

Constitutional Reform Survey 2005

Conducted jointly by Civic Exchange and the Hong Kong Transition Project

Reforming the Chief Executive Election

ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

This survey on issues related to constitutional reform was conducted 11-22 December 2004. The survey was conducted as two linked and overlapping surveys, the first a random sample of 800 permanent residents and then an additional sample, random but focused on functional constituency registrants, of 405 registered FC voters. From these two main surveys, the attitudes of **Five** distinct groups are covered in this analysis.

1) The **RANDOM** group, including FC and GC registered voters and non-registered respondents, numbering 800 permanent residents (non-permanent residents, that is, all tourists, immigrants and foreign workers with less than 7 years residency excluded). The **RANDOM** respondents may be taken to represent the views of Hong Kong permanent residents in general. Responses of this group may be used to contrast the general views of the public with more politically participative groups below.

2) The **FC ACTIVE** voters includes those registered in an FC and who also indicated they voted in the September 2004 election. This group numbered 365 (405 in total claimed to be registered FC voters). The **FC ACTIVE** respondents may be taken to represent the views of registered, active FC voters. This group may be expected to take the most role in advising FC Legco representatives on their views regarding constitutional reform.

3) The **GC ACTIVE** voters, **EXCLUDING ALL FC VOTERS**, so this group is of 353 respondents who were registered voters, who voted in September, and who are NOT registered FC voters as well. Since FC voters can have 2 votes and in some cases three (if they are also designated voters for a corporate body as well as a professional or one of the FCs for business people, for example), this group does NOT represent a random sample of all voters in September. It will be used to contrast GC active voter's views with FC active voter's views. The GC Active voters will give the best sense of "grass-roots" sentiment on geographic constituency Legco representatives versus the more elitist effects of FC active voters.

4) The **SEPT LEGCO VOTERS**, which includes 504 of those from the **RANDOM** sample group who were registered GC and FC voters, and who also said they voted in September 2004. This group may be said to represent a random sample of all who voted in the September 2004 elections. This group may be used to examine the overall sentiments of politically active persons in Hong Kong and of voters in the recent elections.

5) The strongest contrast to the **SEPT LEGCO VOTERS** are the 296 non-voting and non-registered respondents. Another way of designating this group would be the **POLITICALLY INACTIVE**. This sample group, drawn from the overall 800 **RANDOM** sample, might be taken as those who are not involved in the formal political process, at least

as voters. This group, some 37 percent of the sample of 800 permanent residents, is least likely to take action on constitutional reform issues, though its sentiments will affect general surveys that do not distinguish between politically involved and non-involved groups.¹

It is crucially important in reading the analysis of the survey results to keep in mind which group's responses are being discussed. The RANDOM sample group was contacted by telephone numbers drawn randomly, then further randomized by random generation of the final four digits and randomized still further in a database of over 20,000 potential telephone numbers. These numbers formed the universe of numbers from which, 20 sample telephone numbers at a time, they were randomly drawn into a CATI survey system station and then sequentially dialed by the interviewers. Qualified respondents, that is, permanent residents aged 18 and above, were identified from a Kish table, which randomizes which member of the household is to be interviewed according to the ages and number of household members, and that person so identified was requested to be interviewed or if not at home, then a time to return call was requested. Up to five callbacks were made over the period to contact the person identified as the randomly selected respondent. Interviews were conducted in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, or Hakka, depending on the interviewees preference. The FC registered voters and active voters were taken from 169 FC registered voters contacted randomly, then supplemented by further random survey dialing of a registered FC voters database compiled from May to September 2004 during a series of previous surveys of FC voters prior to the 2004 Legco elections.

Due to the complex nature of this five-way analysis, the survey will be analyzed question by question, with each group's responses detailed following the question as asked on the survey. Demographic questions and five group data will be found at the end of the survey, and questions in which such data is useful to analyze the responses of one of the 5 groups will be presented with the relevant question. Question numbers refer to the order in which they appeared on the survey, not the order presented in this analysis.

Question 6: Would direct election of the Chief Executive make government management more effective or less effective?²

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Much more effective	12	14	8	13	15
More effective	48	49	46	48	51
Less effective	16	15	20	15	15
Much less effective	2	2	2	1	3
Don't Know	22	21	25	23	17
Sample size (#)³	800	504	296	353	365

¹ Please note, this 37 percent is the basis for the still all too common assertions that "Hong Kong people" are apathetic about politics. This is by no means a majority or even close, and these people while not registered and not voting, are not by any means wholly uninformed or uninterested about politics. Most give replies indicating at least an opinion, often based on information and experience, about issues of the day. And while our sample over-represents groups which tend to be more politically active and informed, the over-representation is not excessive in terms of demographic features of the sample measured against available census data. Political apathy, in the sense of don't know and don't care to know about politics and current issues enough to even give an opinion, is actually prevalent only among a distinct minority.

² All numbers refer to percentages unless otherwise indicated. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, following WAPOR and AAPOR guidelines for analysis and reporting of survey data.

Sixty percent of the random sample of all permanent residents see direct election of the CE as making government management more effective. Sixty-three percent of Legco voters took a similar view (a number exactly the same as the 62.9 percent of Legco voters who voted for pro-democracy candidates in the September Legco election). The politically inactive least consider direct CE election as improving government, at 54 percent, while FC active voters most consider direct CE election as a means to improve government management, at 66 percent.

Question 7 Would direct election of CE make government policies fairer or less fair?

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Much fairer	17	19	13	18	22
Fairer	46	45	48	45	46
Stay same	9	8	9	7	11
Less fair	9	8	10	9	6
Much less fair	4	3	4	4	1
Don't Know	16	16	17	17	14
Sample size (#)⁴	800	504	296	353	365

Question 8 asks about the principle of direct election while the follow-up question asked those who supported the principle of direct elections when they would like to see it applied. Around three out of four among all groups support directly electing the C.E. in principle, with only the politically inactive showing a drop to two-thirds in support of the principle.

Question 8 In principle, do you support or oppose direct election of the CE?

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Strongly support	20	23	15	20	23
Support	54	55	52	56	56
Oppose	13	12	16	12	14
Strongly oppose	3	2	3	2	1
Don't Know	10	8	14	10	5
Sample size (#)⁵	800	504	296	353	365

³ The range of error (rounded off) at the 95 percent confidence interval for the above sample sizes is +/-4 for the 800; +/-6 for the 504 sample; and +/-8 for the 296, 353, 365 sized samples. That is, for example, in Question 6, that the differences in response percentages among the groups are too small to determine a significant difference among the responses except for the 12 point difference between the Politically Inactives (PI) and the FC Actives (FCA) when the responses of much more effective and effective are added together and compared (54% of PI respondents think direct election of the CE will make government more effective versus 66% of FCAs, a range of 12 points, well above the +/-8 range of error in the sample sizes.)

⁴ The range of error (rounded off) at the 95 percent confidence interval for the above sample sizes is +/-4 for the 800; +/-6 for the 504 sample; and +/-8 for the 296, 353, 365 sized samples. That is, for example, in Question 6, that the differences in response percentages among the groups are too small to determine a significant difference among the responses except for the 12 point difference between the Politically Inactives (PI) and the FC Actives (FCA) when the responses of much more effective and effective are added together and compared (54% of PI respondents think direct election of the CE will make government more effective versus 66% of FCAs, a range of 12 points, well above the +/-8 range of error in the sample sizes.)

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The follow-up question of the supporters of direct election timing showed nearly half support direct election in 2007. Those who opposed or did not know amounted to about one in five. The vast majority of respondents want direct elections by 2012 or sooner (two thirds).

Q 8a IF support, then when?

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
In 2007	46	49	43	47	46
2012	20	21	17	20	26
2017	2	2	2	2	1
Later election	6	7	5	7	5
Oppose or DK	26	22	33	25	21

Question 9 examines what reasons those who oppose or don't know gave for opposing direct election of the C.E.

Q 9 IF oppose (or don't know in 8 above), what is your MAIN or MOST IMPORTANT reason for opposing direct elections of the Chief Executive? Open ended responses. (first #:% of Oppose/DK; # in parentheses: % of all respondents in that group)

	Random	GC active	FC active
Because Beijing objects	4 (1)	2 (0.3)	5 (1)
My interests would be affected	1.4 (0.1)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)
Would cause chaos	9 (1)	8 (1)	9 (1)
Would lead to HK independence	2 (0.4)	0	2 (0.3)
Undesirable candidate might be elected	6 (1)	2 (0.3)	12 (2)
HK people not ready for direct election/not mature enough	30 (5)	27 (4)	42 (7)
HK parties not mature enough	10 (2)	16 (2)	18 (3)
Other reasons	28 (4)	27 (4)*	28 (4)*
Sample size (#)⁶	126 (800)	85 (353)	73 (365)

*Percentages in FC Active column do not sum to 100 due to multiple reasons being given; percentages in GC Active amount to less than 100 due to many respondents giving no reasons. Three groups only compared.

The greatest differences, as might be expected, are between those active in the GCs only and those active in the FCs, or the grassroots versus the elites. The grassroots seem less willing to believe Hong Kong people are not ready for direct election than the FC active.

(54% of PI respondents think direct election of the CE will make government more effective versus 66% of FCAs, a range of 12 points, well above the +/-8 range of error in the sample sizes.)

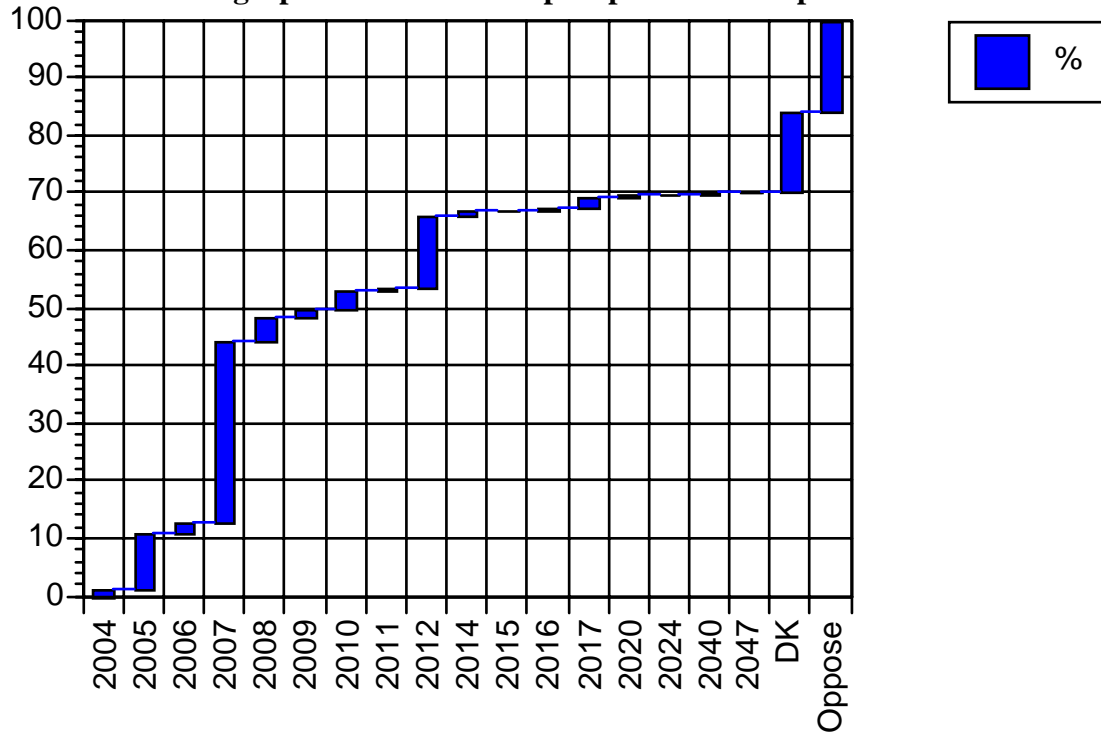
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Question 10 applies open-ended questioning to the issue of when people would prefer to see direct elections for the CE. A considerable proportion, some 12 percent, would like to see direct election of the CE even before 2007. This survey, conducted in late December 2004, was not affected by Tung's early resignation in March. Prospects for an early CE election in December appeared remote or unlikely, so such demands by such a portion can be interpreted as demand for direct election—direct election now, as it were. Some 30 percent had no views or opposed direct election.

Q 10 If you could decide for yourself, when would you prefer direct election of the Chief Executive to take place? (Random sample)

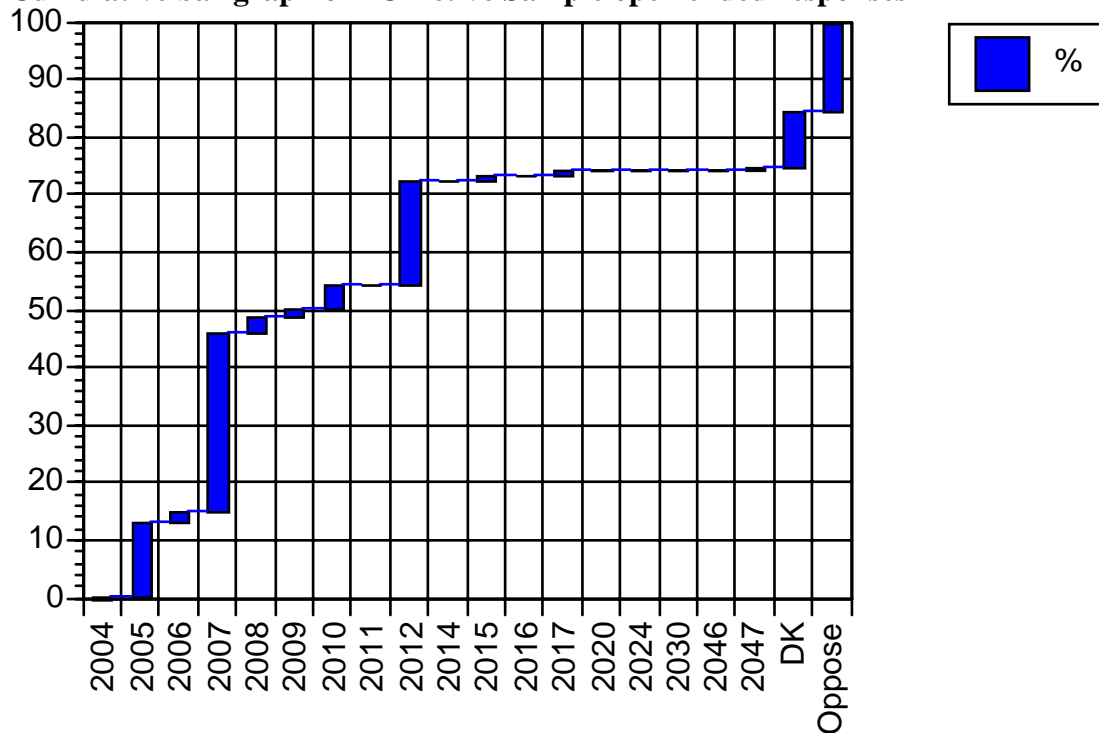
Group	Count	%
2004	10	1
2005	77	10
2006	15	2
2007	254	32
2008	32	4
2009	10	1
2010	25	3
2011	4	1
2012	102	13
2014	5	1
2015	2	0.3
2016	2	0.3
2017	15	2
2020	5	1
2024	1	0.1
2040	1	0.1
2047	1	0.1
Don't Know/undecided	113	14
Against direct election	126	16

Cumulative bar graph of Random Sample open ended responses



Q 10 If you could decide for yourself, when would you prefer direct election of the Chief Executive to take place? (FC sample)

Group	Count	%
2004	1	0.3
2005	47	13
2006	7	2
2007	113	31
2008	10	3
2009	5	1.4
2010	15	4
2011	0	0
2012	66	18
2014	1	0.3
2015	3	1
2016	0	0
2017	3	1
2020	0	0
2024	0	0
2030	0	0
2046	1	0.3
2047	1	0.3
Don't Know	35	10
Oppose direct election	57	16

Cumulative bar graph of FC Active Sample open ended responses


Perhaps surprisingly, FC Active voters are marginally more supportive of direct election of the Chief Executive by 2012. FC voters have a higher educational level than non-FC voters, a result not surprising given the prevalence of professionals among FC voters. However, when those who oppose direct election are compared to those who support direct election, those who oppose direct election have a higher proportion with more advanced degrees (45 percent of opponents have university or higher versus 30 percent of supporters at the same level).

Q8 Table 2 Years of education of supporters versus opponents of direct election of Chief Executive

N= 789

	Support Dir Elect	Oppose Dir Elect	total
0-1 Primary	7	4	7
2-6 Primary	8	6	8
7-9 (F1-F3)	15	8	14
10-11 (F5/TIF3)	25	24	25
12-13 (F6-7/TCgrad)	14	14	14
14-16 (univ/univ grad)	27	40	29
17-18 (MA/PhD)	3	5	4
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.01 with 6 df p = 0.0618

There are marginally more managers/administrators and associate professionals among opponents of direct elections than among supporters, and perhaps surprisingly, probably more educators among opponents than among supporters. Also those in elementary occupations,

the least educated and least skilled and usually a category associated with pro-Beijing positions, seem more supportive of direct election.

Q8 Table 3 Occupation of supporters versus opponents of direct election of CE N = 776

	Support Dir Elect	Oppose Dir Elect	total
Managers & admin	13	18	13
Professionals	8	8	8
Assoc. Professionals	4	8	5
Clerks/Secretaries	11	13	11
Service & sales	7	7	7
Ag & fish	1	1	1
Craft & entertainment	4	3	4
Plant & machine	7	3	6
Elementary occup.	13	6	12
Housewife	14	16	14
Retired	5	3	4
Unemployed	9	10	9
Student	4	3	4
Educators	1	3	2
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 15.32 with 13 df p = 0.2880

But the data in Q8 Table 3 becomes yet clearer when the question is probed across work sectors, showing that apparently much of the opposition to direct election of the Chief Executive is not from business related managers and administrators but among civil servants.

Q 8 Table 4 Support/oppose direct election of CE by work sector N = 787

	Support Dir Elect	Oppose Dir Elect	total
Civil servant	7	12	8
Privatized public (HA, AA)	4	5	4
Private sector	47	46	47
Non-profit sector	2	3	2
Not in workforce	40	34	39
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 4.970 with 4 df p = 0.2904

There is also association between self-identity and support/opposition to direct election of the CE, with a much larger proportion of those identifying themselves as Chinese opposing direct election. However, were Beijing to change stance, one would expect shifts in opinion among those identifying themselves as Chinese while those identifying themselves as Hong Kong persons would likely not show such a shift. There is also strong evidence that rural new territories residents (Heung Yee Kuk members) more strongly oppose direct election of the CE than support it.⁷

⁷ Testing Q 8 by housing and residency abroad shows a very high proportion of villa occupants and those who have lived in UK for a year or more as opposing rather than supporting direct election of the CE. Rural NT

Q 8 Table 5 Support/oppose direct election of CE by self-identification

	Support Dir Elect	Oppose Dir Elect	total
Hong Kong Chinese	30	34	30
Chinese	29	38	30
Hong Kong person	34	23	32
Hong Kong British	3	1	3
Overseas Chinese	2	0	1
Other	3	4	3
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 12.42 with 5 df p = 0.0295

Question 11a and b tests reactions to immediate versus long-delayed direct election of CE.

Q11a If direct election of the CE were implemented in 2007, my reaction would be:

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
No Reaction	21	17	27	20	12
Welcome decision	37	41	31	39	40
Accept the decision	15	14	17	14	18
Protest	1	1	1	1	1
Leave HK for PRC	0.1	0	0.3	0	0
Leave HK for overseas	0.1	0.2	0	0	0.3
Other	22	24	18	22	27
DK	5	4	5	4	3
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

The 22 percent of the random sample who responded with “other” responses in Q 11a divided roughly one-third welcoming or accepting responses while two-thirds of the 22 percent (15 percent of the overall random sample) were concerned about the decision causing chaos or coming “too fast”. This 15 percent of the sample who are concerned about negative effects of direct election of the CE is consistent throughout the survey.

Q 11a Reclassification of Other response (Random Sample only) N=174

Other Reclassified responses	Count	%
Feel happy and excited	17	10
It will be a great progress on constitution reform	21	12
Hong Kong will be better	16	9
Basically acceptable, but not feasible to implement in 2007	3	2
The pace will be too fast, year 2007 is inappropriate time for CE direct election	77	44
The society will be chaotic	37	21
Unclassifiable	3	2

residents tend to live in villas and also to have lived in UK for a time, following a large diaspora of NT residents to UK in 1950s and early 1960s.

Q11b If direct election of the CE were delayed indefinitely, my reaction would be:

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
No Reaction	25	22	30	27	12
Welcome decision	3	3	4	2	5
Accept the decision	9	7	12	8	7
Protest	15	19	8	18	19
Leave HK for PRC	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	1
Leave HK for overseas	2	3	0	2	3
Other	38	39	37	35	46
DK	8	8	8	7	6
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

The 38 percent of the Random Sample who gave an “Other” response to the indefinite delay of direct election of the CE nearly all indicated opposition to such an indefinite delay. While not willing to protest or leave Hong Kong, the responses below clearly indicate a large portion of respondents who would respond strongly against lengthy delays.

Q 11b Reclassification of Other response (Random Sample only) N=305

Other Reclassifications	Count	%
Angry but won't protest	12	4
Oppose the decision, totally unacceptable	59	19
Feel hopeless and frustrated	73	24
Disappointed but not angry	76	25
It will be impossible for government to delay indefinitely	39	13
It will block all kinds of development in the society	23	8
Unclassifiable	23	8

The most significant aspects of Q11b is that so many would protest, that is, take to the streets while a small but depending on their skills, perhaps critical number (approximately 110,000) would leave Hong Kong.

Q 12 examines support/opposition to the principle of increasing the number of members of the CE Election Committee. There is around two-thirds support for enlargement.

Q 12 In principle, do you support/oppose enlarging the number of members of the CE Election Committee?

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Strongly support	12	13	10	13	12
Support	50	51	48	52	55
Oppose	15	16	15	16	16
Strongly oppose	2	2	1	2	4
DK	21	17	26	18	13
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

Q 13 A-G examines different options for enlargement of the CE committee.

Q 13 Would you find the following options for reforming the current 800-member CE Election Committee acceptable or unacceptable?

A. REPLACE EC WITH DIRECT APPOINTMENT BY BEIJING OFFICIALS:

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	45	48	39	46	55
Somewhat unacceptable	31	30	32	31	28
Somewhat acceptable	14	13	14	14	10
Very acceptable	2	3	1	2	5
DK	8	6	13	7	3
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

B. KEEP 800 MEMBERS ELECTED SAME AS NOW

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	14	17	10	13	22
Somewhat unacceptable	32	36	26	34	43
Somewhat acceptable	43	37	53	41	28
Very acceptable	2	2	1	1	1
DK	9	9	10	10	6
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

C. EXPAND TO 1,600 MEMBERS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	11	11	10	8	13
Somewhat unacceptable	29	29	29	27	35
Somewhat acceptable	46	48	43	50	43
Very acceptable	4	3	6	3	2
DK	11	10	13	11	7
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

D. EXPAND TO 5,000 MEMBERS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	16	15	17	13	17
Somewhat unacceptable	34	35	34	34	38
Somewhat acceptable	28	29	25	28	30
Very acceptable	10	11	8	12	7
DK	13	11	16	12	8
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

E. ADD ALL 400 ELECTED DISTRICT COUNCIL MEMBERS TO EC

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	6	6	6	4	10
Somewhat unacceptable	15	15	14	15	21
Somewhat acceptable	59	60	57	62	54
Very acceptable	7	8	6	7	9
DK	13	11	18	12	6
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

F. EXPAND TO ALL REGISTERED FUNCTIONAL CONSTITUENCY VOTERS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	6	5	6	4	7
Somewhat unacceptable	19	21	14	21	24
Somewhat acceptable	54	53	55	54	52
Very acceptable	10	10	9	8	13
DK	13	11	16	14	4
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

G. REPLACE WITH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE DIRECT ELECTION BY ALL HK VOTERS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Very unacceptable	6	6	7	5	8
Somewhat unacceptable	14	13	15	13	11
Somewhat acceptable	29	27	32	27	25
Very acceptable	42	47	33	47	50
DK	9	7	13	8	5
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

Q 14 Which of the 7 options would you MOST prefer?

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Beijing appointment	3	2	3	3	3
Keep same as now	8	7	10	8	4
Expand to 1,600	6	6	6	7	4
Expand to 5,000	4	4	3	4	5
Add all 400 Dist Council	7	7	8	6	6
Expand to all FC voters	6	6	6	4	10
Direct election all HK	56	59	52	59	63
DK	9	8	11	10	5
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

Clearly responses to Q 13 and Q14 indicate that direct election of the CE was by far the most preferred option. From responses to Q 14, clearly most want to expand the CE Election Committee.

Q 15 seems to indicate that some change to the terms of reference for the Election Committee is also supported, with significant proportions favoring Legco nominators or registered voters as nominators and the EC as the electing body--.

Q 15 In 2002 the Election Committee members nominated and elected the CE, in the next election would you prefer:

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
No change	9	8	11	8	9
Nominating body only	9	10	6	8	11
Electing body only /Legco nominate	17	18	16	17	18
Electing body only/set # of registered voters to nominate	30	31	29	29	36
DK	35	33	38	37	25
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

Q 16 probes support for change or retention of current practices for the CE and Exco. FC voters seem far more tolerant of party politics and membership than the general public, but the biggest source of opposition to political affiliation comes from the politically inactive group.

Q 16 Should be following practices be forbidden or allowed?

A. CHIEF EXECUTIVE TO BE A MEMBER OF A PARTY

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Should be forbidden	60	58	63	58	52
Should be allowed	26	29	22	27	35
DK	14	14	15	15	13
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

B. PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS IN EXCO TO BE A MEMBER OF A PARTY

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Should be forbidden	52	51	52	50	48
Should be allowed	32	33	32	33	36
DK	16	16	16	16	15
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

C. PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS IN EXCO TO BE LEGCO MEMBERS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Should be forbidden	45	48	40	42	53
Should be allowed	38	37	39	40	34
DK	17	15	21	18	13
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

D. LEGCO MEMBERS TO BE EXCO MEMBERS (WITHOUT MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY)

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Should be forbidden	50	52	45	46	57
Should be allowed	31	30	33	34	28
DK	19	18	21	20	14
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (504)	100 (296)	100 (353)	100 (365)

Q 42h Are you currently worried or not worried about: Constitutional reform disputes causing chaos?

	Random	FC active
Not worried	43	43
Slightly worried	28	30
Somewhat worried	17	19
Very worried	8	5
DK	5	2
Total % (N=)	100 (800)	100 (365)

While the comparative responses to Q42h indicate FC and random sample have comparatively similar patterns of responses about worry whether constitutional reform disputes will cause chaos, the patterns of relationship of whether their support or opposition to direct election of the CE is associated with their worry about chaos differ significantly, with 30 percent of those strongly opposed to direct election of CE among the Random Sample very worried about chaos and none among the FC Actives.

Q42h Worry about Constitutional Reform disputes causing chaos by Q8 In principle, support/oppose direct election of the Chief Executive (Random Sample crosstab)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Not worried	46	42	47	35	39	43
Slightly worried	24	32	27	15	20	28
Somewhat worried	18	16	14	20	20	17
Very worried	8	6	7	30	11	8
DK	5	4	5	0	11	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 33.02 with 16 df p = 0.0073

Q42h Worry about Constitutional Reform disputes causing chaos by Q8 In principle, support/oppose direct election of the Chief Executive (FC Active crosstab)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Not worried	52	44	31	0	35	43
Slightly worried	21	33	31	60	35	30
Somewhat worried	18	17	31	40	10	19
Very worried	6	4	8	0	15	5
DK	2	2	0	0	5	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 23.75 with 16 df p = 0.0952

DEMOGRAPHICS

All numbers are percentages unless otherwise designated. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number unless otherwise designated. All percentages are percent of column, ie, percent of each of the five analysis groups distributed in each row. For example, of those voters who only vote in the GCs (**GC ACTIVE**), 62 percent were born in Hong Kong. In contrast, FC active voters show 89 percent born in Hong Kong, a considerable variance in this demographic factor. Totals for each group vary across demographic factors since not all respondents answered all demographic questions, either refusing to give an answer or giving unclassifiable answers.

BIRTHPLACE

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Hong Kong	67	69	65	62	89
China	29	29	30	35	9
Elsewhere	4	2	5	3	2
Sample size (#)	800	504	296	353	365

SEX

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Male	52	53	51	48	59
Female	48	47	49	52	41
Sample size (#)	800	504	296	353	365

AGE

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
18-19	6	3	11	4	0.3
20-29	14	10	20	12	7
30-39	19	17	22	14	32
40-49	30	36	21	31	43
50-59	17	17	16	19	14
60-69	8	8	8	11	3
70-87	7	8	4	10	1

EDUCATION (years and grade levels)

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active	FC registered*
None to 1 year	7	7	6	9	1	1
2 to 6 (primary)	8	8	9	11	1	2
7-9 (F1-F3)	14	14	12	17	2	4
10-11 (F5/TIF3)	25	22	31	26	11	15
12-13 (F6-7/TCgrad)	14	12	16	14	8	10
14-16 (univ/univ grad)	29	34	21	22	64	56
17-18 (MA/PhD)	4	4	5	1	14	11
Total number	789	504	285	353	361	498

*FC registered to vote. 137 did not vote in the September 2004 Legco election.

OCCUPATION

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Managers & admin	13	14	12	8	25
Professionals	8	10	5	3	32
Assoc. Professionals	5	6	4	2	16
Clerks/Secretaries	11	11	11	13	4
Service & sales	7	5	10	7	2
Ag & fish	0	0	0	0	0
Craft & entertainment	1	1	0	1	0
Plant & machine	4	3	5	5	0.3
Elementary occup.	6	6	8	8	1
Housewife	12	13	10	17	2
Retired	14	16	10	20	4
Unemployed	4	3	7	4	1
Student	9	6	15	9	0
Educators	4	5	2	1	13
Other	2	2	1	2	1
Total	776	488	288	412	360

WORK SECTOR

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Civil Servant	8	9	7	6	16
Privatized public	4	5	3	1	14
Private	47	46	49	43	52
Non-profit	2	3	1	1	8
Not in work sector*	39	37	41	49	9
Total	787	494	293	417	365

*Housewives, retirees, unemployed & students from the categories in the Occupation table above

RELIGION

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
None	54	54	55	52	54
Catholic	6	7	5	5	10
Protestant	15	15	14	13	24
Buddhist	10	10	9	12	5
Taoist	1	0.4	1	0.5	1
Ancestor worship	14	13	15	17	5
Other	1	1	2	0.5	1

EXPERIENCE LIVING OUTSIDE HONG KONG ONE YEAR OR MORE

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Yes	28	28	27	26	33
No	72	72	73	74	66
Total	797	503	294	353	363

RIGHT OF ABODE OVERSEAS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Yes	10	11	8	6	24
No	90	89	92	94	76

HOUSING TYPE

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Villa/Bungalow	1	1	1	1	2
Private ownership	43	47	36	39	69
Private rental	8	5	12	6	8
Home Ownership Scheme	15	16	14	18	10
Public Housing	28	25	32	33	5
Modern village house	2	2	2	2	2
Traditional village house	1	1	1	1	1
Temporary housing	--	0	--	0	0
Employer provided	1	1	1	--	1
Other	1	2	1	1	2
Total	800	504	296	353	365

FAMILY MEMBERS WITH ROA OVERSEAS

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Yes	43	45	40	44	47
No	57	55	60	56	53

MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
None	6	6	6	8	0.5
Less than 5,000	3	4	2	5	0.3
5,000-9,999	6	6	7	8	0.5
10,000-14,999	12	10	14	14	2
15,000-19,999	10	9	10	11	2
20,000-24,999	10	9	11	11	5
25,000-29,999	5	5	5	4	4
30,000-34,999	7	7	7	8	6
35,000-39,999	4	4	3	2	7
40,000-49,999	5	4	6	4	8
50,000-59,999	5	6	3	5	13
60,000-69,999	3	4	1	2	7
70,000-79,999	2	2	2	0.4	5
80,000-89,999	1	1	1	0	5
90,000-99,999	5	6	3	2	20
100,000 +	17	18	16	17	14

CSSA STATUS*

	Random	Sept voters	Pol inactive	GC active	FC active
Yes	3	3	3	5	0
No	3	4	3	3	0
NA	94	93	94	92	100

*Asked of those reporting no family income: Are you receiving any gov't support such as CSSA?