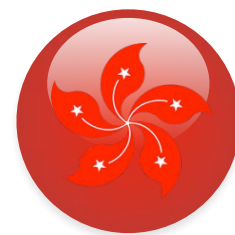


TO THE BRINK

Rising danger of disruption in Hong Kong?

(18 June 2010)



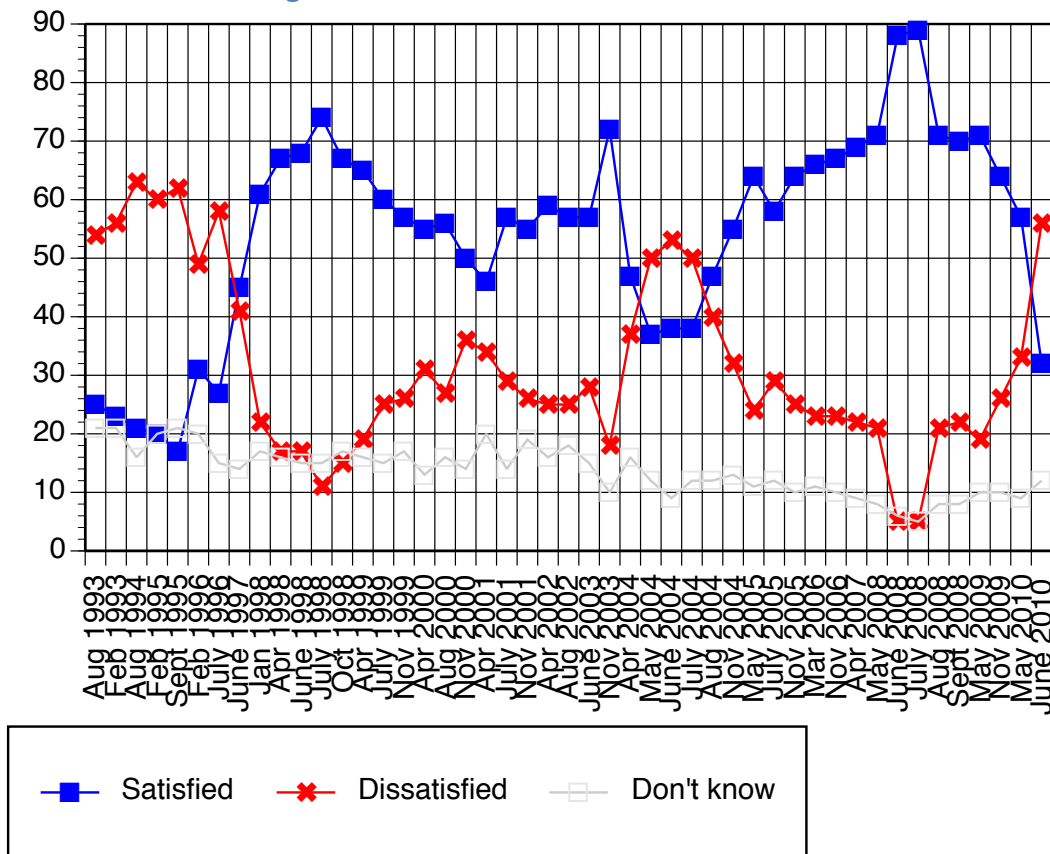
Hong Kong Transition Project

TO THE BRINK

Executive Summary:

The police confiscation of student's statue of liberty not only triggered a record turnout for the June 4 commemorations, it also significantly increased worry about freedom of the press and of assembly. Fears of social unrest are up, dissatisfaction with the Hong Kong government is up. Dissatisfaction with Chief Executive Tsang is at a record high. Attitudes toward the government's constitutional reform package have shifted strongly toward rejecting the package, particularly if it is not amended. Dissatisfaction with Beijing's handling of Hong Kong affairs is at a post-1997 record, higher than at any point under Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa. Among students, dissatisfaction with the Central Government's handling of Hong Kong affairs now prevails among three out of four. Hong Kong may be at risk of serious destabilization.¹

Chart 1 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in dealing with HKSAR affairs?



*Table is in Appendix at end of this report

¹ Random sample telephone survey of 934 persons with Hong Kong permanent residency conducted 4-14 June 2010. Range of error at the 95% confidence interval is +/-3 points. Full questions indicate exact text of question asked. Questions posed in Cantonese, Mandarin, other Chinese dialects and English, as interviewees preferred. See final page of this report and <http://www.hktp.org> for further details.

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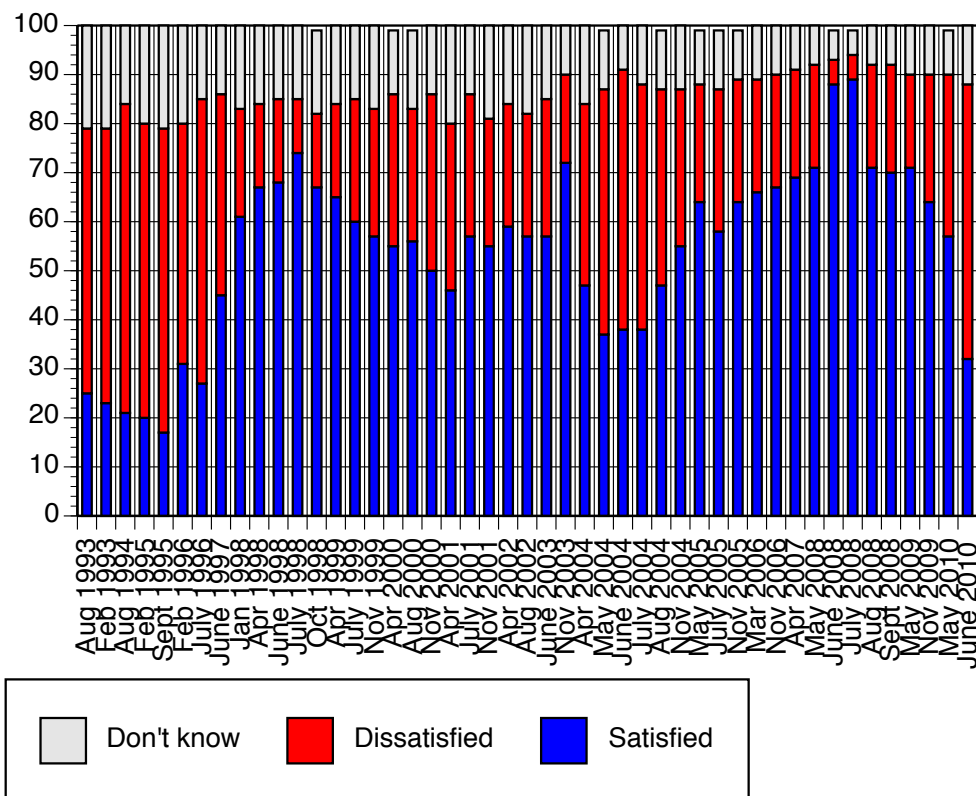
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Introduction

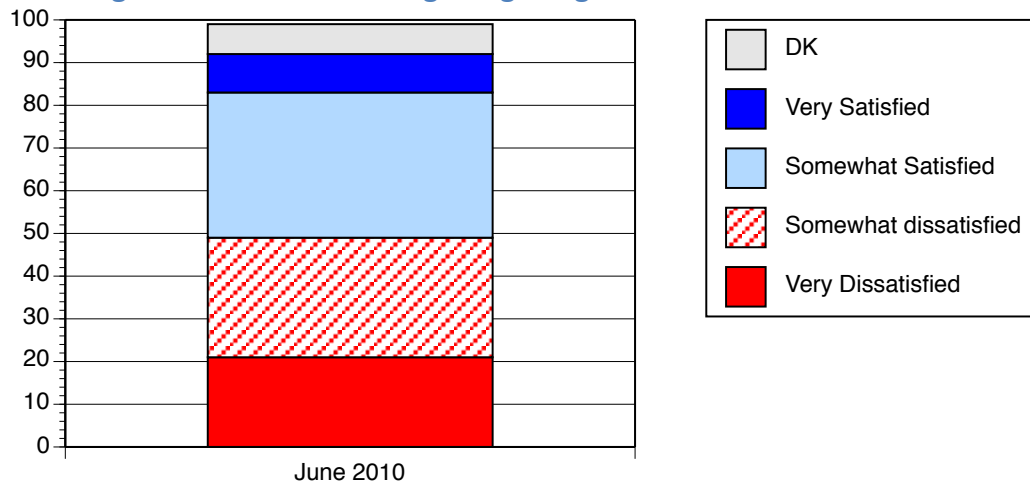
Attitudes of the public toward the Hong Kong and Beijing governments have taken a significant turn at dramatic speed in the run-up to the vote on constitutional reform. The previous attempt in 2005 to reform the Basic Law, Hong Kong's constitution, took place in very different circumstances, amid falling anger at the government and a significant upturn in the economy. In 2005 people still believed that the first Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa had been the primary source of many of Hong Kong's troubles, and with Chief Executive Donald Tsang in charge governance would be improved. Today there is no such belief. Today most believe the government system of Hong Kong is unfair in its very structure as well as in its policy-making functions. Attitudes toward the functional constituencies (FC), a relic of the 19th century ported over into modern Hong Kong by the former British rulers as a means to lessen discontent by widening the franchise, have changed as the FCs, particularly those dominated by big business, refuse to let anyone else into their tiny corporate franchises. The system was rolled back from reforms which had considerably widened its franchise in the final days of British rule, and a rule that gave far less than 10,000 secretive corporate voters the power to veto the will of all others in Hong Kong was imposed. Today more and more are focusing on the government in Beijing, not Hong Kong, as the primary obstacle to accountable, responsible governance. Today the demands for reform of the FCs and change are rising to fever pitch. If change is not made, the question today is can they be expressed peacefully, or will anger and confrontation lead to tragedy in Hong Kong?

Bar chart of satisfaction with PRC Government handling of Hong Kong SAR affairs



A significant driver of dissatisfaction with the Central Government is its handling of Hong Kong's constitutional reform, as seen in Chart/Table 3.

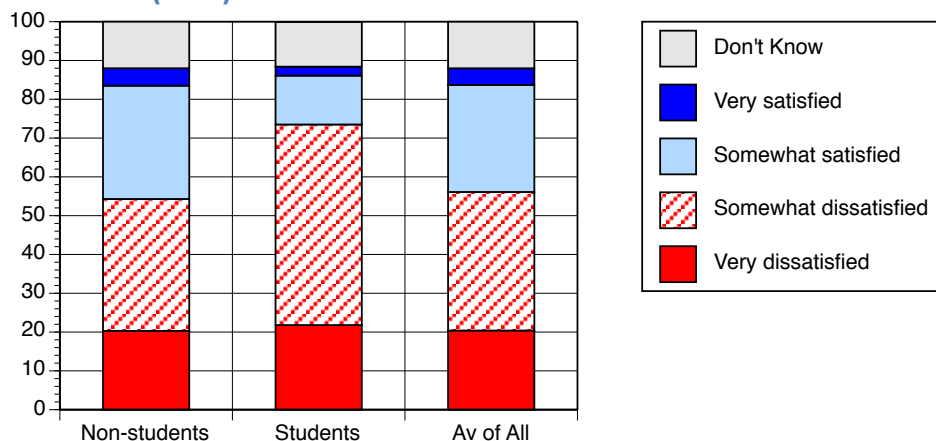
Chart/Table 3 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Chinese government on handling Hong Kong's constitutional reform?



	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
June 2010	21	28	34	9	7

As reported in May 2010 (see <http://www.hktp.org> for report "Before the Legislative Council votes on Constitutional Reform," dissatisfaction among students with the Central government is significantly higher than among the populace as a whole. In June 2010 three out of four students are dissatisfied with the PRC government's handling of Hong Kong affairs.

Chart/Table 4 Satisfaction with performance of PRC Government in handling Hong Kong SAR affairs (June)



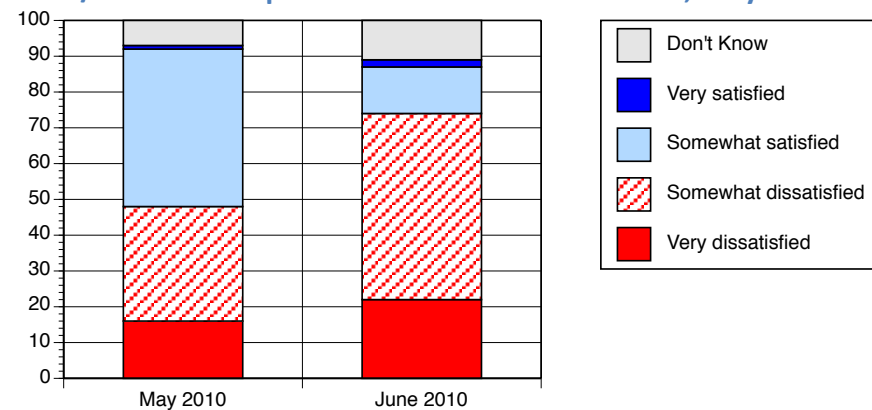
	Non-students	Students	Av of All
Very dissatisfied	20	22	20
Somewhat dissatisfied	34	52	36
Somewhat satisfied	29	13	28
Very satisfied	4	2	4
Don't Know	12	12	12
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 15.73 with 4 df p = 0.0034

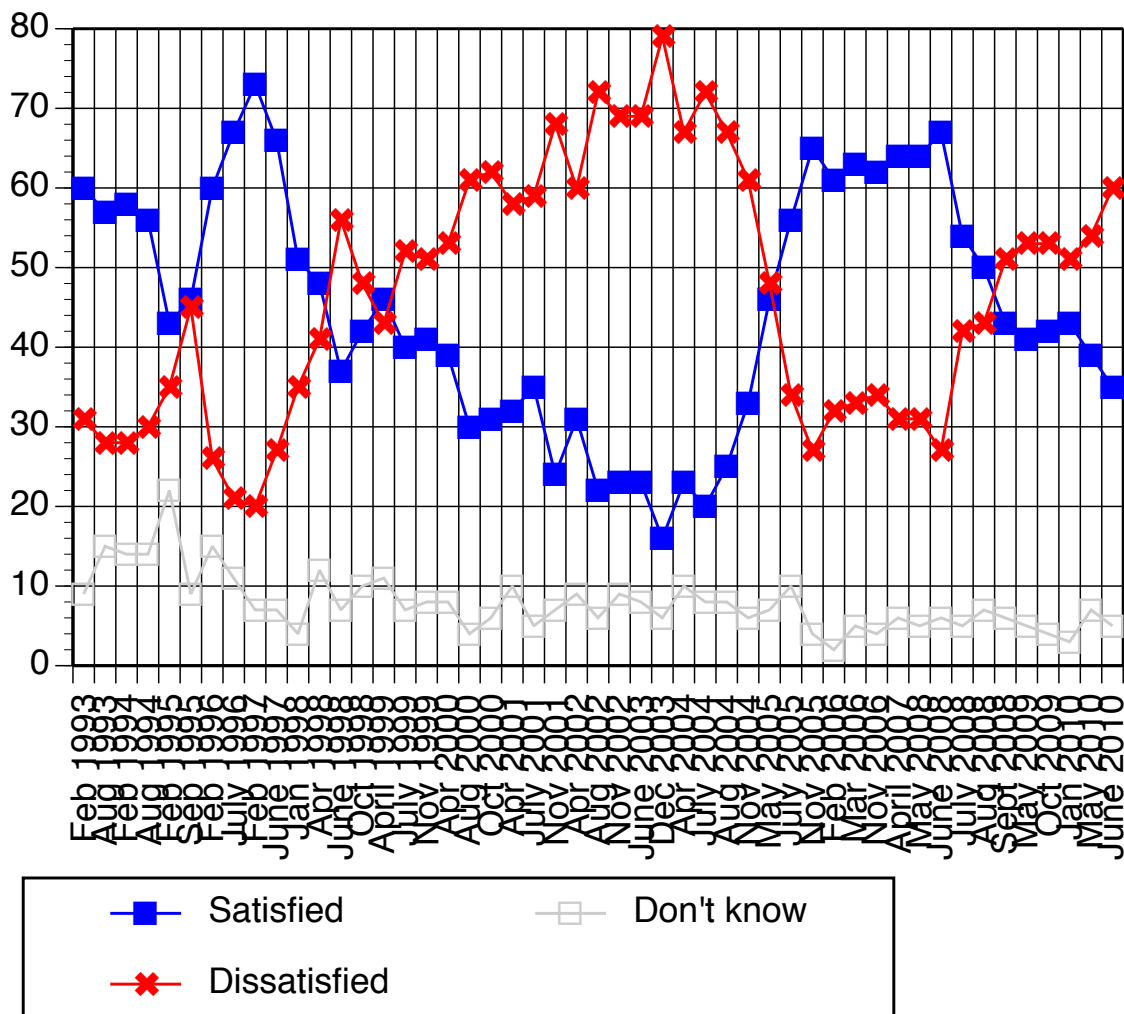
The situation has deteriorated significantly since May among students:

Chart/Table 5 Comparison of Students satisfaction, May versus June 2010



	June 2010	May 2010
Very dissatisfied	22	16
Somewhat dissatisfied	52	32
Somewhat satisfied	13	44
Very satisfied	2	1
Don't Know	12	7

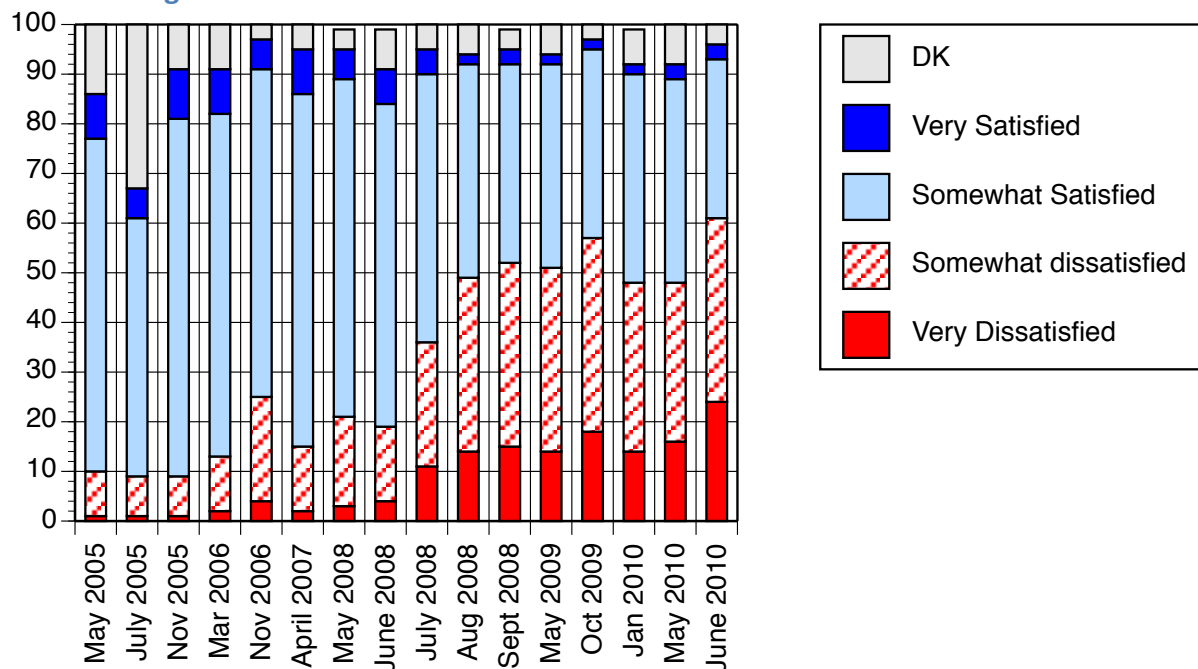
Chart 6: Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of the SAR Government?



*See Appendix for Table

Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Chief Executive is now at a new record high, leaping by 13 points in one month to 61 percent dissatisfied.

Chart/Table 7 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of Donald Tsang?



	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
May 2005	1	9	67	9	14
July 2005	1	8	52	6	33
Nov 2005	1	8	72	10	9
Mar 2006	2	11	69	9	7
Nov 2006	4	21	66	6	3
April 2007	2	13	71	9	5
May 2008	3	18	68	6	4
June 2008	4	15	65	7	8
July 2008	11	25	54	5	5
Aug 2008	14	35	43	2	6
Sept 2008	15	37	40	3	4
May 2009	14	37	41	2	6
Oct 2009	18	39	38	2	3
Jan 2010	14	34	42	2	7
May 2010	16	32	41	3	8
June 2010	24	37	32	3	4

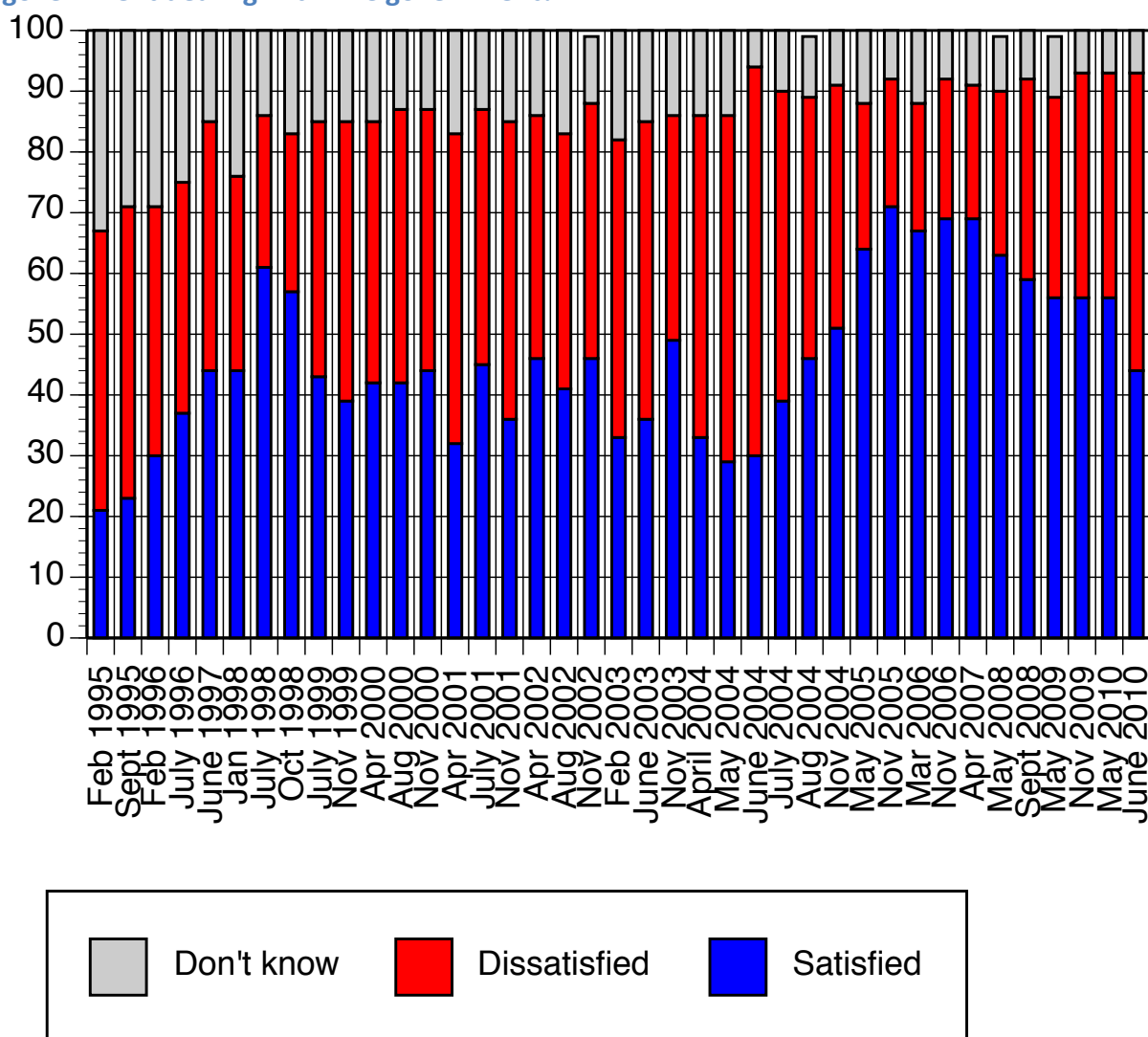
Specifically on satisfaction with Donald Tsang's performance on constitutional reform:

Table 8 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with Donald Tsang’s performance on constitutional reform?

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
June 2010	16	28	40	6	11

Tsang’s handling of constitutional reform per se is a major component but not the only factor driving dissatisfaction with his performance as Chief Executive. For example, Chart 4 shows that dissatisfaction has risen with government to government relations between the SAR and the PRC Central Government. Table 5 shows strong increases in concern about freedom of press and assembly while Chart 8 and 9 show rising concern with rule of law and job opportunities for young graduates.

Chart 9 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of SAR government dealing with PRC government?



A majority of 57 percent are very or somewhat worried about young graduate’s employment, clearly well above their concern about their own employment situation at 23 percent. Worry

about social unrest and street protests has risen from 26 percent very and somewhat worried in May to 35 percent in June.

Table 10 Are you currently worried or not about these specific aspects affecting you, your family or Hong Kong

Issue	Date	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK
Free press	August 2008	55	26	11	7	1
	May 2009	56	25	11	6	1
	June 2010	43	20	20	16	1
Personal Freedoms	May 2009	70	17	7	5	1
	June 2010	48	18	19	15	--
Free assembly Your employment situation	August 2008	67	19	7	6	2
	May 2009	57	18	11	11	2
	June 2010	58	17	13	10	2
Social unrest & street protests	Aug 2008	55	27	12	5	1
	May 2009	43	29	18	8	1
	June 2010	38	26	22	13	1
Constitutional reform disputes causing chaos	June 2010	43	20	20	16	1
	Aug 2008	58	21	12	7	3
	May 2009	55	24	14	6	1
Rule of law	June 2010	50	23	16	10	1
	June 2010	20	21	30	27	1
	Young graduates employment					

Chart 11: Worry about a free press

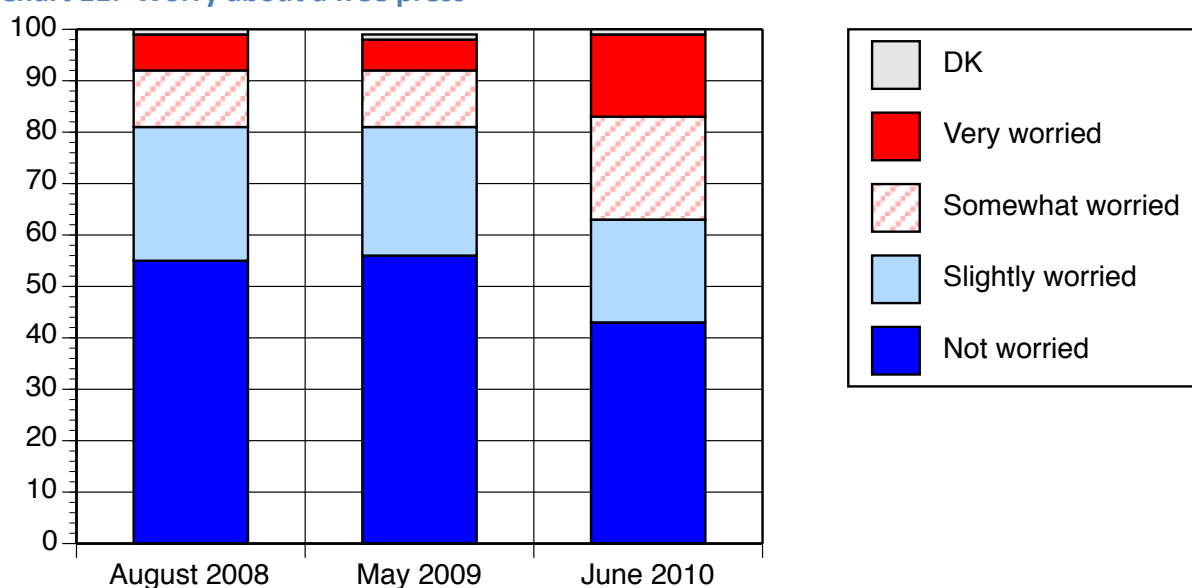


Chart 12: Worry about Social unrest and street protests

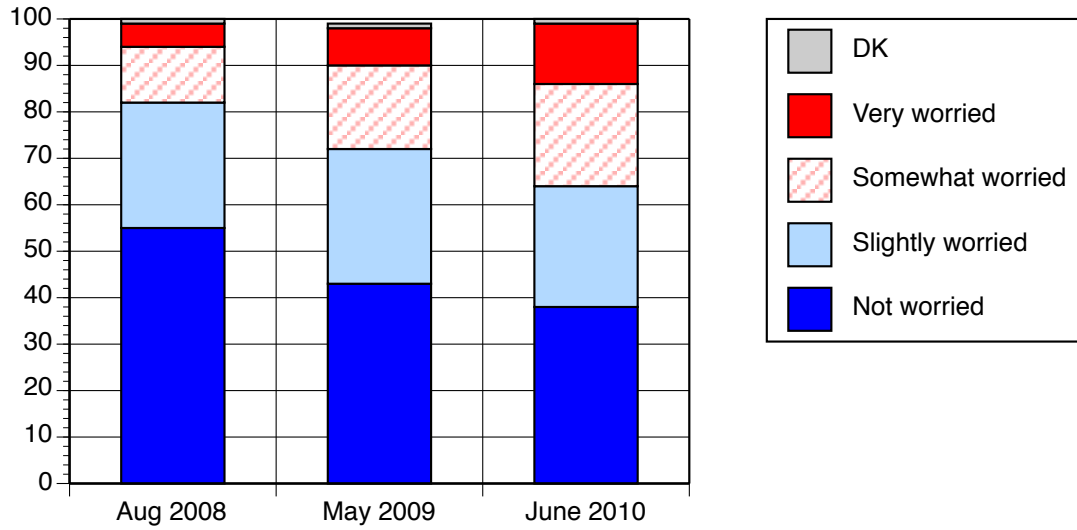


Chart 13: Worry about rule of law

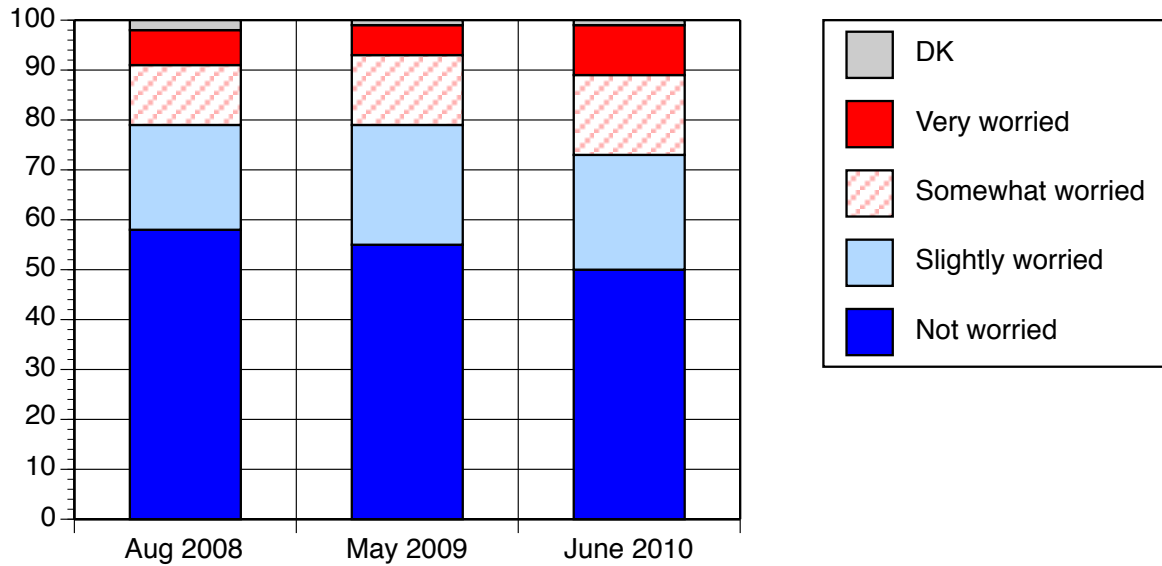
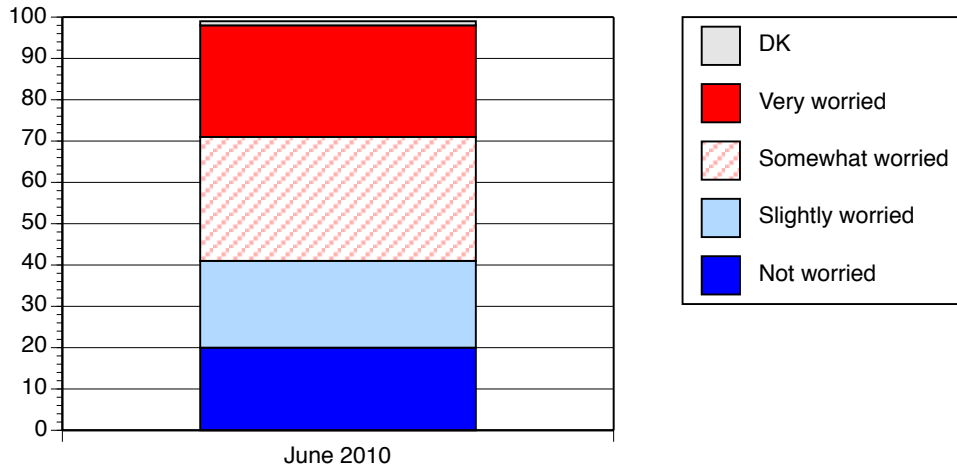


Chart 14: Worry about young graduate's employment situation



II Constitutional Reforms

Summary:

Opposition to the government's reform proposals has risen from 41 percent in May to 46 percent in June while support has fallen from 42 percent in May to 38 percent in June. Rejection of accepting the plan has risen, from 33 percent rejecting to 44 percent rejecting acceptance. When asked at the end of the survey what they want Legco to do if the package is unchanged at the end, 43 percent support passage, 45 percent oppose. Unless the plan is amended, a majority does not appear to be forming to support or accept passage.

Table 15 Are you currently registered to vote in the GC and/or FC elections?

Group	Count	%
GC only	660	71
FC only	4	0.4
Both	100	11
Not registered	165	18
DK	5	0.5

Table 16 How much attention would you say you have been paying to constitutional reform/direct election discussions and debates in the media and the community? (May survey registered voters/June survey all)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined	June Registered voters	June Non-voters
Great deal	13		20		22	8
Fair amount	51	64	41	61	41	39
Some	29		26		25	30
Not too much	7		11		10	15
None	1	8	3	14	2	7

June Chi-square = 35.92 with 5 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Conclusion: Attention levels among registered voters about the same as in mid-May. Non-registered to vote, as anticipated, show lower levels of attention.

Table 17 How well would you say you understand the government's reform proposals?

	Registered voter	Non-registered	total
Very well	11	4	10
Fairly well	23	14	21
So-So	37	33	37
Not so well	22	37	25
None at all	7	12	8
Don't Know	--	1	--
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 29.52 with 5 df $p \leq 0.0001$

Registered voters are by two to one more confident they understand the government's reform proposals than those not registered to vote.

Table 18 Do you generally support or oppose the Hong Kong government’s proposal for constitutional reform? (May of registered voters only)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June combined	June Registered voters	June Non-voters
Strongly support	4		7		7	3
Support	38	42	31	38	31	33
Oppose	31		29		29	29
Strongly oppose	10	41	17	46	19	10
DK	16		16		14	26

Conclusion: Opposition appears to have strengthened and support weakened since mid-May. The government public relations campaign, as expected, is working against support (earlier findings showed the more people understood about the proposals, the more likely they were to oppose). The forecast was that this would happen, so this an expected result.

Table 19 How strongly would you agree or disagree with the statement: “The government’s reform plan is acceptable to me” (All Respondents)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined	June registered voters	June Non-voters
Strongly agree	6		6		7	3
Agree	39	45	36	42	34	47
Neutral/DK	22		14		14	16
Disagree	23		27		27	27
Strongly disagree	10	33	17	44	18	8

June Chi-square = 17.92 with 4 df p = 0.0013

Conclusion: In line with the May survey, about the same or slightly fewer are willing to accept the government package. Disagree with acceptance is up significantly. It appears that the “Act Now” slogan is backfiring as people conclude that if government wants action and not acceptance, then their action is to reject because government does not appear to be listening to their strong support for amendment of the bill (see below).

Table 20 If the reform package is not changed from what it is right now and the only option is to accept or reject, would you support Legco in the end to accept or tell them reject it? June, final question in survey

Group	Registered voter	Non-registered	All	Combined
Strongly support to accept	11	8	11	
Support to accept	30	42	32	43
Reject it	26	27	26	
Strongly reject it	22	7	19	45
Don’t Know	11	15	12	12

Chi-square = 24.84 with 4 df p ≤ 0.0001

Conclusion: This was the last question asked in the survey except for a few remaining demographic questions, so it represents opinion after a fair amount of thought about

issues related to constitutional reform. There is statistically no difference between those supporting and those rejecting the reforms (43% for, 45% against with a +/-3 point margin of statistical error), with both views significantly under a majority. The significant difference in responses from registered voters and those not registered to vote shows that the development of an election culture in Hong Kong has contributed toward a strong motivation of people to inform themselves on and take an opinion view toward issues of public policy. The strengthening of this politically participatory culture over the past five years since the previous reform proposal in 2005 shows up in the higher numbers of persons paying attention and taking a position on it, as well as in higher voter registration numbers.

Table 21 Agree/disagree on “Government always holds fake consultations, so pan-democrats must reject the government plan” (All respondents)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined
Strongly agree	12		13	
Agree	34	46	34	47
Neutral/DK	20		18	
Disagree	30		28	
Strongly disagree	4	34	7	35

Table 22 Agree/disagree on “Pan-democrats must compromise because we need reform” (All Respondents)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined
Strongly agree	11		9	
Agree	49	60	52	61
Neutral/DK	20		17	
Disagree	17		16	
Strongly disagree	3	20	5	21

Agreement that gradual reform is better than no progress at all has fallen significantly between May and June. While a strong majority still agrees, it has dropped from about 3 out of 4 agreeing to about 2 out of 3.

Table 23 Agree/disagree on “Gradual reform is better than no progress at all” (All Respondents)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined
Strongly agree	21		19	
Agree	53	74	45	64
Neutral/DK	12		15	
Disagree	9		13	
Strongly disagree	4	13	8	21

Table 24 Agree/disagree on “People should strongly protest the government reform plan, including hunger strikes and blocking government offices” (All Respondents)

Group	May %	May Combined	June %	June Combined
Strongly agree	3		3	
Agree	10	13	12	15
Neutral/DK	13		14	
Disagree	52		50	
Strongly disagree	22	74	21	71

Tables 25 and 26 contain the results from May and June 2010 respectively. The chart on the following page shows changes in agreement to the statements over 4 surveys since November 2009.

Table 25. How strongly would you agree or disagree with these statements for and against reform: (in the order asked in table. May 2010)

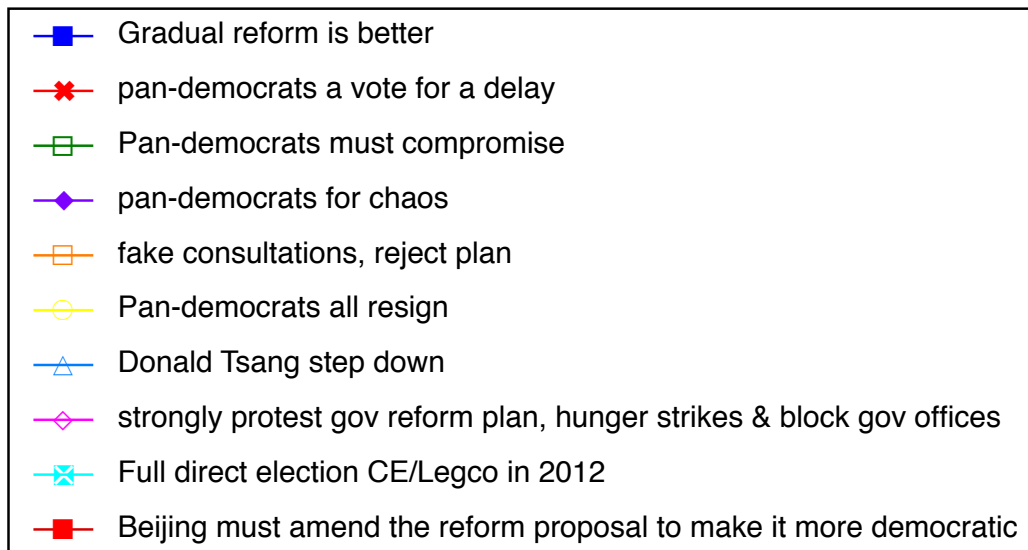
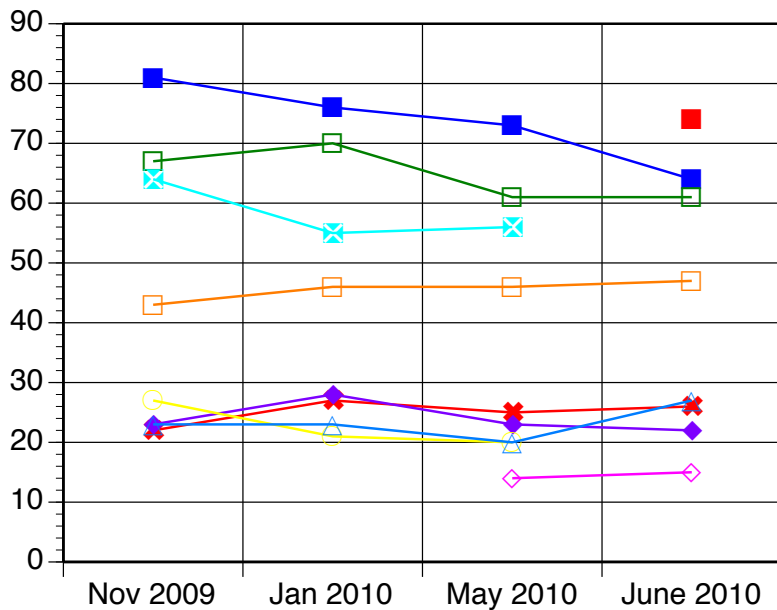
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral DK	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Gradual reform is better than no progress at all	22	51	12	9	6
A vote for pan-democrats is a vote for a delay in achieving democracy	5	20	19	42	14
Pan-democrats must compromise because we need reform	11	50	18	18	3
The government's reform plan is acceptable to me	6	39	20	25	10
A vote for pan-democrats is a vote for confrontation and chaos	9	15	14	42	20
Government always holds fake consultations, so pan-democrats must reject the government plan	11	35	20	30	4
People should strongly protest the government reform plan, including hunger strikes and blocking government offices	3	11	12	53	21
Pan-democrats should all resign in protest	7	13	13	54	13
Donald Tsang should step down	8	12	29	44	8
Full direct election of CE and Legco in 2012	18	38	19	20	5

Table 26. How strongly would you agree or disagree with these statements for and against In the order asked in table. June 2010

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral DK	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Gradual reform is better than no progress at all	19	45	15	13	8
A vote for pan-democrats is a vote for a delay in achieving democracy	7	19	18	41	15
Pan-democrats must compromise because we need reform	9	52	17	16	5
The government's reform plan is acceptable to me	6	36	14	27	16
A vote for pan-democrats is a vote for confrontation and chaos	6	16	13	42	22
Government always holds fake consultations, so pan-democrats must reject the government plan	13	34	18	28	7
People should strongly protest the government reform plan, including hunger strikes and blocking government offices	3	12	14	50	21
Donald Tsang should step down	11	16	29	35	9
Beijing must amend the reform proposal to make it more democratic	24	50	15	9	2

The fall in agreement that gradual reform is better than no progress at all is clear in the chart below. The public is showing growing belief that government's take it or leave it approach to the present package means, after discussion, it might be best to leave it.

Chart/Table 27 Agree to statements (Change over 4 surveys)

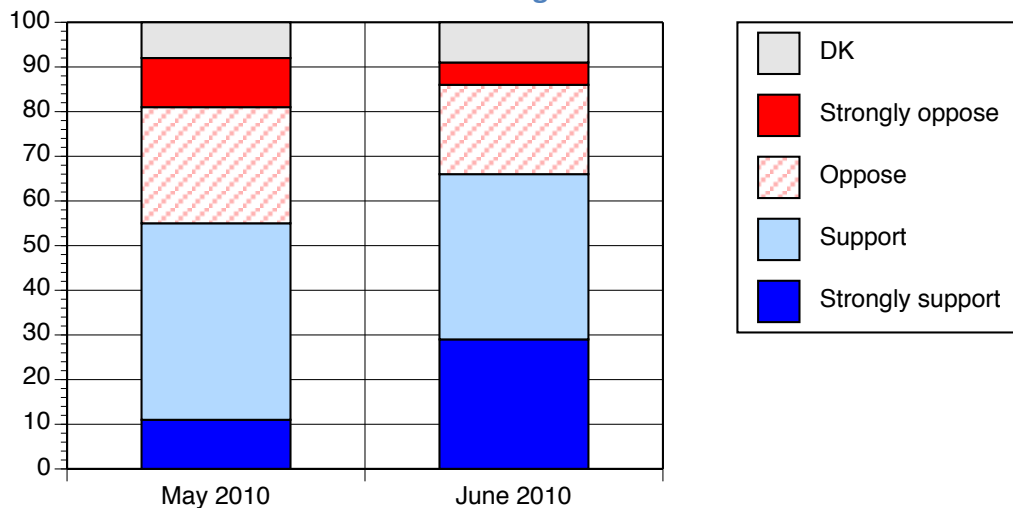


	June	June	May	May	Jan	Jan	Nov	Nov
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Gradual reform is better	64	21	73	15	76	13	81	9
pan-democrats a vote for a delay	26	56	25	56	27	52	22	56
Pan-democrats must compromise	61	21	61	21	70	16	67	17
pan-democrats for chaos	22	64	23	62	28	54	23	63
fake consultations, reject plan	47	35	46	34	46	35	43	34
Pan-democrats all resign	NA	NA	20	67	21	61	27	47
Donald Tsang step down	27	44	20	52	23	54	23	51
People should strongly protest gov reform plan, including hunger strikes and blocking government offices	15	71	14	74				
Full direct election CE/Legco in 2012	NA	NA	56	25	55	28	64	23
Beijing must amend the reform proposal to make it more democratic	74	11						

The firming trend showing in several of the tables above also appears in the tables below, testing support for basic principles as well as options for reform.

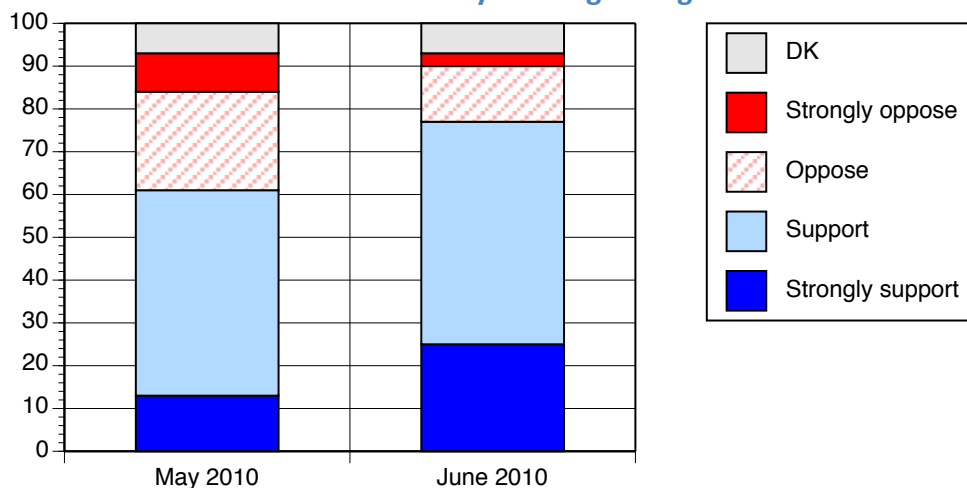
Table 28. In principle, do you support or oppose:

A. Abolishing functional constituencies



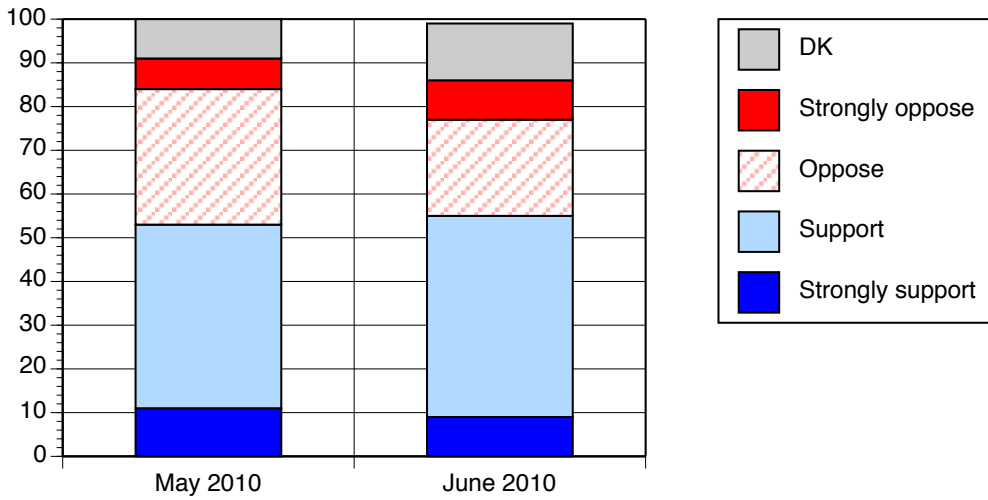
Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	11	29
Support	44	37
Oppose	26	20
Strongly oppose	11	5
DK	8	9

B. Directly electing all Legco members



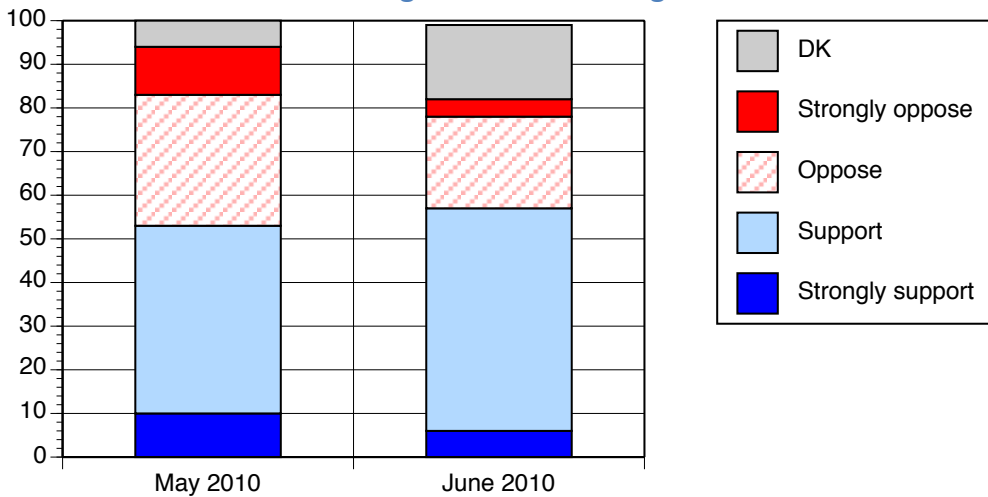
Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	13	25
Support	48	52
Oppose	23	13
Strongly oppose	9	3
DK	7	7

C. Expanding the Chief Executive Election Committee



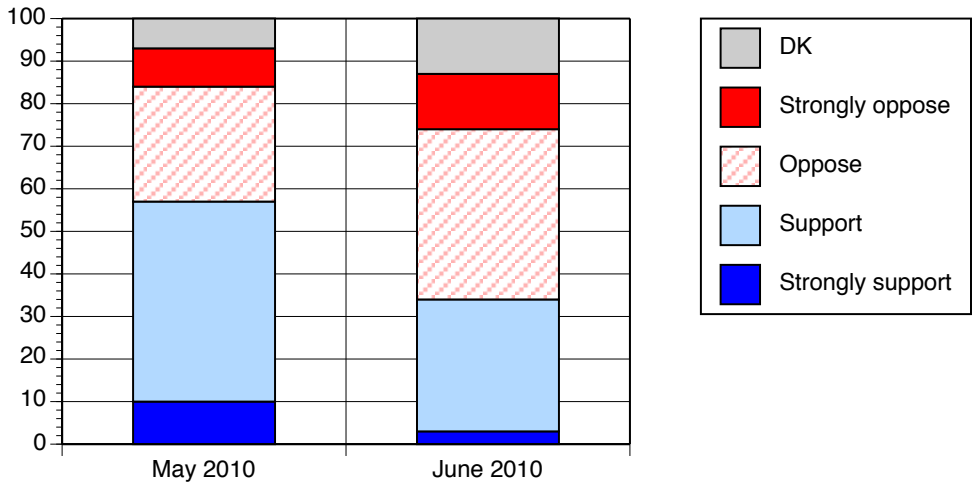
Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	11	9
Support	42	46
Oppose	31	22
Strongly oppose	7	9
DK	9	13

D. Increasing the number of Legco seats from 60 to 70



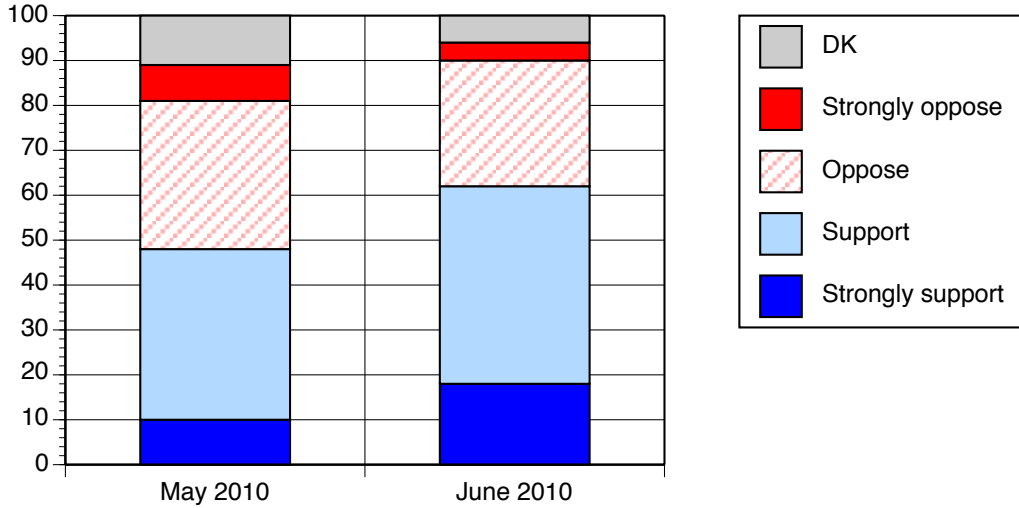
Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	10	6
Support	43	51
Oppose	30	21
Strongly oppose	11	4
DK	7	17

E. Abolishing corporate voting in functional constituencies in 2012 by expanding the right to vote to all recognized organization or company directors and trustees



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	10	3
Support	47	31
Oppose	27	40
Strongly oppose	9	13
DK	7	13

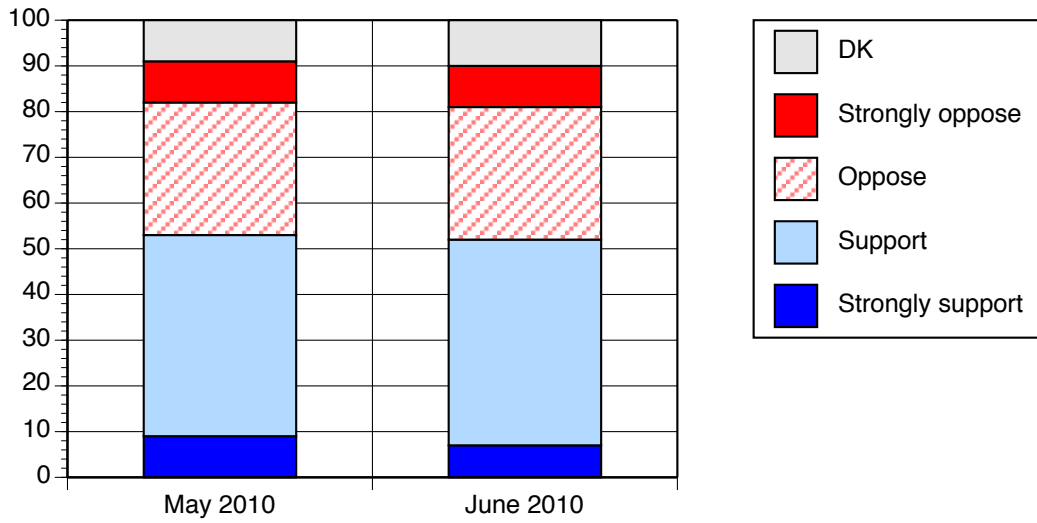
F. Abolishing all appointees to District Council



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	10	18
Support	38	44
Oppose	33	28
Strongly oppose	8	4
DK	11	7

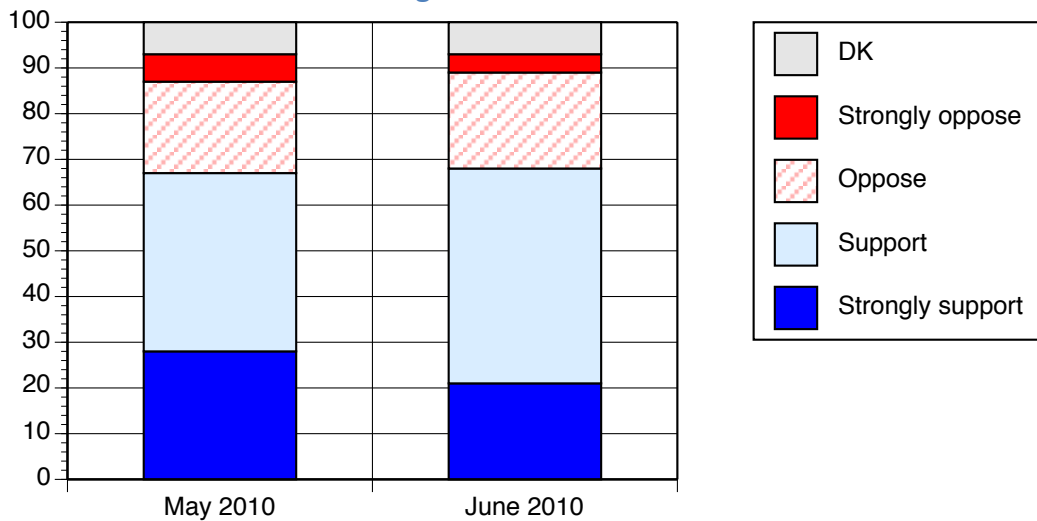
Chart/Table 29 Which direction would you support or oppose

a. Expand number of voters in Legco FCs until everyone has two votes, a GC and FC vote



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	9	7
Support	44	45
Oppose	29	29
Strongly oppose	9	9
DK	9	10

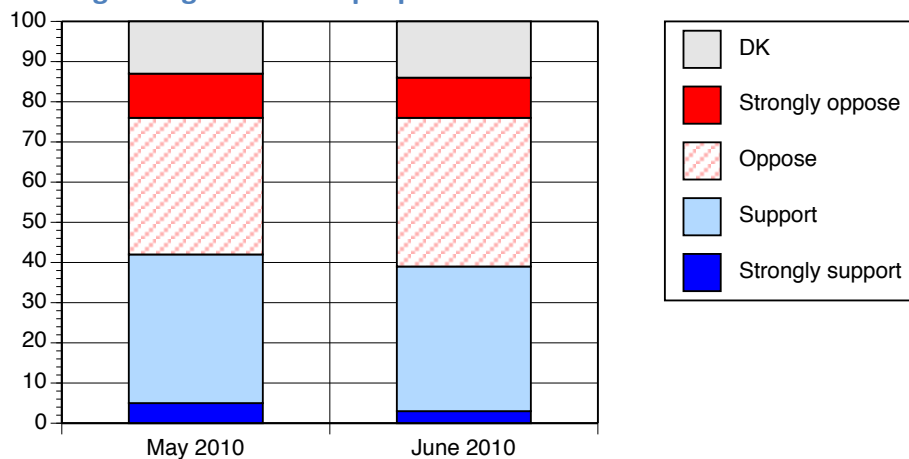
b. Cut number of FCs until all FCs are gone and all seats are elected in GCs as half are now



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	28	21
Support	39	47
Oppose	20	21
Strongly oppose	6	4
DK	7	8

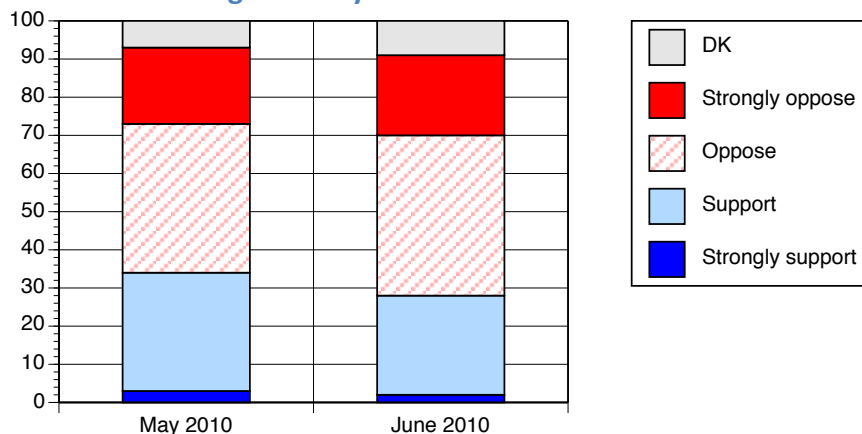
Chart/Table 29c retests the specifics of the government package for Legco, reconfirming the earlier finding that there is no majority either in favor or against the government reforms. But Chart/Table 29d shows that a majority do want something changed in the FC system, either in its voting franchises, its corporate voting, or a firm promise about fixing it in future.

c. Add 5 GC seats and 5 FC seats chosen by elected District Council members to current 60 seat Legco as government proposes



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	5	3
Support	37	36
Oppose	34	37
Strongly oppose	11	10
DK	13	14

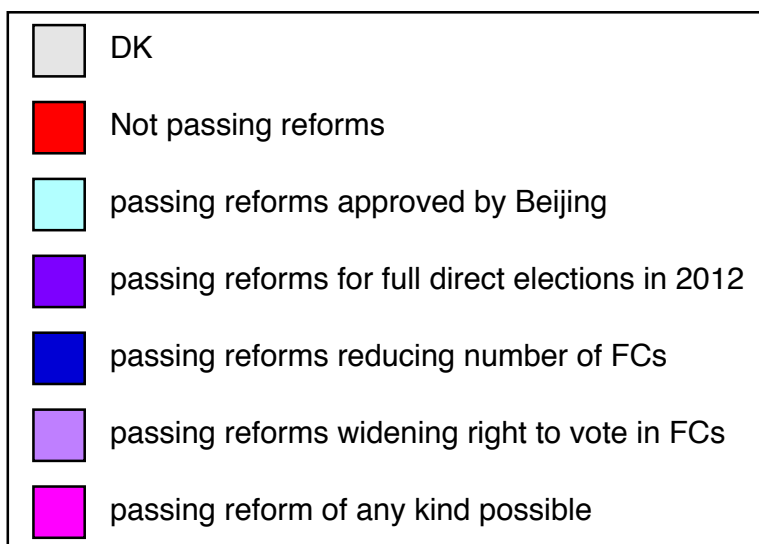
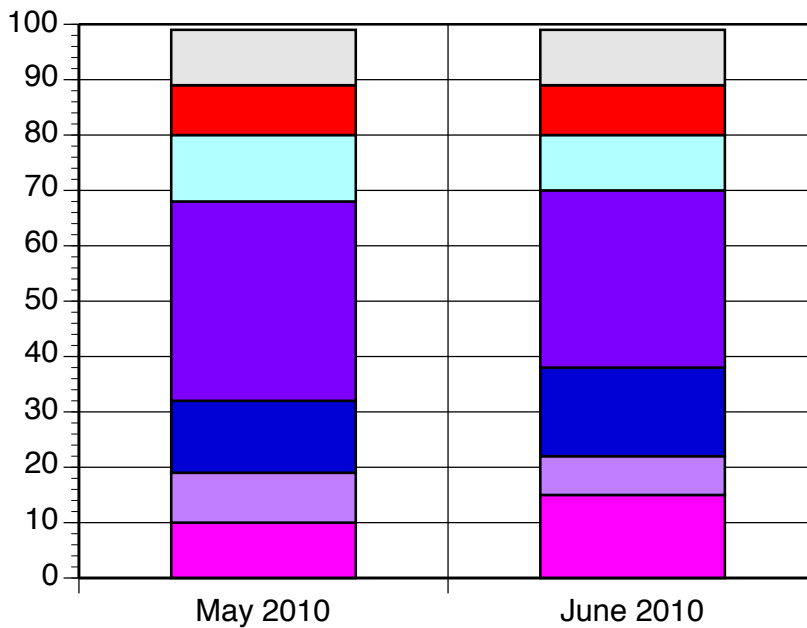
d. Make no change in FC system



Group	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly support	3	2
Support	31	26
Oppose	39	42
Strongly oppose	20	21
DK	8	9

80 percent still want some sort of reform passed, with increased support for reducing the number of FCs and less for full direct elections in 2012.

Chart/Table 30 In your view, what should you Legco member's top priority be:

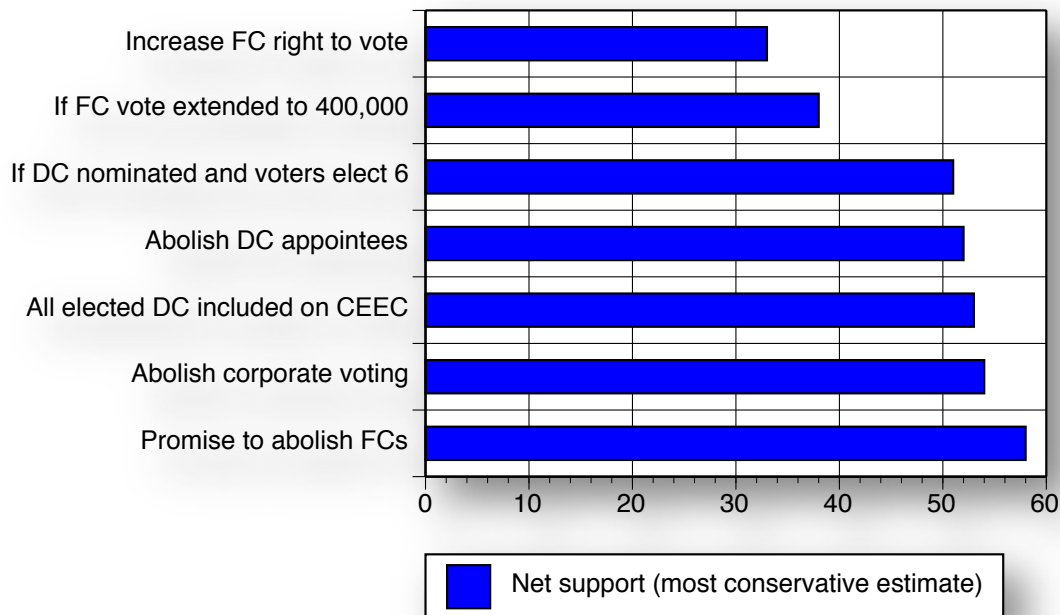


	May 2010	June 2010
passing reform of any kind possible	10	15
passing reforms widening right to vote in FCs	9	7
passing reforms reducing number of FCs	13	16
passing reforms for full direct elections in 2012	36	32
passing reforms approved by Beijing	12	10
Not passing reforms	9	9
DK	10	10

It appears that the government's hardline response to negotiations has triggered a hardline response by the public in return. While in early May several options would have persuaded a majority to support the government's reform package, now only two options would still deliver a majority of support. Only if Beijing promised to abolish the Functional Constituencies or if corporate voting were abolished would a majority support the current

reform package. Two other options, if DC appointees were abolished and if all elected DC members were included on Chief Executive Election Committee as in 2005 now narrowly fail to deliver a majority.

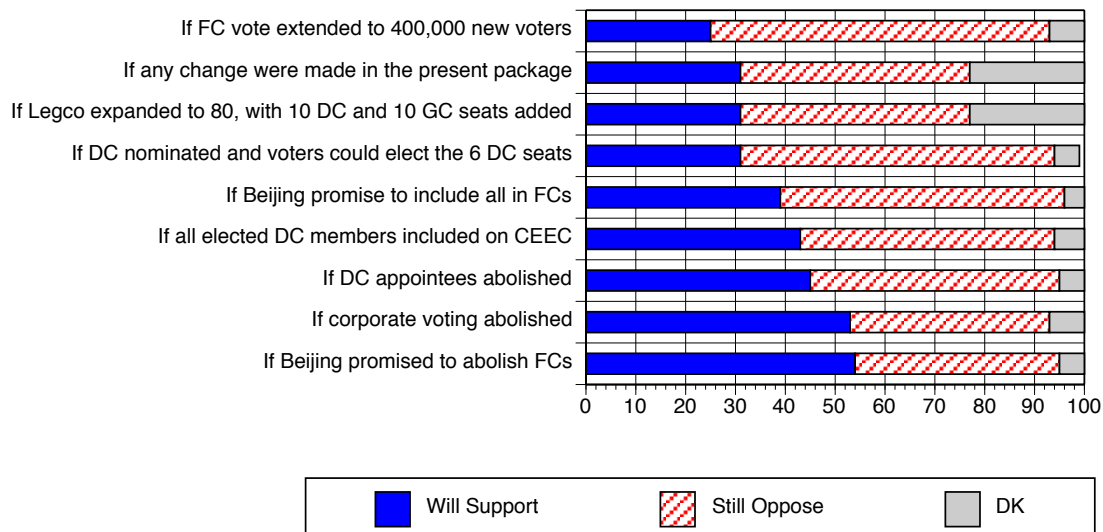
Chart 31 Effect of change excluding Don't Know responses in 6-15 May 2010



One proposal that did return a bare majority in early May, the DC members nominating candidates who would then be elected among by the voters, has now been rejected. People appear willing to consider expanding Legco to 80, depending on the details, one presumes given the large number of Don't Know responses rather than outright rejection or acceptance, but by and large the public has decided that only ending corporate voting or getting a promise from Beijing to end FCs altogether will do.

Effect of change excluding Don't Know responses in 4-13 June 2010

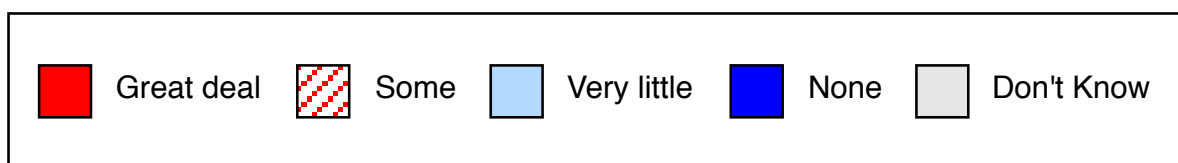
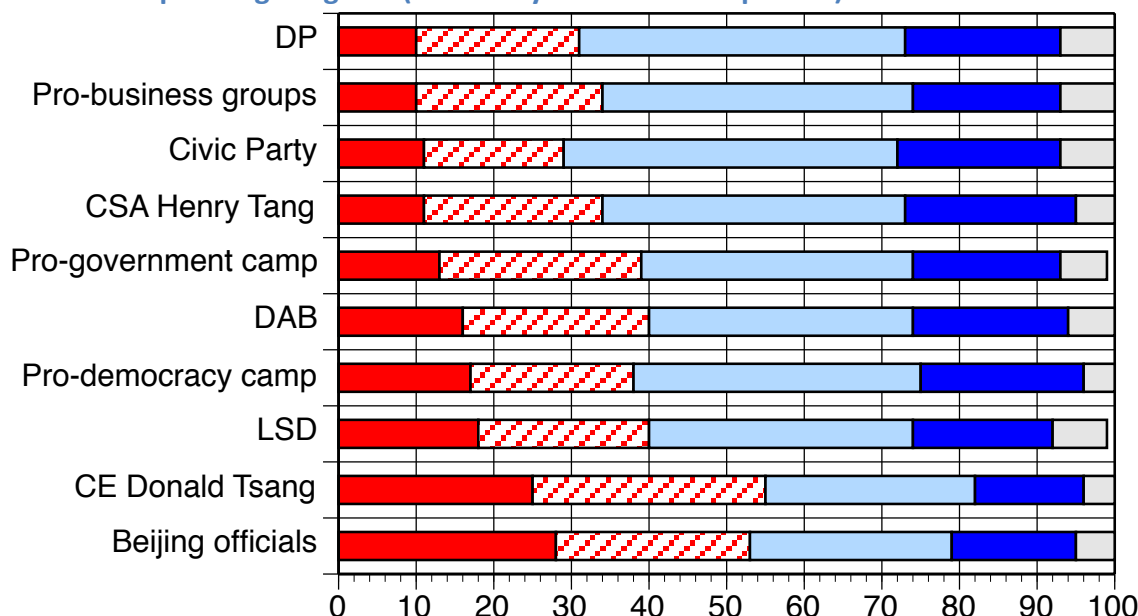
Chart/Table 32 Would any of the following amendments to the package change your view?



	Will Support	Still Oppose	DK
If Beijing promised to abolish FCs	54	41	5
If corporate voting abolished	53	40	7
If DC appointees abolished	45	50	5
If all elected DC members included on CEEC	43	51	6
If Beijing promise to include all in FCs	39	57	5
If DC nominated and voters could elect the 6 DC seats	31	63	5
If Legco expanded to 80, with 10 DC and 10 GC seats added	31	46	23
If any change were made in the present package	31	46	23
If FC vote extended to 400,000 new voters	25	68	7

As in 2005, most expect to blame Beijing and Chief Executive Tsang most for failure of the reform package. Unlike 2005, LSD is the pro-democracy party expected to be blamed most while Democratic Party is put in position of least blame.

Chart/Table 33 How much blame do you assign the following if the constitutional reform proposals fail to pass Legco again? (ranked by Great Deal responses)



	Great deal	Some	Very little	None	Don't Know
Beijing officials	28	25	26	16	5
CE Donald Tsang	25	30	27	14	4
LSD	18	22	34	18	7
Pro-democracy camp	17	21	37	21	5
DAB	16	24	34	20	6
Pro-government camp	13	26	35	19	6
CSA Henry Tang	11	23	39	22	5
Civic Party	11	18	43	21	7
Pro-business groups	10	24	40	19	7
DP	10	21	42	20	7

III Satisfaction with political parties

Satisfaction with the performance of the political parties since November 2009 has been in flux, with drops in satisfaction with most political parties in evidence, and only the Democratic Party showing an overall rising trend since the elections of 2008. The DAB and FTU, with the DAB in particular, have seen falls in satisfaction, with the DAB lower than at any time since its disastrous standings of 2004. (See Chart/Table 36)

Chart/Table 34 Satisfaction with party performance (general) May 2010

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

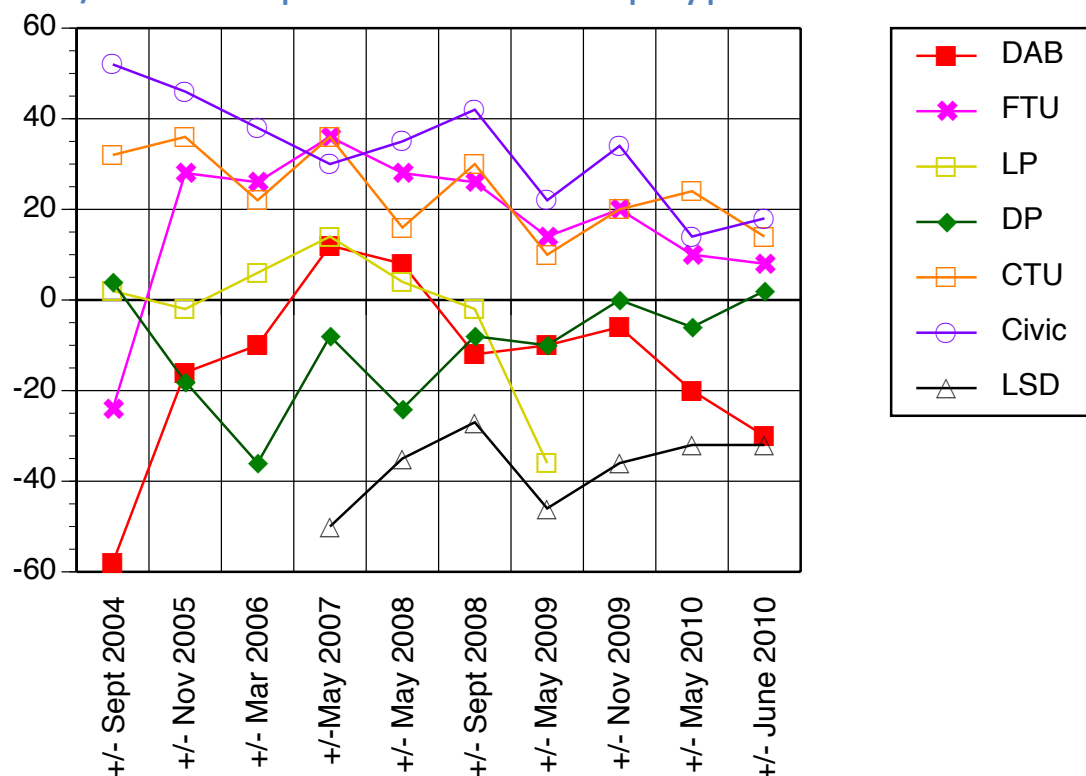
**Indicates significant differences from January 2010 survey

Chart/Table 35 Satisfaction with party performance (general) June 2010

Party	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
DAB	27*	30	27	4	13
FTU	16*	29	35*	3	17
DP	14	31	39	4	12
CTU	10	26	43	3	18
Civic	13	22	43	9	13
LSD	32	28	23	7	10

**Indicates significant differences from May 2010 survey

Chart/Table 36 Comparative Satisfaction with party performance



*0 indicates equal satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Negative numbers indicate more dissatisfied than satisfied. Don't Know responses removed.

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

The percentage of people most concerned with politically related matters has doubled since January 2010. One person in seven is most concerned with political stability while one in twelve is most concerned with freedom, autonomy of Hong Kong and fairness of the judiciary.

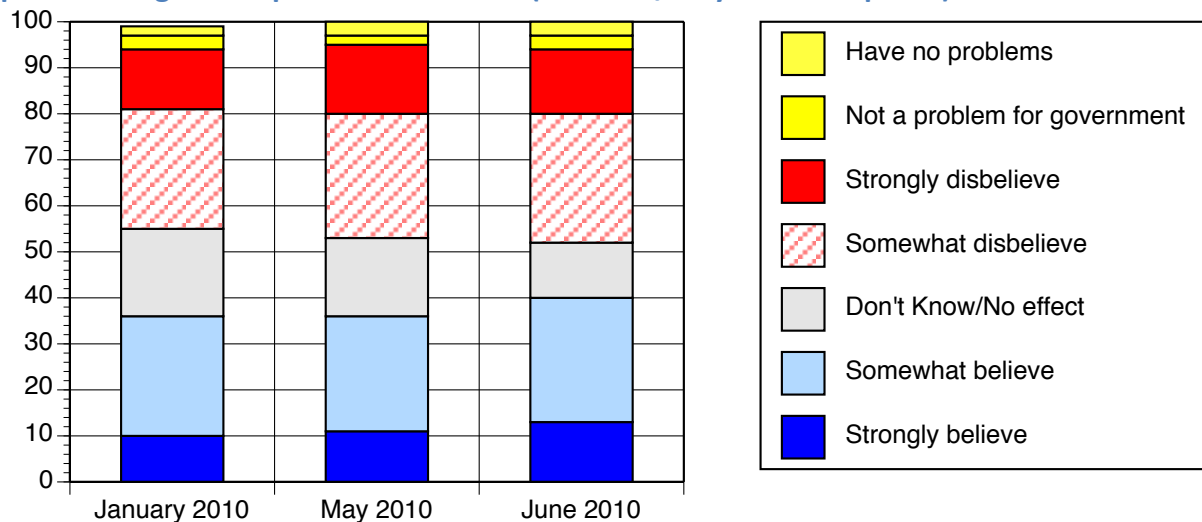
Chart/Table 37 Which problem of Hong Kong are you most concerned about now personally? (Jan/May 2010)

	January 2010	May 2010	June 2010
No problem	2	3	3
Salary cuts	2	4	1
Employment/unemployment	27	15	23
Negative growth rate	9	3	6
Business closings	0.3	0.3	0.2
Affordable housing/ property market	4	14	7
Hong Kong stock market	0.4	0.4	0.4
Hong Kong int'l competitiveness	1	2	2
Inflation	2	3	2
Wealth gap	14	14	7
Welfare cuts	1	2	1
Elderly welfare	3	8	0.3
All economic	63.7	68.7	49.9
Corruption	0.1	0.4	0.4
Political stability	9	6	14
Freedom of press, demonstration, travel	1	3	5
Autonomy of HK	1	0.4	2
Fair judiciary	0.4	1	1
competence of civil servants	0.2	0.1	0.3
competence of Donald Tsang	0.3	1	1
All Political	12	11.9	23.7
Good quality education	4	6	2
Crime/corruption	0.2	1	1
Public medical services	2	2	1
Pollution	1	1	1
All social	7.2	10	5
Other issues/unclassified	14.9	10	18

*Rounded to nearest tenth of a point if less than 1, otherwise rounded to nearest

While more believe direct elections would improve performance, more also disbelieve elections would improve performance in solving their problem of greatest personal concern. The level of Don't Know responses has dropped strongly on this issue, indicating growing polarity of the community over direct elections.

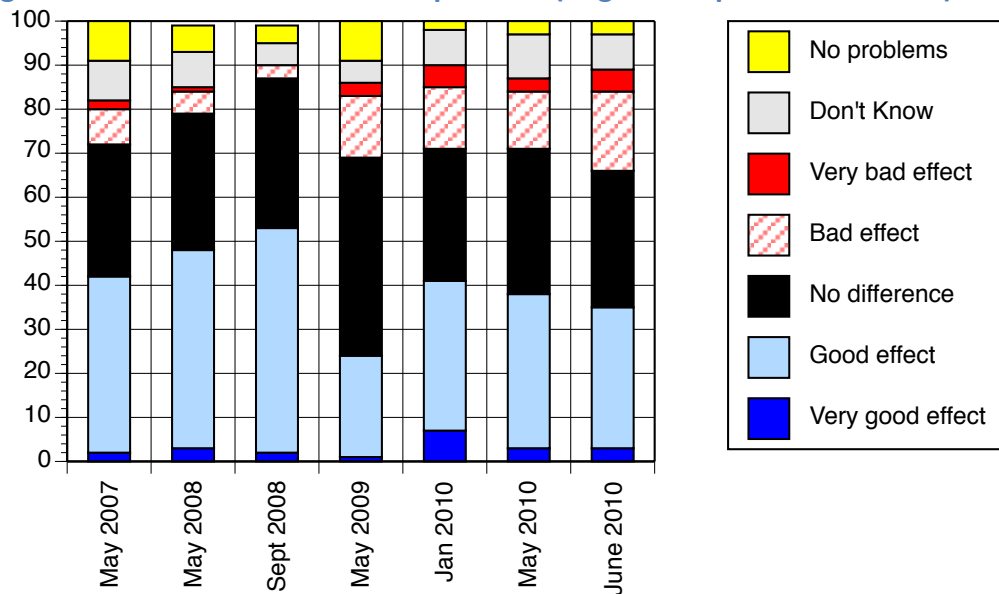
Chart/Table 38 Do you believe making the Chief Executive and Legco members more accountable to voters with direct elections would improve performance on solving your problem of greatest personal concern? (Jan 2010/May 2010 compared)



	January 2010	May 2010	June 2010
Strongly believe	10	11	13
Somewhat believe	26	25	27
Don't Know/No effect	19	17	13
Somewhat disbelieve	26	27	28
Strongly disbelieve	13	15	14
Not a problem for government	3	2	3
Have no problems	2	3	3
total	100	100	100

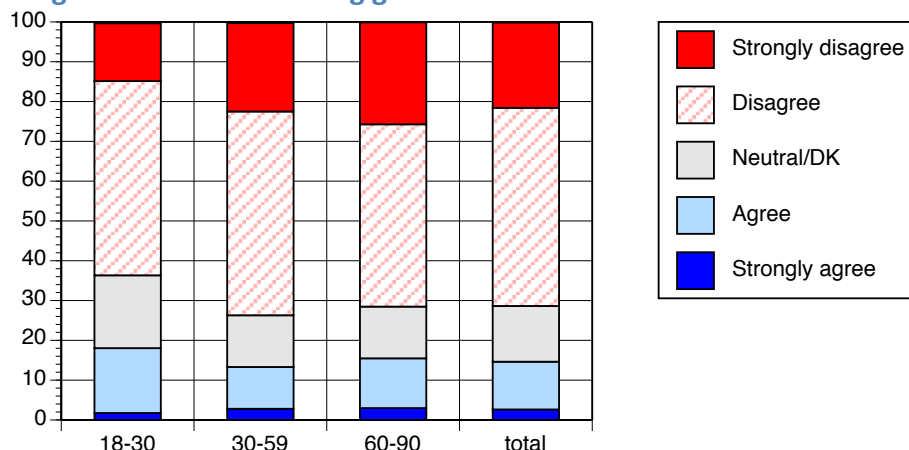
After recovering from all time lows in May 2009, belief that political parties in Hong Kong are having a good effect on their problem of greatest personal concern has drifted lower since January 2010. Barely a third believe political parties affect their problem positively while about the same proportion feels they make no difference, and nearly on in four think political parties have a bad effect on their problems of greatest personal concern.

Trend Chart/Table 39 In general, do you think political parties in Hong Kong are having a good effect or bad effect on this problem (of greatest personal concern)?



	Very good effect	Good effect	No difference	Bad effect	Very bad effect	Don't Know	No problems
May 2007	2	40	30	8	2	9	9
May 2008	3	45	31	5	1	8	6
Sept 2008	2	51	34	3	--	5	4
May 2009	1	23	45	14	3	5	9
Jan 2010	7	34	30	14	5	8	2
May 2010	3	35	33	13	3	10	3
June 2010	3	32	31	18	5	8	3

Chart/Table 40 People should strongly protest the government reform plan, including hunger strikes and blocking government offices



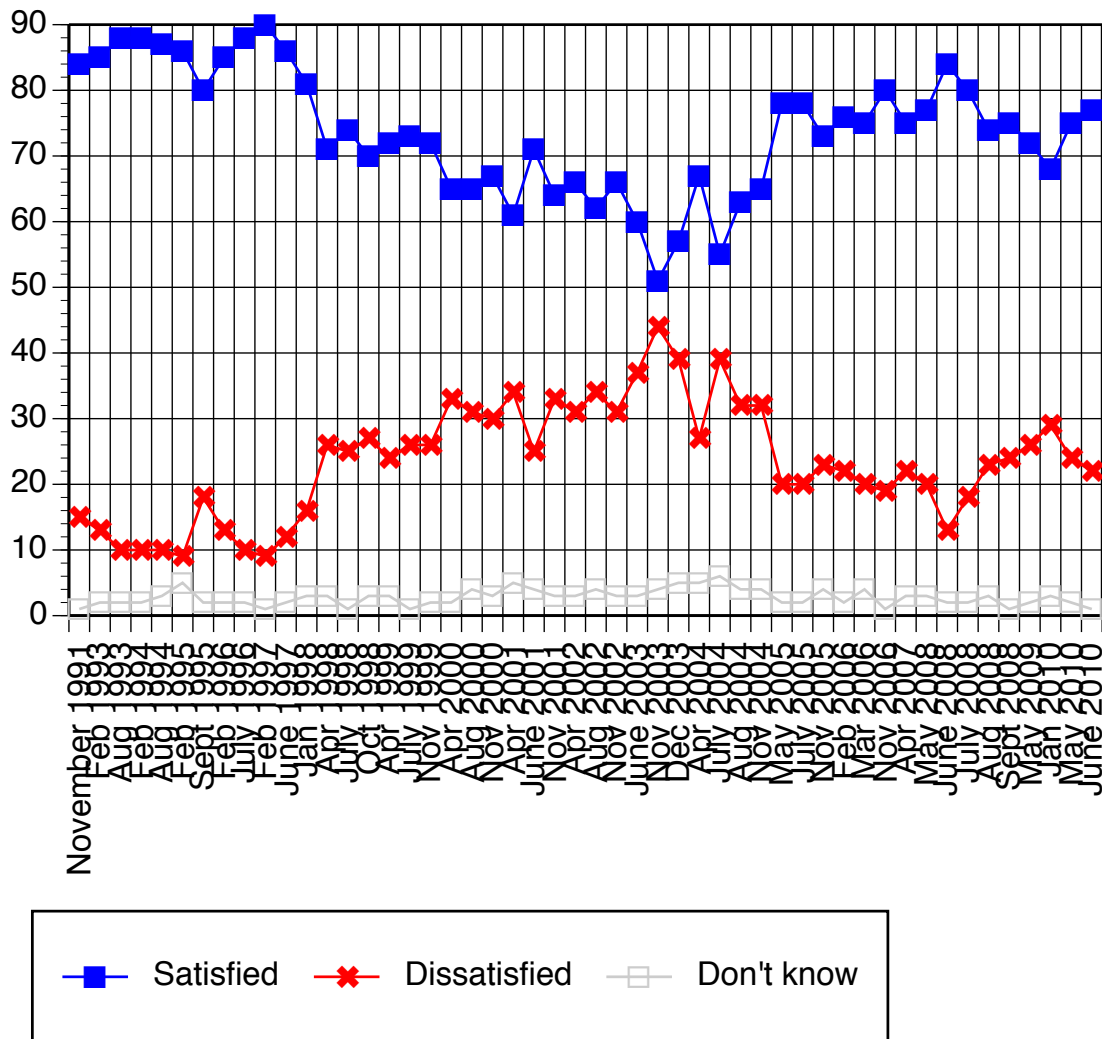
	18-30	30-59	60-90	total
Strongly agree	2	3	3	3
Agree	16	11	13	12
Neutral/DK	19	13	13	14
Disagree	49	51	46	50
Strongly disagree	15	22	26	21
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 13.37 with 8 df p = 0.0997

While many who are under age 30 support strong protests and that age group has the lowest level of those who disagree, other age groups also contain significant numbers who are willing to support strong protest, including blocking government offices. Crucially, however, despite all the rising concerns with unrest and dissatisfaction over reforms, satisfaction with life in Hong Kong appears to be on the rise since January 2010. What is wrong with Hong Kong largely appears to rest in the sphere of government. That also means it is up to government to repair these areas of dissatisfaction and potential damage.

Chart 41 : Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with: your life in Hong Kong?



APPENDIX

Table 1: Satisfied/dissatisfied with performance of the PRC government handling Hong Kong affairs

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Aug 1993	25	54	21
Feb 1993	23	56	21
Aug 1994	21	63	16
Feb 1995	20	60	20
Sept 1995	17	62	21
Feb 1996	31	49	20
July 1996	27	58	15
June 1997	45	41	14
Jan 1998	61	22	17
Apr 1998	67	17	16
June 1998	68	17	15
July 1998	74	11	15
Oct 1998	67	15	17
Apr 1999	65	19	16
July 1999	60	25	15
Nov 1999	57	26	17
Apr 2000	55	31	13
Aug 2000	56	27	16
Nov 2000	50	36	14
Apr 2001	46	34	20
July 2001	57	29	14
Nov 2001	55	26	19
Apr 2002	59	25	16
Aug 2002	57	25	18
June 2003	57	28	15
Nov 2003	72	18	10
Apr 2004	47	37	16
May 2004	37	50	12
June 2004	38	53	9
July 2004	38	50	12
Aug 2004	47	40	12
Nov 2004	55	32	13
May 2005	64	24	11
July 2005	58	29	12
Nov 2005	64	25	10
Mar 2006	66	23	11
Nov 2006	67	23	10
Apr 2007	69	22	9
May 2008	71	21	8
June 2008	88	5	6
July 2008	89	5	5
Aug 2008	71	21	8
Sept 2008	70	22	8
May 2009	71	19	10
Nov 2009	64	26	10
May 2010	57	33	9
June 2010	32	56	12

Table 2 Are you currently satisfied with the general performance of Hong Kong Government?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1993	60	31	9
Aug 1993	57	28	15
Feb 1994	58	28	14
Aug 1994	56	30	14
Feb 1995	43	35	22
Sep 1995	46	45	9
Feb 1996	60	26	15
July 1996	67	21	11
Feb 1997	73	20	7
June 1997	66	27	7
Jan 1998	51	35	4
Apr 1998	48	41	12
June 1998	37	56	7
Oct 1998	42	48	10
April 1999	46	43	11
July 1999	40	52	7
Nov 1999	41	51	8
Apr 2000	39	53	8
Aug 2000	30	61	4
Oct 2000	31	62	6
Apr 2001	32	58	10
July 2001	35	59	5
Nov 2001	24	68	7
Apr 2002	31	60	9
Aug 2002	22	72	6
Nov 2002	23	69	9
June 2003	23	69	8
Dec 2003	16	79	6
Apr 2004	23	67	10
July 2004	20	72	8
Aug 2004	25	67	8
Nov 2004	33	61	6
May 2005	46	48	7
July 2005	56	34	10
Nov 2005	65	27	4
Feb 2006	61	32	2
Mar 2006	63	33	5
Nov 2006	62	34	4
April 2007	64	31	6
May 2008	64	31	5
June 2008	67	27	6
July 2008	54	42	5
Aug 2008	50	43	7
Sept 2008	43	51	6
May 2009	41	53	5
Oct 2009	42	53	4
Jan 2010	43	51	3
May 2010	39	54	7
June 2010	35	60	5

*Red font indicates change from CE Tung to Tsang

Table 3 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Nov 1991	84	15	1
Feb 1993	85	13	2
Aug 1993	88	10	2
Feb 1994	88	10	2
Aug 1994	87	10	3
Feb 1995	86	9	5
Sept 1995	80	18	2
Feb 1996	85	13	2
July 1996	88	10	2
Feb 1997	90	9	1
June 1997	86	12	2
Jan 1998	81	16	3
Apr 1998	71	26	3
July 1998	74	25	1
Oct 1998	70	27	3
Apr 1999	72	24	3
July 1999	73	26	1
Nov 1999	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
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
July 2004	55	39	6
Aug 2004	63	32	4
Nov 2004	65	32	4
May 2005	78	20	2
July 2005	78	20	2
Nov 2005	73	23	4
Feb 2006	76	22	2
Mar 2006	75	20	4
Nov 2006	80	19	1
Apr 2007	75	22	3
May 2008	77	20	3
June 2008	84	13	2
July 2008	80	18	2
Aug 2008	74	23	3
Sept 2008	75	24	1
May 2009	72	26	2
Jan 2010	68	29	3
May 2010	75	24	2
June 2010	77	22	1

*Red font indicates change from CE Tung to Tsang

Table 4 Satisfaction with performance of SAR government dealing with PRC government

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 1995	21	46	33
Sept 1995	23	48	29
Feb 1996	30	41	29
July 1996	37	38	25
June 1997	44	41	15
Jan 1998	44	32	24
July 1998	61	25	14
Oct 1998	57	26	17
July 1999	43	42	15
Nov 1999	39	46	15
Apr 2000	42	43	15
Aug 2000	42	45	13
Nov 2000	44	43	13
Apr 2001	32	51	17
July 2001	45	42	13
Nov 2001	36	49	15
Apr 2002	46	40	14
Aug 2002	41	42	17
Nov 2002	46	42	11
Feb 2003	33	49	18
June 2003	36	49	15
Nov 2003	49	37	14
April 2004	33	53	14
May 2004	29	57	14
June 2004	30	64	6
July 2004	39	51	10
Aug 2004	46	43	10
Nov 2004	51	40	9
May 2005	64	24	12
Nov 2005	71	21	8
Mar 2006	67	21	12
Nov 2006	69	23	8
Apr 2007	69	22	9
May 2008	63	27	9
Sept 2008	59	33	8
May 2009	56	33	10
Nov 2009	56	37	7
May 2010	56	37	7
June 2010	44	49	7

*Red font indicates change from CE Tung to Tsang

Demographics

Sex of respondents

Group	Count	%
Male	480	51
Female	454	49

Birthplace

Group	Count	%
Hong Kong	694	74
Mainland China	206	22
Elsewhere	33	4

Age

Group	Count	%
18-19	45	5
20-29	127	14
30-39	121	13
40-49	241	26
50-59	210	23
60-69	118	13
70-90	50	5

Age regrouped

Group	Count	%
18-30	172	19
30-59	572	63
60-90	168	18

Methods and contact details

Report written by: Michael E. DeGolyer

Survey administration and Chinese translation: P.K. Cheung

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

The number of respondents in the HKTP 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			Dec 96	326				
	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					Nov 99	813		
	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					Nov 02	814		
	Mar 03	790	June 03	776			Nov 03	836	Dec 03	709		
	Apr 04	809	May 04	833	June 04*	680	July 04 *	955	July 04*	695	Aug 04*	781
					Sept 04*		Nov 04	773	Dec 04	800	Dec FC**	405 (365)
	May 05	829	May FC**	376	July 05	810	Nov 05	859				
	Mar 06	805	Apr 06	807	July 06	1,106	Nov 06	706	Nov 06	FC**	374	
	Apr 07	889	May 07	800								
	May 08 GC	714	May 08 FC**	409	June 08 GC	710	June FC	300	July 08 GC	710	July 08 FC	300
	Aug 08 GC	705	Aug 08 FC	305	Sept 08 GC	721	Sept FC	304				
	May 09	1,205	Aug 09	1704, 638FC&CertPersons			Nov 09	832				
	Jan 10	1,500	May 10	715	June 10	934						

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

**Functional constituency registered voters (voters in September 2004/2008 Legco election)

†Not all surveys are referred to in trend series.

†All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated. The Hong Kong Transition Project is funded since January 2009 by a grant from the Community Development Initiative Foundation and by commissioned research from other local and international NGOs. These NGOs commission research but do not censor the reports or analysis which is done independently by project members. Hong Kong Transition Project is committed to improving governance. Its members believe democratic political systems tend toward delivering improved governance in almost all circumstances; it is non-partisan in methodology, ideology or political affiliation otherwise. Some of the surveys above during Legco election years 2004 and 2008 were funded or co-funded by Civic Exchange, and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and those years and earlier funding of research was supported by competitively awarded grants from the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee. None of the institutions mentioned above is responsible for any of the views expressed herein.