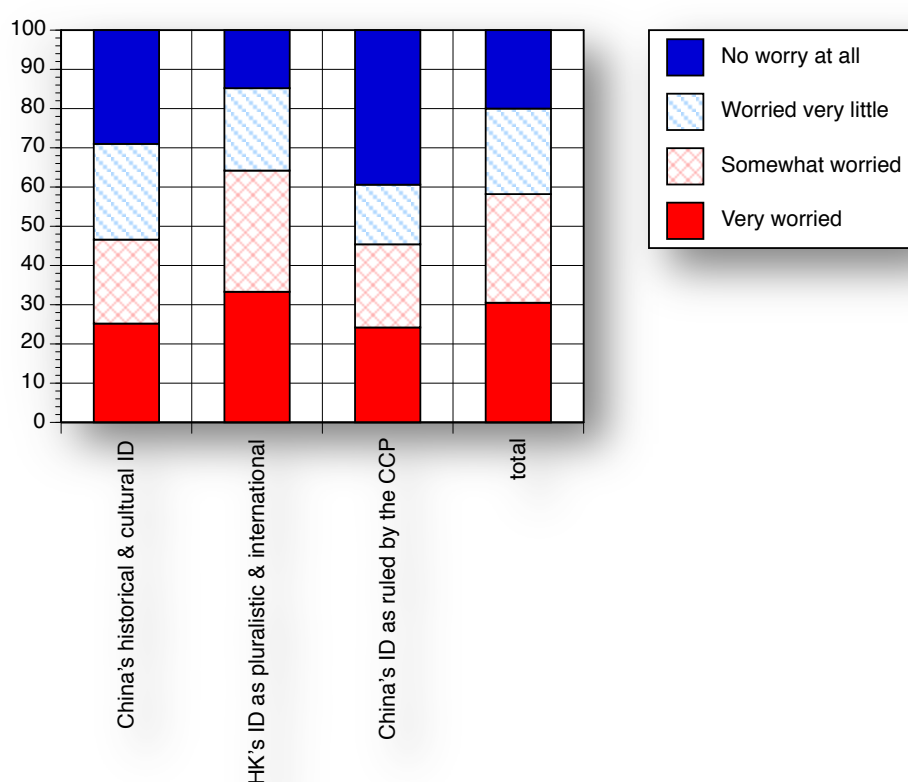
Those who want Hong Kong's identity as pluralistic and international most protected and promoted show the highest levels of very worried and somewhat worried.

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
Very worried	25	33	24	31
Somewhat worried	21	31	21	28
Worried very little	24	21	15	22
No worry at all	29	15	39	20
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 37.23 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$



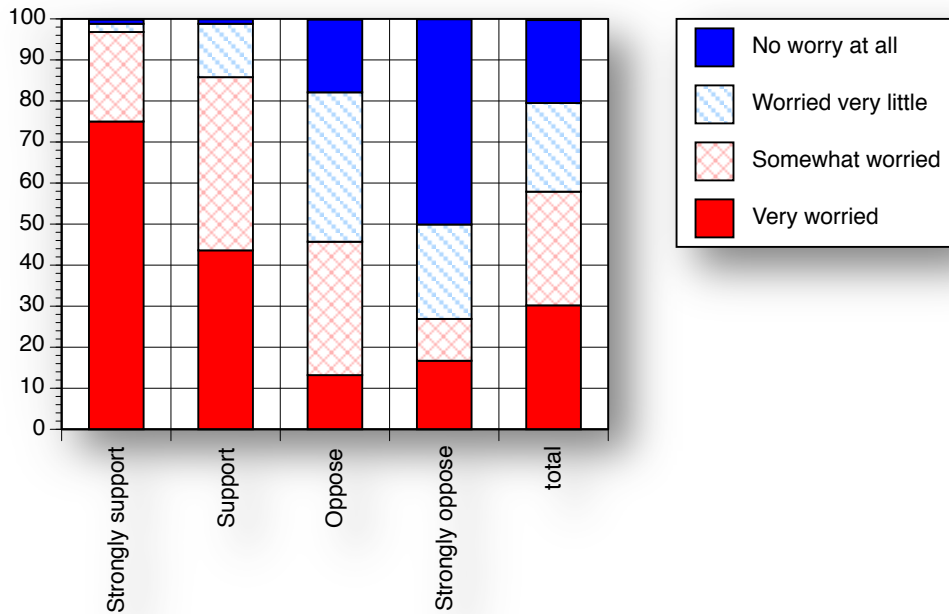
Showing that worry is not a matter of projection by those who oppose Occupy Central—those who are most supportive of confrontation are by far the most worried about violence and damage to Hong Kong's economy. Nevertheless, they strongly support taking this action.

Table 8 Worry about violence & damage to economy BY Support/oppose Occupy Central

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	total
Very worried	75	44	13	17	30
Somewhat worried	22	42	33	10	28
Worried very little	2	13	37	23	22
No worry at all	1	1	18	50	20
total	100	100	100	100	100

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	66	62	56	46	61	47	51	54
Female	34	38	44	54	39	53	49	46
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

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

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 $p \leq 0.0001$

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 th year	11	1
Form 2	19	2
Form 3	82	8
Form 4/10 th year	16	2
Form 5 graduate	189	19
Form 6/12 th 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

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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 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	#
Nov 1991	902								
Feb 1993	615	Aug 1993	609						
Feb 1994	636	Aug 1994	640						
Feb 1995	647	Aug 1995	645						
Feb 1996	627	July 1996	928					Dec 1996	326
Feb 1997	546	June 1997	1,129						
Jan 1998	700	April 1998	852	June 1998	625	July 1998	647	Oct 1998	811
Apr 1999	838	July 1999	815					Nov 1999	813
Apr 2000	704	Aug 2000	625	Aug 2000	1059	Oct 2000	721	Nov 2000	801
Apr 2001	830	June 2001	808	Jul (media)	831	Jul (party)	1029	Nov 2001	759
Apr 2002	751			Aug 2002	721			Nov 2002	814
Mar 2003	790	June 2003	776			Nov 2003	836	Dec 03	709
Apr 2004	809	June 2004*	680	July 2004*	695	Sept 2004*	410	Dec 2004	800
May 2004	833	July 04 *	955	Aug 2004*	781	Nov 2004	773	Dec FC**	405 (365)
May 2005	829	May FC**	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			May 2007	800				
May 2008 GC	714	June 2008 GC	710	July 2008 GC	710	Aug 2008 GC	705	Sept 2008 GC	721
May 2008 FC**	409	June 2008 FC	300	July 2008 FC	300	Aug 2008 FC	305	Sept 2008 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					Oct 2011	820		
Jan 2012	601/246#					Aug 2012	1309		
Jan 2013	920							Dec 2013	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 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>