



Countdown to Decision

The final days of 2004 Legco election campaign
(9 September 2004)¹

A commissioned research project for Civic Exchange conducted by:



Hong Kong Transition Project

¹ For survey methods and numbers interviewed in each of the surveys, see end of this report. The Hong Kong Transition Project has been partially funded by competitive grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee. Other surveys and research referred to in this report have been funded by Civic Exchange, an independent Hong Kong research tank on public policy, the National Democratic Institute, and faculty research grants from Hong Kong University and Hong Kong Baptist University. This particular report and study have been largely but not wholly funded by Civic Exchange, and is presented in partnership with Civic Exchange as the primary commissioner of this part of its special 2004 Legco election study.

1. Calculating Turnout: the HKTP record for 2000

First we evaluate the 2000 Legco election record of HKTP election forecasts, then update methods and results to the 2004 election. Table 1 from our 2000 election forecast shows the 2000 calculations to establish nominal turnout.

Table 1 Nominal turnout rate by constituency, based on registered voter survey (2000)

Constituency	Include undecided	Exclude undecided	Plan to vote, incl undecided	Plan to vote, excl undecided	Average Plan to vote
Hong Kong Island	88	59	74	52	63
Kowloon East	70	47	58	40	49
Kowloon West	65	50	54	38	46
New Territories East	88	57	70	47	58
New Territories West	77	46	61	35	48
Average over HK	78	52	63	42	53 +/- 4

In 2000, as nominally evaluated, 53%, +/-4% of voters should have come out to vote. However, this calculation, as reported in our 2000 election forecast, did NOT take into account the oversampling of those more likely to turn out, nor the errors in the register of voters. Table 2 assumed a combined effect of oversampling and registration error of 10%, and recalculated the Plan to vote columns in Table 1 above. *The most likely turnout rate forecast 10 days prior to the 2000 election was 48% +/-4%.* In the 2000 forecast we noted “a last minute surge in decisions to vote could affect this turnout as in 1998, but such a surge is unlikely given past voter behaviors. The first SAR Legco election had a number of factors which made it more than likely a one off.”

Table 2 Plan to vote, candidate selected versus no candidate

Constituency	Plan to vote, incl undecided	Plan to vote, excl undecided	Average	Actual turnout rate 2000
Hong Kong Island	67	47	57	42
Kowloon East	52	36	44	44.7
Kowloon West	49	34	42	42.1
New Territories East	63	42	52	44.8
New Territories West	55	32	44	43.7
Total:	57	38	48 +/- 4	43.6

The actual voting rate in 2000 was 43.6 percent of a registration list admitted as not being fully purged of all out of date registration information. We should not have rounded the 10% range of error to 4 in 2000, as clearly 4.8% (the actual 10% variance from the statistical average of 48) was even closer to turnout than the 44% which was forecast as the bottom of the range. There was, as expected and forecast, no last minute surge to the polls as in 1998. Other than HK Island and NT East, the average of plan to vote excluding undecided and plan to vote including undecided turned out close or very close to actual turnout. HK Island clearly saw turnout depressed by the Cheng Kainam scandal. NT East seems more the result of structural under-sampling of rural and older voters by the sampling frame. We have determined that the 10% variance to allow for sampling error plus errors in the voting registration rolls is needed. We turn now to analyzing the data comprising the 2004 voter turnout forecast.

2. Calculating turnout: the 2004 Legco election

There has been a rising trend of respondents who indicate they plan to vote on 12 September.

Table 3 Do you plan to vote in this September's Legco Election

	9 June	12 July	23 July	12 August	5 Sept
Yes	81	81	85	88	91
No	6	6	4	6	3
Undecided	13	13	11	6	6

While earlier surveys by the Hong Kong Transition Project showed that multiparty elections as a concept and practice were gaining ground, their acceptance was by no means universal. The one conclusion that can be drawn from a rising trend that indicates nearly universal plan to vote is that voting in elections has become a norm in Hong Kong. However, that makes such questions now and increasingly problematic as predictors of behavior. In an attempt to measure actual intentions rather than social norms, we added the follow-up question in Table 4 in July.

Table 4 How strong would you say your commitment to go and vote is in this election?

	23 July	12 Aug	5 Sept
Definitely will vote	57	63	67
Probably will	19	17	15
Maybe will	7	6	5
Hard to say	2	1	3
DK	--	1	--
Will not/undecided	15	12	9

Responses to this question show a rising trend. We believe while this question may better indicate actual turnout, further calculations are needed to increase accuracy. Intentions to vote by constituency show leaps in KW and NTW between mid-August and early September. This shows events such as a candidate scandal can have significant impact on voter turnout.

Table 5 Rows are levels of Definitely Vote (6-12 August)

Columns are levels of Geographic Constituency (GC)

	HKI	KE	KW	NTE	NTW	total
Not vote, undecided, maybe	34	35	45	34	42	37
Definitely vote	66	66	55	66	58	63
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 6.128 with 4 df p = 0.1898 (No significant difference)

Table 6 Rows are levels of Definitely vote (31 Aug-5 Sept)

Columns are levels of Geographic Constituency (GC)

	HKI	KE	KW	NTE	NTW	total
Not vote, undecided, maybe	33	34	29	31	36	33
Definitely vote	67	66	71	69	64	67
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 1.208 with 4 df p = 0.8768 (No significant difference)

We believe this followup question moves closer to determining actual intentions to vote. However, this is not sufficient data upon which to base a projection, as the experience of 2000 shows. We proceed to calculate those in each constituency who have selected a candidate as of 31 August to 5 September.

Table 7 Results of registered voters by GC who have chosen a candidate

	HKI	KE	KW	NTE	NTW	
Not vote, undecided, maybe	47	42	43	47	53	46.4
Candidate selected	53	58	57	53	47	53.6
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Taking into account those who have selected a candidate within one week of the election indicates that turnout range is most likely 53.6 average +/- 10% (5.4)= 48.2 to 59 (average July to September plus range of error) Surveys tend to oversample younger and better educated voters. The most likely turnout, once oversampling of younger and more educated registered voters is factored in, as well as errors in the registration list for voters (thus the 10% margin of error instead of standard survey confidence interval of +/-4 for a survey sample of this size because the error rate of the survey must be added to an estimated error rate in the registration list), is as above. The likeliest turnout should be 54-56 percent. However, given the rising trend of both plan to vote and definitely will vote between June/July and September, there is a possibility that turnout could exceed 60 percent for the first time. We believe the rising trend of intentions will push the likely range of turnout to the high end of the range of the forecast from data compiled one week prior to the election. The bottom line for turnout in this election is that it will greatly exceed turnout in 2000, and will most likely exceed all previous records.

3. Assessing the forecast record and techniques

As above, we look first at the 2000 HKTP forecast and update for 2004. Table 8 shows the results of the 1995 and 1998 Legco elections, and ranges of the 2000 elections as forecast in the early September HKTP Legco election briefing (full report online at <http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktip>) . Table 9 below updates Table 8 with the results.

Table 8 2000 Forecast	1995 Legco		1998 Legco		2000 Legco	
	SEATS	% of vote	SEATS	% of vote	Seats	Vote*
Democrats	12	42.3	9	43.7	10&	41.4
DAB	2	22.2	5	25.2	8-9	29.8
ADPL	2	9.5	0	4.0	1	6
Liberals (pro-business)	1	5.8	0	3.4		
Independents	1	10.7	1	8.3	1-2	
Christine Loh now of Citizens party & Emily Lau now of Frontier (1995)	1 + 1	9.3	1 (1998 Loh only)	2.8		
Frontier (Emily Lau & others)			4	12.6	3-4	12.2#

*based on weighted vote, see below (2000 party estimates at 95% confidence within +/- 2 points) #includes votes for Leung Yiu-chung & includes Lau Chin-shek

Assessment of 2000 Forecast: While the seat tally was accurate and the directions of the voting (down for DP and Frontier from 1998, up for DAB and ADPL) also correct, the DP took even less of the GC vote than forecast, as Table 9 with the comparison shows.

Table 9 2000 geographic results **2000 Legco (Forecast)** **2000 Legco (Actual)**

	Seats	Vote%	Seats	Vote%
Democrats	10	41.4	10*	34.7
DAB/HKPA	8-9	29.8	8	29.4
ADPL	1	6	1	4.7
Independents	1-2		2*	8.3
Frontier (Emily Lau & others)	3-4	12.2#	3	10.7

*Albert Chan resigned from the DP following the election, reducing the DP to 9 seats and boosting independents to 3.

Seat allocation, due to proportional voting, was more reliable to forecast than percentage of the popular vote. However, the addition of 2 new parties running in the GC election plus the addition of 6 new seats, and the virtual collapse of the Hong Kong Progressive Alliance have, given the use of proportional voting and innovations such as the Diamond Ticket in NTE, greatly complicated even seat forecasting in the 2004 election. The Diamond Ticket, which combines voting for DP, Frontier, and Article 45 Concern Group in one ticket also makes allocating percentage of the vote by party impossible. We therefore attempt a forecast of seats by overall alignment, and seats from list preferences.

Table 10 2004 geographic results **Seats**

Democrats	7-9
DAB/HKPA	6-7
ADPL	1 (0)
Liberal Party	2
Article 45 Concern Group	4
Independents (pan-democrats)	3
Independents (pro-government)	1
Frontier (Emily Lau & others)	4-5

Overall Seat Results by Broad Stance

Pan-democrats **20-21 seats**

Pro-government **9-10 seats**

Taking these two groupings (pan-democrat and pro government) and applying them to vote percentages results in Table 11.

Table 11 GC results, Vote percentage 2000 actual versus 2004 forecast

GC	Pan-democrat vote 2000	Pro-government vote 2000	Pan-democrat vote (2004)	Pro-government vote 2004
HK Island	54.1	45.9	57	43
Kowloon East	45	55	65	35
Kowloon West	76.5	23.5	78	22
NT East	67.9	32.1	61	39
NT West	67	33	68	32
Average	62.1	37.9	65.8	34.2

The forecast in Table 11 is based on a by constituency count among decided voters. Table 12 presents a check on the forecast totals above. The results of Table 12 are closely consistent to the results of Table 11. Once the Don't Know responses have been removed, 66 percent of voters support the democratic camp to win a majority in Legco while 35 percent oppose. Given the

trends of increasing voter determination to vote, if the voter turnout comes close to or exceeds 60 percent as is possible, the pan-democratic camp vote percentage would rise closer to 70 percent.

Table 12 Do you support or oppose the democratic camp to win a majority in Legco? (July of Plan to vote)

	July	August (not vote)	August (definitely vote)	September (definitely vote)	September DK removed*
Strongly support	19	6	19	18	19
Support	39	40	42	39	47
Oppose	18	27	17	18	27
Strongly oppose	9	6	6	7	8
Don't know	15	22	16	17	--

*likeliest proportion of votes cast

There seem to be three main factors driving turnout and which party will receive a voter's vote, one is support or opposition to the democratic camp to win a majority in Legco. The second is satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the party's performance. The third is support or opposition to the broad principle of direct election of Chief Executive and all Legco members, but with an even more important component of when the voter wants to see it implemented, i.e., 2007-08 or 2012 or sometime thereafter (or never, as the case may be for some). We will examine these three factors and also look at voting patterns and likely outcomes constituency by constituency. Table 13 shows the likelihood assessments by voters of whether the democratic camp will win a majority in Legco in the election. The table shows steadily diminishing expectations (but not diminishing support, see Table 12 above) as the election approaches.

Table 13 How possible do you think it is that the democratic camp will win a majority in Legco this September? (July of plan to vote)

Group	July	Aug (not vote)	Aug (definitely will vote)	Sept definitely vote
Highly impossible	2	3	5	4
Somewhat impossible	17	19	20	25
Somewhat possible	46	48	44	43
Highly possible	18	8	12	8
Don't Know	17	23	19	20

We will show support or opposition to a democratic majority shown in Table 12 above by GC below in conjunction with the voter distribution by GC forecast. First, we turn to the second factor driving turnout, general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the performance of political parties. Table 14 and 15 show the relative standing of the political parties in the 1999 District Council election and the 2000 Legco election. The District Council races set the stage for the Legco elections. The Democratic Party and DAB nearly tied in number of seats won in the 1999 District Council election, with the DAB gaining on the DP total. The gap between the parties in November 1999 was 10 points in the Democratic Party's favor. (The difference between the DP standing 4 points more satisfied than dissatisfied while DAB had 6 points more dissatisfied than satisfied.) This gap was the smallest since 1993 when the parties first matched up.

Table 14 Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with parties and leaders (Apr 2000)

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Difference +/- April 2000	Difference +/- NOV 1999	% who know about party
Democratic Party led by Martin Lee	57	43	-14	+4	75
DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing	51	49	-2	-6	66
LP led by James Tien	56	44	-12	-20	59
Frontier led by Emily Lau	44	56	+12	+30	66
CTU led by Lau Chin-shek	30	70	+40	+42	64
FTU led by Cheng Yiu Tong	39	61	+22	+24	54
HKPA led by Ambrose Lau	65	35	-30	-34	35
Citizens Party led by Christine Loh	31	69	+38	+44	56
HKADPL led by Fredrick Fung	27	73	+46	+42	52
New Century Forum led by Ng Ching-fai	62	38	-24	Not asked	19

In August 2000 the gap was 10 points in the DAB's favor, and the DAB went on to take nearly 30 percent of the votes while the Democratic Party dropped considerably from its 1998 total of 43.7 percent of the vote, down to 34.7 percent. The Nov

Table 15 Public Survey Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with parties (630 cases: August 2000)

	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Difference +/- August 2000	Difference +/- April 2000	% who know about party
Democratic Party led by Martin Lee	54	46	-8	-14	75
DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing	49	51	+2	-2	68
LP led by James Tien	54	45	-9	-12	62
Frontier led by Emily Lau	31	69	+38	+12	70
CTU led by Lau Chin-shek	21	79	+58	+40	67
FTU led by Cheng Yiu Tong	30	70	+40	+22	54
HKPA led by Ambrose Lau	67	33	-34	-30	31
Citizens Party led by Christine Loh	22	78	+56	+38	66
HKADPL led by Fredrick Fung	22	78	+56	+46	53
New Century Forum led by Ng Ching-fai	52	48	-4	-24	18

Going into the 2004 Legco election, the November 2003 District Council race saw a gap of 54 points in the DP's favor with the DAB, and in head to head races between the DAB and the DP, the DP won 69 seats to DAB's 12. Satisfaction with performance clearly has an effect at the polls.

Table 16 Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Hong Kong parties and leaders (Nov 2003)

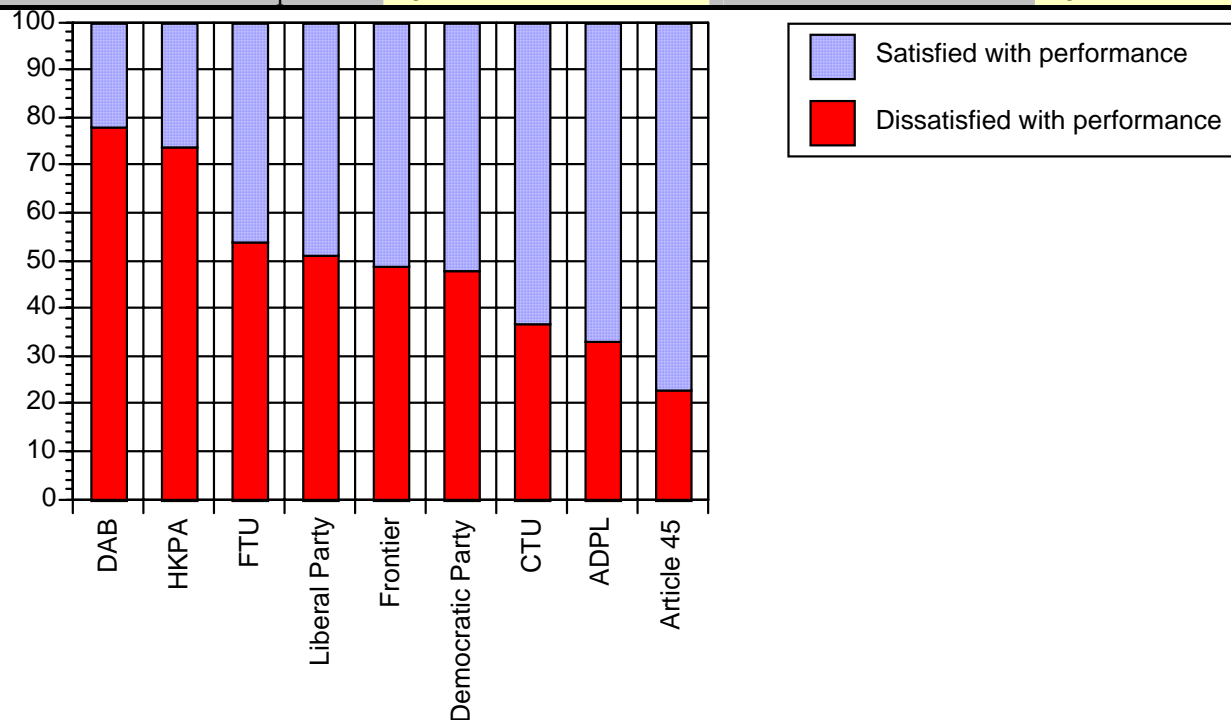
	Dissatisfied 2003	Satisfied 2003	Difference +/- Nov 2003	% know about party 03	Dissatisfied 1999	Satisfied 1999	Difference +/- NOV 1999	% know about party 99
Democratic Party led by Yeung Sum	47	53	+6	75	48	52	+4	79
DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing	74	26	-48	77	53	47	-6	69
LP led by James Tien	45	55	+10	71	60	40	-20	65
Frontier led by Emily Lau	49	51	+2	70	35	65	+30	72
CTU led by Lau Chin-shek	31	69	+38	65	29	71	+42	70
FTU led by Cheng Yiu Tong	60	41	-19	62	38	62	+24	57
HKPA led by Ambrose Lau	73	26	-47	39	67	33	-34	39
Citizens Party led by Alex Chan	45	54	+9	32	28	72	+44	62
HKADPL led by Fredrick Fung	29	71	+42	53	29	71	+42	59
New Century Forum by Ng Chingfai	56	44	-12	33	--	--	Nonexist	

*Numbers are percentages of those who plan to vote

At the start of the 2004 Legco campaign the DP enjoyed a 60 point gap between itself and the DAB. The gap between its allies and the allies of the DAB was also considerable, with the exception of the Liberal Party, which stood only 6 points down from the DP.

Table 17 12 July 2004 Rank order of dissatisfaction with political parties

Party	Dissatisfied with performance	Satisfied with performance	Difference July
DAB	78	22	-56
HK Progressive Alliance	74	26	-48
Federation of Trade Unions	54	46	-8
Liberal Party	51	49	-2
Frontier	49	51	+2
Democratic Party	48	52	+4
Confederation of Trade Unions	37	63	+26
ADPL	33	67	+34
Article 45 Concern Group	23	77	+54



To show the calculations involved in determining swings and rank orders, Table 18 shows all results including Don't Know (DK), of those who say they definitely will vote.

Table 18 Satisfaction with performance/DK in BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE (12 Aug)

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DP led by Yeung Sum	12	26	39	4	19
DAB led by Ma Lik	30	37	16	1	17
LP led by James Tien	8	29	36	2	25
Frontier led by Emily Lau	15	24	37	3	22
CTU by Lau Chin-shek	6	20	47	2	24
FTU by Cheng Yiu-tong	11	28	31	2	29
HKPA by Ambrose Lau	19	25	9	--	47
Article 45 by Audrey Eu	6	12	39	15	28
ADPL by Fredrick Fung	4	21	39	3	33
NCF by Ma Fung Kwok	7	14	8	-	71

Table 19 removes the don't knows and shows the recalculated results of the table above once the DK responses are removed.

Table 19 Satisfaction with performance/DK out BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE (12 Aug)

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied
DP led by Yeung Sum	15	32	48	5
DAB led by Ma Lik	35	45	19	1
LP led by James Tien	11	39	48	2
Frontier led by Emily Lau	18	31	47	4
CTU by Lau Chin-shek	8	26	62	3
FTU by Cheng Yiu-tong	15	40	43	2
HKPA by Ambrose Lau	35	47	17	1
Article 45 by Audrey Eu	8	17	54	21
ADPL by Fredrick Fung	6	31	59	3
NCF by Ma Fung Kwok	22	45	27	1

Table 20 below collapses responses from the table above, shows the number of those who definitely will vote and who gave other than DK responses. The gap between the DAB and DP was 66 points in the DP's favor against the DAB in the second week of August.

Table 20 Satisfaction with performance/DK out BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE
(12 August 2004) Ranked by dissatisfaction

Party	Dissatisfied with performance	Satisfied with performance	Difference August
HK Progressive Alliance	82	18	-64
DAB	80	20	-60
FTU	55	45	-10
Liberal Party	50	50	0
Frontier	49	51	+2
Democratic Party	47	53	+6
ADPL	37	63	+26
Confederation of Trade Unions	34	66	+32
Article 45 Concern Group	25	75	+50

*with an opinion who definitely will vote

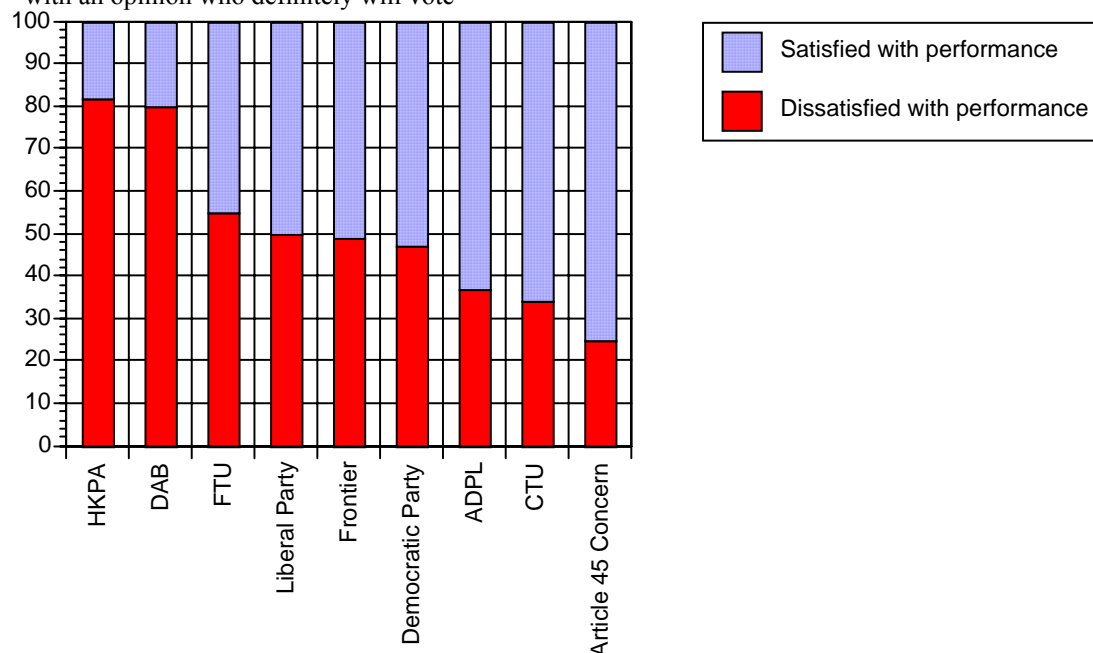


Table 21 to 23 perform the same steps on the results of the early September survey.

Table 21 Satisfaction with performance/DK in BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE (5 Sept)

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DP led by Yeung Sum	13	28	40	5	15
DAB led by Ma Lik	29	37	16	2	17
LP led by James Tien	8	32	37	2	21
Frontier led by Emily Lau	16	22	40	3	19
CTU by Lau Chin-shek	5	20	47	4	24
FTU by Cheng Yiu-tong	14	31	27	2	27
HKPA by Ambrose Lau	17	24	9	1	51
Article 45 by Audrey Eu	6	12	41	16	25
ADPL by Fredrick Fung	5	15	44	5	32
NCF by Ma Fung Kwok	6	15	8	1	70

Table 22 Satisfaction with performance/DK out BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE (5 Sept)

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied
DP led by Yeung Sum	15	33	47	6
DAB led by Ma Lik	35	44	19	2
LP led by James Tien	10	39	49	2
Frontier led by Emily Lau	20	27	49	4
CTU by Lau Chin-shek	7	27	61	4
FTU by Cheng Yiu-tong	20	42	36	2
HKPA by Ambrose Lau	34	48	17	1
Article 45 by Audrey Eu	8	16	55	21
ADPL by Fredrick Fung	7	21	65	7
NCF by Ma Fung Kwok	17	52	29	2

Table 23 collapses responses from the table above, shows the number of those who definitely will vote and who gave other than DK responses

Table 23 Satisfaction with performance/DK out BY DEFINITELY WILL VOTE (5 Sept 2004) Ranked by dissatisfaction

Party	Dissatisfied with performance	Satisfied with performance	Difference September
HK Progressive Alliance	82	18	-64
DAB	79	21	-58
New Century Forum	69	31	-38
FTU	62	38	-24
Liberal Party	49	51	+2
Democratic Party	48	52	+4
Frontier	47	53	+6
Confederation of Trade Unions	34	66	+32
ADPL	28	72	+44
Article 45 Concern Group	24	76	+52

*with an opinion who definitely will vote

The gap between the DAB and DP one week prior to the 2004 Legco election is 62 points. There is a gap of only 2 points between the Liberal Party (LP) and the DP. However, every pan-democratic camp member is advantaged, some considerably, over every pro-government camp member. For example, the Article 45 Concern Group has a gap of 116 points (out of a theoretical

maximum of 200 points) between its satisfaction rating (52 percentage points more satisfied than dissatisfied) while the HK Progressive Alliance has 64 points more dissatisfied than satisfied in its ratings. (If a group had 100 percent satisfaction and another had 100 percent dissatisfaction, the gap between the positive ratings and the negative ratings of the two groups would be 200 points).

Chart of Table 23, Satisfaction with party performance (5 Sept 2004)

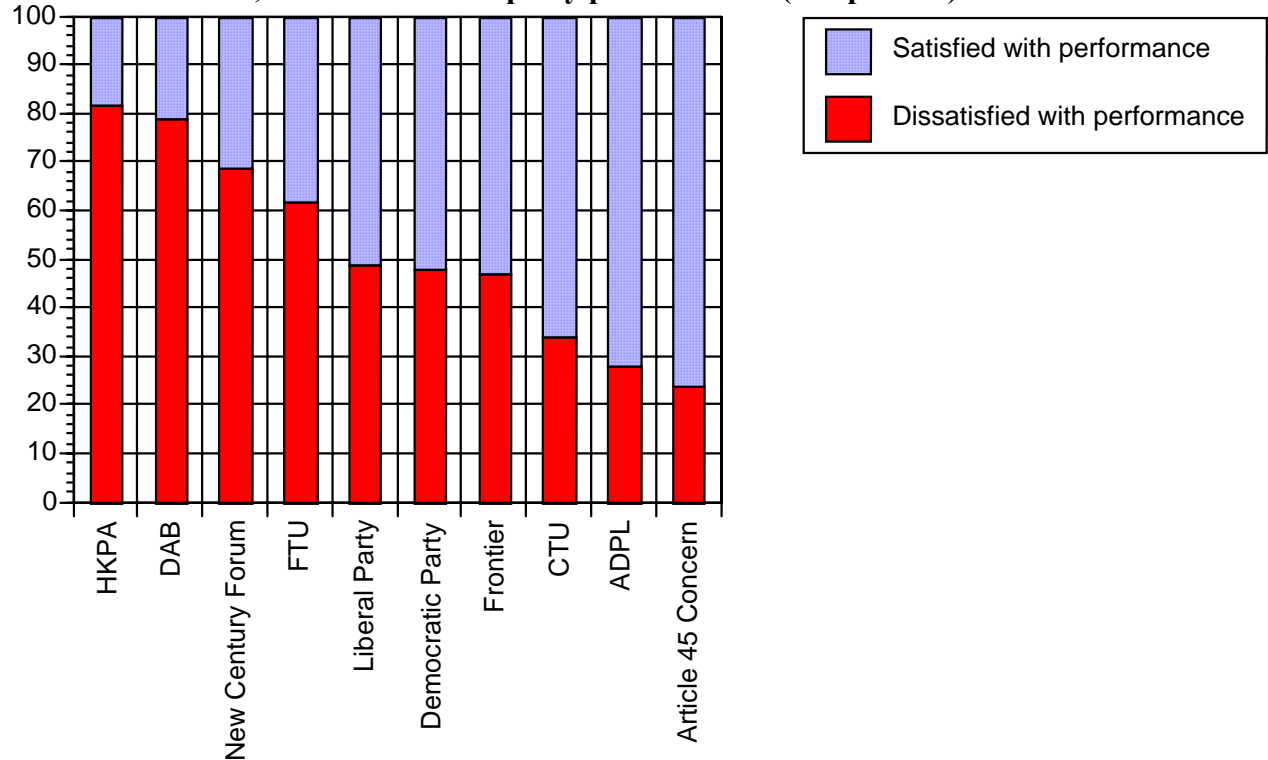


Table 24 and the following chart take the dissatisfaction with performance percentages from the tables above and collects them all into a comparative table and chart. As may be seen from the chart, dissatisfaction has risen with every pro-government party but the Liberal Party. However, dissatisfaction has also risen with the CTU, Frontier and ADPL since the 2000 election. Dissatisfaction with the DP has actually dropped from 2000, despite the scandals surrounding some of its members.

Table 24 Relative Dissatisfaction with performance of parties, 2000 compared to 2004

Party	August 2000 Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied July 2004	Dissatisfied August 2004	Dissatisfied Sept 2004
DAB	49	78	80	79
HK Progressive Alliance	67	74	82	82
Federation of Trade Unions	30	54	55	62
Liberal Party	54	51	50	49
Frontier	31	49	49	47
Democratic Party	54	48	47	48
CTU	21	37	34	34
ADPL	22	33	37	28
Article 45 Concern Group	--	23	25	24

Chart: Relative dissatisfaction with Parties, 2000 versus 2004

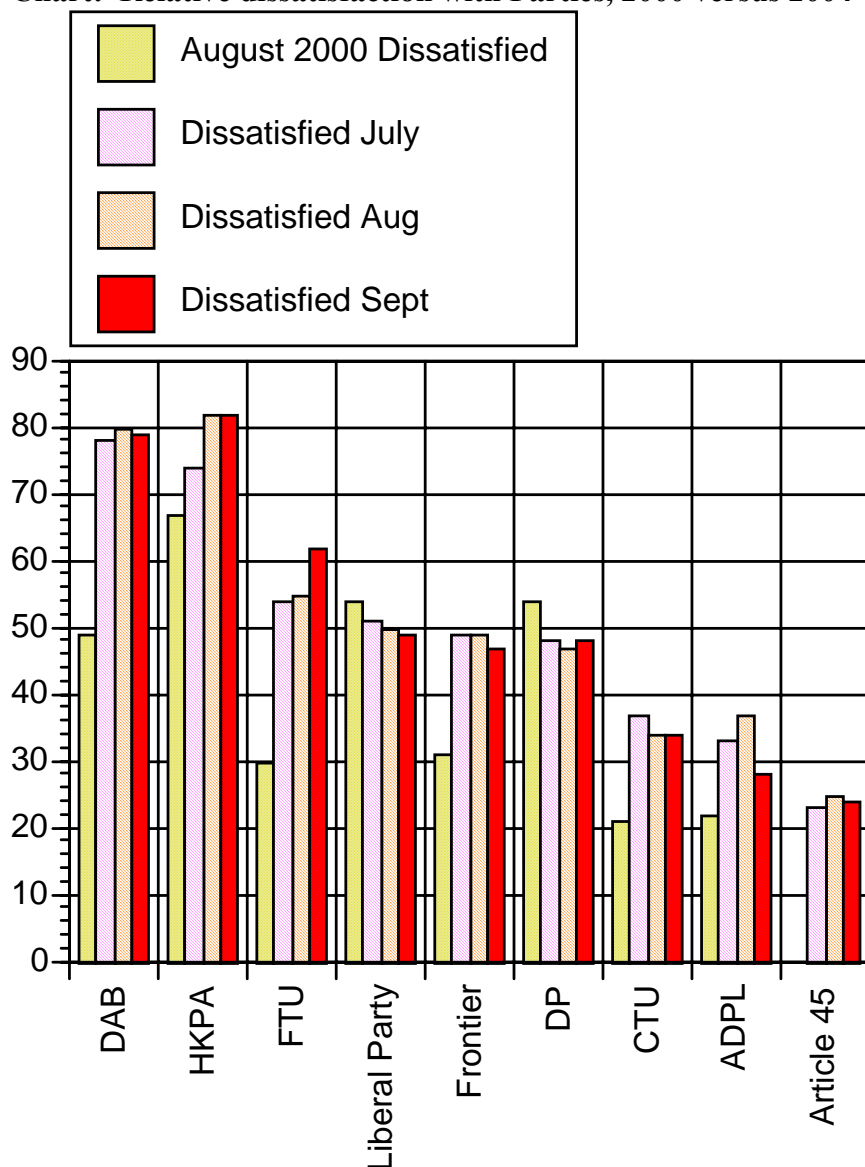
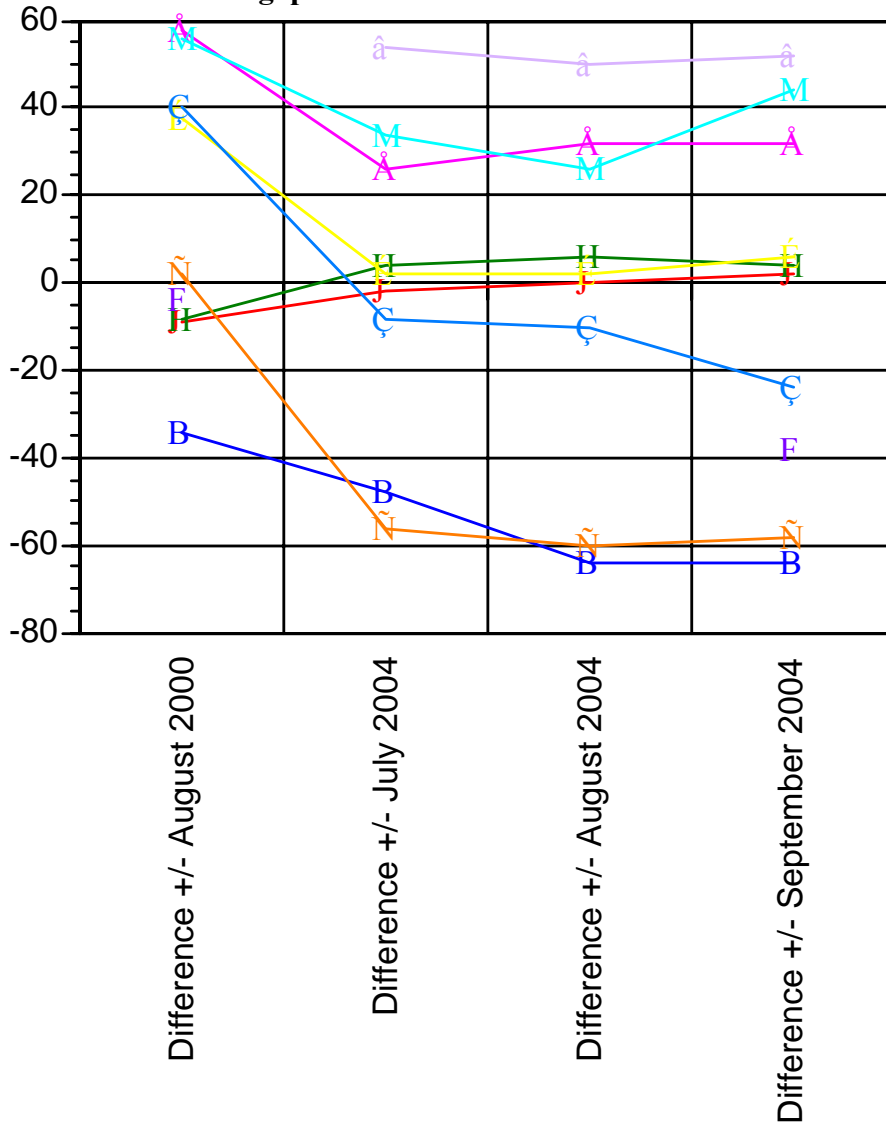


Table 25 and the following chart track the satisfaction gaps and compares 2000 to 2004 to show trends in these gaps. If more are dissatisfied than satisfied, the gap is negative (-) if otherwise, it is shown positive (+)

Table 25 Ranked according to August 2000 most negative to most positive

	Difference +/- August 2000	Difference +/- July 2004	Difference +/- August 2004	Difference +/- September 2004
HKPA led by Ambrose Lau	-34	-48	-64	-64
LP led by James Tien	-9	-2	0	+2
Democratic Party led by Martin Lee	-8	+4	+6	+4
New Century Forum led by Ng Ching-fai	-4	--	--	-38
DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing	+2	-56	-60	-58
Frontier led by Emily Lau	+38	+2	+2	+6
FTU led by Cheng Yiu Tong	+40	-8	-10	-24
CTU led by Lau Chin-shek	+58	+26	+32	+32
HKADPL led by Fredrick Fung	+56	+34	+26	+44
Article 45 Concern group	NA	+54	+50	+52

Chart: Trends in gap between satisfaction and dissatisfaction



- B— HKPA led by Ambrose Lau
- J— LP led by James Tien
- H— Democratic Party led by Martin Lee
- F— New Century Forum led by Ng Ching-fai
- N— DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing
- E— Frontier led by Emily Lau
- C— FTU led by Cheng Yiu Tong
- A— CTU led by Lau Chin-shek
- M— HKADPL led by Fredrick Fung
- â— Article 45 Concern group

4. Geographic Constituency comparison and forecast

Hong Kong Island

Table 26 presents the survey results and weighted assessments of the HKTP 2000 Legco election project for Hong Kong Island GC.

Table 26 2000 Hong Kong Island Forecast (5 seats)

Candidate	Plan to vote (undecided in)	Plan to vote (undecided out)	Weighted**	1998 result	2000 actual
Jennifer Chow Kit Bing	-	-			5.5
DAB Cheng Kai-nam	21	31	21 (1 seat)#	29.22	27.8
Angel Leung On-kay	-	-			2.7
DP led by Martin Lee	33	49	41 (2 seats)+	46.61	35.3
Frontier Cyd Ho Sau-lan	3	4	*possible		9.9
Fung Leung-lo	5	7	*possible		5.9
Yung Chan-lung	-	-			
Tsang Kin-shing	4	6			3.8
Paul Tse Wai-chun	-	-			
David Lan Hong-tsung	1	2			5.5
Andrew Shuen Pak-man	-	-			
Not decided yet	32	redistributed			

2 seats if undecided redistribute normally, but unlikely; +If undecided from DAB swing to DP, could go to 45% of vote, but they will likely break toward Cyd Ho and Fung Leung-lo

In Table 27 we present results of the August GC survey and select out definite voters only, then of definite voters only for Sept, and then merged August and September survey results, again of definite voters only (for maximum sample size). In the next to final column (toward the right) the averaged results are adjusted for hidden voters, voters who indicate they have made a choice, definitely will vote, but will not reveal their choice to the interviewer) and adjustment for oversampling of higher education, younger voters which is typical of all surveys in Hong Kong. Younger and more highly educated voters tend to vote for pro-democracy candidates in greater proportions than older, less educated voters. The final column presents the likely number of seats each list will take.

Table 27 2004 Hong Kong Island Results (likely voters only) 6 seats, threshold 17%

	August	August Definite vote	Sept Definite vote	Merged Aug & Sept	Adjusted for "hidden votes" & oversampling	Seats
DAB	13	13	12	12	15	1
DP	39	41	26	33	32	2
Art 45	30	28	32	31	31	2
Rita Fan	12	17	30	21	22	1
Tsang KS	1	1	1	1		
Wong KF	1					

Table 28 shows the consistency of “support or oppose a democratic camp majority in Legco” with the candidates voters indicated they have selected. That 27 percent of Rita Fan’s likely voters support a democratic majority indicate that either other factors are determining their vote than her stance toward direct elections or that they agree with the principle that the democratic majority might represent but support the slower pace she prefers. There is a high degree of consistency between voters for the pro-direct election, pro-democracy camp and the candidates they choose. The few who oppose a democratic majority but indicate they will vote for Article 45 or DP candidates indicates, as with Ms Fan, that voters are casting their ballots for reasons other than the candidates’ stance on direct elections. Clearly, a vote for the first three parties in the table is a vote, by and large, for direct elections, sooner rather than later.

**Table 28 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference HK Island**

	KS Tsang	Article 45	DP	DAB	Rita Fan	total
Support dem majority	100	97	96	11	27	69
Oppose dem majority	0	3	4	89	73	31
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

cases selected according to Definitely vote

Table Contents: Percent of Column total

Table 29 shows the results of Table 28 as a percentage of the overall vote. The results differ from Table 27 due to dropping don’t know responses to the support/oppose a democratic majority. Table 29, if this vote is in effect a referendum on direct elections for most voters, may come closer to the actual results than Table 27. However, other factors do affect voter behavior, particularly those voting for the DAB and Liberal Party. These are dealt with in the section of this report dealing with worry about economic issues and satisfaction with the performance of the government.

**Table 29 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference HK Island Percent of Table**

	KS Tsang	Article 45	DP	DAB	Rita Fan	total
Support dem majority	1	33	27	1	7	69
Oppose dem majority	0	1	1	9	20	31
total	1	34	28	10	28	100

Table contents: Percent of Table Total

cases selected according to Definitely vote

Kowloon East

The 2000 forecast got the seat distribution but the voting was more evenly divided than expected.

Table 30 Kowloon East (4 seats)

Candidate	Plan to vote (undecided in)	Plan to vote (undecided out)	Weighted 2000 forecast	1998 result	2000 actual
DP led by Szeto Wah	45	65	54 (2 seats)	55.8	45.3
Lam Hoi-shing	1	1			
Shi Kai-bui, Lam Wai-yin	1	1			
DAB led by Chan Yuen Han	23	32	41 (2 seats)	41.8	47.3
undecided	30				

The addition of a fifth seat into the constituency, the splitting of the FTU and DAB, the addition of Albert Cheng and Alan Leong of Article 45 Concern Group, and the DP candidate Ho Waito scandal have shattered reliable voting patterns of the past. There is a possibility that the DAB ticket may not return a seat at all, but only if voters choose to support the DP over Frontier or Frontier’s Albert Cheng over the DP list. For now, it looks likely they will be closely divided, just enough to permit the DAB to squeak in with a seat. But an upset could be expected. The FTU total looks to be seriously reduced from its former heights.

Table 31 Kowloon East Results (likely voters only) 5 seats, threshold 20%

	August	Aug Def vote	Sept definite vote	Merged Aug & Sept definite vote	Adjusted for “hidden votes” & oversampling	Seats
DAB	7	8	9	9	10*	1 (0)
FTU	22	19	15	16	17	1
Art 45	22	26	19	20	19	1
DP	32	27	23	28	27*	1 (2)
Frontier	12	20	34	24	27*	1 (2)

Pro-democracy camp gets 3 seats with all results

As with HK Island, the voters clearly associate their vote with support or opposition to a democratic majority (and what that majority primarily demands, full direct elections). Table 32 shows the percentages of each list supporting or opposing a democratic majority in Legco while Table 33 presents the same findings in percent of table totals.

**Table 32 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference Kowloon East**

	DP	Article 45	Frontier	FTU	DAB	total
Support dem majority	100	89	88	13	0	71
Oppose dem majority	0	11	12	87	100	29
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 31.71 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$
cases selected according to Definitely vote

**Table 33 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference Kowloon East % of Table**

	DP	Article 45	Frontier	FTU	DAB	total
Support dem majority	22	16	31	2	0	71
Oppose dem majority	0	2	4	14	8	29
total	22	18	35	16	8	100

table contents: Percent of Table Total
Chi-square = 31.71 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$
cases selected according to Definitely vote

Clearly some are voting for Albert Cheng and Alan Leong for reasons other than their pro-democracy stance. The same is true for a few voters for the FTU. The DAB and DP voters are clearly polarized along support or opposition to a democratic majority, i.e., direct elections sooner rather than later.

Kowloon West

The HKTP 2000 election forecast for Kowloon West was, as the others, accurate in terms of seat allocation. However, it was also much more accurate in terms of vote distribution as well. With no change in seats in the GC (still 4 in 2004) and no change in the parties, KW was expected to be the quietest and most predictable of the districts.

Table 34 Kowloon West (4 seats)

Candidate	Plan to vote (undecided in)	Plan to vote (undecided out)	Weighted 2000 forecast	1998 result	2000 actual
DAB led by Tsang Yok-sing	26	37	28 (1 seat)	21.73	23.5
ADPL led by Fung Kin-kee	23	33	30 (1 seat)	19.25	35
CTU/DP led Lau Chin-shek	20	38	43 (2 seats)	55.05	41.3
Ha Siu-kwong	1	2			
undecided	30				

However, as table 35 shows, the decision by the ADPL to split their tickets could spell disaster for the ADPL. There is a possibility that Fredrick Fung could lose his seat by splitting the ADPL vote with Bruce Liu. Unless there is a shift at the last minute and unless the DAB performs better than expected, the DP list may squeeze out a second seat and leave ADPL without a seat.

Table 35 Kowloon West Results (likely voters only) 4 seats, threshold 25%

	August	Aug Def vote	Sept definitely vote	Aug& Sept merged, definitely vote	Weighted forecast	Seats
DAB	23	27	18	19	20	1
DP	39	44	38	39	39	1 (2)
ADPL Fung	23	15	11	11	13	1 (0)
ADPL Liu	2	2	7	7	7	
Frontier	9	13	23	19	20	1
others	2	2		1	1	

Pro-democracy camp wins 3 with all calculations

Unlike the DP and DAB, the ADPL and CTU voters (Lau Chin-shek) clearly support their candidates for more reasons than their stance on direct elections.

**Table 36 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference Kowloon West**

	ADPL Fung	ADPL Liu	Lau CS	DP To	DAB	Lau YS	total
Support dem majority	56	80	67	94	14	0	68
Oppose dem majority	44	20	33	6	86	100	32
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
cases selected according to Definitely vote(merged)
Chi-square = 32.28 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Again, the results of Table 37 differ from Table 35 due to dropping those with DK responses to support or oppose a democratic majority. If this is an issue which erupts or receives strengthened attention in the final days before the election, the vote totals would shift toward those in Table 37.

**Table 37 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference Kowloon West % of Table**

	ADPL Fung	ADPL Liu	Frontier	DP To	DAB	Lau YS	total
Support dem majority	6	5	12	40	2	0	68
Oppose dem majority	5	1	6	2	15	1	32
Total	11	6	19	42	17	1	100

table contents: Percent of Table Total
cases selected according to Definitely vote(merged)
Chi-square = 32.28 with 6 df $p \leq 0.0001$

New Territories East

In the NT East the pan-democrats are trying a new tack of a unified ticket. The results of the 1998 and 2000 forecast and actual outcome are in Table 38.

Table 38 New Territories East (5 seats)

Candidate	Plan to vote (undecided in)	Plan to vote (undecided out)	Weighted	1998 result	2000 actual
DP led by Andrew Cheng	17	25	21 (1 seat)	25.8	16
DP led by Wong Sing-chi	7	11	9*		8.4
Frontier led by Emily Lau	18	26	33 (2 seats)*	31.04	20.6
Andrew Wong Wang-fat	8	12	12 (1 seat)		14.6
DAB led by Lau Kong-wah	13	19	18 (1 seat)	17.29	21.7
LP led by Lau Hing-kee	3	4			5
Brian Kan Ping-chee					2.5
Law Cheung Kwok	1	2			2.2
Leung Kwok Hung					5.9
undecided	32				

It seems clear that traditional DAB support and Andrew Wong's traditional support are the ones most hit by James Tien's LP candidacy. The organizational ability of the diamond ticket may squeeze a 4th seat, with Long Hair being pushed out and Andrew Wong tipping in, but the race for the last 2 seats should be a matter of 1 or 2 point margins.

Table 39 NT East Results (likely voters only) 7 seats, threshold is 14%

	August	Aug definitely vote	Sept definitely vote	Aug-Sept merged definite vote	Weighted forecast	Seats
DAB	12	11	10	11	13	1
Diamond	52	56	51	52	50	3 (4)
A Wong	7	7	7	7	7	1*
LP	17	20	26	21	22	1
Leung KH	4	6	5	5	6	1*
Tso WW	2	1	3	2	2	

**Table 40 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference NT East**

	A Wong	Cheng*	Lau*	Tong*	Wong SC*	Leung KH	DAB	Tso WW	LP Tien	total
Support dem majority	50	93	75	100	100	100	0	0	36	71
Oppose dem majority	50	7	25	0	0	0	100	100	64	29
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

cases selected according to Definitely vote(merged)

Chi-square = 49.99 with 9 df $p \leq 0.0001$ *Diamond ticket

As Table 40 and 41 show, the diamond ticket mostly draws those who support a democratic majority and what they represent. Andrew Wong's voters appear less affected by democratic majority and direct elections as a campaign issue. The strength of various factors other than direct elections-democratic majority will be covered in later sections of this report.

**Table 41 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference NT East % of Table**

	A Wong	Cheng*	Lau*	Tong*	Wong SC*	Leung KH	DAB	Tso WW	LP Tien	total
Support dem majority	4	42	6	6	1	3	0	0	5	71
Oppose dem majority	4	3	2	0	0	0	9	1	9	29
Total	8	45	8	6	1	3	9	1	15	100

Table contents: Percent of Table Total

cases selected according to Definitely vote(merged)

Chi-square = 49.99 with 9 df $p \leq 0.0001$ *Diamond ticket

New Territories West

In 2000 the biggest upset in NT West was Lee Wing-tat's loss when DP strategists thought Lee could shift votes to Alex Ho and both could overcome the second seat of the DAB. Leung Yiu-chung ran with surprising strength, and drew enough away from the DP tickets to cost Lee a seat. The forecast that DAB would substantially increase its turnout was highly accurate.

Table 42 New Territories West (6 seats)

Candidate	Plan to vote (undecided in)	Plan to vote (undecided out)	Weighted	1998 result	2000 actual
Frontier/Lee Cheuk Yan	11	18	21 (1 seat)	12.45	15.2
DP led by Lee Wing-tat	10	16	13 (1 seat)	39.21	10.4
DP led by Ho Chun-yan	7	12	9*		11.2
Leung Yiu-chung	4	6	9*	10.3	17.3
LP Yeung Fuk-kwong	2	3			2.7
DAB Tam Yiu-chung	16	27	27 (2 seats)	19.35	29.5
DP Albert Chan	11	18	14 (1 seat)		12.7
undecided	14				

It seems clear that Selina Chow's LP ticket in NT West will not fare as well as James Tien's in NT East. Also all surveys of NT West show a great deal of undecided but likely voters (20 percent in NT West indicated they would definitely vote but would not indicate a candidate or said they had not made up their minds, by far the highest of the GCs). There is a possibility that the traditional strength of the DAB may be hurt not only by the DAB's high negatives but also by clan disputes between former Legco and HKPA member Tang Siu-tong and the Lau clan backed DAB ticket. If these voters stay home or vote for others in protest, the DP or one of the other pan-democratic tickets could take the second seat away from DAB.

Table 43 NT West Results (likely voters only) 8 seats, threshold is 13%

	Aug	Aug definite vote	Sept definite vote	Aug-Sept merged	Weighted forecast	Seats
DAB	8	17	11	14	20	2*
DP Lee	26	16	18	23	20	1*
DP Ho	22	21	8	22	15	1
A Chan	4	10	11	8	10	1
LP	9	12	10	9	10	1
Leung YC	7	11	8	8	11	1
Front/Lee	11	10	8	10	10	1
Yim TS	1	1	3	1	1	
Ng TL			-			
Char SN			-	1	1	
Lui HT			-			
Ching LS			-			
Chow PT			-	1	1	

*Pro-democracy camp gets 5 (Lee DP ticket may be close enough to take 2nd seat from DAB, but likely undercount of older, pro-DAB voters make this unlikely unless the Lau versus Tang clan disagreement swings Tang clan to vote for LP. No sign of that currently.)

**Table 44 Rows are levels of Support/Oppose a democratic camp majority
Columns are levels of Candidate List preference NT West**

	DP Lee	DP Ho	A. Chan	Yim TS	Lee CY	Leung YC	DAB	LP	Char	Chow PT	total
Support dem majority	96	100	83	100	80	67	25	50	100	100	80
Oppose dem majority	4	0	17	0	20	33	75	50	0	0	20
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 30.26 with 12 df p = 0.0026

5. Functional Constituency Elections

For the first time the Hong Kong Transition Project working with Civic Exchange had enough funding to conduct a detailed study of the Functional Constituencies. This study will be released after the election since the survey of FC voters is ongoing right up to the election and the results need very extensive stratification and statistical testing before reliable results can be obtained. However, Table 45 compiles the count of responses in the surveys and attempts, for the first time, a forecast of results where there seems a degree of reliable indication of FC voter sentiments.

Table 45 Functional Constituencies, survey counts

	#	#	#	#	#	#	All Surveys
	June 25-20 & July 2-3	July 23-30	Aug 6-12	Aug 16-21	Aug 22-29	31 Aug - Sept 5	
Acc. Leung Wing-on Louis	--	2	1	1	--	2	6
Acc. Kung Yiu-fai Elve Ronald	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Acc. Chow Kwong Fai Edward	--	1	--	1	--	--	2
Acc. Tam Heung Man	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Acc. Chan Mo-po Paul	--	--	1	5	--	2	8
Acc. Chan Po-fun	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Arch. Ng Wing-fai Stanley	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Arch. Missim Roger Anthony	--	--	1	4	1	2	8
Arch. [Lau Ping-cheung Kaizer	1	--	--	5	1	--	7
Arch. Chan Yiu-fai	--	--	--	5	--	--	5
Arch. Lau Sau Shing Patrick	--	1	--	15	--	--	16
Arch. Chan Jor-kin Kenneth	--	--	--	4	--	--	4
Catering Tommy Cheung Yu-yan	1	2	--	1	1	1	6
Catering Wong Sin-ying	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Catering Chan Shu-ying	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Edn. Cheung Man-kwong	32	18	13	25	25	34	147
Edn. Yu Kai-chun	--	--	--	1	2	1	4
Eng. Luk Wang-kwong	--	1	1	11	--	1	14
Eng. Ho Chung Tai Raymond	1	1	1	24	1	2	30
Health Mak Kwok-fung Michael	1	2	--	5	2	1	11
Health Lee Kok-long Joseph	--	5	4	2	3	6	20
Health Pong Scarlett Oi-lan	--	--	1	--	1	1	3
Health Siu Kwai-fung	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
IT Tam Wai Ho	1	3	1	1	--	1	7
IT Sin Chung-kai	8	6	2	7	3	2	28
Labor: Chan Kwok-keung	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Legal Margaret Ng Ngoi-yee	4	8	2	6	1	2	23
Med. Lo Wing-lok	1	1	1	3	1	2	9
Med. Kwok Ka-ki	--	--	1	--	--	1	2
Soc. Welfare Cheung Kwok-che	1	1	2	--	--	2	6
Soc. Welfare Cheung Chiu Hung Fernando	--	2	--	--	--	1	3
Soc. Welfare Fang Meng-sang Christine	4	2	--	3	2	2	13
Sports Lam Hon-kin	--	--	1	--	--	1	2
Sports Timothy Fok Tsun-ting	1	--	--	1	--	--	2
Tourism Howard Young	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Tourism Tse Wai-chun Paul	--	1	1	1	--	1	4
Wholesale Chan Tim-shing Manuel	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Not Decided Yet	192	196	22	150	35	42	635
Will not Vote	--	--	2	23	5	6	36
Total No. of FC Voters:	248	254	36	313	87	116	1054

Red: pro-government favored to win

Blue: pro-democracy favored to win

Orange: Independent favored to win

6 Trends and analysis of issues and attitudes

Worry: What are voters worried about and how will that affect their voting?

Clearly concern about Hong Kong's future as a part of China has begun to ease. The transition to greater integration with the mainland, which occurred at the same time as the Asian Currency Crisis of 1997 triggered a lengthy economic downturn and 68 straight months of deflation ate away at Hong Kong people's confidence in their future.

Table 46 How do you feel about 1997 and Hong Kong's reunion with China? (Feb and June 1997) Looking back over the first year, how do you feel about HK's prospects for the future as part of China? (July 98) **How do you feel currently about HK's future prospects as a part of China?** (Apr 99 on)

	Very Optimistic	Optimistic	Neither	Pessimistic	Very Pessimistic	DK
Feb 1997	7	55	30	6	--	2
June 1997	6	54	32	6	1	1
July 1998	6	41	30	13	4	6
Apr 1999	5	37	33	15	2	7
July 1999	5	35	33	14	4	9
Nov 1999	4	36	39	13	4	4
Apr 2000	5	37	33	15	2	7
Aug 2000	3	27	40	19	3	8
Nov 2000	5	33	38	16	4	4
Apr 2001	4	26	41	19	5	5
June 2001	3	30	38	21	5	4
July 2001	3	24	35	29	7	2
Nov 2001	2	22	31	30	11	5
Apr 2002	3	23	34	30	7	3
Aug 2002	1	16	33	35	11	3
Nov 2002	4	21	34	26	11	5
Mar 2003	1	17	28	35	15	4
June 2003	2	19	31	31	7	9
Apr 2004	3	30	32	25	5	5
May 2004	4	32	36	16	6	6
June 2004	4	32	39	18	3	5
23 July 2004	5	35	34	19	2	5
Aug 2004	5	38	38	14	2	3
Sept 2004	5	40	34	14	2	3

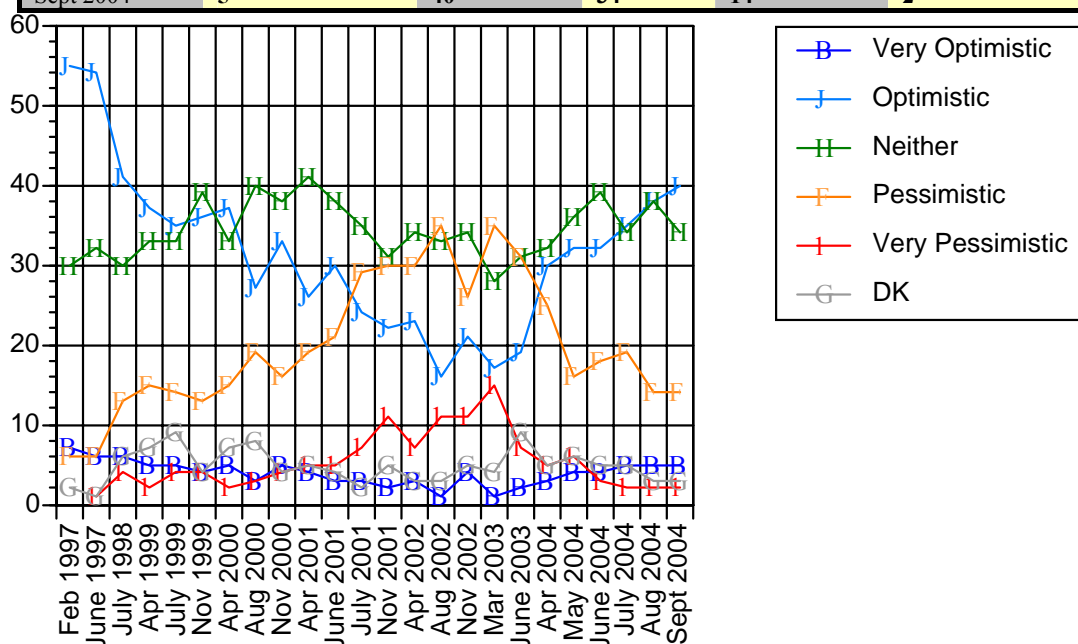


Table 47 Collapsed categories—optimism about HK future as part of China

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimist
Feb 1997	62	32	6
June 1997	60	33	7
July 1998	47	36	17
Apr 1999	42	40	17
July 1999	40	42	18
Nov 1999	40	43	17
Apr 2000	42	40	17
Aug 2000	30	48	22
Nov 2000	38	42	20
Apr 2001	30	46	24
June 2001	33	42	26
July 2001	27	37	36
Nov 2001	24	36	41
Apr 2002	26	34	37
Aug 2002	17	36	46
Nov 2002	25	39	37
Mar 2003	18	32	50
June 2003	21	40	38
Apr 2004	33	37	30
May 2004	36	42	22
June 2004	36	44	21
23 July 04	40	39	21
Aug 2004	43	41	16
Sept 2004	45	37	16

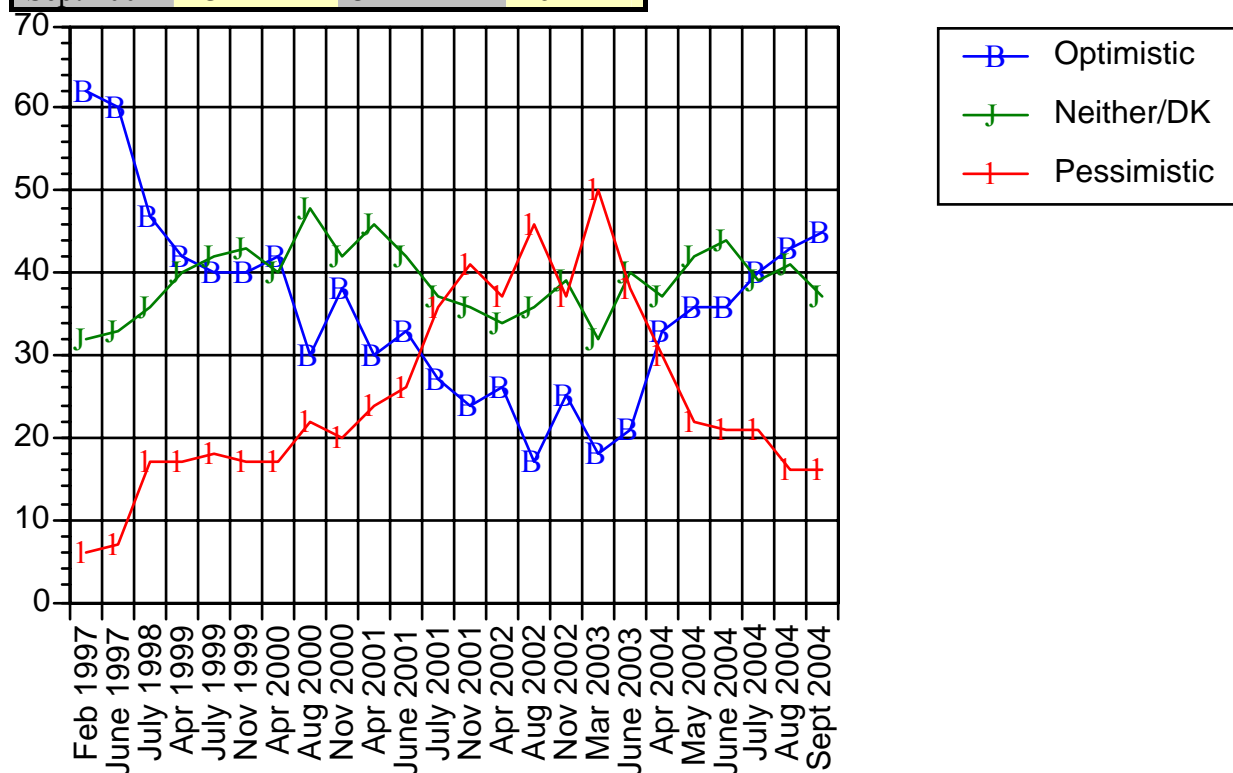


Table 48 and the following chart list the issues the surveys ask respondents about their degree of worry. The scale is at the bottom of Table 48. The highlighted issues show that the worry levels of those who say they will definitely vote is higher than those less likely to vote concerning personal freedom, corruption, free press, free speech, the competitiveness of Hong Kong, overpopulation and rule of law. Those who say they definitely will vote are also less worried than those who say probably or maybe will vote on issues such as personal standard of living, family prospects, economic prospects in Hong Kong, their employment situation, and social unrest. This indicates that the election is less about these economically related issues to most voters than those issues which are more related to human rights and leadership. Those who say they definitely will vote are higher in their degree of worry than those less likely to vote.

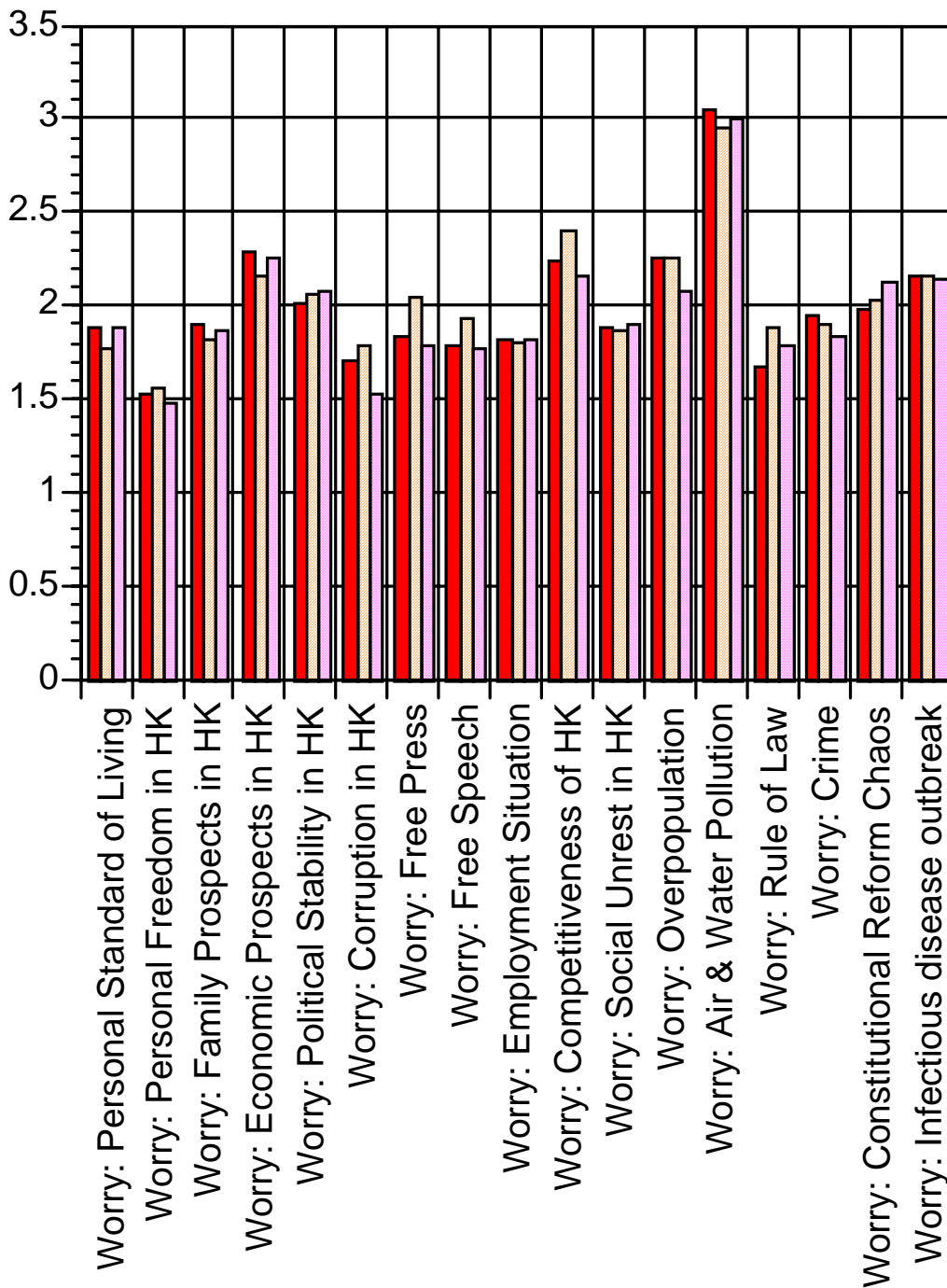
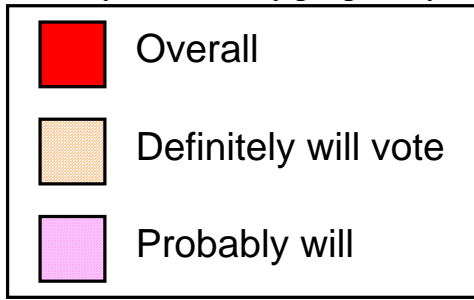
Table 48 Worry on issues by propensity to vote*

	Overall	Definitely will vote	Probably will	Maybe will
Worry: Personal Standard of Living in HK	1.89	1.78	1.89	2.09
Worry: Personal Freedom in HK	1.54	1.57	1.48	1.44
Worry: Family Prospects in HK	1.91	1.83	1.88	2.00
Worry: Economic Prospects in HK	2.30	2.16	2.26	2.27
Worry: Political Stability in HK	2.02	2.07	2.09	2.00
Worry: Corruption in HK	1.71	1.80	1.54	1.64
Worry: Free Press	1.84	2.05	1.79	1.71
Worry: Free Speech	1.80	1.94	1.78	1.59
Worry: Employment Situation	1.83	1.81	1.82	1.91
Worry: Competitiveness of HK	2.25	2.41	2.17	2.15
Worry: Social Unrest in HK	1.89	1.87	1.90	1.88
Worry: Overpopulation	2.26	2.26	2.08	2.18
Worry: Air & Water Pollution	3.06	2.96	3.01	2.88
Worry: Rule of Law	1.68	1.89	1.79	1.65
Worry: Crime	1.96	1.91	1.84	1.82
Worry: Constitutional Reform Disputes Causing Chaos	1.99	2.03	2.14	1.63
Worry: Infectious disease outbreak	2.16	2.16	2.15	2.15
Average Worry Level:	2.01	2.03	1.98	1.94

*Scale: 1=Not worried, 2= slightly worried, 3 =somewhat worried, 4= very worried
The higher the score, the greater the average level of worry

The chart below takes Table 48 and portrays it in graphic format. To clarify the relationship graphically, those who replied they maybe will vote have been removed.

Chart Worry on issues by propensity to vote



Due to time constraints not all trends of all the worries indicated in Table 48 will be presented. (The final survey in this series was completed Monday, 6 September.) The following charts are to illustrate the main features of the conclusions borne out by Table 48.

In Table 49 and the chart following the trend showing improving sentiment about economic issues can be readily seen. Nearly half of respondents indicated no degree of worry about this issue a week before the election, a considerable change from June 2003, just before over half a million people marched on the streets of Hong Kong, when only 30 percent were unconcerned about their personal standard of living.

Table 49 How worried are you about : Personal standard of living?

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know
Nov 91	56	23	12	5	4
Feb 93	45	21	19	10	5
Aug 93	47	27	14	8	4
Feb 94	51	29	13	5	1
Aug 94	44	38	12	5	1
Feb 95	50	26	15	6	3
Sept 95	48	26	14	9	3
Feb 96	47	29	13	7	4
July 96	44	34	12	7	3
Feb 97	49	36	10	2	2
June 97	47	36	11	5	1
Jan 98	42	30	18	8	1
Apr 98	40	29	19	11	1
June 98	34	28	24	14	1
July 98	49	22	18	10	1
Oct 98	45	27	15	11	1
Apr 99	48	28	15	8	1
July 99	49	23	17	9	1
Nov 99	47	28	14	9	2
Apr 00	46	24	16	12	2
Aug 2000	42	27	16	13	2
Nov 2000	48	25	14	11	1
Apr 2001	41	24	16	17	1
July 2001	42	27	15	16	1
Nov 2001	28	25	21	25	1
Apr 2002	33	23	20	23	1
Aug 2002	29	26	25	18	2
Nov 2002	32	26	21	20	1
Mar 2003	24	28	25	22	1
June 2003	30	27	24	19	--
Dec 2003	42	24	19	13	1
Apr 2004	48	24	16	11	2
May 2004	46	28	15	10	1
June 2004	43	33	16	7	1
July 2004	44	27	17	11	1
*Aug 2004	46	31	15	7	2
*Sept 2004	49	28	17	6	--

*of those saying they will definitely vote

Chart Worry about Personal Standard of Living

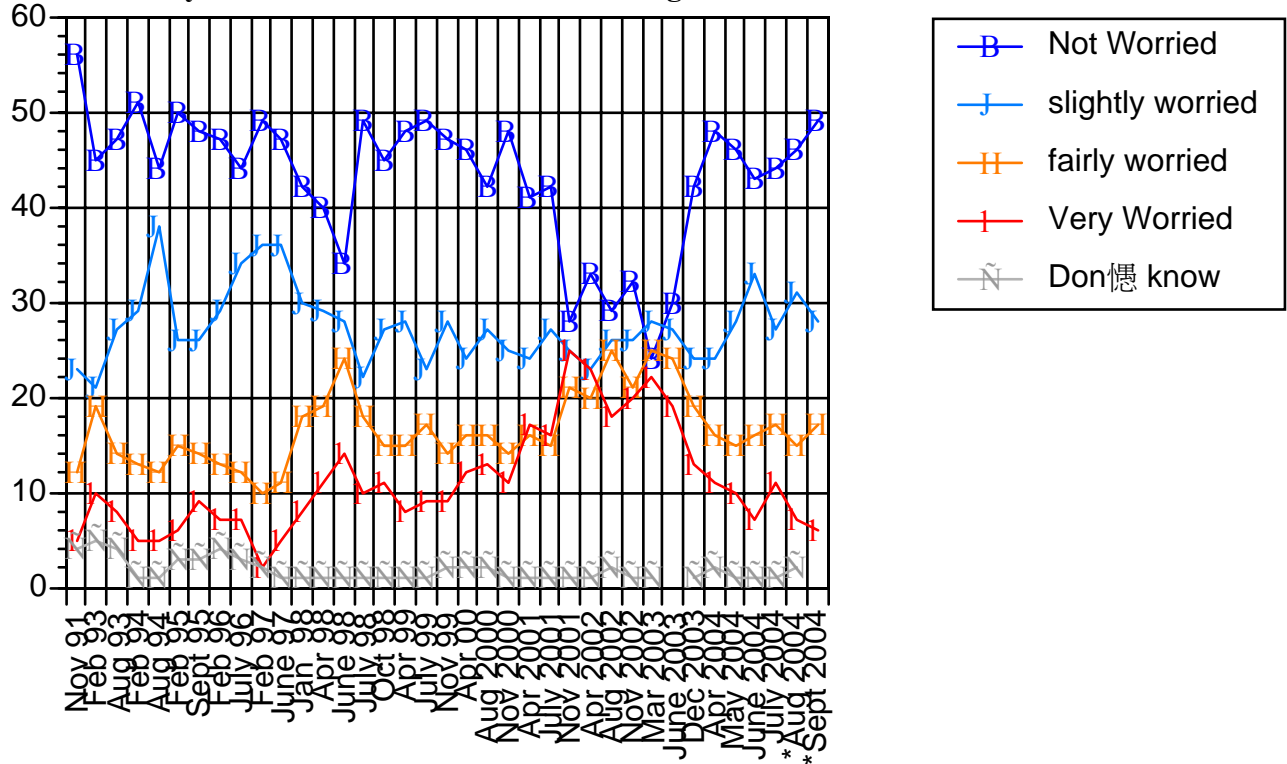
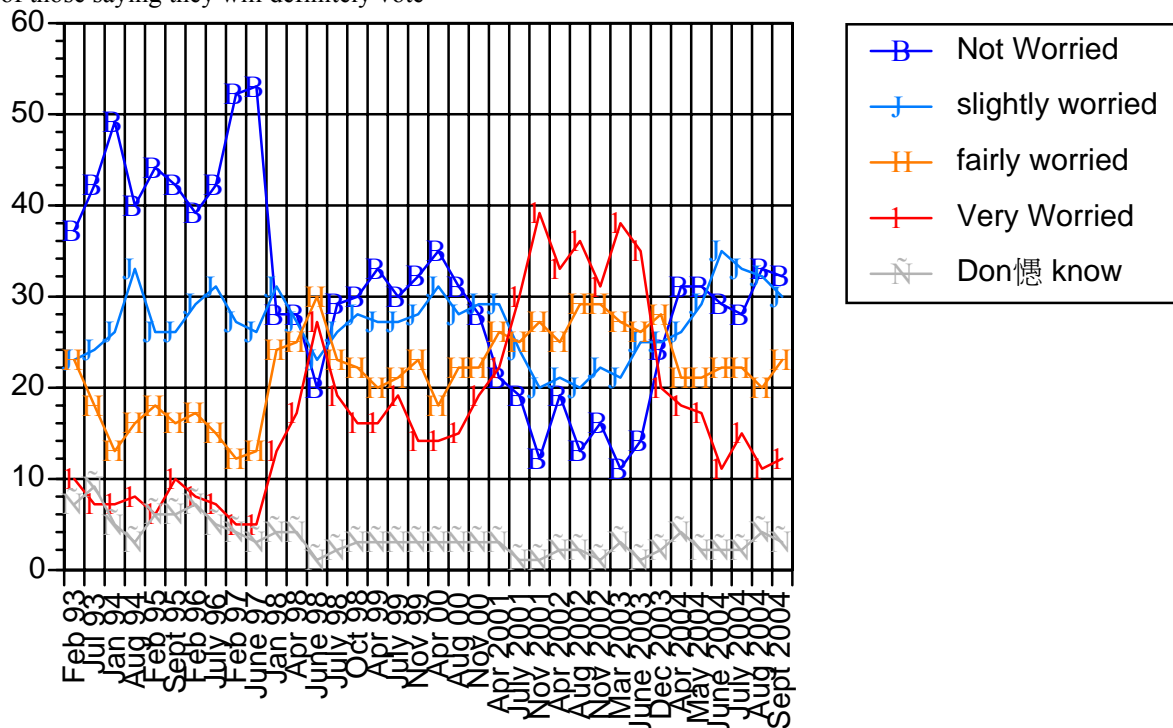


Table 50 shows that while worry about some aspects of economics may be easing off considerably, the overall economic direction of Hong Kong is still a source of concern for most. This seems to be the one economic aspect those most determined to vote are most concerned about.

Table 50 How worried are you about: Hong Kong's economic prospects?

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know
Feb 93	37	23	23	10	7
Jul 93	42	24	18	7	9
Jan 94	49	26	13	7	5
Aug 94	40	33	16	8	3
Feb 95	44	26	18	6	6
Sept 95	42	26	16	10	6
Feb 96	39	29	17	8	7
July 96	42	31	15	7	5
Feb 97	52	27	12	5	4
June 97	53	26	13	5	3
Jan 98	28	31	24	13	4
Apr 98	28	27	25	17	4
June 98	20	23	30	27	1
July 98	29	26	23	19	2
Oct 98	30	28	22	16	3
Apr 99	33	27	20	16	3
July 99	30	27	21	19	3
Nov 99	32	28	23	14	3
Apr 00	35	31	18	14	3
Aug 00	31	28	22	15	3
Nov 00	28	29	22	19	3
Apr 2001	21	29	26	22	3
July 2001	19	24	25	30	1
Nov 2001	12	20	27	39	1
Apr 2002	19	21	25	33	2
Aug 2002	13	20	29	36	2
Nov 2002	16	22	29	31	1
Mar 2003	11	21	27	38	3
June 2003	14	25	26	35	1
Dec 2003	24	25	28	20	2
Apr 2004	31	26	21	18	4
May 2004	31	29	21	17	2
June 2004	29	35	22	11	2
July 2004	28	33	22	15	2
Aug 2004	33	32	20	11	4
* Sep 2004	32	30	23	12	3

*of those saying they will definitely vote



The overall trends for Hong Kong do not mean that attitudes toward economic issues do not differ among the GCs and thus that all GC voters are worried or unworried about the same things to the same degree. As Table 51 shows, there are higher overall levels of worry in NT West than elsewhere in Hong Kong, and more issues worried about at a higher level in NT East and NT West than elsewhere.

Table 51 Mean Score of Worry by GC:						
	Overall	HK Island	KLN East	KLN West	NT East	NT West
Worry: Personal Standard of Living in HK	1.86	1.73	1.84	1.83	1.90	1.99
Worry: Personal Freedom in HK	1.56	1.52	1.53	1.50	1.73	1.54
Worry: Family Prospects in HK	1.90	1.76	1.78	1.81	2.14	2.02
Worry: Economic Prospects in HK	2.19	2.13	2.11	2.19	2.27	2.24
Worry: Political Stability in HK	2.07	2.05	2.15	1.93	2.19	2.03
Worry: Corruption in HK	1.78	1.75	1.79	1.67	1.76	1.95
Worry: Free Press	1.98	1.95	1.86	1.95	2.16	2.00
Worry: Free Speech	1.89	1.91	1.80	1.79	2.05	1.88
Worry: Employment Situation	1.87	1.75	1.74	1.74	2.00	2.11
Worry: Competitiveness of HK	2.34	2.30	2.43	2.25	2.21	2.48
Worry: Social Unrest in HK	1.87	1.96	1.87	1.77	1.88	1.87
Worry: Overpopulation	2.24	2.29	2.33	2.00	2.15	2.45
Worry: Air & Water Pollution	2.96	2.99	2.88	2.93	2.99	3.03
Worry: Rule of Law	1.82	1.89	1.61	1.81	1.93	1.88
Worry: Crime	1.91	1.87	1.87	1.93	1.95	1.94
Worry: Constitutional Reform Disputes Causing Chaos	2.05	2.05	2.02	1.96	2.14	2.10
Worry: Infectious disease outbreak	2.19	2.20	2.05	2.05	2.44	2.20
Average Worry Level:	2.03	2.01	1.98	1.95	2.11	2.10
No. of Worry Items Above 2-point:	7	7	7	5	11	10

*Scale: 1=Not worried, 2= slightly worried, 3 =somewhat worried, 4= very worried
The higher the score, the greater the average level of worry

Table 52 and the following chart show results of a selected bank of questions about a mix of economic and political worries. From this list of worries, respondents are then asked which one worries them the most. The intention is to check the type of worry which predominates over others. Table 52 shows that concern about Hong Kong's economic prospects still predominates in terms of rank, though politically related concerns have shown a rise in the past six months.

Table 52 Of the worries mentioned, which aspect worries you the most?

	Living Standard	Security/Freedom	Family prospect	HK Econ prospects	Political Stability	Corruption in HK	Gov't efficiency	DK
Feb 93	11	28	13	18	27			3
Aug 93	12	29	15	14	26			3
Feb 94	11	28	12	19	24			6
Aug 94	13	27	11	15	24			10
Feb 95	12	25	8	8	23		9	15
Sep 95	17	17	11	10	23		9	12
Feb 96	14	25	9	9	22		9	12
July 96	8	19	5	13	16	22	5	10
Dec 96	7	13	6	14	16	35	4	5
Feb 97	11	17	5	9	15	30	8	7
June 97	11	14	5	8	15	33	7	6
Jan 98	10	7	7	40	9	12	6	9
Apr 98	9	5	6	46	6	13	4	10
June 98	9	4	8	56	5	7	6	6
July 98	8	4	6	50	7	10	4	10
Oct 98	10	4	7	49	7	6	9	10
Apr 99	9	3	6	47	7	11	6	12
July 99	7	3	10	43	6	11	6	15
Nov 99	9	5	7	41	8	11	8	9
Apr 2000	11	6	8	40	16	10		9
Aug 2000	12	4	9	42	12	11		11
Nov 2000	10	4	7	45	14	6		14
Apr 2001	10	3	8	48	11	7		12
July 2001	7	2	8	57	8	7		12
Nov 2001	10	2	10	60	4	4		10
Apr 2002	9	2	9	59	8	5		8
Feb 2003	9	4	15	59	5	3		5
June 2003	9	5	12	56	6	3		7
Dec 2003	7	3	15	49	11	5		11
Apr 2004	8	6	11	36	25	5		10
May 2004	8	9	12	30	24	5		12
June 2004	10	10	13	29	25	6		8
July 2004	7	9	10	40	21	5		8
*Aug 2004	7	8	10	34	22	8		12
*Sept 2004	8	5	10	35	18	12		11

Chart: Of the worries mentioned, which aspect worries you the most?

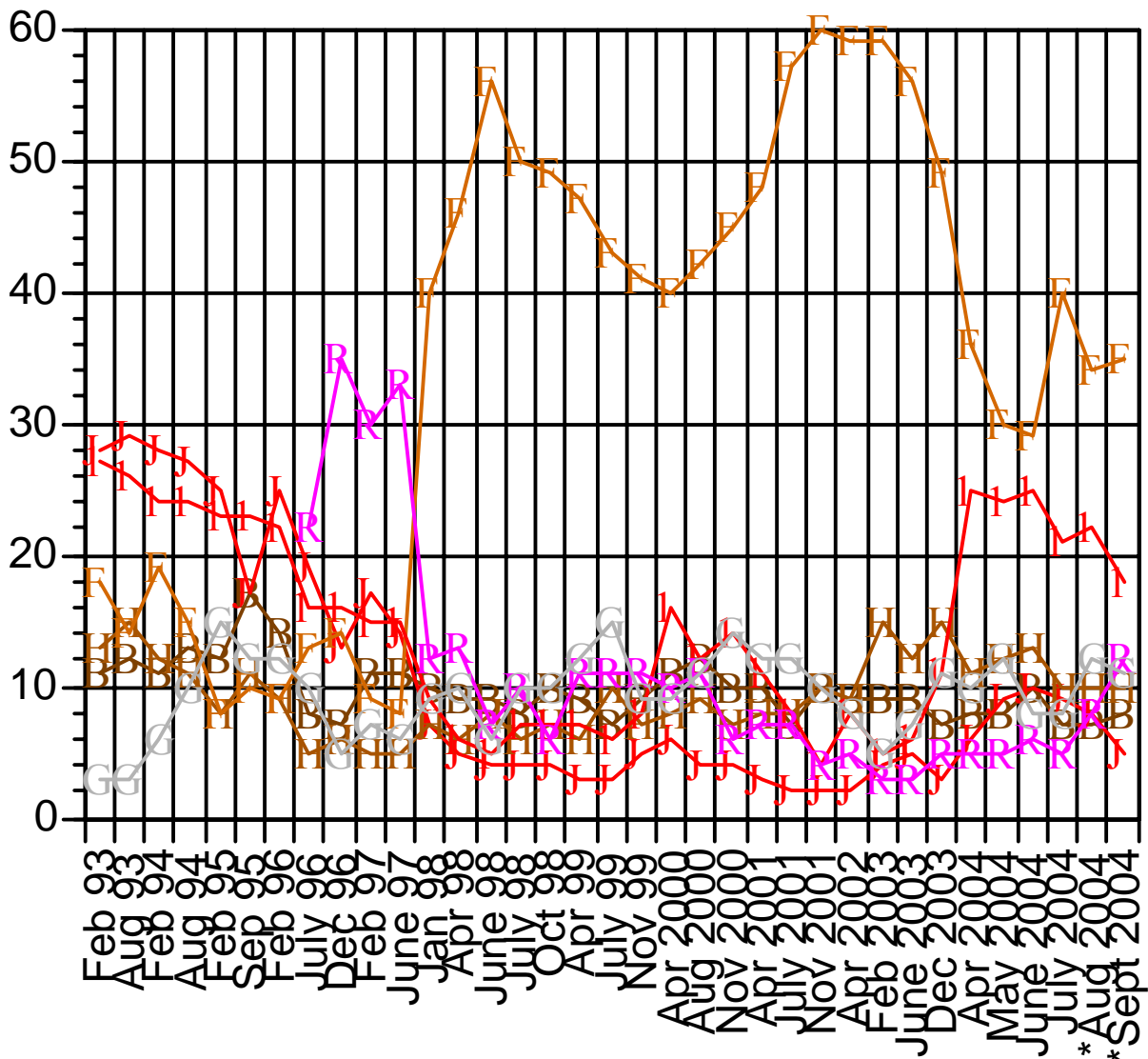
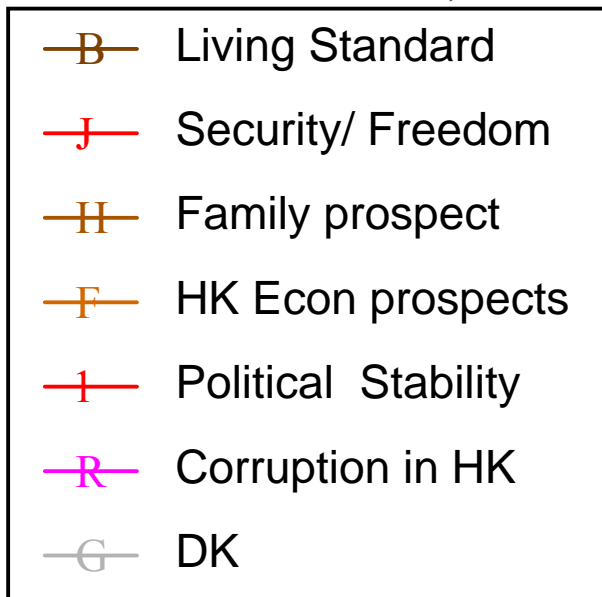


Table 53 shows the distribution of results in Table 52 by Geographic Constituency

Table 53 Most Worry aspect of Voters by GC												
	Overall		HK Island		KLN East		KLN West		NT East		NT West	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Personal standard of living	57	10%	19	9%	19	19%	7	6%	7	9%		8%
Personal freedom in HK	36	6%	13	6%	5	5%	8	7%	6	7%	4	6%
Your family prospects in HK	70	12%	33	15%	5	5%	13	11%	11	14%	8	13%
HK's economic prospects	241	42%	88	40%	40	40%	53	46%	31	38%	29	47%
Political stability of HK	106	18%	40	18%	15	15%	19	17%	21	26%	11	18%
Corruption in HK	67	12%	26	12%	17	17%	14	12%	5	6%	5	8%
Total:	577	100.00%	219	100.00%	101	100.00%	114	100.00%	81	100.00%	62	100.00%

Satisfaction

As with worry, satisfaction with various aspects of life plays a role in elections. The Hong Kong Transition project has asked a bank of questions since 1993 about satisfaction with aspects of life in Hong Kong. Table 54 and the following chart present the results of the primary question about satisfaction with life, as a whole, in Hong Kong. Table 55 presents the findings on satisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong Government.

Table 54 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in Hong Kong?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Nov 91	84	15	1
Feb 93	85	13	2
Aug 93	88	10	2
Feb 94	88	10	2
Aug 94	87	10	3
Feb 95	86	9	5
Sept 95	80	18	2
Feb 96	85	13	2
July 96	88	10	2
Feb 97	90	9	1
June 97	86	12	2
Jan 98	81	16	3
Apr 98	71	26	3
June 98	68	30	2
July 98	74	25	1
Oct 98	70	27	3
Apr 99	72	24	3
July 99	73	26	1
Nov 99	72	26	2
Apr 2000	65	33	2
Aug 2000	65	31	4
Nov 2000	67	30	3
Apr 2001	61	34	5
June 2001	71	25	4
July 2001	65	32	3
Nov 2001	64	33	3
Apr 2002	66	31	3
Aug 2002	62	34	4
Nov 2002	66	31	3
June 2003	60	37	3
Nov 2003	51	44	4
Dec 2003	57	39	5
Apr 2004	67	27	5
May 2004	60	35	3
June 2004	62	35	4
July 2004	55	39	6
Aug 2004	63	32	4
Sept 2004	69	27	4

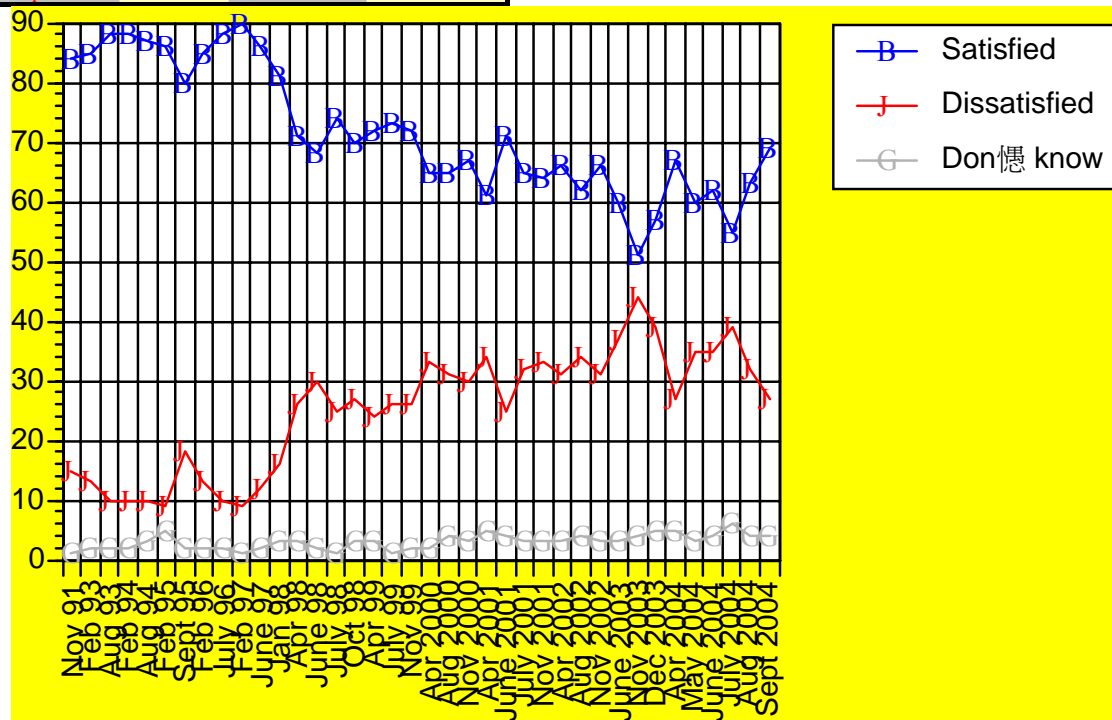
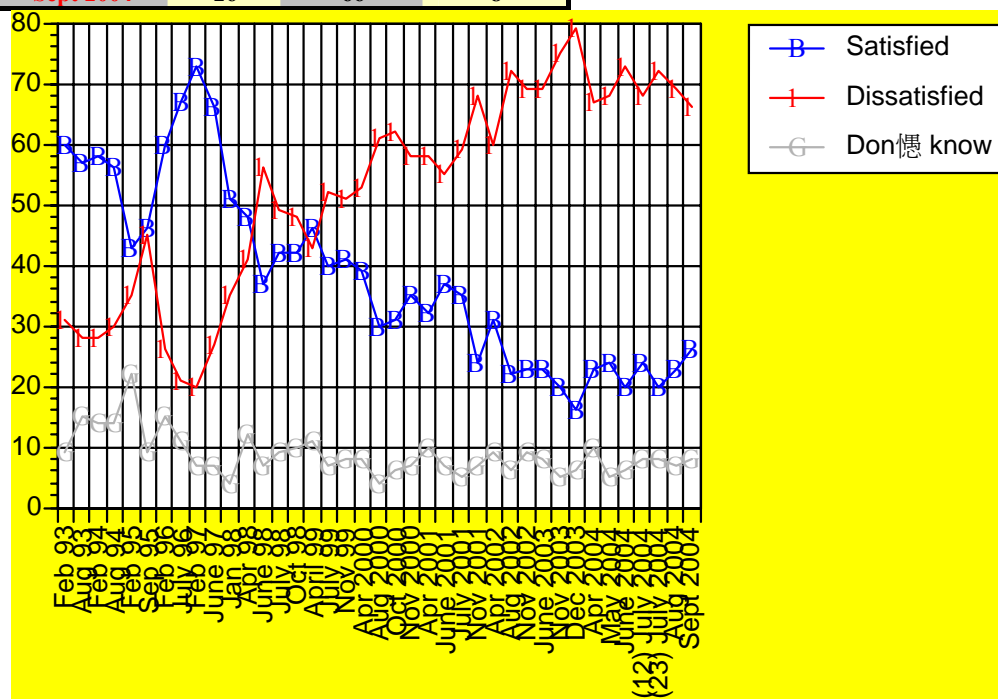


Table 55 Are you currently satisfied/dissatisfied with the performance of the HK Gov?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 93	60	31	9
Aug 93	57	28	15
Feb 94	58	28	14
Aug 94	56	30	14
Feb 95	43	35	22
Sep 95	46	45	9
Feb 96	60	26	15
July 96	67	21	11
Feb 97	73	20	7
June 97	66	27	7
Jan 98	51	35	4
Apr 98	48	41	12
June 98	37	56	7
July 98	42	49	9
Oct 98	42	48	10
April 99	46	43	11
July 99	40	52	7
Nov 99	41	51	8
Apr 2000	39	53	8
Aug 2000	30	61	4
Oct 2000	31	62	6
Nov 2000	35	58	7
Apr 2001	32	58	10
June 2001	37	55	7
July 2001	35	59	5
Nov 2001	24	68	7
Apr 2002	31	60	9
Aug 2002	22	72	6
Nov 2002	23	69	9
June 2003	23	69	8
Nov 2003	20	75	5
Dec 2003	16	79	6
Apr 2004	23	67	10
May 2004	24	68	5
June 2004	20	73	6
(12) July 2004	24	68	8
(23) July 2004	20	72	8
Aug 2004	23	69	7
Sept 2004	26	66	8



As with worry, we show the breakdown of various questions about satisfaction by GC (in Table 56) and then by propensity to vote (Table 57). Satisfaction is measured by a 1-4 point scale, where 1=very dissatisfied, 2=somewhat dissatisfied, 3=somewhat satisfied, and 4=very satisfied. The higher the number, the more satisfied the average for that GC. Dissatisfaction with life is markedly higher in Kowloon East and West over the other GCs while dissatisfaction with the government performance is higher in Kowloon East and in NT West. Kowloon East also shows much higher dissatisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong government in dealing with China. This indicates that the HO case may not work to the DP's disadvantage, or at least to the FTU and DAB's advantage as might have been expected.

	Overall	HK Island	KLN East	KLN West	NT East	NT West
Satisfaction: Current Life	2.77	2.78	2.74	2.74	2.82	2.78
Satisfaction: General Performance of the SAR Government?	2.12	2.19	2.02	2.14	2.16	2.11
Satisfaction: Performance of the SAR Government in Dealing with China?	2.44	2.47	2.33	2.40	2.46	2.52
Satisfaction: Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa's Performance	2.05	2.07	2.05	2.04	2.04	2.03
Satisfaction: Chinese Government's Performance in Ruling China	2.75	2.76	2.80	2.82	2.69	2.68
Satisfaction: Chinese Government in Dealing with HKSAR Affairs	2.55	2.54	2.52	2.63	2.41	2.63

Dissatisfaction tends to be higher than the overall average among those who say they will definitely vote (the lower the number the higher the dissatisfaction average).

	Overall	Definitely will vote	Probably will	Maybe will	Hard to say now
Satisfaction: Current Life	2.86	2.77	2.73	2.83	3.13
Satisfaction: General Performance of the SAR Government?	2.19	2.10	2.16	2.21	2.29
Satisfaction: Performance of the SAR Government in Dealing with China?	2.51	2.39	2.54	2.72	2.40
Satisfaction: Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa's Performance	2.15	2.01	1.98	2.40	2.21
Satisfaction: Chinese Government's Performance in Ruling China	2.76	2.74	2.83	2.72	2.75
Satisfaction: Chinese Government in Dealing with HKSAR Affairs	2.68	2.47	2.77	2.70	2.77

Constitutional issues:

Constitutional issues also deal whether or not people are participating in or withdrawing from both formal and informal aspects of the political structure. Thus Table 1 on participation in the

sense of contact with various aspects of government and Table 2 on participation in various civil society type activities.

Table 58 Did you express concern or seek help from any of the following groups in the past 12 months? (% Yes responses only)

	GOV	DEL	FEL	DC	NPC	MED	KAI	POL	PRO	SIGN	SURV	DON R
July 1996	8	7	1	-	-	5	6	2	8	44	32	11
June 1997	10	6	1	-	1	5	7	2	7	43	33	16
Jan 1998	13	3	--	-	-	6	8	2	5	41	37	18
Oct 1998	12	5	1	-	1	6	11	3	4	52	48	20
July 1999	10	6	2	-	1	5	8	3	6	45	40	15
Nov 1999	12	4	3	-	1	6	10	3	5	51	47	17
Apr 2000	17	5	3	-	1	6	10	5	5	49	46	17
Nov 2000	12	6	3	-	--	5	3	1	4	47	46	12
Apr 2001	11	6	3	-	1	3	2	2	3	36	39	15
Nov 2001	11	4	1	6	1	3	3	1	3	37	37	14
Apr 2002	10	3	1	6	--	4	2	2	2	25	36	14
Nov 2003	10	3	1	7	--	5	2	1	26	45	40	16
June 2004	11	4	2	8	1	3	3	1	25	42	43	15

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

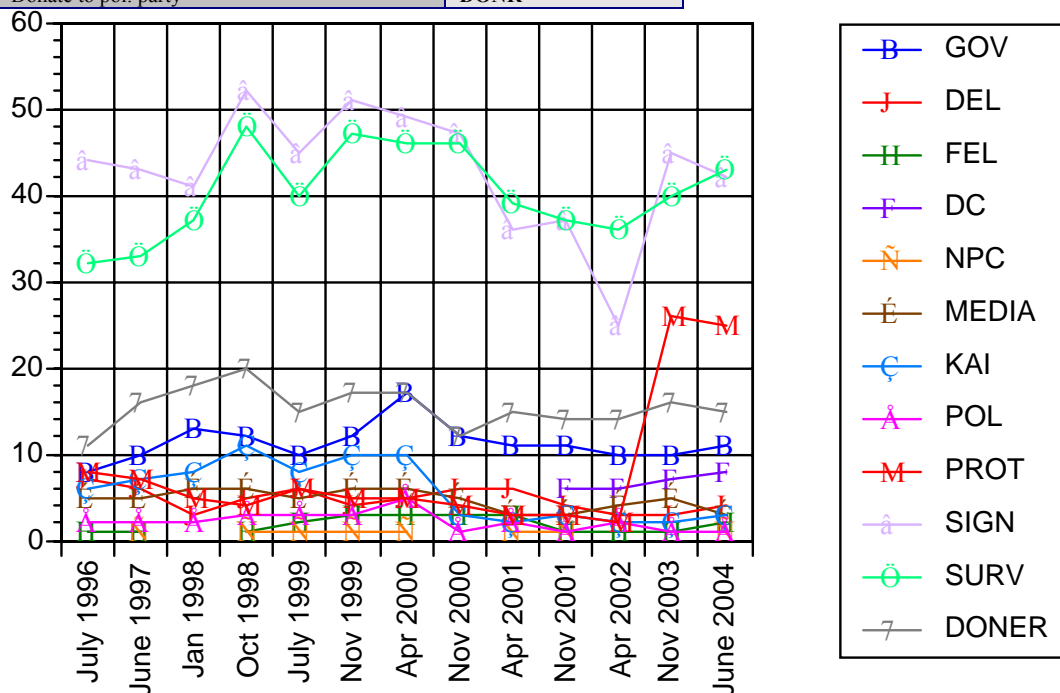


Table 59 Have you attended any meetings or activities of one of the following groups in the last six months? (Percentage reporting membership/ attendance/doesn't add to 100)

	TU	PA	KAI	MAC	CA	POL	CHA	REC	REL	OWC	EVG
Jan 1998	6	8	7	15	3	1	17	6	20		
Oct 1998	5	5	8	10	3	1	16	5	20	12	5
July 1999	5	6	6	8	2	1	13	4	15	11	3
Nov 1999	6	6	5	8	2	1	16	7	16	12	4
Apr 2000	8	10	5	9	2	2	18	6	21	14	5
Nov 2000	6	6	5	6	2	2	16	7	19	14	5
Apr 2001	4	5	5	7	2	2	11	5	17	13	4
Nov 2001	5	6	4	6	2	2	15	7	18	12	5
Apr 2002	5	8	4	6	2	1	15	7	18	12	5
Feb 2003	4	8	6	8	3	3	21	6	20	15	6
Nov 2003	6	8	5	8	2	2	17	7	21	13	6
Apr 2004	6	8	4	7	3	1	16	5	20	15	6
July 2004	5	7	6	10	3	2	17	6	23	16	6
Aug 2004	4	5	6	8	2	2	19	7	22	17	7

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

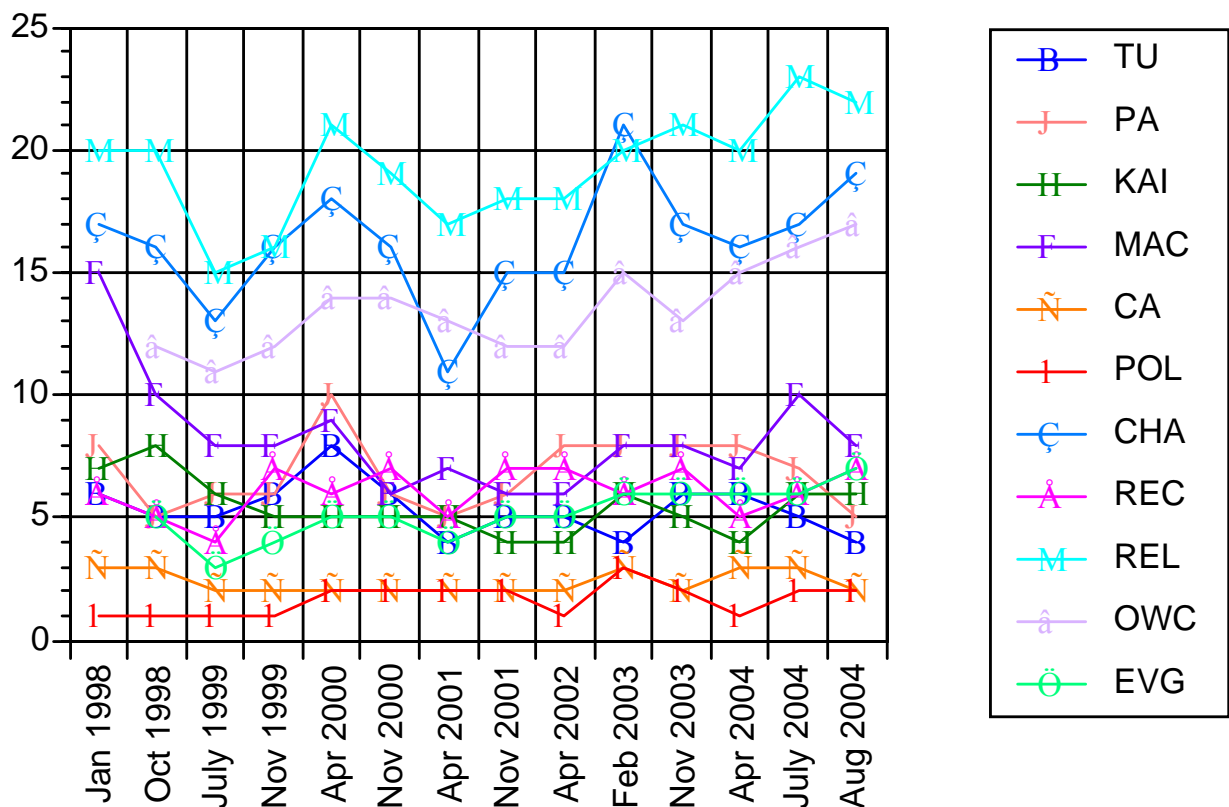
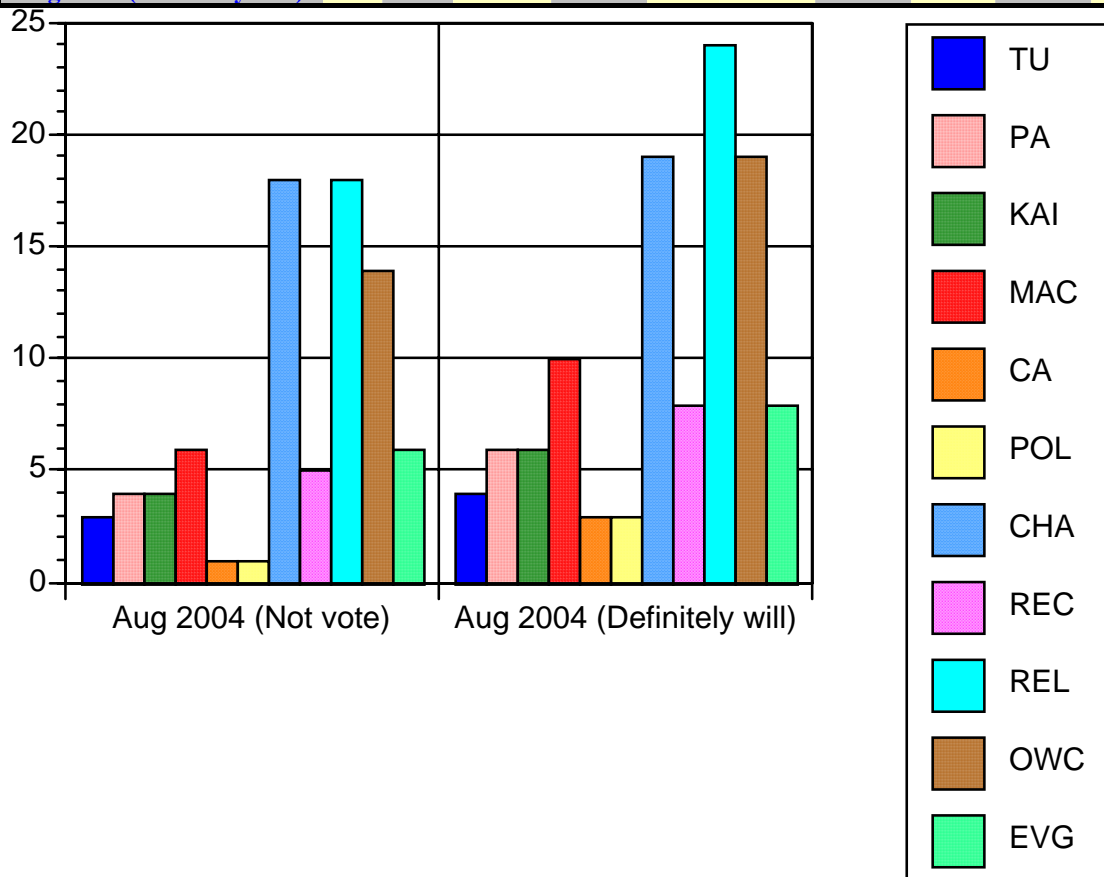


Table 60 Civil society participation by propensity to vote

	TU	PA	KAI	MAC	CA	POL	CHA	REC	REL	OWC	EVG
Aug 2004 (Not vote)	3	4	4	6	1	1	18	5	18	14	6
Aug 2004 (Definitely will)	4	6	6	10	3	3	19	8	24	19	8



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

Table 61 cuts to the primary issue of the campaign for most of those who are the most determined to vote on Sunday. Support for direct election of all seats of Legco is a principle supported by a strong majority, and as will be seen, a particularly strong majority among those most likely to vote.

Table 61 Do you support or oppose direct election of all Legco seats?

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Feb 2003	29	43	12	2	14
Nov 2003	29	47	13	2	8
Apr 2004	20	44	17	4	14
May 2004	23	40	16	5	15
June 2004	26	41	17	3	14
July 2004	28	42	19	4	8
Aug 2004	28	44	16	1	10
Sept 2004	28	46	17	2	7

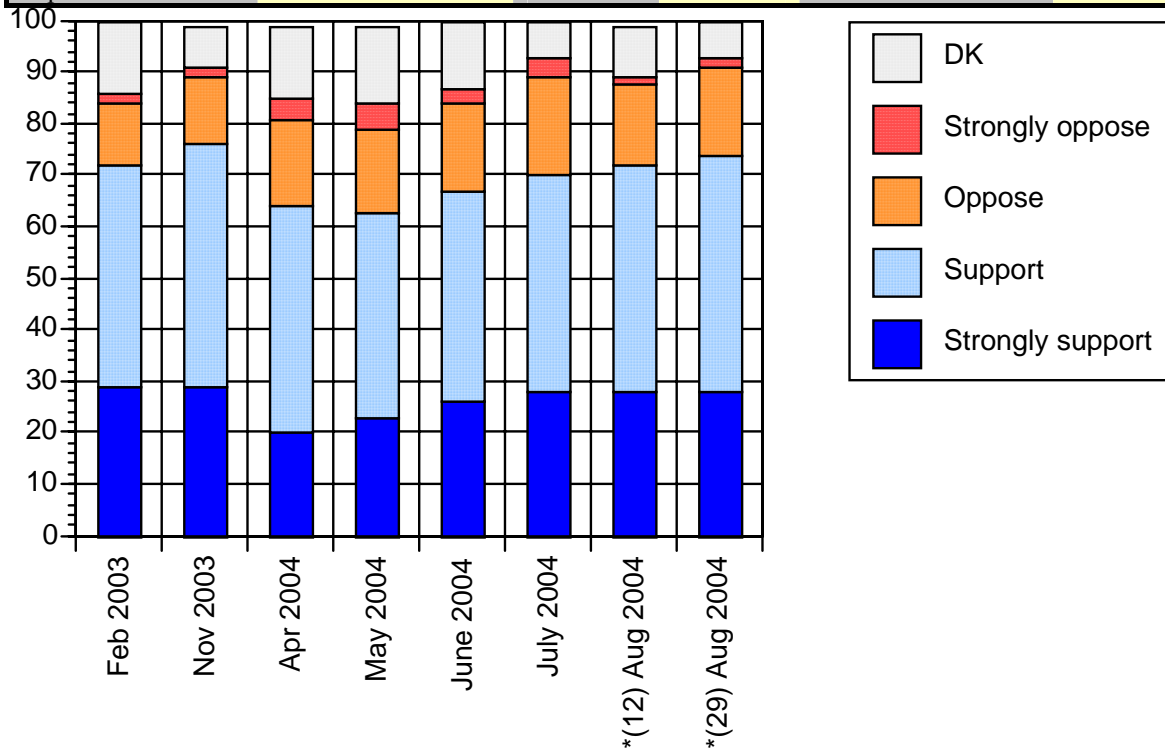


Table 61 shows that among those who strongly support direct elections of all Legco seats, 75 percent say they definitely will vote. Conversely among those strongly opposed to direct elections, only 46 percent indicated they intended to vote. The issue is thus a much stronger motivator to those supporting the principle.

Table 62 Rows are levels of Definitely will vote

Columns are levels of Support or oppose direct election all Legco seats Aug 2004

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Not vote/DK	25	41	37	55	53	37
Will vote	75	59	63	46	47	63
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 25.57 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Table 63 shows that the Standing Committee intervention did have an effect in changing minds about when direct elections should be implemented. However, nearly two thirds want direct elections in 2008 or 2012.

Table 63 If you support direct elections of all Legco seats, when would you implement?

	Feb 03	Nov 03	Apr 04	May 04	June 04	July 04	Aug 04	Sept 04
2008	60	69	44	42	43	43	46	45
2012	4	3	11	12	15	17	17	21
2016 or later	8	5	9	9	9	10	10	7
(DK + opposed)	28	23	36	37	33	30	27	26

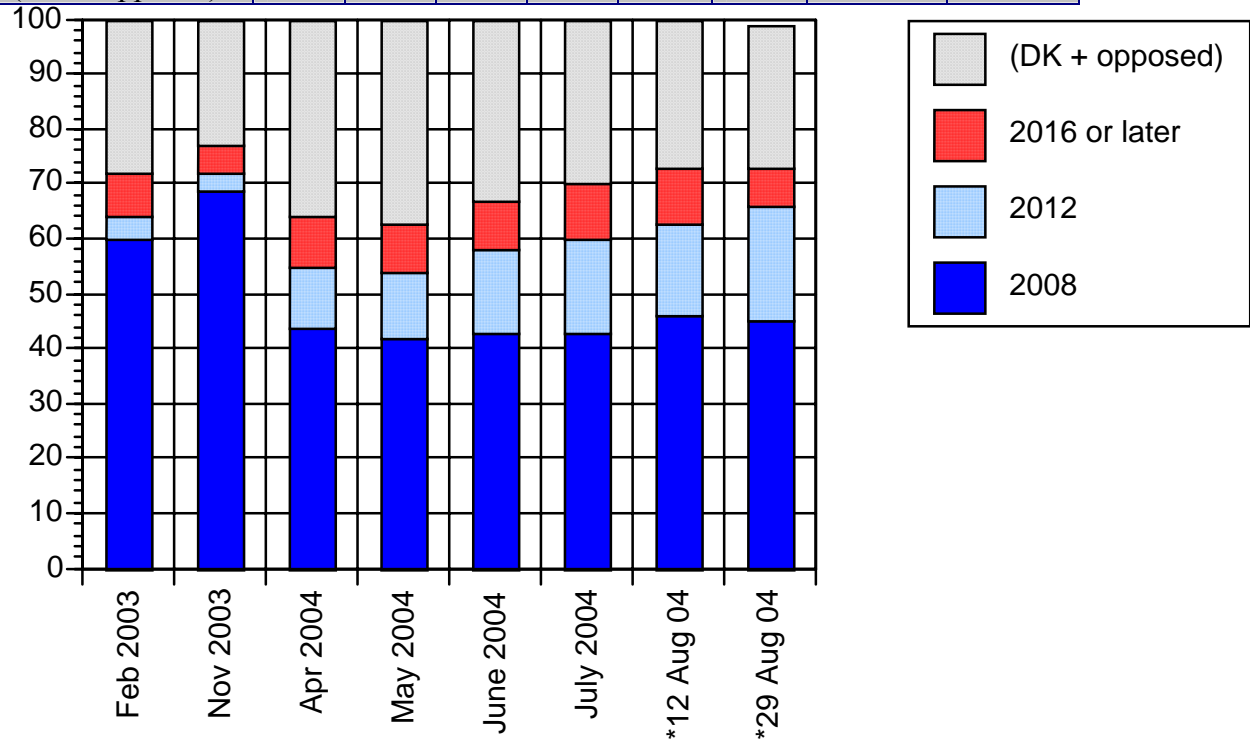


Table 64 shows the responses to the same question about support or opposition to direct election of the Chief Executive. The Standing Committee intervention had an effect, but just as quickly it passed as with support for direct election of the Legco.

Table 64 Do you support or oppose direct election of the Chief Executive?

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Feb 2003	36	41	10	3	10
Nov 2003	33	48	11	2	6
Apr 2004	22	43	16	1	16
May 2004	27	41	17	4	11
June 2004	29	42	16	2	11
July 2004	30	46	15	2	7
Aug 2004	29	47	14	2	8
Sept 2004	32	46	15	2	6

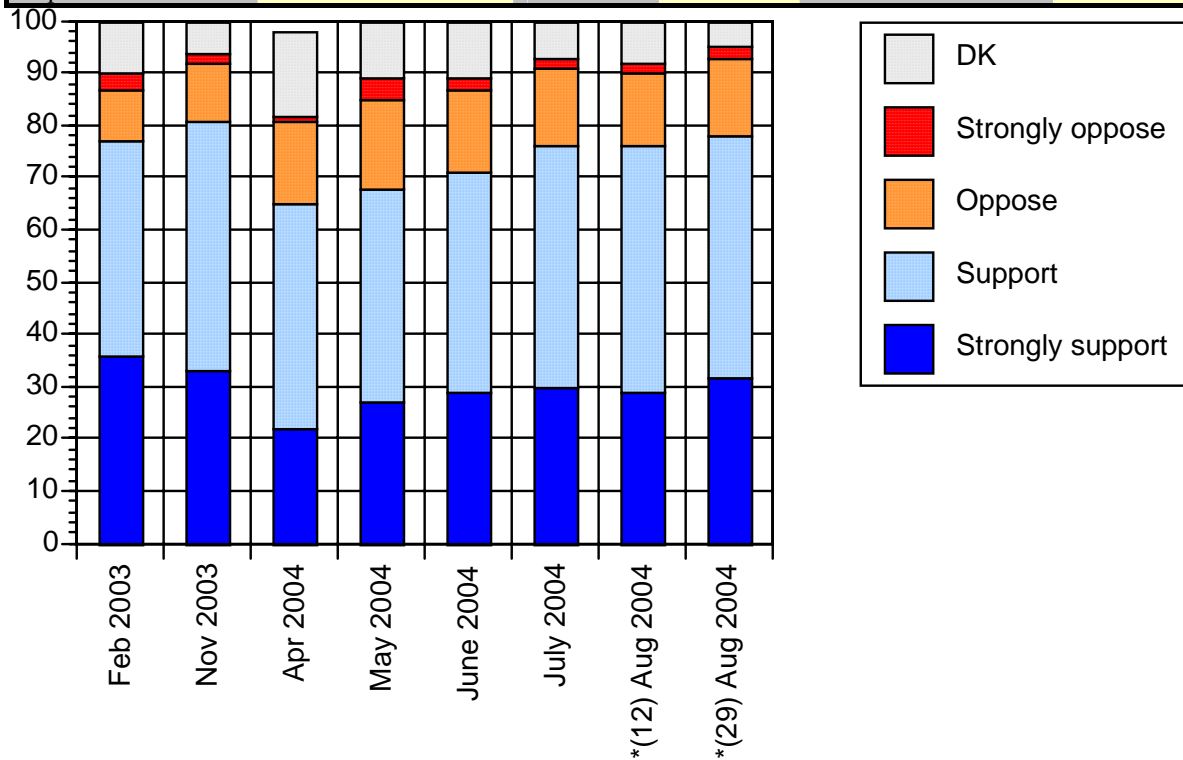


Table 65 shows the same pattern of change in terms of preference for when to implement direct election of the Chief Executive as with direct elections for the Legco. Overall, there is a great majority of support for implementing direct elections sooner than later, and as soon as possible for the plurality.

Table 65 When should direct election of CE be implemented?

	Feb 2003	Nov 2003	Apr 2004	May 2004	June 2004	July 2004	Aug 2004	Sept 2004
In 2007	63	70	41	43	41	42	41	43
In 2012	8	6	14	16	19	22	22	23
Later than 2012	6	4	10	9	10	11	13	12
(Oppose/DK)	23	19	35	32	30	24	24	22

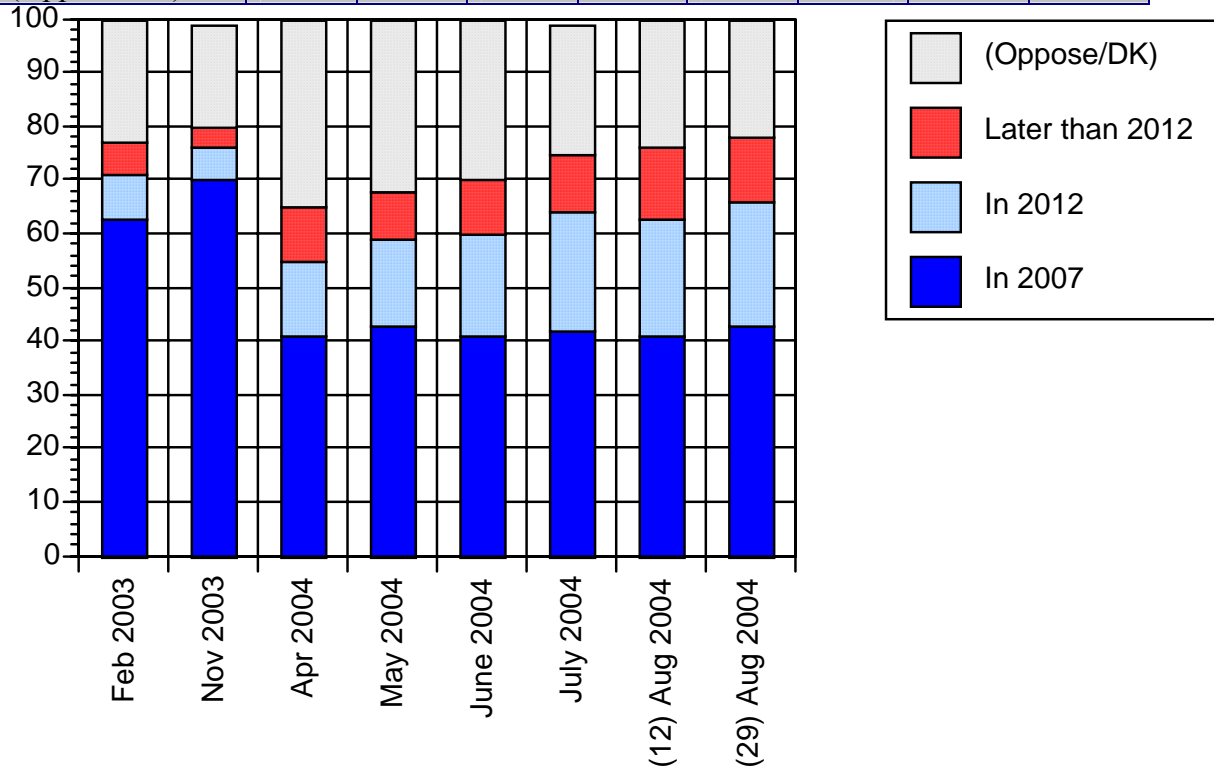


Table 66 shows that the issues above play a motivating role in making voters want to vote. Of those who will definitely vote, 45 percent want CE direct elections in 2007 while of those not voting only 34 percent want direct election of the CE in 2007.

Table 66 Rows are levels of When should direct election of CE be implemented? Columns are levels of Definitely will vote (Aug 2004)

	Not vote/DK	Definitely vote	total
In 2007	34	45	41
In 2012	22	21	22
Later than 2012	14	12	13
(Oppose/DK)	30	22	25
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 9.805 with 3 df p = 0.0203

For the next set of calculations, I removed the DK responses from the questions of support or oppose direct election of Legco, the Chief Executive, and for a democratic majority in Legco, and took the responses of those who said they definitely will vote. The frequencies of the responses are below. The cross tab tables are then drawn between support or opposition to a democratic

majority in Legco and responses to the direct election questions, again for those saying they definitely will vote. Opposition is collapsed together due to too few strongly opposed to calculate properly. Spearman Rank Correlation shows that 42 and 43% respectively of the responses vary directly with one another, and where they do not directly vary, it is of those who oppose a democratic majority nevertheless who support direct Legco and CE elections. Pushing for direct elections is a no lose proposition.

Table 67 Frequency of Do you support or oppose direct election of all Legco seats cases selected according to Definitely will vote Total Cases 454 (12 Aug 2004)

Group	Count	%
Strongly support	166	37
Support	205	45
Oppose/strongly oppose	83	18

Table 68 Frequency of Do you support or oppose direct election of Chief Executive cases selected according to Definitely will vote Total Cases 455 (12 Aug 2004)

Group	Count	%
Strongly support	164	36
Support	220	48
Oppose/strongly oppose	71	16

Table 69 Frequency breakdown Do you support/oppose democratic majority cases selected according to Definitely will vote Total Cases 410 (12 Aug 2004)

Group	Count	%
Strongly support	92	22
Support	207	50
Oppose/strongly oppose	111	27

Table 70 shows strong correlation between support for democratic majority and support for direct Legco elections.

Table 70 Rows levels of Do you support or oppose direct election of all Legco seats Columns are levels of Do you support or oppose democratic camp to win majority cases selected according to Definitely will vote

	Strongly support Democrat majority	Support Dem majority	Oppose/strongly oppose Dem majority	total
Strongly support	78	33	13	39
Support dir election	18	58	42	45
Oppose/strongly oppose direct election	3	9	44	17
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 138.9 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$ Spearman Rank Correlation 0.423

Table 71 shows the same strong correlation in respect to the direct election of the CE and support for the democratic camp to win a majority.

**Table 71 Rows levels of Do you support or oppose direct election of Chief Executive
Columns are levels of Do you support or oppose democratic camp to win majority
cases selected according to Definitely will vote**

	Strongly support Democrat Legco majority	Support Democrat Legco majority	Oppose/strongly oppose Democrat Legco majority	total
Strongly support direct CE election	80	32.1	12.7	38.1
Support direct CE election	18.9	60.2	47.1	47.2
Oppose/strongly oppose direct election	1.11	7.65	40.2	14.7
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 145.8 with 4 df $p \leq 0.0001$ Spearman Rank Correlation 0.433

Table 72 and 73 show the issues discussed above in terms of average scores by GC. The higher the number, the greater the support for direct elections and the greater the assessment of the possibility of the democratic camp to win a majority.

Table 72 Mean Score on Constitutional Matters by GC

	Overall	HK Island	KLN East	KLN West	NT East	NT West
Support/Oppose Direct Election of all Legco Seats	3.10	3.07	3.19	3.06	3.20	2.97
Support/Oppose Direct Election of Chief Executive	3.14	3.15	3.20	3.12	3.23	3.03
Possibility for the Democratic Camp to Win a Majority in Legco this Sept	2.66	2.66	2.64	2.67	2.75	2.60
Support/r Oppose the democratic camp to win a majority in LegCo	2.80	2.70	2.86	2.74	2.85	2.85
Define: Support/Oppose → higher score = higher level of support, maximum score 4. Possibility → higher score = higher possibility, maximum score 4.						

Table 73 Mean Score on Constitutional Matters by Commitment to Vote

	Overall	Definitely will vote	Probably will	Maybe will	Hard to say now
Support/Oppose Direct Election of all Legco Seats	3.07	3.12	3.12	3.03	3.00
Support/Oppose Direct Election of Chief Executive	3.23	3.17	3.12	3.18	3.46
Possibility for the Democratic Camp to Win a Majority in Legco this Sept	2.59	2.67	2.71	2.52	2.46
Support/r Oppose the democratic camp to win a majority in LegCo	2.69	2.82	2.70	2.43	2.82
Define: Support/Oppose → higher score = higher level of support, maximum score 4. Possibility → higher score = higher possibility, maximum score 4.					

Despite the election being in large part a referendum on direct elections, Table 74 shows that there is still a long way to go before the political parties establish a clear set of images in Hong Kong people's minds. Other than a few broad issues, such as support or oppose Tung Chee-hwa, or in the case of the Liberal Party, who stands for the business class, most issues are not clearly identified with a particular party.

Table 74 August Do you think there is a political party or person in HK which stands up best for: (Responses of 62.7% or the 490 who definitely plan to vote)

Issue/Group	CTU	FTU	ADPL	DAB	DP	LP	Front	PDA	PGI	others	DK*
Working class	30	18	1	4	3	1	1	1		4 (NWSC)	35
Middle class	1	2	--	2	6	20	--	1		3 (Art 45)	62
Business interests				2	1	58			1		38
Human rights	--	--	--	2	27	1	3	6		12 (Art45)	44
Women interests	--	1	--	--	1	--	5	1		7 (C.Loh/AAF)	82
Retirees	2	2	1	2	2	--	--	1			89
Environ. Protection	--	--	--	1	2	--	1			30 (SocPH, GP)	61
HK's autonomy			--	--	23	2	2	3		2 (Art 45)	64
Address Housing	1	--	7	3	4	1		1		4 all parties	75
Address Educatn	--	--	--	1	11	--	1			8 (HKPTU)	72
Support Tung		--	--	52	--	2			1	1 (HKPA)	36
Oppose Tung	--	--		1	44	2	4	13		2 (April 5)	42
Protect rule of law			--	1	9	1	1	2		17 (Art 45)	60
Protecting press freedom	--	1		1	13	1	3	4		5 (Art 45)	68
HK's prosperity & stability		--		3	5	9	--	1	1	1 (Art 45)	75

*DK includes None PDA= Pan-democratic Alliance; PGI= Pro-government Independents Art45= Article 45 Concern Group SocPH= Society for the Protection of the Harbour (includes C. Loh responses) HKPTU= Parent-Teachers Union HKPA= HK Progressive Alliance AAF=Association for Advancement of Feminism; GP= Green Peace/GreenPower

Table 75 shows that there are preferences about Legco candidate affiliations, with the double line showing the break between majority liking a particular affiliation and a majority not liking it.

Table 75 Would you like or not like to have your Legco Representative affiliated with the following groups? (August 2004)

Group	Like	Not Like	DK
Pro-environmental group	71	18	11
Pressure group/social concern group	62	24	14
Labour Union	60	27	14
Kaifong	58	29	11
Political party	58	28	14
Mutual Aid Committee	55	31	14
NPC/PPCC/District Affairs Advisor	50	36	14
Chamber of Commerce/pro-business group	48	35	17
Past member of civil service/other Gov appointment	40	44	16
Heung Yee Kuk	36	44	20

Table 76 shows the percentage of yes responses to questions of whether respondents had attended meetings of the named groups within the past 6 months. In most cases, attendance at the these civil society groups shows of those definitely planning to vote, more attended such groups than those less committed to vote. Those saying hard to say whether they would vote or not showed

little attendance of most groups. Voting is a civil society act, and civil society in Hong Kong seems active in promoting it. Those political parties or others concerned with the development of politics in Hong Kong should consider strengthening the contact of such groups with other civil society organizations.

Table 76 % Attended Meetings/Activities in the past 6-months by Commitment to Vote					
	Overall	Definitely will vote	Probably will	Maybe will	Hard to say now
Trade Unions	3	5	5	3	0
Professional Organization	4	8	7	3	0
Kai-Fong	5	5	7	6	0
Mutual Aid Committee	5	8	9	3	0
Owners' Corporation	13	16	15	15	6
Clan Association	3	4	2	6	0
Pressure or Political Group	2	4	4	0	0
Social Service or Charitable Association	19	22	19	18	17
Cultural and Recreational Organization	5	8	7	6	0
Religious Group or Church	16	21	18	18	6
Environmental Group	6	8	3	9	6

In effect, much of the voting in the 2004 election looks to be about constitutional issues such as direct election and democratic empowerment. Hong Kong's civil society is speaking out, and as on 1 July 2003, a march of many hundreds of thousands to the polls can be expected. The first Legislative Council Election of the 21st century shows clearly that Hong Kong has developed an election culture.²

² The Legco election of 2000 was the turn of the century election. It was looking backward, showing lower propensity to vote and much less concern about constitutional issues than this election.

At the 95% confidence level, range of error is plus or minus 3 points. Completion rate for the November 2003 survey was 28% of those contacted by telephone. Completion rates range between 28% to 37%. Since the project uses the Kish table to randomly identify the correspondents desired and then schedules a callback if that specific respondent is not at home, the completion rate tends to be lower but the randomization of responses (needed for accurate statistics) tends to be higher than surveys which interview readily available respondents using the next birthday method. Older respondents with this method tend to use traditional Chinese calendar where all “birthdays” are celebrated on the second day of the lunar new year, thus degrading randomization dependent on this method (in lunar calendar using societies in Asia). Respondents are interviewed in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, Hakka and other languages or dialects as they prefer and as interviewers with the language skills needed are available. Other surveys referred to above are Hong Kong Transition Project surveys. The details of those surveys and reports of same may be found on the Hong Kong Transition Project website at <http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp>

The number of respondents in the HKTP surveys:

N=	Nov 91	902																	
	Feb 93	615	Aug 93	609															
	Feb 94	636	Aug 94	640															
	Feb 95	647	Aug 95	645															
	Feb 96	627	July 96	928															
	Feb 97	546	June 97	1,129															
	Jan 98	700	April 98	852	June 98	625	July 98	647	Oct 98	811									
	Apr 99	838	July 99	815															
	Apr 00	704	Aug 00	625;	Aug 00	1059	Oct 00	721	Nov 00	801									
	Apr 01	830	June 01	808	Jul (media)	831	Jul (party)	1029	Nov 01	759									
	Apr 02	751	Aug 02	721															
	Mar 03	790	June 03	776															
	Apr 04	809	May 04	833	June 04*	680	July 04	995*	Nov 03	835	Dec 03	709	July 04*	695	Aug 04*	781	Sept 04*	642	Oct 04*

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

All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated All references should be to Civic Exchange and the Hong Kong Transition Project, which has project members at Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong University, University of Macau and Lingnan University. The Hong Kong Transition Project is funded via a competitive grant from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of the Hong Kong Government (HKBU 2033/01H is the most recent). None of the institutions mentioned above is responsible for any of the views expressed herein.