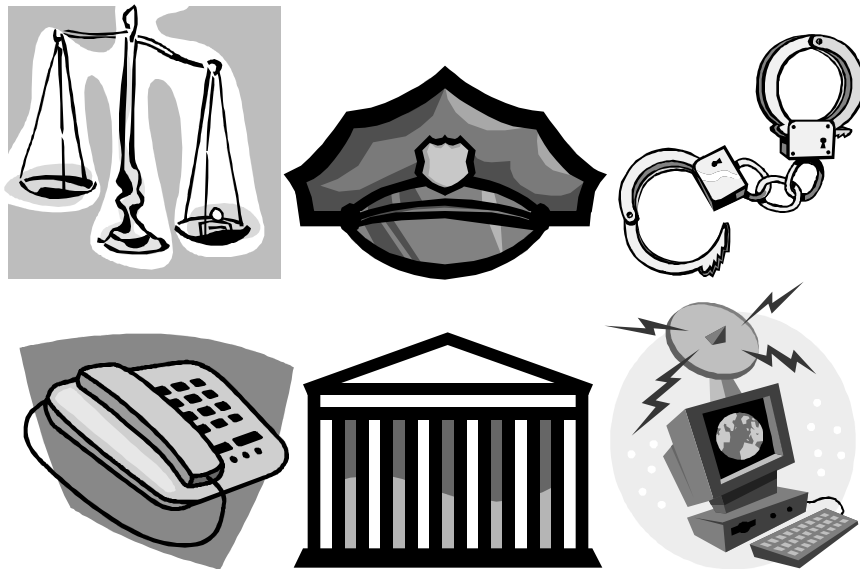


1982—2007

The Hong Kong Transition Project

Accountability & Article 23

FREEDOMS, FAIRNESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN HONG KONG
(December 2002)



A report from a multi-national longitudinal research project of academics from Hong Kong University, Hong Kong Baptist University, Academia Sinica & University of Macau on Hong Kong's transition from foreign subjects in the British Royal Crown Colony to citizens ruling themselves with a high degree of autonomy in the Special Administrative Region of the Peoples Republic of China.

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I Article 23 consultation sparks fears for personal freedoms

In late September 2002 the SAR government began the long-postponed consultation on Article 23. No provision of the Basic Law has been more controversial. The article stipulates Hong Kong “shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People’s Government, or theft of state secrets.” It also instructs the SAR “to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies.” The first years of the SAR-PRC relationship showed that legal, not economic and political systems, caused the greatest problems. The Right of Abode disputes which led to a National People’s Congress Standing Committee reversal of the Court of Final Appeal (CFA) in 1999 weakened Hong Kong’s legal autonomy. The NPC intervention dictated that Hong Kong courts “interpret” the Basic Law against the plain letter of the provision, contravening common law principles of interpretation. The Tung government apparently feared that amending the Basic Law rather than reinterpreting it would open the door to other amendments, such as to provisions currently restricting full direct elections for the legislature and executive until after 2004 and 2007 respectively. There are also assertions the Tung government wanted to use an appeal to the Standing Committee to establish Beijing’s power over Hong Kong’s legal system, especially over the CFA.

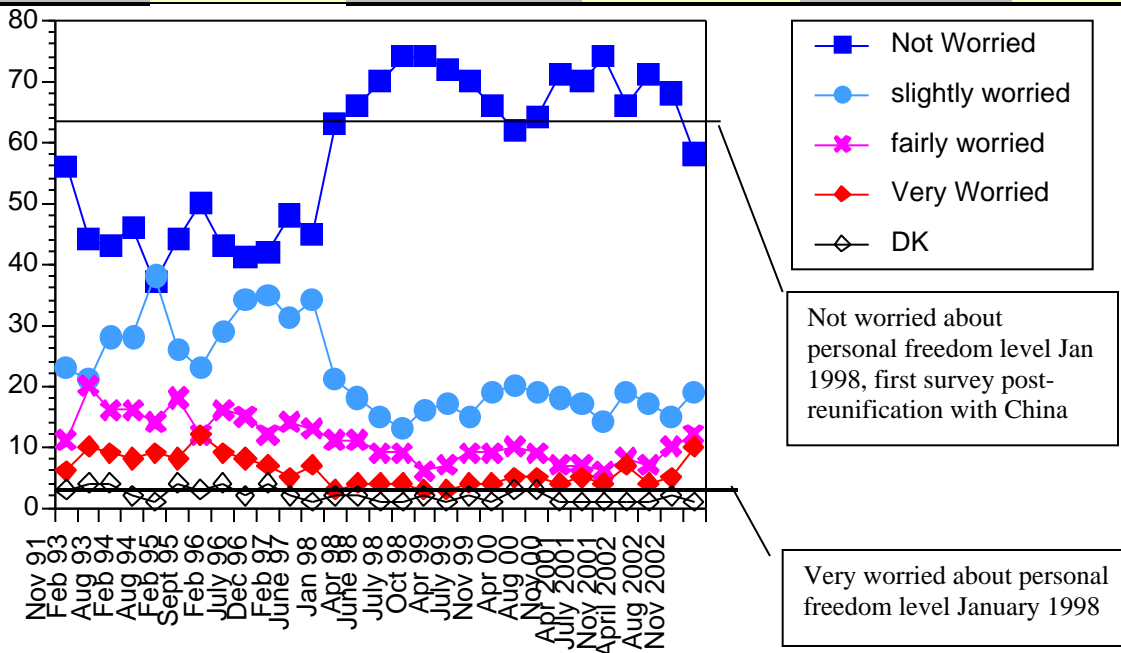
Democracy advocates have feared Article 23 laws would nullify promises to preserve Hong Kong’s freedoms essentially unchanged for the SAR’s fifty year lifespan. The transformed international situation following the September 11 attacks on the US in 2001, and the Bali bombing in October 2002, both which killed Hong Kong residents and made terrorism and security paramount over human rights for many nations, apparently encouraged the SAR government to issue a consultation paper and push for enactment of legislation in 2003. However, while the paper is long on principles and promises, it contains few details. Government has, puzzlingly, strongly resisted calls to issue a white bill, which contains the specific provisions in legal terms, prior to introducing a blue bill for Legco enactment. Revelations the SAR government consulted with Beijing prior to issuing the paper also raised fears among some that a deal was reached on specifics of the legislation which the government wishes to withhold, or which it wishes to limit discussion on in order to avoid amendments which would necessitate renegotiation with Beijing. Others have asserted that Beijing, in contrast, is more concerned than the SAR government with negative effects from provisions which may affect business.

Government’s resistance to letting the public know the exact phrasing of proposed laws, however, has raised concerns for freedom to levels higher than any previously surveyed under the Tung administration which began in mid-1997. While many feared for their personal freedoms post-1997 before the handover, by the end of the first six months under Chinese sovereignty such fears subsided. Now they are reviving. Never before during the life of the SAR has the level of “very worried” about personal freedoms risen to double digits, but in late November it appears that such concerns have deepened considerably, with no other factor able to be cited for the dramatic rise in concern other than the consultation over Article 23.

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Table 1 Are you currently worried or not about: Personal freedom in Hong Kong? ¹

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK
Nov 91	56	23	11	6	3
Feb 93	44	21	20	10	4
Aug 93	43	28	16	9	4
Feb 94	46	28	16	8	2
Aug 94	37	38	14	9	1
Feb 95	44	26	18	8	4
Sept 95	50	23	12	12	3
Feb 96	43	29	16	9	4
July 96	41	34	15	8	2
Dec 96	42	35	12	7	4
Feb 97	48	31	14	5	2
June 97	45	34	13	7	1
Jan 98	63	21	11	3	2
Apr 98	66	18	11	4	2
June 98	70	15	9	4	1
July 98	74	13	9	4	1
Oct 98	74	16	6	3	2
Apr 99	72	17	7	3	1
July 99	70	15	9	4	2
Nov 99	66	19	9	4	1
Apr 00	62	20	10	5	3
Aug 00	64	19	9	5	3
Nov 00	71	18	7	4	1
Apr 01	70	17	7	5	1
July 01	74	14	6	4	1
Nov 01	66	19	8	7	1
Apr 02	71	17	7	4	1
Aug 02	68	15	10	5	2
Nov 02	58	19	12	10	1



¹ **All figures in percentages unless stated and rounded to nearest whole number to avoid impressions of over-precision, following WAPOR (World Association of Public Opinion Research) guidelines. A random survey of this sample size has a range of error at the 95% confidence level of +/- 3 points. That is, 95% of the time a sample this size will give results within +/- 3 points of the population's sentiments. For more on survey methodology, see end of report.

As the chart above indicates, the 58% not worried about their personal freedom is a post-handover low. Prior to 1997 we asked: “Are you worried or not about your personal freedom post-1997”, so the 1991 to 1997 surveys showed concerns about freedoms under China’s sovereignty. Until the survey in November 2002, the “not worried” levels had been higher post-1997 than pre-1997, showing that Beijing’s promises reassuring the Hong Kong public their freedoms after the handover would be maintained under the SAR had effect. Prior to 1997, many Hong Kongers emigrated and/or obtained foreign passports in belief these would insulate them from crackdowns on freedom. These right of abode (ROA) holders now show the same concerns levels about personal freedom as non-ROA holders.

Table 2, from November’s survey, shows that while overall worry levels are highest among those born in Hong Kong and lowest among those born elsewhere, the greatest degree of worry, the very worried level, is considerably higher among those born elsewhere. That is, international residents show by far the largest proportion who are very worried, now, about personal freedoms.

Table 2 Worry personal freedom by birthplace (November 2002)

	HK born	China born	Other born	total
Not worried	56	62	65	58
Slightly worried	22	13	8	19
Somewhat worried	13	10	3	12
Very worried	9	13	24	11
Don’t know	1	1	0	1
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 23.31 with 8 df p = 0.0030

Since many international (overseas born) residents are in business here, the business effect of Article 23 laws could be considerable. The contrast could not be greater between the November survey, after the Article 23 consultation started, and the August survey, the most recent before consultation began. In August, literally not one foreign born respondent indicated the highest level of worry, and nearly 80% of foreign born, versus 66% of Hong Kong born, said they were not worried about personal freedom.

Table 3 Worry personal freedom by birthplace (August 2002)

	HK born	China born	Other born	total
Not worried	66	72	79	68
Slightly worried	17	13	12	15
Somewhat worried	11	10	9	10
Very worried	6	3	0	5
Don’t know	1	3	0	2
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 8.646 with 8 df p = 0.3731

Dramatic effects of Article 23 can also be seen by occupation, with managers and administrators and educators showing the greatest leaps in concern over personal freedom. The proportion of managers and administrators with no worry about personal freedoms in August was 82%; in November only 57% were not worried, a change of 25 percentage points, higher than any other occupational category. The very worried level quadrupled from 3% very worried in August to 12% very worried in November. While business people may speak up less than others, clearly, business is worried about the impact of Article 23 legislation. (Contrast Table 4 Nov, with Table 5 Aug.)

Table 4 Worry about personal freedom by Occupation (November 2002)

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	57	21	10	12	0	100
Professionals/Assoc. Profess	60	18	12	9	1	100
Clerks/secretaries	56	21	12	11	0	100
Service and sales	59	12	12	16	0	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	62	16	13	9	0	100
Housewives	63	21	10	7	0	100
Retired	87	2	5	3	3	100
Unemployed	47	16	13	22	2	100
Students	41	28	20	11	0	100
Educators	39	29	14	14	4	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total N = 749
Chi-square = 68.82 with 36 df p = 0.0008

Only Educators also showed a 25 percentage point rise in overall worry. No other group showed such a great increase in very worried levels. Only one category, retirees, showed a decrease in worry about personal freedoms.

Table 5 Worry about personal freedom by Occupation (August 2002)

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	82	10	4	3	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Profess	61	14	16	8	2	100
Clerks/secretaries	64	18	14	5	0	100
Service and sales	65	23	4	7	2	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occup	64	16	12	5	4	100
Housewives	74	13	9	2	2	100
Retired	83	2	10	2	3	100
Unemployed	63	15	9	11	2	100
Students	59	29	10	3	0	100
Educators	64	14	18	5	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total N = 696
Chi-square = 54.38 with 36 df p = 0.0253

When the two highest levels of worry about personal freedoms are combined, retirees show a drop in worry from August to November. Professionals/associate professionals may show a slight decline, but all other categories show clear rises, and in some cases, such as business people, students, unemployed and service/sales people, dramatic rises.²

Table 6 Two highest levels worry about personal freedom combined/ Aug to Nov comparison (read across)

	Somewhat/Very worried (August)	Somewhat/Very worried (November)	Difference between Aug & Nov
Managers/admin	7	22	+15
Professionals/Assoc. Profess	24	21	-3
Clerks/secretaries	19	23	+4
Service and sales	11	28	+17
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elem occup	17	22	+5
Housewives	11	17	+6
Retired	12	8	-4
Unemployed	20	35	+15
Students	13	31	+18
Educators	23	28	+5

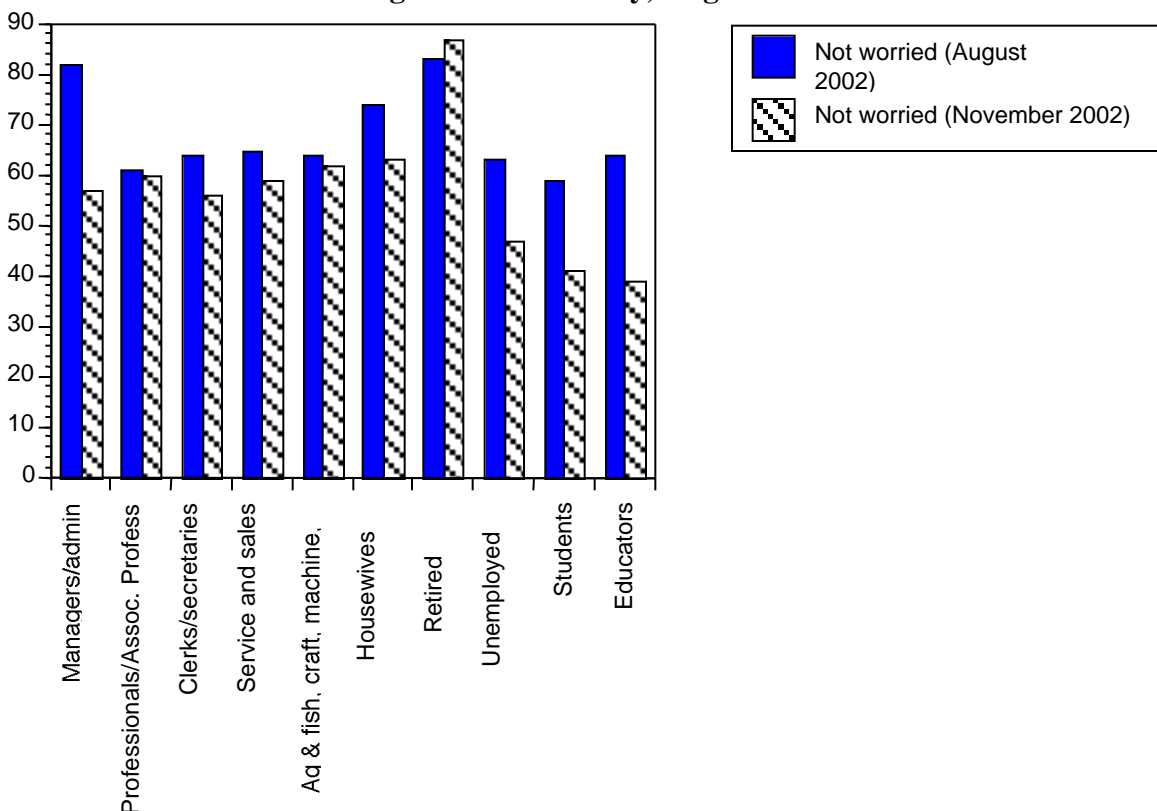
The rise in worry among students, the unemployed and business people is particularly large, and particularly worrisome since these groups have significant effects on the economic and social stability of society. Table 7 shows the contrast between Table 4 and Table 5 in levels of not worried, with the right hand column showing the difference between August and November levels. The lower not worried levels across nearly all sectors indicates that the Article 23 consultation has had widespread effect in both increasing and intensifying worry, but especially on business, educators, and students.

Table 7 Contrasting levels Not Worry, Aug versus Nov 2002 (read across)

	Not worried (August 2002)	Not worried (November 2002)	Rise in worry between Aug-Nov
Managers/admin	82	57	+25
Professionals/Assoc. Profess	61	60	+1
Clerks/secretaries	64	56	+8
Service and sales	65	59	+6
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	64	62	+2
Housewives	74	63	+11
Retired	83	87	(- 4)
Unemployed	63	47	+16
Students	59	41	+18
Educators	64	39	+25

² (Samples of this size should show +/- 4 points before a change can be assumed.)

Chart of Table 7 Contrasting levels Not Worry, Aug versus Nov 2002



Clearly, the Article 23 consultation has deeply affected international respondents and also shown effects on local and China born respondents in considerably raising their concern about their personal freedoms.

Table 8 below shows that degrees of concern ranged widely with age groups. Those in their teens, twenties and thirties all show above average levels of overall worry (all worry degrees added together), while those in their 40s and 50s show the highest levels of being very worried about personal freedoms. The pattern of responses in November's survey differed dramatically from that in August and in previous surveys on freedom issues since 1997.

The August survey on worries about personal freedoms showed (Table 9) showed that youngest and oldest groups were more alike in responses, while those in their 20s to 40s tended to group together as more worried or more dissatisfied than younger and older groups. This has now changed in November with the Article 23 consultation raising fears among younger groups about their freedoms.

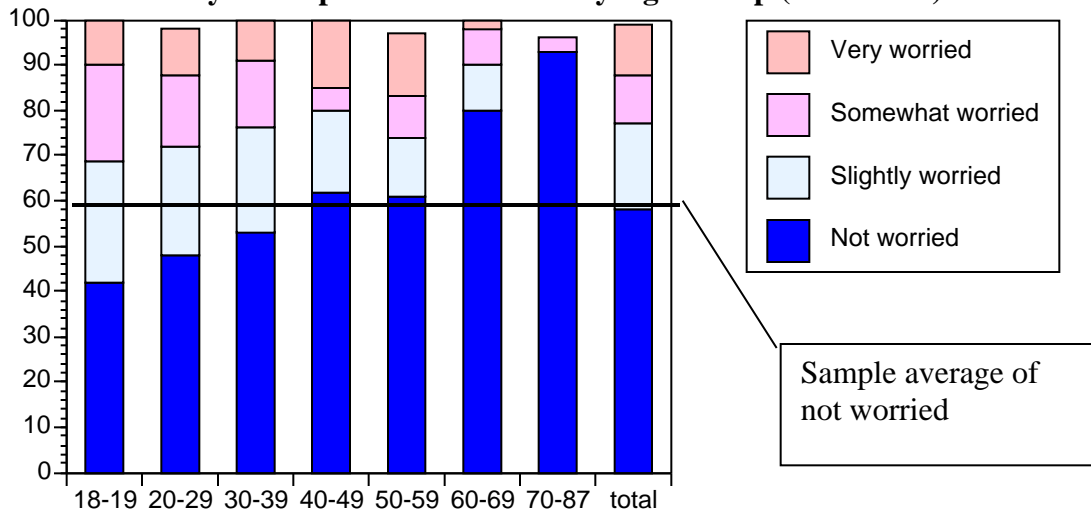
Table 8 Worry about personal freedom by Age Groups (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	42	48	53	62	61	80	93	58
Slightly worried	27	24	23	18	13	10	0	19
Somewhat worried	21	16	15	5	9	8	3	11
Very worried	10	10	9	15	14	2	0	11
DK	0	2	0	0	2	0	3	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 72.19 with 24 df p 0.0001

Chart of Worry about personal freedoms by Age Group (November)



Contrast Table 8 results with Table 9, the results from August, the most recent survey prior to the start of consultations on Article 23. This shows clearly that those 18-19 have been most strongly affected by the Article 23 consultation, shifting 30 percentage points in overall worry. The next largest shift occurred among those in their 30s, with a 12 percentage point rise in all forms of worry about personal freedoms.

Table 9 Worry about personal freedom by Age Groups (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	72	56	65	71	73	78	90	68
Slightly worried	15	24	15	16	14	4	0	15
Somewhat worried	9	15	12	8	6	11	3	10
Very worried	4	5	6	4	6	2	0	5
DK	0	0	3	1	2	4	7	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 44.02 with 24 df p = 0.0076

Chart of Worry about personal freedoms by Age Group (August)

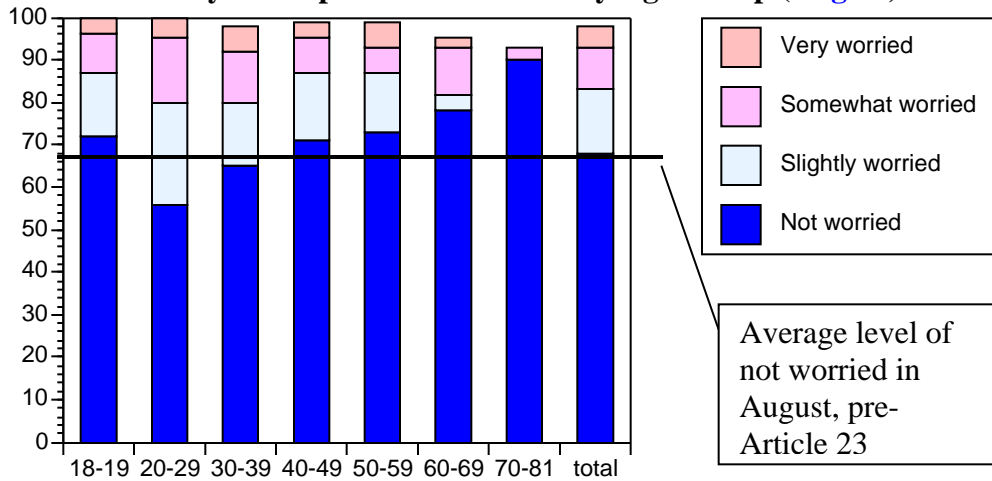
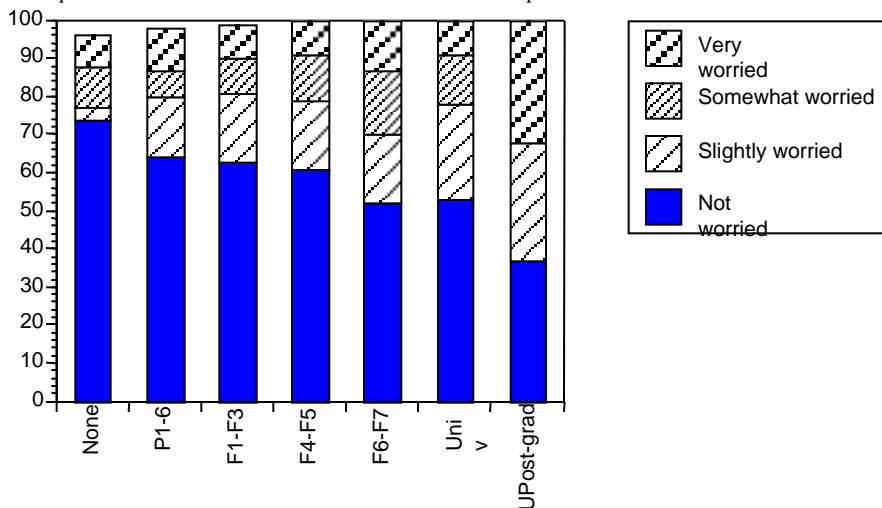


Table 10 shows that those overall worry about personal freedom tended to rise with education levels. However, Table 11, from the August survey, shows that tendency was much much weaker (p of 0.0818, a measure of strength of association much weaker than November's p of 0.0004).

Table 10 Worry about Personal Freedom by Educational attainment (November)

	None	1Primary-P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	UPost-grad	total
Not worried	74	64	63	62	53	53	37	59
Slightly worried	3	16	18	18	18	25	32	19
Somewhat worried	11	7	9	12	17	13	0	12
Very worried	8	11	9	9	13	9	32	10
DK	5	1	0	.*	0	0	0	-
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total N = 807 * - means less than half a percent but more than 0.
Chi-square = 54.53 with 24 df p = 0.0004



Those who are more educated, more able to leave and more productive in the society, show the highest levels of concern over Article 23. As may be seen in Table 11, the

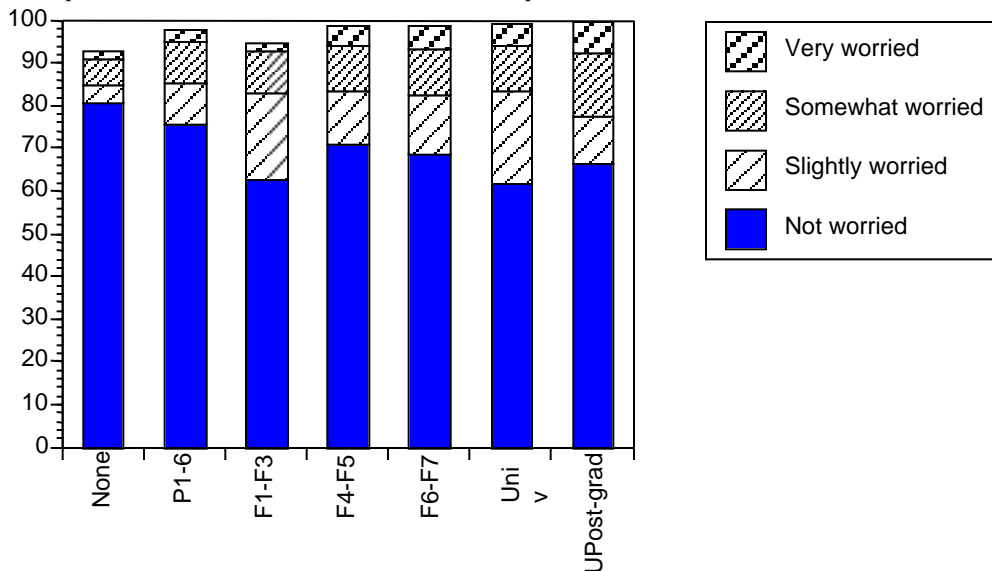
August, pre-Article 23 consultation survey shows little association between worry about personal freedom and level of education and little difference among those with any degree of formal education (No education is the exception). That this has changed so dramatically, given that nothing other than talk has so far taken place (no arrests made, no alarming threats issued) and particularly among the higher levels of educated, who have gone from only 7% very worried in August to 32% very worried in November, is alarming for Hong Kong's continued prosperity and stability.

Table 11 Worry about Personal Freedom by Educational attainment (August)

	0	1Primary -P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	Upost -grad	total
Not worried	81	76	63	71	69	62	67	68
Slightly worried	4	10	21	13	14	22	11	15
Somewhat worried	6	10	10	11	11	11	15	10
Very worried	2	3	2	5	6	5	7	5
DK	6	2	5	1	1	1	0	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 34.16 with 24 df p = 0.0818



The question of identity in a Hong Kong which changed just five years ago from a British colony to being a part of China is fascinating for social scientists. As the sovereignty transition approached, identity fluctuated, with people reacting to our survey questions in line with their fears, hopes, anxieties, and pride or despair over how the change in sovereignty was affecting Hong Kong and their own lives. But by 1998, as Hong Kong's role as a part of China became clearer, a large proportion of Hong Kongers seemed to choose an identity more strongly affixed to Hong Kong than to the mother country. And, after rises going into the handover itself, the proportion describing themselves as simply, Chinese, a description which strongly correlates with other measures of patriotism, as

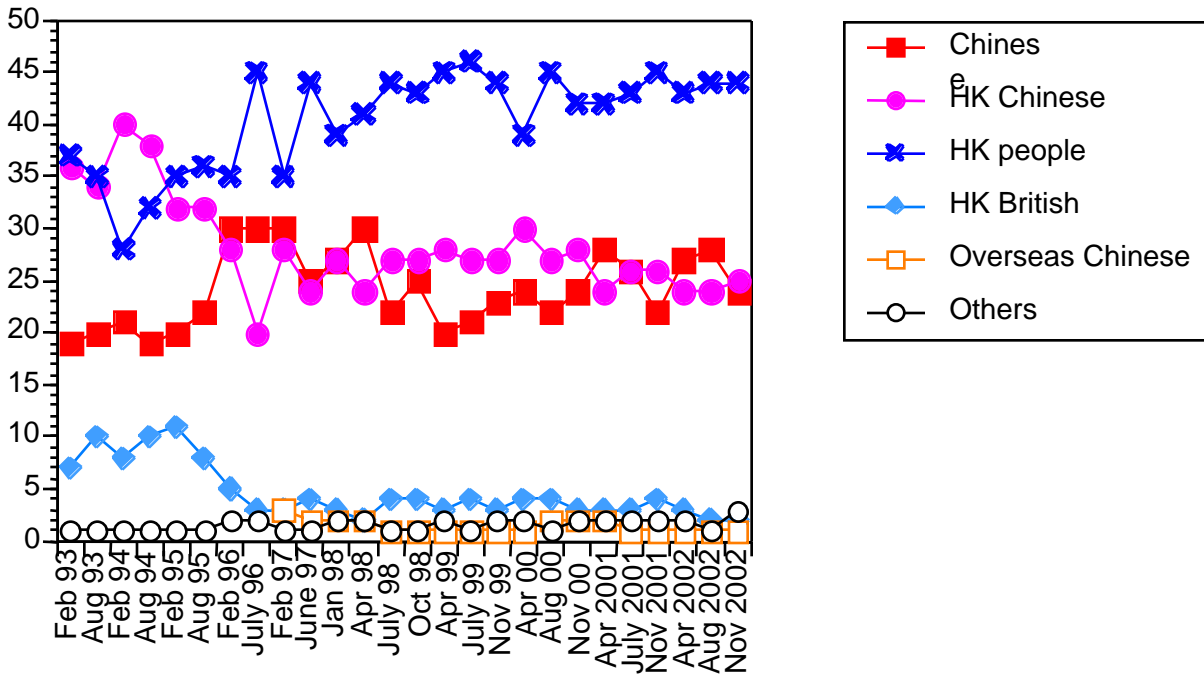
other reports in this series has analyzed (available at <http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp>), has changed little, and between August and November may have fallen.

Table 12. The following is a list of how you might describe yourself. Which is the most appropriate description of you?

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK people	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Others
Feb 93	19	36	37	7		1
Aug 93	20	34	35	10		1
Feb 94	21	40	28	8		1
Aug 94	19	38	32	10		1
Feb 95	20	32	35	11		1
Aug 95	22	32	36	8		1
Feb 96	30	28	35	5		2
July 96	30	20	45	3		2
Feb 97	30	28	35	3	3	1
June 97	25	24	44	4	2	1
Jan 98	27	27	39	3	2	2
Apr 98	30	24	41	2	2	2
July 98	22	27	44	4	1	1
Oct 98	25	27	43	4	1	1
Apr 99	20	28	45	3	1	2
July 99	21	27	46	4	1	1
Nov 99	23	27	44	3	1	2
Apr 00	24	30	39	4	1	2
Aug 00	22	27	45	4	2	1
Nov 00	24	28	42	3	2	2
Apr 01	28	24	42	3	2	2
July 01	26	26	43	3	1	2
Nov 01	22	26	45	4	1	2

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Apr 2002	27	24	43	3	1	2
Aug 2002	28	24	44	2	1	1
Nov 2002	24	25	44	2	1	3



However, as surveys continued from 1997, the relationship of identity with many issues, including that of worry over personal freedom, weakened. As Table 13, from the August survey shows, there was no correlation between identity and worry about personal freedoms. In other words, any notion of patriotism signified by calling oneself Chinese instead of Hong Konger had no association with any perceived threats to freedom from Beijing. This changed dramatically, particularly among Chinese ethnic groups, as Table 14 and the chart of Chinese ethnic groups shows, after the Article 23 consultation paper was introduced. (Chart leaves out DK & “others”, not Chinese ethnics, to emphasize).

Table 13 Worry about personal freedom by identity (August)

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Other	total
Not worried	74	66	65	73	67	63	68
Slightly worried	11	17	17	18	17	25	15
Somewhat worried	9	10	11	9	17	13	10
Very worried	3	6	5	0	0	0	5
DK	2	1	2	0	0	0	2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

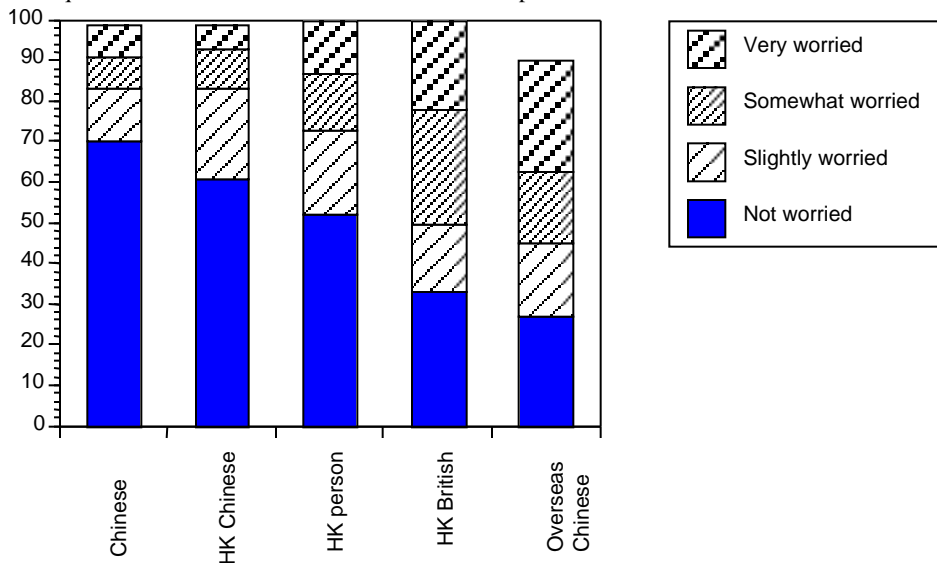
table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 10.32 with 20 df p = 0.9619 **NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION**

Table 14 Worry about personal freedom by identity (November)

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Other	total
Not worried	70	61	53	33	27	63	59
Slightly worried	13	22	21	17	18	11	19
Somewhat worried	8	10	14	28	18	4	11
Very worried	8	6	13	22	27	15	10
DK	1	--	0	0	9	7	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 69.59 with 20 df p 0.0001



II Article 23 consultation and concerns about specific rights previously surveyed

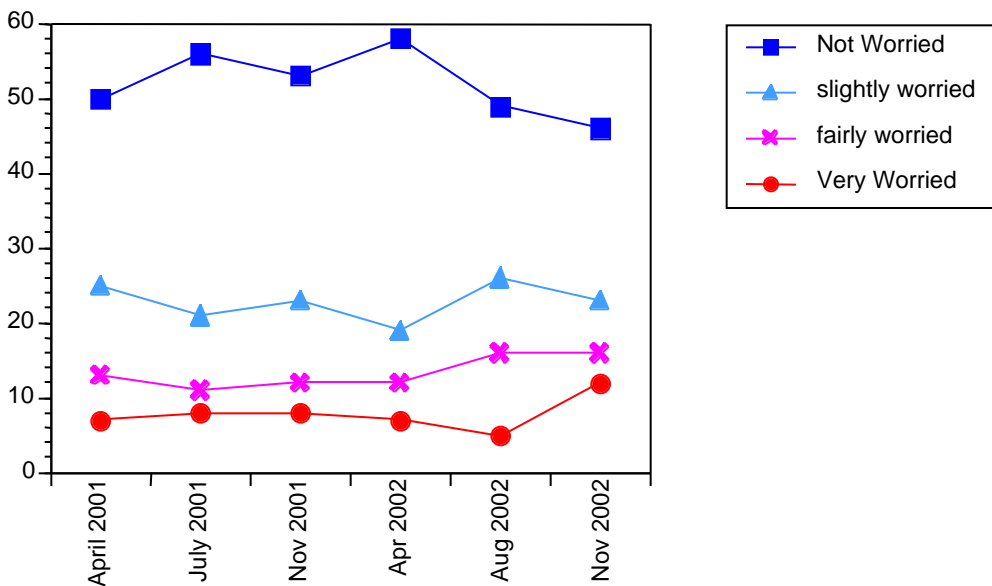
A conclusion that may be reasonably drawn from the change in attitudes toward personal freedom examined in Part I is that the Article 23 consultation has polarized society along lines associated with attitudes toward China. Whereas the notion of a threat from Beijing to freedom in Hong Kong (once called the “China factor”) had virtually died away, the Article 23 consultation has resurrected that polarizing effect, particularly among some groups such as youth, the highly educated, and business people. This seems unnecessary, and certainly unwise, for clearly, Hong Kong people greatly value their freedoms, as can be seen in questions related to specific freedoms below.. Hong Kongers have made great sacrifices in the past to preserve them, including emigrating in large numbers.

While a bare majority are still not concerned about their personal freedoms in general, though that varies widely by identity and other demographic variables, as the following tables show, concerns are much higher about specific aspects of freedoms and human rights such as freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. While overall levels of worry possibly rose about the free press (measured by those “not worried” in Table 10), the intensity of worry rose dramatically, with the “very worried” about a free press hitting

double digits for the first time since this question was asked in April 2001, more than doubling the very worried levels of August.

Table 15 Are you currently worried or not worried about: Free press

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	Total
Apr 2001	50	25	13	7	5	100
July 2001	56	21	11	8	3	100
Nov 2001	53	23	12	8	4	100
Apr 2002	58	19	12	7	4	100
Aug 2002	49	26	16	5	4	100
Nov 2002	46	23	16	12	3	100



The change in worry about a free press by age groups is startling. In August, teenagers and those in their 40s, 50s, 60s and 70s all showed at or above levels of not worried with the overall group averages (Table 16). Very worried levels showed little variance by age, with the largest differences being those in their 20s showing the most worry, and those older showing very much elevated levels of don't know (DK) from the earlier age groups.

Table 16 Worry about: Free Press by Age groups (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	59	41	43	53	50	56	70	49
Slightly worried	24	36	28	24	25	20	10	26
Somewhat worried	13	18	23	16	11	11	3	16
Very worried	4	5	5	4	5	2	3	4
DK	0	1	1	3	9	11	13	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 60.68 with 24 df p 0.0001

By November, the pattern from August had changed dramatically, with teenagers showing a 22 percentage point shift in level of not worried, far higher than any other group. All groups except those in their 70s and 80s showed at least a doubling, and in some cases tripling of levels of very worried about press freedom.

Table 17 Worry about: Free Press by Age groups (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	37	40	40	47	50	57	62	45
Slightly worried	27	31	26	22	19	20	10	24
Somewhat worried	24	15	21	15	11	14	3	16
Very worried	11	13	11	13	17	8	3	12
DK	0	2	2	4	3	0	21	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 66.43 with 24 df p 0.0001

Worry about a free press by education shows the same pattern of response changes as worry about personal freedom, with little difference by education level in terms of worry, especially among the very worried, in August, and huge differences in November.

Table 18 Worry about: Free Press by Education (August)

	0	Primary-P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	UPost-grad	total
Not worried	47	55	53	54	48	44	41	49
Slightly worried	26	23	25	26	26	31	19	27
Somewhat worried	6	10	13	16	18	19	33	16
Very worried	2	0	4	4	7	6	7	4
DK	19	13	5	1	2	1	0	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total N = 719
 Chi-square = 76.41 with 24 df p 0.0001

Chart: Worry about free press by education (August)

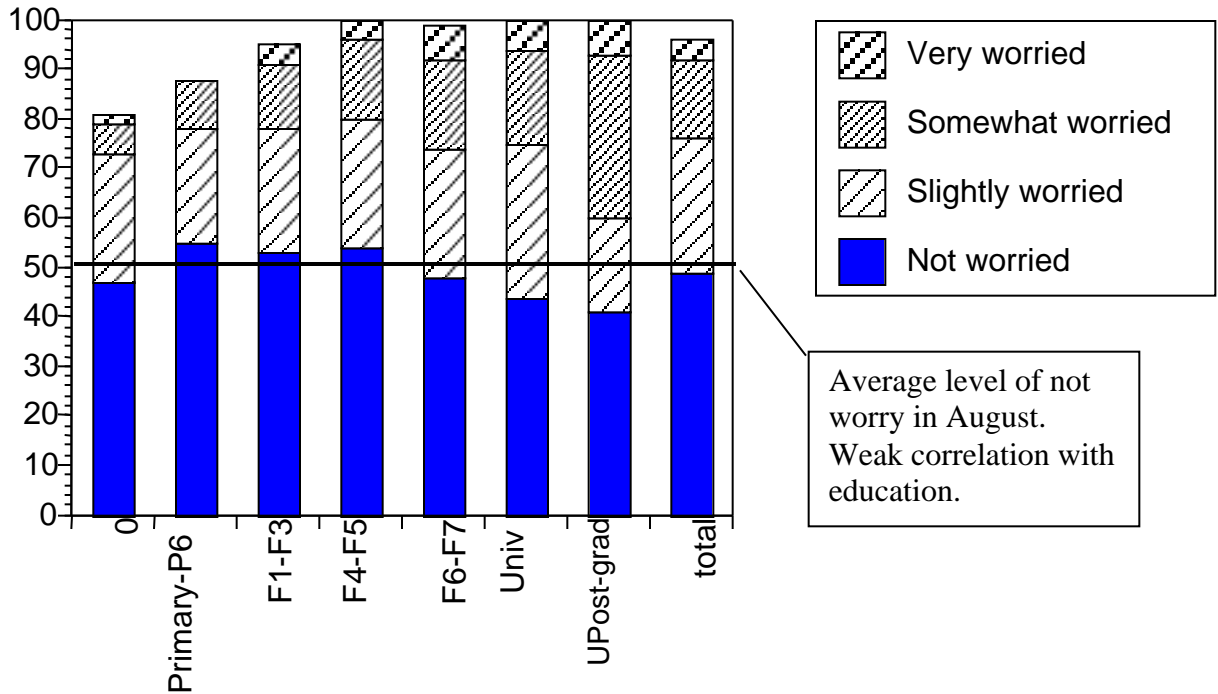
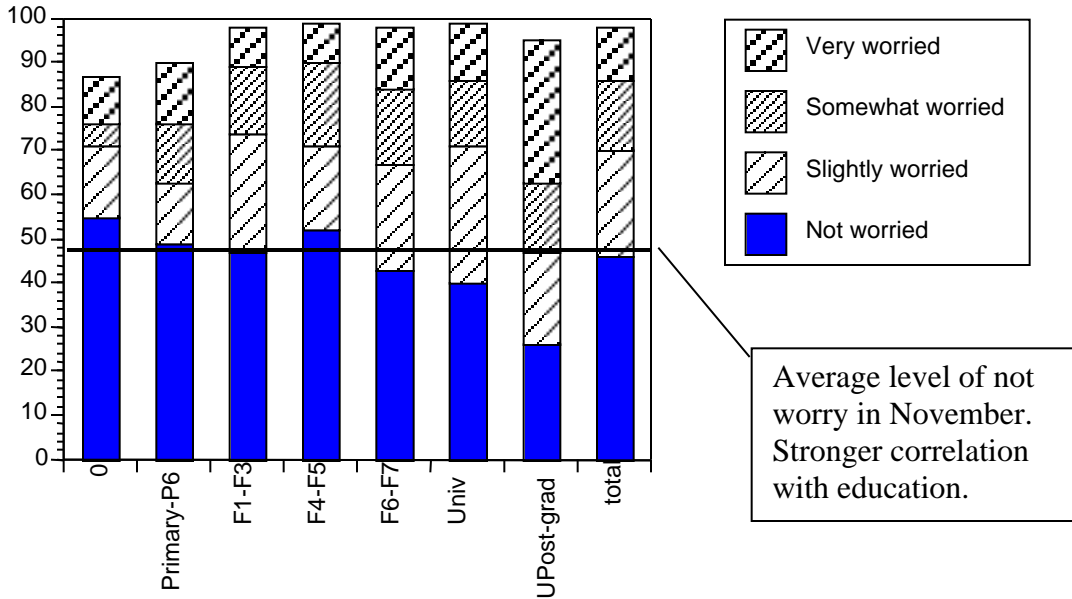


Table 19 Worry about: Free Press by Education (November)

	0	Primary-P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	UPost-grad	total
Not worried	55	49	47	52	43	40	26	46
Slightly worried	16	14	27	19	24	31	21	24
Somewhat worried	5	13	15	19	17	15	16	16
Very worried	11	14	9	9	14	13	32	12
DK	13	10	3	1	3	1	5	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

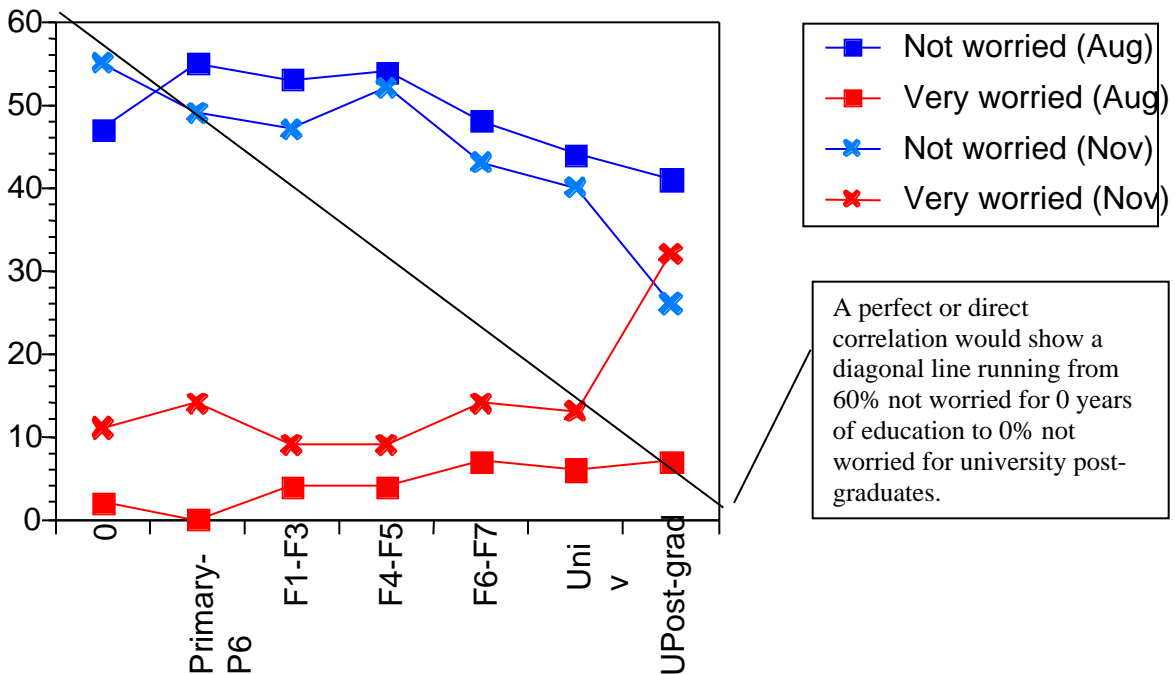
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 66.32 with 24 df p 0.0001



The differences in overall worry levels, charted by the decline in not worrieds, is highlighted in the comparative chart below. The association of overall worry levels and tendency to rise with education appears stronger in November than in August. The very worried lines seem to show a general elevation of the highest level of worry across all educational levels, and a very sharp spike among the most educated.

Chart: Not worried and Very worried about free press, August and November



In August there was little association of levels of worry about a free press with identity. The most “patriotic” identity, those replying Chinese to the question: “From this list,

which is the most appropriate description of you?” showed about the same level of worry as those replying Hong Kong person, and similarly small differences in levels of very worried. Only Hong Kong British and Overseas Chinese showed consistently higher levels of worry about a free press in August.

Table 20 Worry about: Free Press by Identity (August)

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Other	total
Not worried	57	43	58	36	33	50	49
Slightly worried	26	32	23	46	33	13	26
Somewhat worried	10	17	19	9	17	38	16
Very worried	3	6	4	0	0	0	4
DK	3	2	4	9	17	0	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 26.47 with 20 df p = 0.1510

In the November survey, after the Article 23 consultation began, much clearer and stronger associations of worry and identity appeared. While those replying Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese in August and November reported about the same overall level of worry (though both show higher levels of very worried), those replying Hong Kong person and not worried about a free press dropped 16 percentage points, more than any other group. Overseas Chinese, which includes ABCs, BBCs, and so on as well as some Taiwanese, went from 0 very worried to more than half very worried.

Table 21 Worry about: Free Press by Identity (November)

	Chinese	HK Chinese	HK person	HK British	Overseas Chinese	Other	total
Not worried	58	44	42	28	27	41	46
Slightly worried	22	27	23	28	9	11	24
Somewhat worried	9	17	19	22	0	19	16
Very worried	9	11	13	22	55	7	12
DK	3	1	3	0	9	22	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 85.06 with 20 df p = 0.0001

In August only professionals and educators showed fairly high levels of worry about a free press, with 10% of professionals and 9% of educators very worried about it. Business people (managers and administrators) tied for fourth in levels of very worried, with just 4% very worried, above very worried students at 3%. The unemployed, very sensitive to threats to jobs and Hong Kong’s economy, showed none at very worried.

Table 22 Worry about: Free Press by Occupation (August)

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK	total

Managers/admin	51	27	17	4	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	39	25	24	10	3	100
Clerks/secretaries	45	35	17	2	1	100
Service and sales	47	26	18	4	5	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	52	23	10	8	7	100
Housewives	53	23	19	0	5	100
Retired	68	19	3	3	7	100
Unemployed	52	20	22	0	7	100
Students	48	36	14	3	0	100
Educators	41	27	23	9	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 60.65 with 36 df p = 0.0062

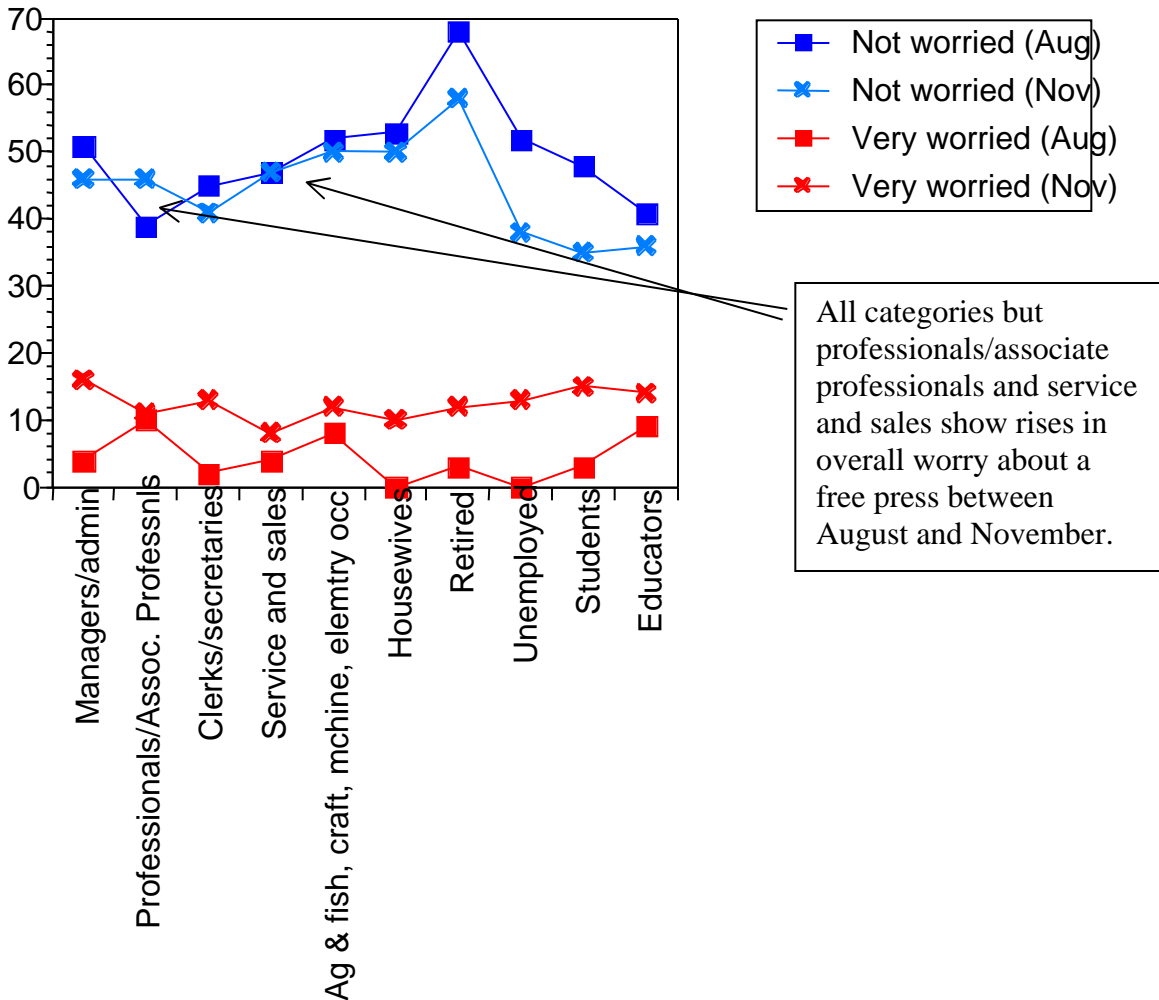
In November, worry levels and patterns changed dramatically, with business people ranking number one in most worried, 16%, closely followed by students at 15% and educators at 14%. Very worried among unemployed went from August's 0% to 13%.

Table 23 Worry about: Free Press by Occupation (November)

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	46	19	20	16	0	100
Professionals/Assoc Professnls	46	28	16	11	0	100
Clerks/secretaries	41	24	19	13	4	100
Service and sales	47	25	16	8	4	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	50	24	12	12	3	100
Housewives	50	26	13	10	1	100
Retired	58	15	7	12	8	100
Unemployed	38	15	24	13	11	100
Students	35	30	20	15	0	100
Educators	36	32	14	14	4	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 57.81 with 40 df p = 0.0339

Chart: Not worried/very worried about free press by occupation, Aug vs Nov



As with a free press, free assembly shows small overall change in levels of worry except in intensity of concern, with a rough doubling of very worried levels from August 2002. But, as with free press and other freedoms, teenagers show dramatic changes in concerns about free assembly between August and November, as Tables 25 and 26 show.

Table 24 Are you currently worried or not worried about: Free assembly

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	Total
April 2001	49	25	13	6	8	100
July 2001	55	24	11	7	3	100
Nov 2001	49	25	11	9	6	100
Apr 2002	55	23	10	6	6	100
Aug 2002	48	25	16	6	5	100
Nov 2002	44	21	18	12	4	100

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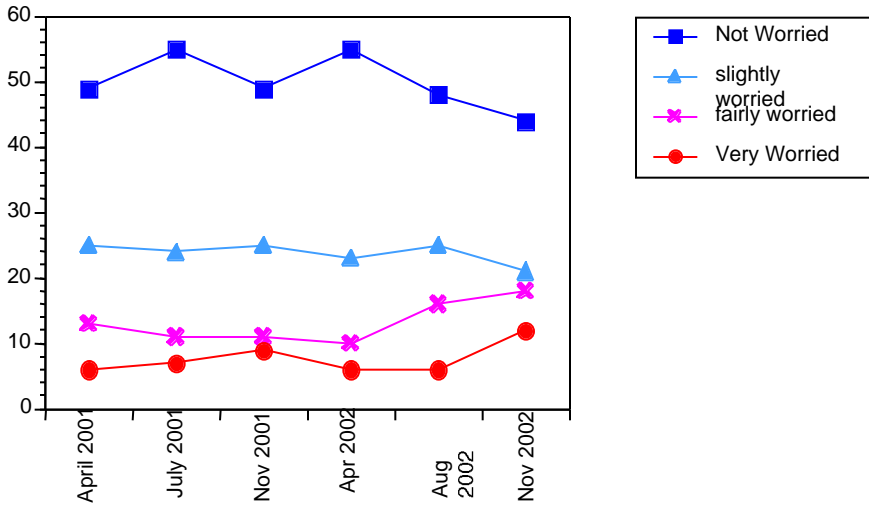


Table 25 Worry about free assembly by Age groups (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	57	37	45	49	47	62	73	48
Slightly worried	32	26	26	27	29	7	7	25
Somewhat worried	9	25	20	15	9	9	3	16
Very worried	0	9	9	6	3	2	3	6
DK	2	4	1	3	12	20	13	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 89.48 with 24 df p 0.0001

Table 26 Worry about free assembly by Age groups (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	32	40	38	42	52	63	69	44
Slightly worried	26	24	23	24	13	14	14	21
Somewhat worried	27	21	24	16	14	6	3	19
Very worried	15	12	11	14	16	8	3	12
DK	0	3	4	4	4	8	10	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 49.94 with 24 df p = 0.0014

Chart: Not worried/very worried about free assembly, August and November

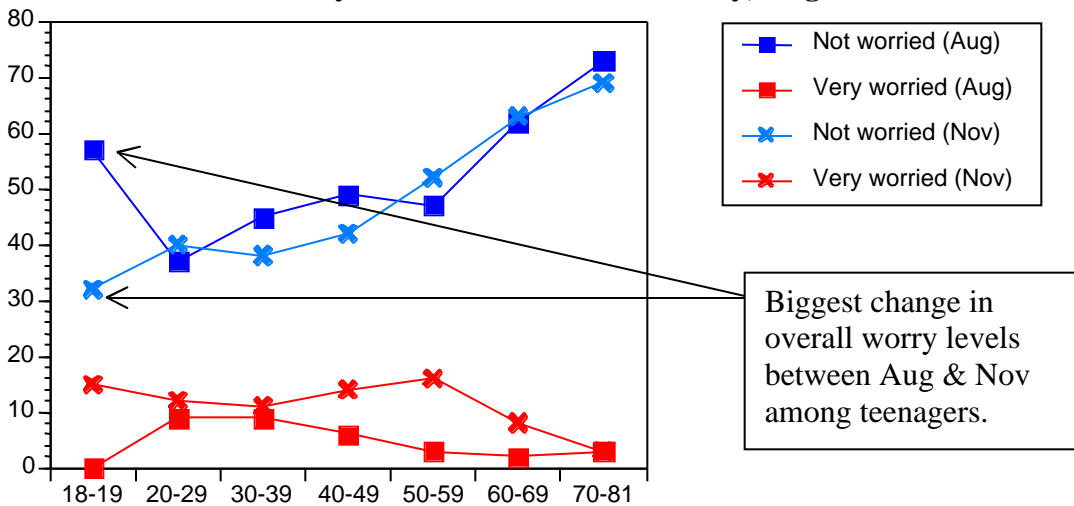


Table 27 Worry about free assembly by Occupation (August)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	46	36	8	5	5	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professionals	40	24	22	14	1	100
Clerks/secretaries	40	29	21	5	5	100
Service and sales	47	26	14	7	5	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elmtry occup	51	18	13	7	11	100
Housewives	53	22	15	2	8	100
Retired	66	17	3	3	10	100
Unemployed	44	22	22	7	7	100
Students	51	33	15	1	0	100
Educators	36	23	32	9	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 69.78 with 36 df p = 0.0006

Table 28 Worry about free assembly by Occupation (November)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	44	16	24	15	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professionals	43	29	16	12	1	100
Clerks/secretaries	41	20	20	15	5	100
Service and sales	43	22	18	12	4	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elmtry occup	40	24	21	10	6	100
Housewives	47	27	13	9	4	100
Retired	68	8	7	12	5	100
Unemployed	46	20	15	7	13	100
Students	34	27	22	18	0	100
Educators	29	18	36	11	7	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

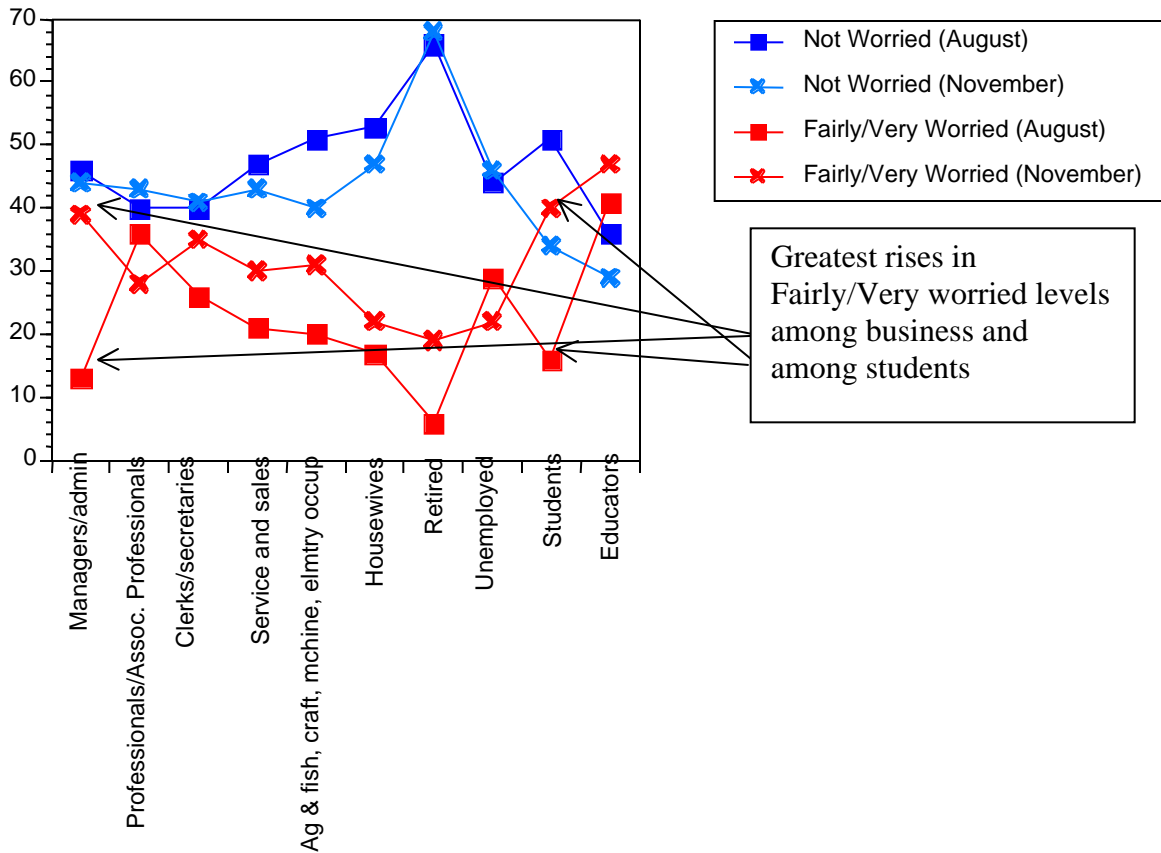
Chi-square = 65.80 with 40 df p = 0.0062

Worry about free assembly shifted greatest among students between August and November, rising 17 percentage points in overall levels of worry. However, among the two highest categories of worry, business people showed even greater rises than students, with a 26 percentage point shift versus 24 points for students. Retirees, surprisingly, showed the third largest shift in worry about free assembly. Students and Educators are the only groups showing more fairly or very worried than not worried about free assembly, though business people and clerks came close to marking a shift.

Table 29 Worry about free assembly, comparative August & November at extremes

	Not Worried (August)	Not Worried (November)	Fairly/Very Worried (August)	Fairly/Very Worried (November)
Managers/admin	46	44	13	39
Professionals/Assoc. Professionals	40	43	36	28
Clerks/secretaries	40	41	26	35
Service and sales	47	43	21	30
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elmtry occup	51	40	20	31
Housewives	53	47	17	22
Retired	66	68	6	19
Unemployed	44	46	29	22
Students	51	34	16	40
Educators	36	29	41	47

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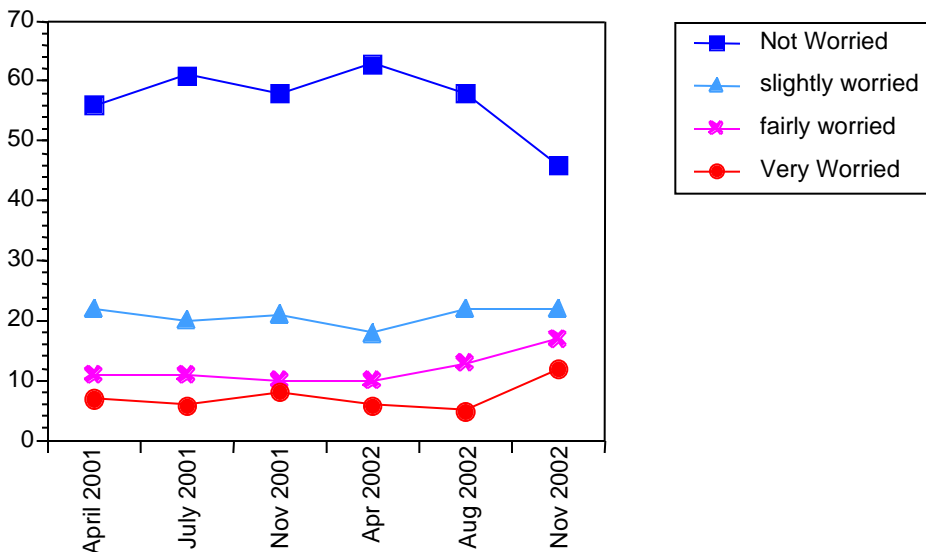


Overall levels of worry about free speech as well as intensity of concern rose, with less than a majority for the first time reporting themselves unworried, and the first double-digit very worried level indicated.

Table 30 Are you currently worried or not worried about: Free speech

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	Total
April 2001	56	22	11	7	4	100
July 2001	61	20	11	6	2	100
Nov 2001	58	21	10	8	3	100
Apr 2002	63	18	10	6	4	100
Aug 2002	58	22	13	5	3	100
Nov 2002	46	22	17	12	3	100

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Of all the areas of human rights and freedoms previously surveyed, worry about free speech showed the biggest jump among the teenage age category, with fully 40 percentage points more registering some degree of worry in November than in August. Not worried among teenagers went from 69% not worried in August to only 29% not worried in November, and very worried shot up from 2% in August to 15% in November. However, all age groups, particularly the 30 to 50 age group, also showed marked rises in concern.

Table 31 Worry about free speech by Age groups (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	69	46	51	60	65	67	80	58
Slightly worried	20	29	24	26	18	11	0	22
Somewhat worried	9	18	18	10	8	9	3	13
Very worried	2	6	6	3	2	2	7	4
DK	0	1	1	2	7	11	10	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

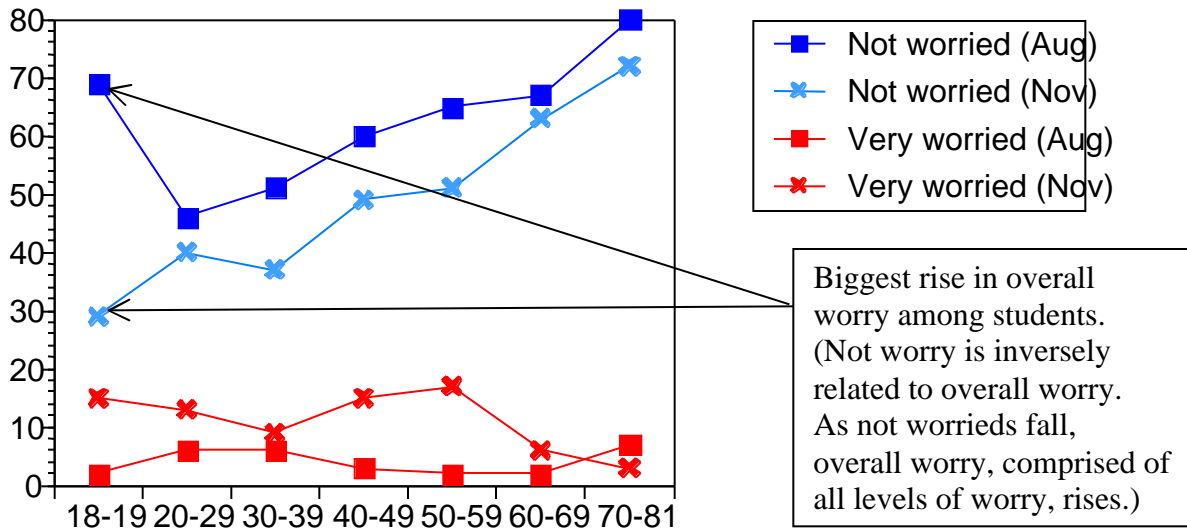
table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 72.97 with 24 df p 0.0001

Table 32 Worry about free speech by Age groups (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	29	40	37	49	51	63	72	45
Slightly worried	21	30	25	22	19	14	7	23
Somewhat worried	36	16	27	12	9	12	3	17
Very worried	15	13	9	15	17	6	3	13
DK	0	2	2	3	3	4	14	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 86.13 with 24 df p 0.0001

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While students, as might be expected given results of age groups above, showed the greatest shift in overall worry between August and November, with a 31 percentage point rise in worry, managers and administrators (the business person categories) showed the second highest rise, 22 percentage points.

Table 33 Worry about free speech by Occupation (August)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	66	23	9	1	0	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	46	28	16	9	2	100
Clerks/secretaries	55	22	18	4	1	100
Service and sales	60	23	9	5	4	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	62	17	10	6	6	100
Housewives	55	22	17	2	4	100
Retired	75	10	3	3	8	100
Unemployed	48	24	20	4	4	100
Students	59	30	10	1	0	100
Educators	46	18	27	9	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total N= 696

Chi-square = 58.48 with 36 df p = 0.0103

Table 34 Worry about free speech by Occupation (November)

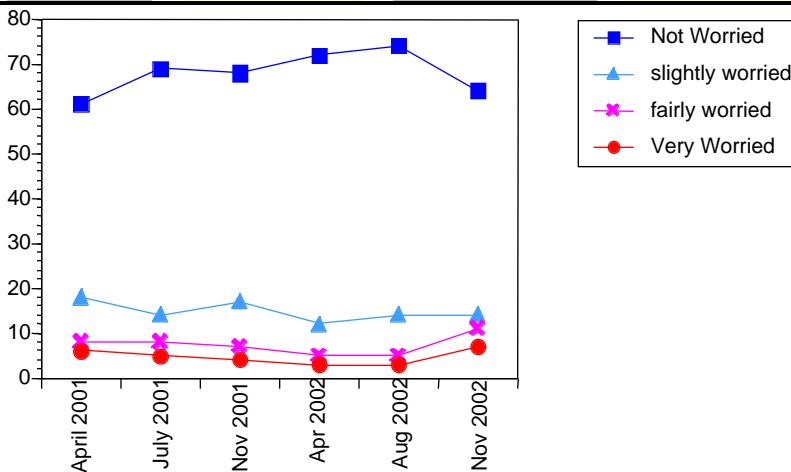
	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	44	17	20	17	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	45	28	16	12	0	100
Clerks/secretaries	43	23	17	14	4	100
Service and sales	45	25	18	10	2	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary occupations	51	22	16	10	2	100
Housewives	49	30	11	8	2	100
Retired	72	7	3	12	7	100
Unemployed	35	24	24	11	7	100
Students	28	23	30	19	0	100
Educators	39	18	29	11	4	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 72.38 with 40 df p = 0.0013

Students at 18 percentage points and business people at 16 percentage points showed the greatest leaps in the highest levels of very worried about free speech. Both categories rose from only 1% in August. And the same strong rise in overall concerns can be seen in worry about religious freedom, with rises in intensity of worry and in overall levels.

Table 35 Are you currently worried or not worried about: Religious freedom

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	Total
April 2001	61	18	8	6	7	100
July 2001	69	14	8	5	3	100
Nov 2001	68	17	7	4	4	100
Apr 2002	72	12	5	3	7	100
Aug 2002	74	14	5	3	5	100
Nov 2002	64	14	11	7	3	100



Academic freedom, of no concern for three in four most of 2002, shows a similar rise in concern, with roughly doubled levels of fairly and very worried and a drop in not worried

to less than two thirds. But changes by age groups and occupation show that within the relatively small change of a 10 percentage point drop in overall worry lies much larger changes for important social groups.

Table 36 Are you currently worried or not worried about: Academic Freedom

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
April 2002	73	14	5	3	5	100
August 2002	73	14	5	3	5	100
Nov 2002	63	15	11	7	4	100

For example, teenagers in August were the least worried about academic freedom among all age groups, and by a significant margin. In November they were the most worried, overall, among age groups, again by a significant margin. The overall change was one third more of all teenagers became worried to one degree or another about academic freedom following the Article 23 consultation.

Table 37 Worry about Academic freedom by Age group (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	85	70	76	74	68	69	80	74
Slightly worried	9	18	12	17	19	4	3	14
Somewhat worried	4	5	8	3	2	2	0	4
Very worried	2	6	3	2	0	2	3	3
DK	0	2	2	4	11	22	13	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 73.57 with 24 df p 0.0001

Table 38 Worry about Academic freedom by Age group (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	52	60	62	64	63	76	72	63
Slightly worried	18	16	16	16	12	14	3	15
Somewhat worried	21	17	13	8	11	4	3	12
Very worried	10	5	6	8	8	4	7	7
DK	0	2	3	4	6	2	14	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 39.65 with 24 df p = 0.0233

As with other aspects of freedom asked in prior surveys, the breakdowns by occupation show the most dramatic changes in levels of worry among students and business people. Both business and students showed only 1% very worried about academic freedom in August. By November, 6% of business people and 7% of students were very worried. In changes in the top 2 categories of worry together, worry about academic freedom showed the sharpest rises, with just 2% of business people fairly/very worried in August, to 15% fairly/very worried in November. Students went from 4% in August in combined top worry levels to 31% in November, indicating that anxieties among these groups have

risen more sharply than the drop in not worried levels might indicate. In overall levels of worry, business showed a 20 point rise, with not worried falling from 87% to 67% while students showed a 25 point rise, falling from 82% to only 57% not worried in November. Educators showed small overall increases, and an actual lessening of very worried from August. However, the top two levels of worry show the same jump as students and business, from combined 14% in August (highest of occupations) to 29% in November, no longer the highest level of fairly/very worried combined, but close to students at 31%.

Table 39 Worry about Academic freedom by Occupation (August)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	87	9	1	1	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	65	18	9	4	5	100
Clerks/secretaries	68	19	6	5	2	100
Service and sales	72	18	4	5	2	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementry occupations	67	14	2	4	13	100
Housewives	68	14	7	0	11	100
Retired	78	8	0	3	10	100
Unemployed	80	7	7	2	4	100
Students	82	14	3	1	0	100
Educators	59	27	5	9	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 64.04 with 36 df p = 0.0027

Table 40 Worry about Academic freedom by Occupation (November)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	67	17	9	6	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	68	17	7	8	1	100
Clerks/secretaries	64	11	11	9	4	100
Service and sales	63	18	10	6	2	100
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementry occupations	61	16	10	7	6	100
Housewives	59	19	10	5	8	100
Retired	78	5	5	7	5	100
Unemployed	47	20	16	7	9	100
Students	57	12	24	7	0	100
Educators	50	18	25	4	4	100

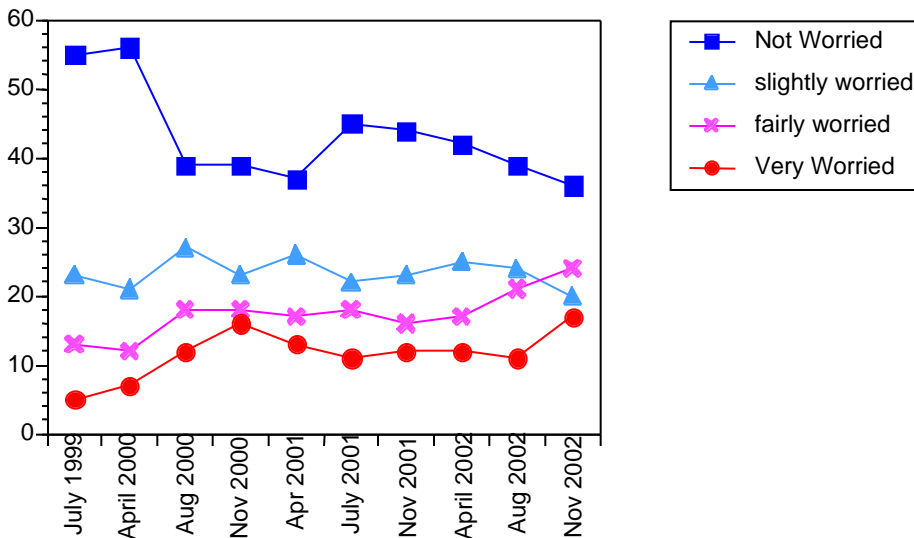
table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 55.41 with 40 df p = 0.0533

The key to all Hong Kong freedoms and human rights rests on the government's commitment to honor the rule of law handed on to it by the British. Hong Kong people appreciate this legacy, perhaps above all others. Concern about the rule of law in Hong Kong has risen higher than any time previously surveyed. Those fairly or very worried reached a previous peak, combined, of 34% in November 2000. Now the combined

highest level is 41%, indicating clearly that the Article 23 consultations have effected a sharp rise in concern about the fundamental basis of all Hong Konger's freedoms.

Table 41 Are you worried or not worried about rule of law in Hong Kong

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know	total
July 99	55	23	13	5	4	100
April 00	56	21	12	7	5	100
Aug 00	39	27	18	12	4	100
Nov 00	39	23	18	16	4	100
Apr 01	37	26	17	13	7	100
July 01	45	22	18	11	3	100
Nov 01	44	23	16	12	4	100
Apr 02	42	25	17	12	5	100
Aug 02	39	24	21	11	5	100
Nov 02	36	20	24	17	3	100



Worry about rule of law by age group shows an increase in unworried levels for those in their 70s, little change for those in their 20s and 30s, small rises in 40s and 50s and a sharp leap in those in their teens, with not worried dropping from 52% in August to just 27% in November, a 25 point shift.

Table 42 Worry about rule of law by Age group (August)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
Not worried	52	31	32	42	47	40	53	40
Slightly worried	20	35	25	23	19	16	7	24
Somewhat worried	20	18	24	24	20	18	7	21
Very worried	6	14	15	9	9	13	7	11
DK	2	2	3	3	6	13	27	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 75.37 with 24 df p 0.0001

Table 43 Worry about rule of law by Age group (November)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	27	32	31	36	44	39	69	36
Slightly worried	26	23	19	20	16	25	7	20
Somewhat worried	24	25	34	21	22	16	14	25
Very worried	23	17	16	19	15	14	3	17
DK	0	3	1	4	3	6	7	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 46.20 with 24 df p = 0.0042

Worry about rule of law by occupation shows that while Educators were extremely worried in August, other groups were far less so. In November, worry levels had risen across most occupations, except educators, professionals, and service and sales people. Students showed a sharp rise in overall worry about rule of law.

Table 44 Worry about rule of law by Occupation (August)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know	total
Managers/admin	43	25	21	8	4	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	31	26	23	19	2	100
Clerks/secretaries	31	29	28	9	2	100
Service and sales	35	23	23	14	5	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	48	23	13	11	6	100
Housewives	39	18	26	12	5	100
Retired	53	14	8	8	17	100
Unemployed	35	22	22	15	7	100
Students	48	27	18	5	1	100
Educators	5	41	36	18	0	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 72.65 with 36 df p = 0.0003

Table 45 Worry about rule of law by Occupation (November)

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know	total
Managers/admin	31	16	33	19	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	39	18	26	15	3	100
Clerks/secretaries	27	26	25	19	4	100
Service and sales	39	16	20	20	4	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	44	13	23	19	2	100
Housewives	36	27	22	12	3	100
Retired	53	12	18	10	7	100
Unemployed	35	16	29	16	4	100
Students	30	30	19	22	0	100
Educators	32	14	36	14	4	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 46.14 with 40 df p = 0.2333 NO SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION

By November, worry about rule of law appears generally similar among occupations (hence the p of 0.233 indicating little difference among variables), and generally higher than in August. This indicates that rule of law shifted from a concern for certain groups only to becoming a widespread concern for nearly everyone. Worry about rule of law broken down by education level shows drops in worry among those with no education and with post-graduate education, but shows a general rise in overall worry among other educational categories from August to November. The very worried level goes up in all but those with no education.

Table 46 Worry about rule of law by Education (August)

	0	1Primary-P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	UPost-grad	total
Not worried	28	47	47	43	44	33	22	39
Slightly worried	11	13	23	21	21	34	30	24
Somewhat worried	26	21	16	24	20	18	26	21
Very worried	15	6	7	10	12	14	19	11
DK	21	13	7	3	3	1	4	5
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 80.05 with 24 df p 0.0001

Table 47 Worry about rule of law by Education (November)

	0	1Primary-P6	F1-F3	F4-F5	F6-F7	Univ	UPost-grad	total
Not worried	50	39	40	36	36	32	42	36
Slightly worried	8	24	16	22	18	23	5	20
Somewhat worried	29	17	19	25	26	27	26	24
Very worried	3	16	23	16	17	17	21	17
DK	11	4	2	2	4	1	5	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

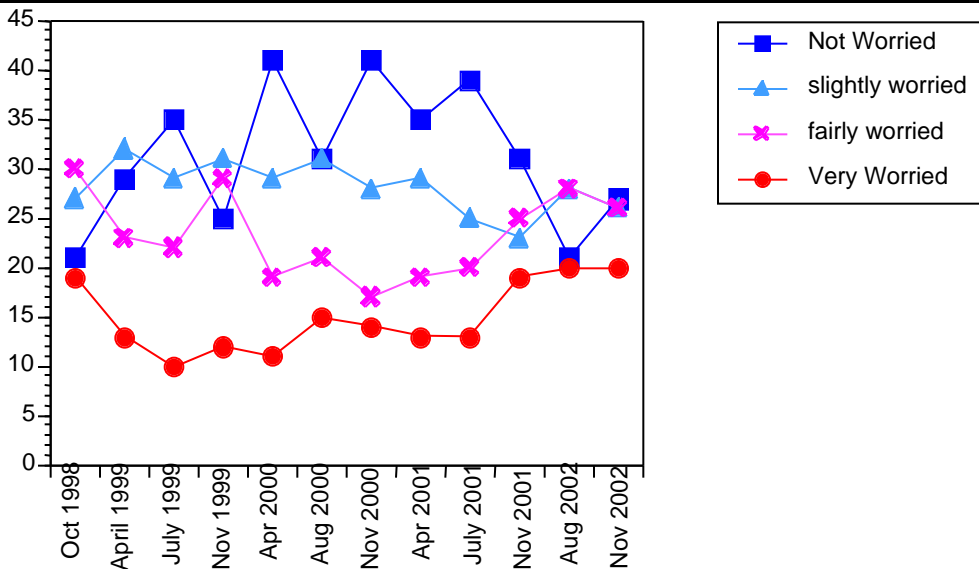
table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.39 with 24 df p = 0.0629

After rising strongly in August, overall levels of worry about social unrest have dropped, with levels of very worried remaining about the same over the past year, with one in five very worried about social unrest. (Table 14). The levels of worry on unrest seem to have nothing to do with Article 23 and everything to do with anticipated and experienced economic difficulties. As concerns with the economy rise and fall, so does this concern. (See economic worries and other aspects below.) Thus tying Article 23 into some putative provisions needed to ensure social stability or governmental security misdirects the source of concerns about social unrest. If government wishes to lessen these concerns, it should focus on economic steps, not legal steps. The populace do not associate the government's move to legislate on Article 23 with a perceived need to ensure the government power to guarantee social order.

Table 48 Are you worried/not worried about social unrest in Hong Kong?

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know	total
Oct 1998	21	27	30	19	3	100
April 1999	29	32	23	13	2	100
July 1999	35	29	22	10	3	100
Nov 1999	25	31	29	12	3	100
Apr 2000	41	29	19	11	1	100
Aug 2000	31	31	21	15	1	100
Nov 2000	41	28	17	14	1	100
Apr 2001	35	29	19	13	3	100
July 2001	39	25	20	13	2	100
Nov 2001	31	23	25	19	1	100
Aug 2002	21	28	28	20	2	100
Nov 2002	27	26	26	20	1	100



The questions above have been asked in Hong Kong Transition Project surveys a number of times, so the variance in levels of worry and the consistency of rise in worry across these various issues related to freedom and rule of law appear correlated solely with the consultation on Article 23. *There are no other events which can explain such a consistent effect across nearly all occupational, age and education categories, and on all questions dealing with human rights and freedoms, other than the Article 23 consultation.* The next bank of questions in Section III were specifically developed for the November survey to explore in more detail issues raised in the Article 23 consultation paper. Article 23, which deals with fundamental aspects of Hong Kong's constitutional relationship with the mainland and with fundamental aspects of the rights and duties of citizens, comprises a crucial chapter in Hong Kong people's transition from British colonial subjects to Chinese citizens ruling the SAR with the high degree of autonomy enshrined in the Basic Law and the Sino-British Declaration of 1984.

III Responses to questions on the Article 23 consultation

Table 49 shows that while only a small proportion of the public attended a forum on Article 23 (approximately 150,000 or 3% of the roughly 5 million Hong Kongers aged 18 and above) many more, perhaps double that, claim to have read the consultation paper by the end of November. A clear majority have listened to radio discussions of Article 23 consultation issues, and around two thirds have watched television news and current affairs programs on the issues. (Table 49 shows Yes responses only.)

Table 49 Have you done any of the following related to Article 23? (respond to all)

	Yes responses %
1. Attended forum	3
2. Read consultation paper	6
3. Listened to radio programme	55
4. Watched tv programme	68

The above are ranked in terms of time and attention paid to Article 23 issues, on the assumption that attending a forum takes more effort than reading the paper, and listening to radio less than reading, with watching tv the least call on time and effort. In Table 50, which recodes Table 49 into combinations of response to Article 23, some 24% have not done any of the above actions, though nearly all have read newspapers with news and opinion on Article 23. Some 95% read newspapers daily or usually; 39% read more than one. Nearly all who are literate read at least one newspaper. Amazingly, few said they had both read the consultation document and attended a forum (5 out of 812 respondents, item 8 and 2 from item 7. No one had only read the document and attended a forum).

Table 50 Matrix breakdown of responses to Article 23

	# of Yes responses	Yes Percentage
0. None	191	24
1. Forum only	10	1
2. Read consultation paper only	16	2
3. Radio program only	54	7
4. Watched tv program only	154	19
5. Radio & tv	340	42
6. Forum & read consult. paper	0	0
7. Any three of four items	44	5
8. All four	3	1
Total	812	100

The 24% who can recall no specific media exposure to Article 23 issues in Table 50 probably understates their information flow on the issue. As Table 51 indicates, only 6% report they do no watching of television or listening to radio of news and current affairs programs, and only 5% (Table 52) do not read a newspaper regularly. So Table 50 indicates that at the very least, some 75% or three out of four are in some way and to some degree informed specifically about Article 23 issues and the Article 23 consultation paper. Tables 51 and 52 indicate the degree of exposure to media for Hong Kongers, and

hence, means of examining how media exposure affects attitudes toward Article 23, and how the Article 23 consultation proposals affect those who are more media oriented.

Table 51 How often do you listen to or watch any news and current affairs programs on the radio and television? (hours per day November)

Group	Count	%
None	51	6
1 hour	375	47
2 hours	174	22
3 hours	87	11
4 hours	34	4
5 hours	54	6
6+ hours	31	3

Table 51 indicates the number of hours PER DAY Hong Kongers on average listen to or watch current affairs. Table 52 categorizes such media habits into a range of hours PER WEEK. We shifted to the hours per day question form to increase accuracy in ascertaining viewers/listeners habits. The Article 23 consultation may have raised overall news and current affairs exposure.

The way we reach this conclusion is as follows. Recalculating Table 51 according to Table 52 categories shows 47% listening 7 hours a week (to estimate, collapse 4-6 and 7-10 hours together in Table 52, for a total of 37% listening in that same range). Those listening above 10 hours a week has gone from perhaps a fourth up to around 46%. Two hours a day translates into 14 hours a week, 3 hours to 21 and so on. Collapsing all those categories together indicates a possible steep rise in viewer/listener interest. The magnitude of change is so great, even though the questions are not the same (Table 51 arguably allows for more accuracy), that it is hard not to conclude that the Article 23 consultation has had a significant effect in overall media exposure.

Table 52. How often do you listen to or watch any news and current affairs programs on radio and TV? (hours per week, up to August)

	Apr 98	July 98	Oct 98	Apr 99	July 99	Nov 99	Apr 00	Aug 00	Apr 01	Aug 02
Never	4	2	4	2	5	4	1	3	4	4
< 1 hr per week	5	7	7	6	9	11	8	8	8	7
1-3 hrs per week	23	21	24	28	25	25	29	31	26	22
4-6 hrs per week	20	24	24	24	21	20	23	20	20	15
7-10 hrs per week	17	18	17	17	17	18	18	17	18	24
> 10 hrs per week	31	29	24	23	23	22	20	21	24	27

Table 53 Which newspapers do you usually read? (up to three responses, ranked from most to least. Items marked with * showed less than 1%).

Newspaper	% who read
Oriental Daily	41
Apple Daily	35
Ming Pao Daily	21
The Sun	11
Sing Tao Daily	10
HK Economic Times	5
Sing Pao	5
South China Morning Post	4
HK Economic Journal	3
HK Daily News	2
Other papers (AWSJ, IHT, foreign papers)	3
Wen Wei Po*	1
The Standard	*
China Daily*	*
Peoples Daily*	*
HK Commercial Daily*	0
Ta Kung Pao*	0
<i>Don't read newspapers/can't read</i>	5

Sums to more than 100 due to multiple responses *Pro-Beijing newspapers

Table 53 shows that 12% read 3 or more newspapers regularly and 17% read 2 or more daily. Table 54 shows that newspaper reading is associated with current affairs interests in Article 23.

Table 54 Proportions reading 0, 1,2 or 3 newspapers (survey asked for maximum of 3, so there may be a small percentage reading more than 3 newspapers)

Group	Count	%
0 newspapers	40	5
1 newspaper	457	56
2 newspapers	221	27
3 newspapers	96	12
Total	814	100

Intuitively, one would suspect that the stance of newspapers and amount of exposure to them and to other media should have some effect on people's participation and interest in public affairs. This is true. For example, taking Table 54 and running it against Table 50 on actions taken regarding the Article 23 consultation shows, of those who read no newspapers, 38% had taken no action on Article 23, neither attending a forum, reading the consultation paper, watching a tv programme or listening to radio and only 3% had taken 3 or all means. Those who read 3 (and perhaps more) newspapers had only 16% who had taken no means to inform themselves (versus 38% of non-readers) and 15% of 3 or more readers had taken any 3 or all 4 of the actions, versus only 3% of non-newspaper

readers. Those who read 3 or more newspapers also show more of a tendency to read the consultation paper.

Table 55 Number of newspapers read by information means on Article 23

# Newspapers read regularly	None	Forum or read	Radio only	Tv only	Radio and tv	Any 3 or all	total
0 newspapers	38	3	3	15	40	3	100
1 newspaper	26	3	7	18	42	3	100
2 newspapers	20	2	6	23	41	8	100
3 newspapers	16	6	5	17	42	15	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 36.16 with 15df p = 0.0017

The next question is whether a particular newspaper or set of newspapers affects attitudes toward various Article 23 proposals. Table 56 below is a reclassification of 82 reader combinations of the 16 largest daily newspapers in English and Chinese published in Hong Kong. (See Table 53 above for list.) The combinations are of various newspapers read usually, with 272 combinations possible (counting “other newspapers” as one). The 82 obtained is too many to statistically analyze with (too few in some categories), so these have been collapsed (recoded or recategorized) in Table 56.

The reclassification list shows that 7% of respondents read both of the largest mass dailies and a similar percentage read Apple Daily + other newspapers, or Oriental Daily + other newspapers. Only a third of Hong Kongers read only one or the other of the big two mass circulation dailies. Seven percent read English only or English and another Chinese newspaper. Very few, 1%, read one or another pro-Beijing newspaper along with their other newspapers, with one person reporting reading both China Daily and Wen Wui Po. Apple Daily is usually characterized as a mass circulation daily critical of both the SAR and Beijing governments. Oriental Daily, Apple Daily’s mass circulation competitor and the single biggest circulation newspaper in Hong Kong was very critical of the colonial government and continues very critical of the Democratic Party but is a bit less critical of the SAR government and much less critical of Beijing, though not pro-Beijing per se. Ming pao is a more educated, pro-Chinese nationalism “serious” daily. Business newspapers in Chinese are primarily the Hong Kong Economic Journal and the Hong Kong Economic Times. The Sun is a sensational, lower working class mass circulation daily. The newspapers published in English in Hong Kong are the mass circulation South China Morning Post, the business oriented Standard and locally published editions of the Asian Wall Street Journal and International Herald Tribune.

Hong Kongers prefer their news from various sources, and unlike Americans, tend not to rely most heavily on television or radio for news, and certainly not on just one newspaper, as is often the case in the US. Hong Kongers are also the world’s number one in terms of newspapers sold per thousand of population, 762, versus 193 per thousand in the US (Economist World in Figures 2002 and 2003).

Table 56 Reclassified readership of newspapers by types

Group	Count	%
None	40	5
Apple + Oriental	60	7
Apple + others	58	7
Apple Daily	113	14
Business + local	77	9
English + Chinese	27	3
English only	30	4
Ming pao	67	8
Ming pao + others	95	12
Oriental + others	37	5
Oriental Daily	165	20
Pro-Beijing + mass	8	1
Sun/Sun + others	37	5

Before running these various informational means against the special questions asked in the November survey on Article 23, we run them against the bank of questions asked in Part II above, questions asked regularly in prior years, about various freedoms. These statistical tests show that those who are most informed about Article 23, in terms of taking no action to inform themselves versus taking 3 or more actions, are also most worried about their freedoms being affected.

Table 57, for example, shows that those who are most informed about the Article 23 consultation, those who have taken 3 of 4 or all means to inform themselves show the highest overall levels of worry about personal freedom in Hong Kong. (49% not worried versus 63% of those who have taken none of the informational actions, and 49% not worried versus the overall sample average of 59% in the total column).

Table 57 Are you currently worried or not about personal freedom in HK by Article 23 info action

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Not worried	63	65	61	66	53	49	59
Slightly worried	16	19	20	22	17	26	19
Somewhat worried	11	8	9	6	15	15	12
Very worried	8	8	9	6	14	9	11
DK	2	0	0	0	1	2	1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 29.14 with 20 df p = 0.0849

The same pattern, even stronger, shows with worry about a free press. Those who took no action to inform themselves about Article 23 showed 50% unworried about personal freedom versus 30% of those most informed, and the levels of very worried also showed contrasts, with those who had attended a forum or read the document showing 19% very

worried, those who listened to radio and watched tv at 17% very worried and all or 3 of 4 at 12% very worried versus 6% unworried for those who had taken no action.

Table 58 Worry about Free Press by Article 23 info action

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Not worried	50	50	48	51	44	30	46
Slightly worried	23	23	28	27	20	38	23
Somewhat worried	16	8	15	10	18	19	16
Very worried	6	19	9	7	17	12	12
DK	5	0	0	5	1	2	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 46.52 with 20 df p = 0.0007

There is also some association between the number of newspapers read and the degree of worry about freedom of the press, with worry rising with the number of newspapers read, though curiously, among those who read three newspapers the level of worry dips, though those who read 3 newspapers show the highest level of very worried.

Table 59 Worry about Free Press by Number of newspapers usually read

	0	1	2	3	total
Not worried	55	46	43	51	46
Slightly worried	8	25	24	22	24
Somewhat worried	10	16	19	8	16
Very worried	13	11	13	16	12
DK	15	3	1	3	3
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 35.96 with 12 df p = 0.0003

The stance of newspapers read also seems to affect concerns (though one could also say that concerns may lead to purchase of newspapers known to share those with the reader). Apple Daily readers, in any combination, Ming pao readers and Sun readers all show overall higher levels of concern, although those with the highest level of very worried occurs in the English language readers. As might be expected, readers of pro-Beijing newspapers are by far the least worried, with 75% not worried versus an average over the whole survey of 46% not worried.

Table 60 Worry about free press by type of newspapers read (red figures for under average in not worried and above average in very worried)

	Not worried	Slightly worried	Somewhat worried	Very worried	DK	total
None	55	8	10	13	15	100
Apple Daily + Oriental Daily	42	17	20	12	0	100
Apple Daily + others	43	24	16	17	0	100
Apple Daily only	38	29	19	12	2	100
Business + local	48	18	14	14	5	100
English + Chinese	52	11	19	19	0	100
English only	50	13	10	17	10	100
Ming pao	43	25	16	12	3	100
Ming pao+	40	25	19	15	1	100
Oriental Daily + others	51	30	11	8	0	100
Oriental Daily	52	24	15	7	2	100
Pro-Beijing + mass	75	0	0	12	13	100
Sun/Sun+	41	32	16	5	5	100
Average of All surveyed	46	24	16	12	3	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 72.76 with 48 df p = 0.0121

The same patterns seen above in relation to worry about personal freedom and worry about the free press can also be seen in worry about free speech, with those most informed showing much higher levels of very worried (19% and 15%) than those uninformed about Article 23 (5%).

Table 61 Worry about free speech by Article 23 info action

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Not worried	49	54	46	57	40	38	46
Slightly worried	23	15	22	22	22	30	22
Somewhat worried	18	12	22	12	18	15	17
Very worried	5	19	7	6	19	15	12
DK	5	0	2	3	2	2	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 46.64 with 20 df p = 0.0007

A similar pattern can be seen in worry about free assembly, with the exception that those who listen to radio show more concern overall than others for freedom of assembly.

Table 62 Worry about free assembly by Article 23 info action

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Not worried	49	65	37	47	40	38	44
Slightly worried	22	12	30	26	19	21	21
Somewhat worried	18	12	20	16	19	23	18
Very worried	4	12	7	7	19	15	12
DK	7	0	6	4	3	2	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 46.86 with 20 df p = 0.0006

The pattern varies slightly for worry about religious freedom, with those who have taken three or all actions showing significantly lower levels of very worried, instead of significantly higher levels.

Table 63 Worry about religious freedom by Article 23 info action

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Not worried	61	77	59	74	60	57	63
Slightly worried	17	12	19	14	12	23	15
Somewhat worried	13	0	17	6	12	13	11
Very worried	3	12	6	5	12	4	8
DK	6	0	0	2	4	2	3
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 47.14 with 20 df p = 0.0006

While the number of people expressing their views to government, media, political groups and Legco members numbers about 300,000 (approximately 6% of the 18 and over population), far higher numbers have talked about the issues raised by the consultation on Article 23 with family and friends.

Table 64 Have you expressed your views to the following about any issues related to the Article 23 consultation?

	Yes responses only
To government	3
To media	3
To political groups	2
To community groups	3
To Legco members	2
To family members	32
To friends	36

Table 65 shows that those who are most informed also are those most likely to have expressed their views to government, with one in five of those who took 3 or all forms of information (other than newspaper reading) having expressed their views to government.

Table 65 Have you expressed your views on Article 23 consultation by participation

	None	Forum or read	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	3 of 4 and All	total
Yes	2	4	2	0	4	21	3
No	98	96	98	100	96	79	97
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 52.96 with 5 df p 0.0001

While the government has been issuing assurances about many of the 10 activities indicated in the table below, the level of concern about Article 23 affecting these freedoms and current practices is high in all cases, worrying a majority to overwhelming majorities to one degree or another, and for many aspects, causing a very high level of worry for about one in five respondents, and worry and uncertainty (combined worry and don't knows) among around 75% in the highlighted issues below.

Table 66 Are you worried or not worried about proposed Article 23 laws affecting the freedom of the following:

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Media to report news	27	24	20	18	10	100
Media to monitor (watchdog) govrmnt	24	24	22	18	12	100
Public to express views	28	20	22	19	11	100
To organize political & pressure groups	23	19	23	20	15	100
To associate with foreign organizations	25	20	23	14	17	100
To associate with organizations banned on mainland	21	19	22	18	21	100
To access internet websites	46	14	15	8	16	100
To read and buy books and magazines	48	16	14	9	13	100
To demonstrate and protest	28	22	21	16	13	100
To read government documents	44	17	16	9	14	100

Comparing Table 66 responses which correlate with general freedoms asked earlier and over several surveys, such as freedom of the press (Table 17 above, for example), and then selecting related issues such as the media to report news and media to monitor government, indicates that, within the context of asking specifically about Article 23, anxieties are, if anything, even more pronounced. This shows clearly that the Article 23 consultation is the source of the dramatic changes examined in detail in Parts I and II above. For example, Table 67 shows the breakdown by age group in responses to worry about the media to report news being affected by Article 23 laws.

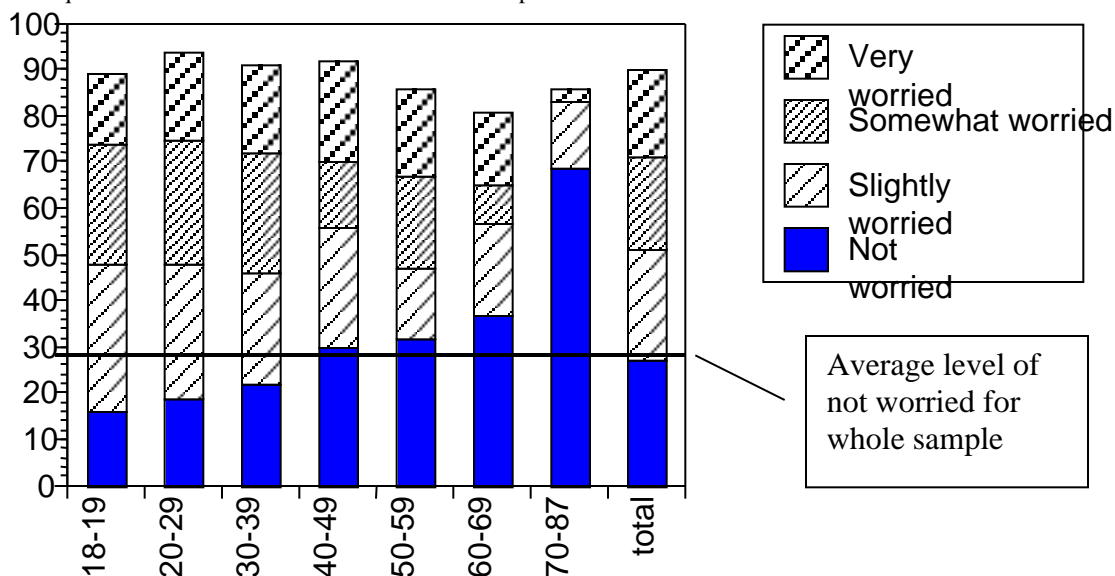
When compared with Table 17, on worry about a free press by age, shows that while 37% of teenagers were not worried about a free press in November, in the context of Article 23, only 16% of teenagers remain not worried. The same clear association can be seen across all age groups, with only those in their 70s and 80s showing less worry in the Article 23 context (Table 67) about media freedom than in Table 17 above.

Table 67 Worry about Article 23 affecting freedom of Media to report News by Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	16	19	22	30	32	37	69	27
Slightly worried	32	29	24	26	15	20	14	24
Somewhat worried	26	27	26	14	20	8	0	20
Very worried	15	19	19	22	19	16	3	19
DK	11	6	9	9	13	18	14	10
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 73.05 with 24 df p = 0.0001



The breakdown of worry about the media to report news by occupation shows students and the unemployed as most worried (measured by lowest level of not worried), while business people show the highest level of very worried.

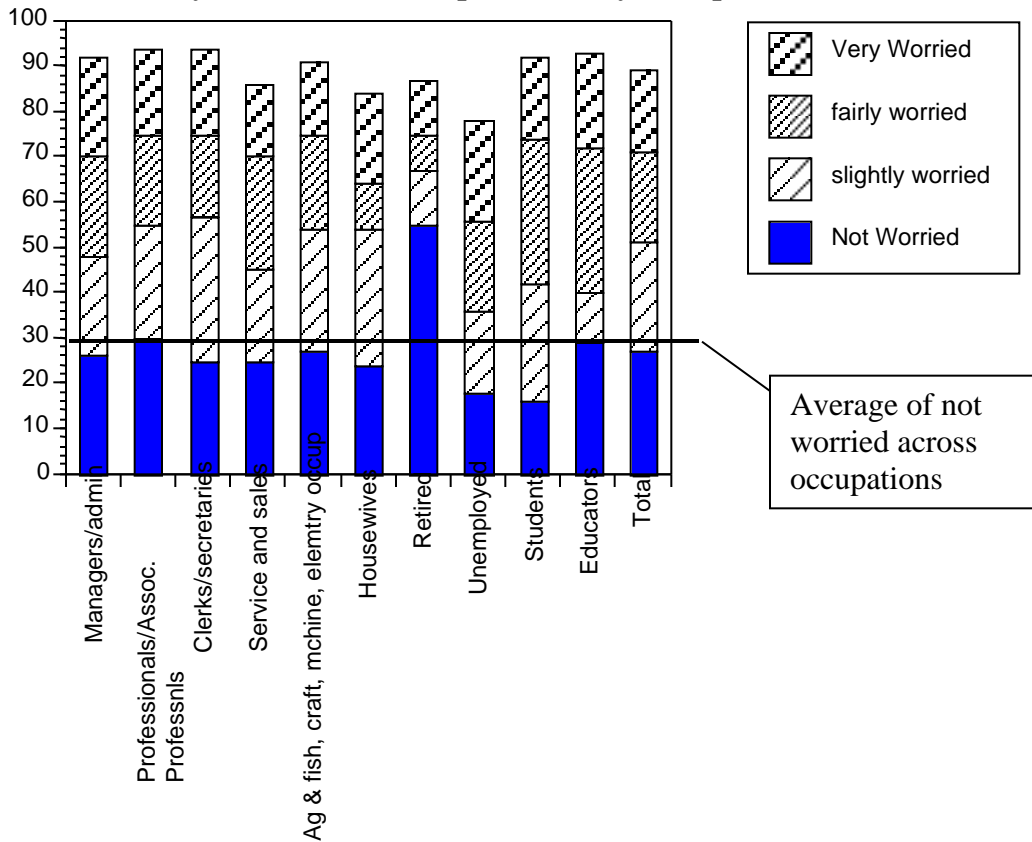
Table 67 Worry about Article 23 effect on media to report news by Occupation

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	26	22	22	22	7	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	30	25	20	19	5	100
Clerks/secretaries	25	32	18	19	7	100
Service and sales	25	20	25	16	14	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	27	27	21	16	10	100
Housewives	24	30	10	20	16	100
Retired	55	12	8	12	13	100
Unemployed	18	18	20	22	22	100
Students	16	26	32	18	8	100
Educators	29	11	32	21	7	100
Total	27	24	20	18	10	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 75.34 with 40 df p = 0.0006

Chart: Worry about media to report news by Occupation



Worry about Article 23 laws affecting the media’s ability to monitor the government is even more pronounced among the younger age groups.

Table 68 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom of media to monitor government by Age

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-87	total
Not worried	8	20	19	25	35	33	66	25
Slightly worried	32	27	23	28	12	22	10	23
Somewhat worried	31	31	29	16	19	8	3	22
Very worried	16	16	19	22	17	18	3	18
DK	13	7	10	10	19	18	17	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 90.79 with 24 df p 0.0001

The same pattern appears among all the questions asked about the effects of Article 23 on the various aspects indicated in Table 66. We show in the rest of this Part III only the

breakdowns by occupation groups, as the most significant and perhaps interesting differences caused by the Article 23 consultation.

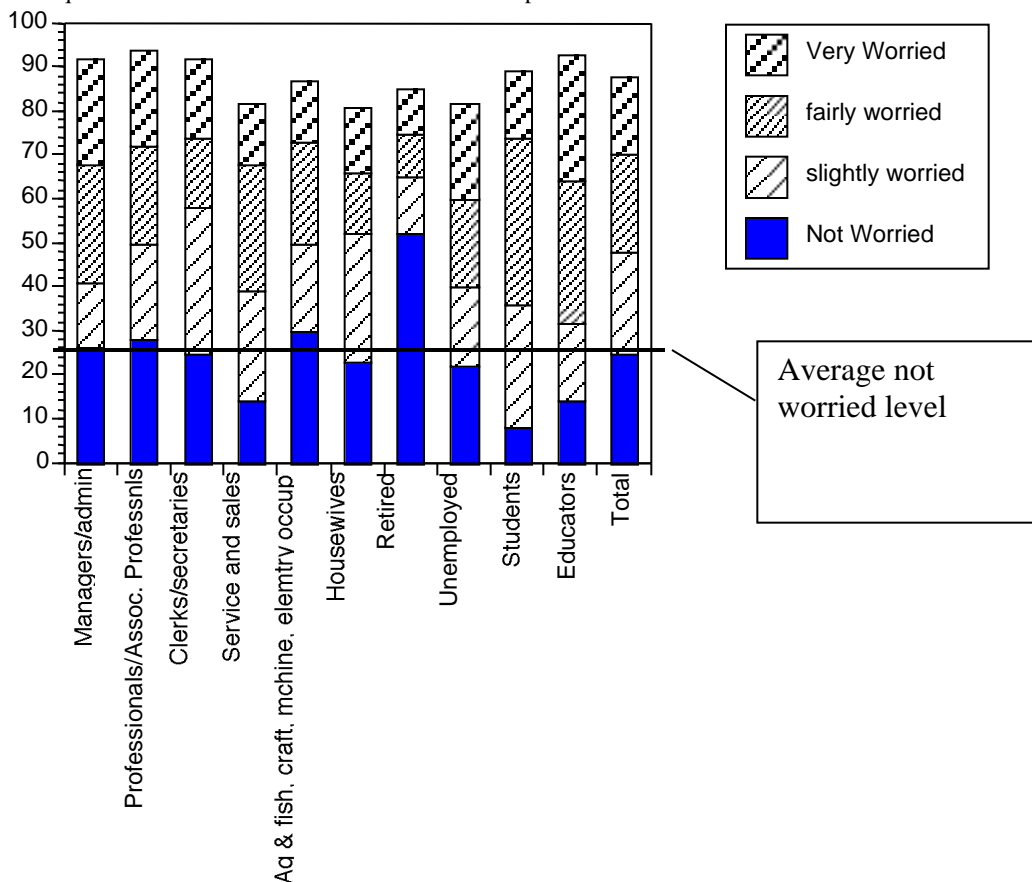
Business people and educators show higher than overall average levels of very worried and fairly worried about the effects of Article 23 on freedom of media to monitor the government.

Table 69 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom of media to monitor government

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	26	15	27	24	9	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	28	22	22	22	5	100
Clerks/secretaries	25	33	16	18	8	100
Service and sales	14	25	29	14	18	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	30	20	23	14	14	100
Housewives	23	29	14	15	19	100
Retired	52	13	10	10	15	100
Unemployed	22	18	20	22	18	100
Students	8	28	38	15	11	100
Educators	14	18	32	29	7	100
Total	25	23	22	18	12	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 89.61 with 40 df p 0.0001



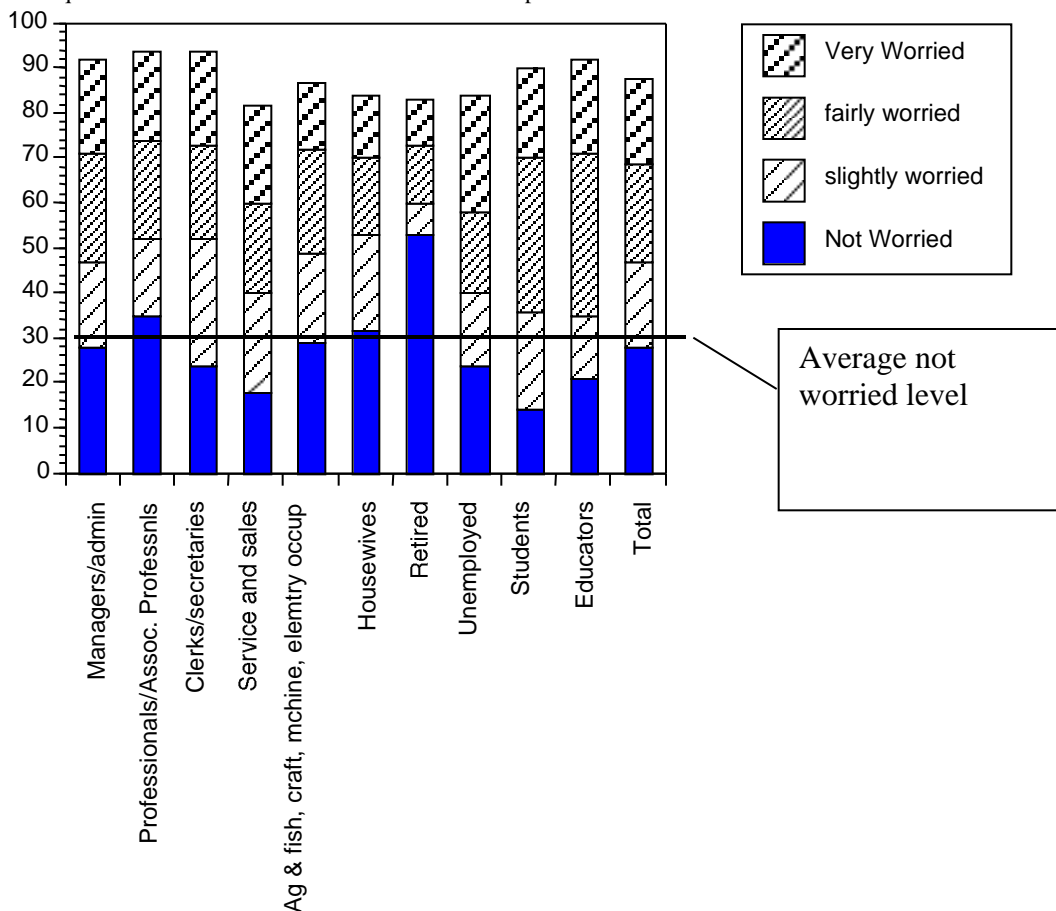
Business people, educators and students show above averages of concern about the effects of Article 23 on freedom of the public to express views. The unemployed show well above average levels of very worried on this issue.

Table 70 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom of Public to express views

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	28	19	24	21	9	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	35	17	22	20	6	100
Clerks/secretaries	24	28	21	21	7	100
Service and sales	18	22	20	22	16	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	29	20	23	15	14	100
Housewives	32	21	17	14	16	100
Retired	53	7	13	10	17	100
Unemployed	24	16	18	26	16	100
Students	14	22	34	20	11	100
Educators	21	14	36	21	7	100
Total	28	19	22	19	11	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 66.02 with 40 df p = 0.0059



Business people, professionals, students and educators all show above average levels of concern about the effects of Article 23 on freedom to organize political and pressure

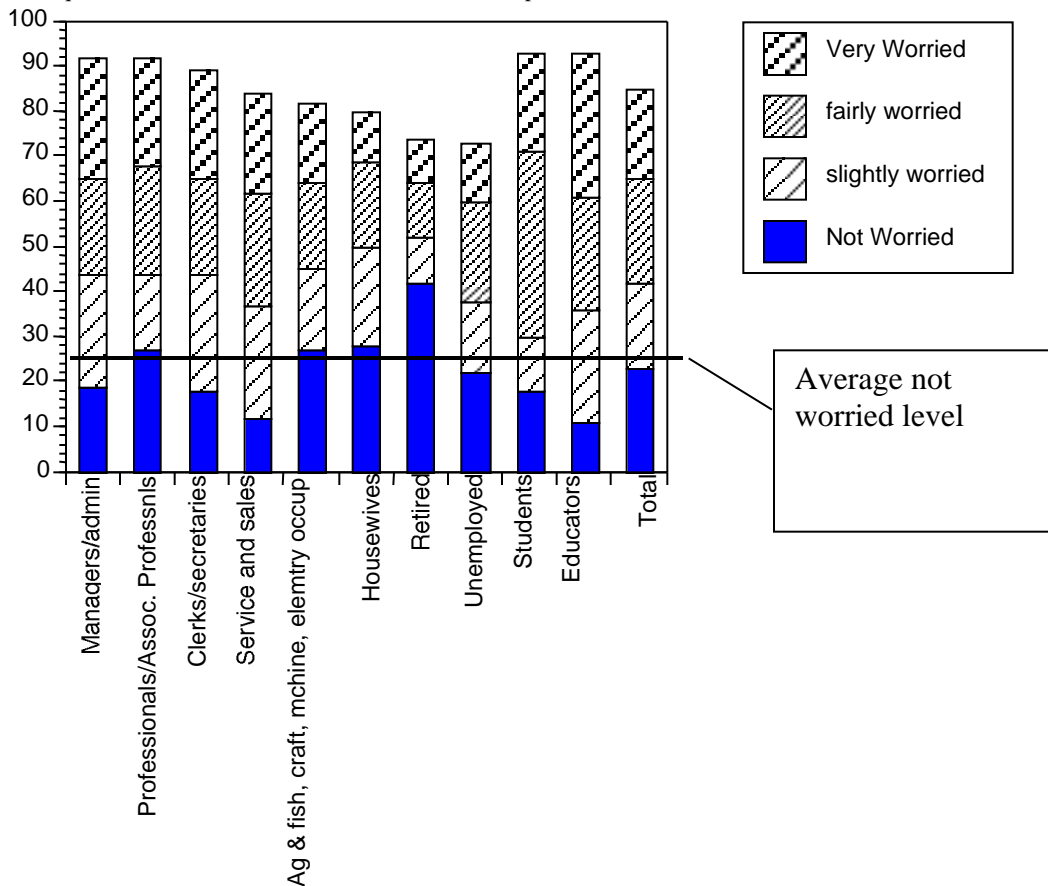
groups. The overall level of worry and uncertainty (worry and DK combined) is around 75% on this issue.

Table 71 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to organize political/pressure groups

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	19	25	21	27	9	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	27	17	24	24	8	100
Clerks/secretaries	18	26	21	24	11	100
Service and sales	12	25	25	22	16	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	27	18	19	18	19	100
Housewives	28	22	19	11	21	100
Retired	42	10	12	10	27	100
Unemployed	22	16	22	13	27	100
Students	18	12	41	22	8	100
Educators	11	25	25	32	7	100
Total	23	19	23	20	15	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 85.77 with 40 df p 0.0001

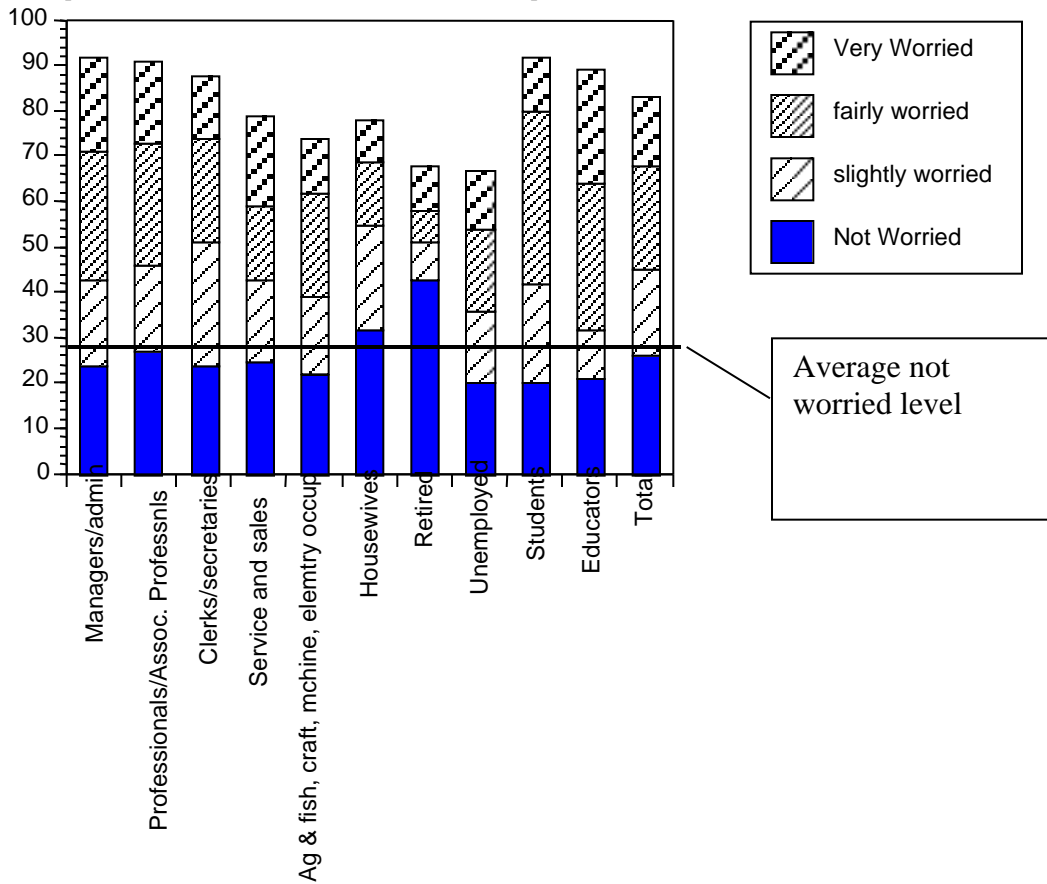


Business people, professionals, educators and students all show above average levels of worry on freedom to associate with foreign organizations. About 75% are concerned or uncertain on this issue (combined worry levels and don't knows).

Table 72 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to associate with foreign organizations

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	24	19	28	21	9	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	27	19	27	18	9	100
Clerks/secretaries	24	27	23	14	12	100
Service and sales	25	18	16	20	20	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	22	17	23	12	27	100
Housewives	32	23	14	9	23	100
Retired	43	8	7	10	32	100
Unemployed	20	16	18	13	31	100
Students	20	22	38	12	8	100
Educators	21	11	32	25	11	100
Total	26	19	23	15	17	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 102.4 with 50 df p 0.0001



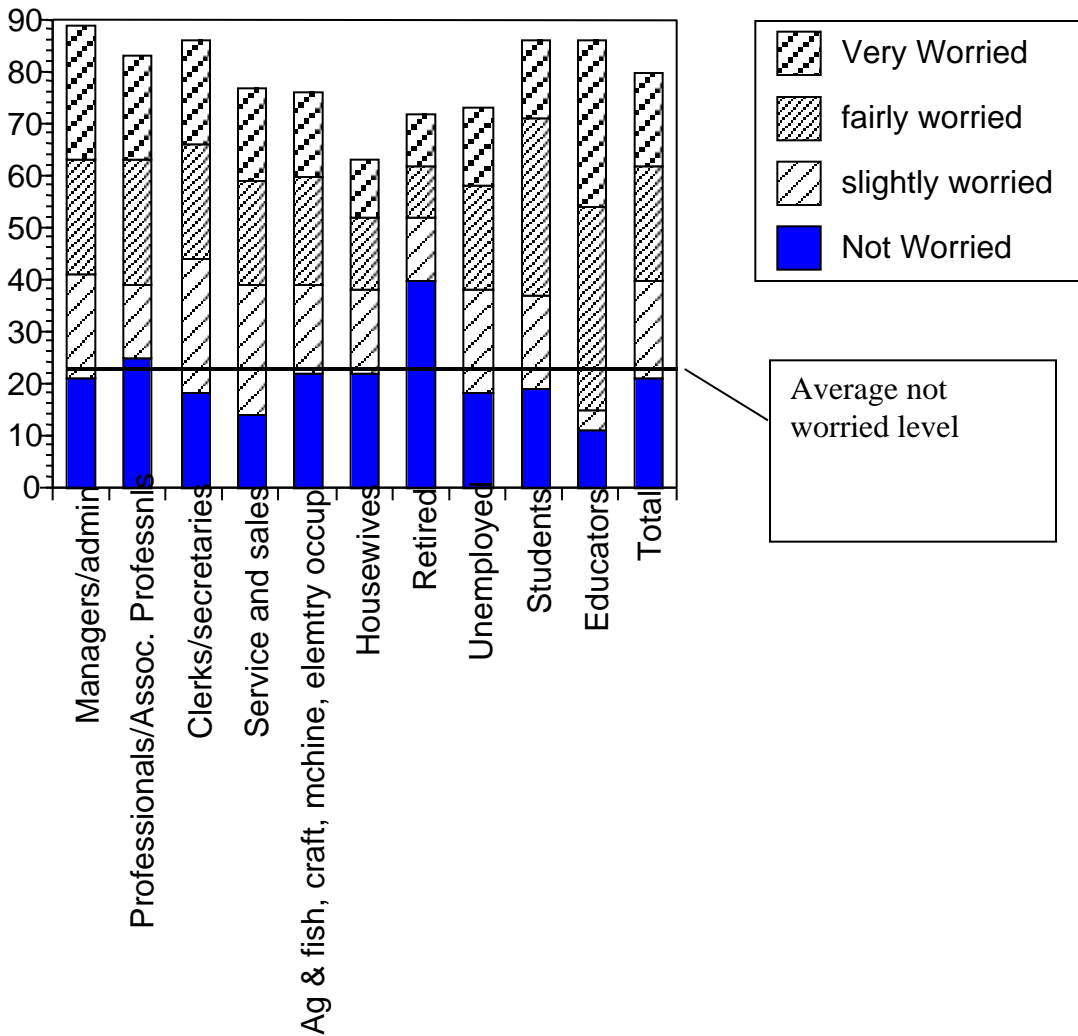
The level of worry among educators on the effects of Article 23 on freedom to associate with organizations banned on the mainland is extraordinarily high among educators (89% worried or uncertain) and levels of very worried at 32% versus 18% for the average.

Table 73 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to associate with organizations banned on the mainland

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	21	20	22	26	11	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	25	14	24	20	17	100
Clerks/secretaries	18	26	22	20	15	100
Service and sales	14	25	20	18	22	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	22	17	21	16	25	100
Housewives	22	16	14	11	37	100
Retired	40	12	10	10	28	100
Unemployed	18	20	20	15	27	100
Students	19	18	34	15	15	100
Educators	11	4	39	32	14	100
Total	21	19	22	18	21	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 82.30 with 40 df p 0.0001



Chapter 4.10 of the Article 23 consultation paper indicates a concern about sedition conveyed electronically. What is unclear is whether the government intends to seek power to intercept and read emails, monitor chatrooms and websites, hold ISPs responsible for materials on their servers, or raid and read computer hard disks for visits to websites and downloaded materials as this concern implies. We have asked questions related to these issues since the concern was expressed, and such actions have been taken by other governments in similar legislation relating to security. Also, below, we have a specific section asking about support or opposition to some of these stated or implied areas of action which may, or may not, appear in the final legislation.

For now, however, worry about freedom to access internet websites and to buy books and magazines is, on average, of concern for just over one third and an uncertainty for 16%. But less than a majority appear unworried about either issue.

Table 74 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to access internet websites

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	53	17	15	9	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	53	8	17	12	11	100
Clerks/secretaries	48	16	19	8	9	100
Service and sales	43	22	8	8	18	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	46	12	13	8	22	100
Housewives	40	14	12	10	24	100
Retired	42	10	7	8	33	100
Unemployed	26	16	24	5	29	100
Students	57	12	22	3	7	100
Educators	46	18	18	11	7	100
Total	47	14	15	8	16	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 74.94 with 40 df p = 0.0007

Table 75 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to buy books and magazines

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	52	21	12	9	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	48	11	22	11	9	100
Clerks/secretaries	48	15	15	12	9	100
Service and sales	43	25	6	10	16	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	44	14	18	8	17	100
Housewives	51	10	8	9	23	100
Retired	62	3	7	13	15	100
Unemployed	36	18	22	4	20	100
Students	47	27	11	8	7	100
Educators	50	14	21	7	7	100
Total	49	16	14	9	13	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

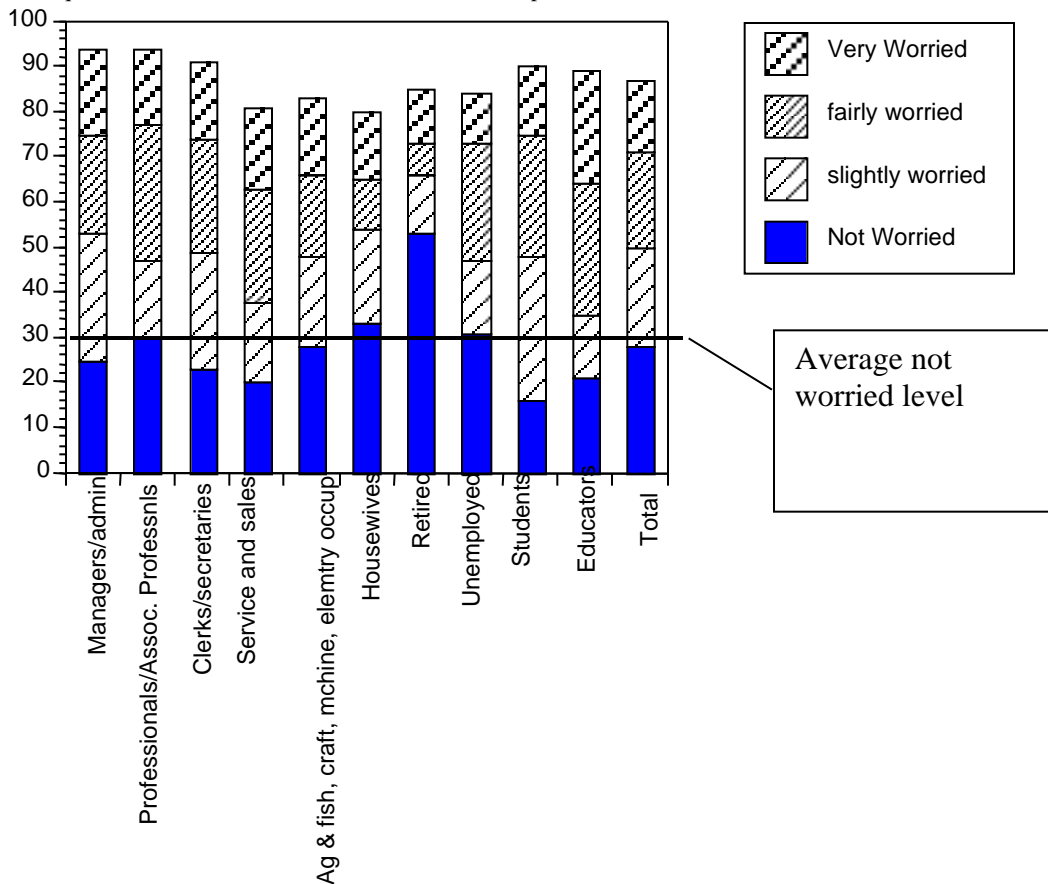
Chi-square = 71.17 with 40 df p = 0.0017

There are no such lack of concerns among a clear majority about the effect of Article 23 on freedom to demonstrate and protest, with above average concerns among workers and educators primarily.

Table 76 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to demonstrate and protest

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	25	28	22	19	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	30	17	30	17	7	100
Clerks/secretaries	23	26	25	17	9	100
Service and sales	20	18	25	18	18	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	28	20	18	17	18	100
Housewives	33	21	11	15	21	100
Retired	53	13	7	12	15	100
Unemployed	31	16	26	11	16	100
Students	16	32	27	15	9	100
Educators	21	14	29	25	11	100
Total	28	22	21	16	13	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 72.77 with 40 df p = 0.0012



The worry about the effects of Article 23 on freedom to demonstrate and protest seems higher among those groups which are unionized and are feeling the effects of actual or threatened wage cut and job losses. Students seem less intently worried about this, though their overall levels of worry are the highest among the occupational groups.

While a majority are worried or uncertain about the effect of Article 23 on their freedom to read government documents (combined worry levels and don't knows). But most worried levels seem lower than with most other issues charted above.

Table 77 Worry about Article 23 effect on freedom to read government documents

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Managers/admin	49	22	15	7	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	40	18	20	14	8	100
Clerks/secretaries	45	15	18	10	11	100
Service and sales	39	12	25	8	16	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	42	14	13	11	21	100
Housewives	49	16	7	8	21	100
Retired	57	7	3	10	23	100
Unemployed	38	16	24	2	20	100
Students	37	24	24	7	8	100
Educators	39	14	25	14	7	100
Total	44	16	17	9	14	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 66.78 with 40 df p = 0.0050

In conclusion to this section, worries and uncertainty are high about the effects of the Article 23 legislation on highly cherished freedoms, despite the government's considerable efforts to provide reassurance. The decision not to issue a white bill spelling out the exact legislation appears to have exacerbated these concerns.

IV Support or opposition to proposed and implied Article 23 provisions and actions

Many areas in the consultation document on Article 23 are not fully spelled out. It is unclear whether or not the government will ask for specific powers to address some issues raised or implied in the document. Other powers have been specifically mentioned as areas of action. Without a white bill more specifically laying out the exact wording of the legislation, it is impossible to determine exactly what the government proposes to do in the case of concerns expressed but which lack any indication of intention to take action. Some actions are expressed in the document. The table below lists questions which attempt to explore the public's support or opposition to some of those specified and implied areas of action. The first three actions and the fifth on the list are possibly implied as actions to be sought in section 4.10 of the consultation paper, where a concern is expressed and an observation made that subversion and sedition have been spread electronically. These actions are also commonly taken on the mainland. All others listed below and asked in the survey are specifically requested by the government in the consultation paper.

The survey instrument put these questions next to the last question, on support or opposition to a white paper, in the bank of questions on Article 23. Article 23 questions came as questions 27 to 33 out of 39 substantive question areas (questions 40 to 58 were demographic questions). This was to avoid question effect on other areas of inquiry such as satisfaction with government and questions asked in past on worry about freedoms and the economy.

Table 78 As proposed in the Article 23 consultation paper, would you support or oppose government getting power to: (read across)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Read emails	2	12	37	32	16
Filter and/or block websites	2	14	44	22	18
Search computers for downloaded internet files	1	14	41	24	19
Impose unlimited fines for Article 23 offences	2	11	45	24	19
Hold ISPs responsible for chatrooms/websites on their servers	4	34	29	10	22
Hold imported magazine/newspaper distributors responsible for Article 23 offences articles in their magazines	2	28	34	12	24
Hold HK permanent residents living anywhere in the world responsible for Article 23 offences	2	21	42	15	21
Extradite to HK any perm. Residents overseas for Article 23 offences	2	24	38	14	21
Treat foreign residents same as local residents for Article 23 offences	5	42	26	8	19
Charge journalists with theft of state secrets for not revealing anonymous sources	3	16	40	21	21
Without first obtaining court order, grant police emergency entry & search powers to investigate Article 23 offences	2	12	37	36	13

Table 79 shows overall support or opposition to each of the above.

Table 79 As proposed in the Article 23 consultation paper, would you support or oppose government getting power to: (read across) collapsed categories

	Support	Oppose
Read emails	14	69
Filter and/or block websites	16	66
Search computers for downloaded internet files	15	65
Impose unlimited fines for Article 23 offences	13	69
Hold ISPs responsible for chatrooms/websites on their servers	38	39
Hold imported magazine/newspaper distributors responsible for Article 23 offences articles in their magazines	30	46
Hold HK permanent residents living anywhere in the world responsible for Article 23 offences	23	57
Extradite to HK any perm. Residents overseas for Article 23 offences	26	52
Treat foreign residents same as local residents for Article 23 offences	47	34
Charge journalists with theft of state secrets for not revealing anonymous sources	19	61
Without first obtaining court order, grant police emergency entry & search powers to investigate Article 23 offences	14	73

Table 80 and following shows the breakdown on these issues by occupation.

Table 80 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: read emails

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	4	12	35	43	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	3	15	38	38	7	100
Clerks/secretaries	2	11	44	32	10	100
Service and sales	0	20	33	33	14	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	4	13	40	27	17	100
Housewives	2	10	45	20	24	100
Retired	0	22	25	12	42	100
Unemployed	4	9	36	22	29	100
Students	3	7	28	51	11	100
Educators	4	7	21	46	21	100
Total	2	12	38	32	16	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 112.5 with 40 df p 0.0001

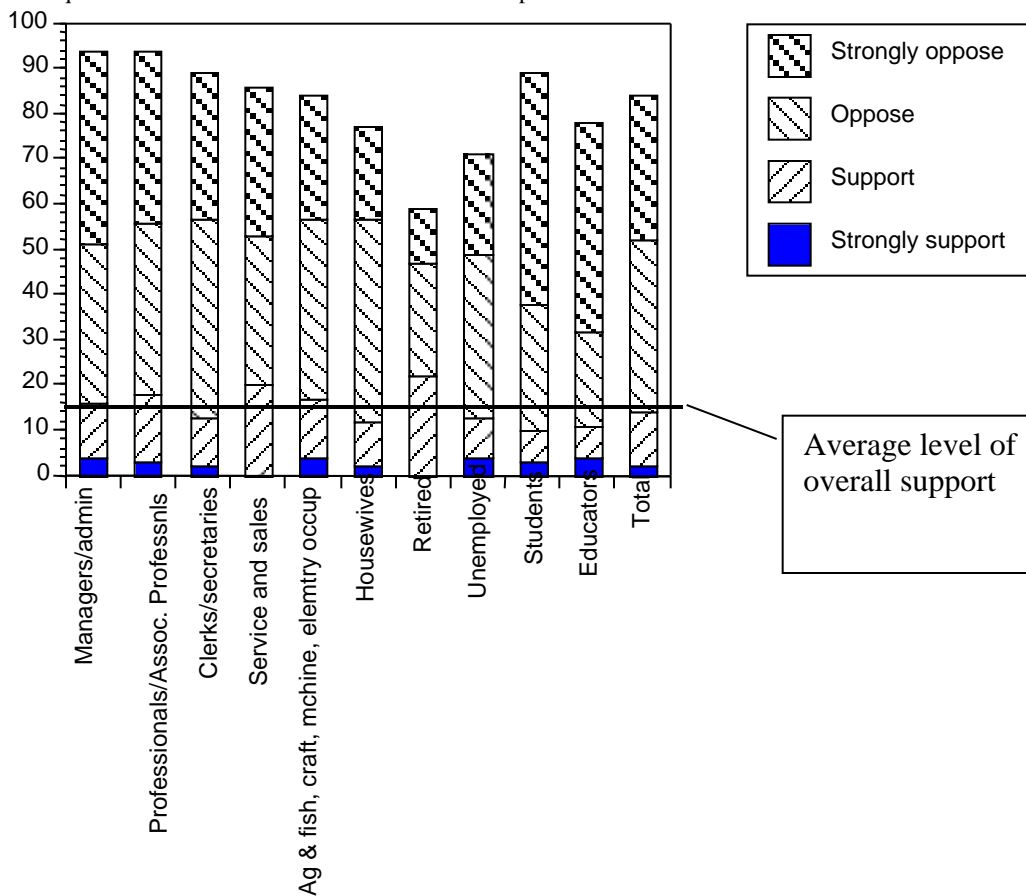


Table 81 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: filter and/or block websites

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	1	11	54	26	7	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	2	17	45	28	9	100
Clerks/secretaries	2	14	52	25	8	100
Service and sales	0	20	35	25	20	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	3	14	40	20	24	100
Housewives	3	15	42	11	28	100
Retired	3	18	23	8	47	100
Unemployed	0	13	47	13	27	100
Students	1	11	45	32	11	100
Educators	4	11	54	25	7	100
Total	2	14	44	21	18	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 99.00 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 82 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: search computers for Web files

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	0	17	47	27	9	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	1	15	46	30	9	100
Clerks/secretaries	2	13	48	29	8	100
Service and sales	0	18	35	31	16	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	4	12	41	17	27	100
Housewives	1	14	42	13	29	100
Retired	2	23	22	8	45	100
Unemployed	0	13	38	16	33	100
Students	1	9	43	39	7	100
Educators	4	18	39	32	7	100
Total	1	14	42	24	19	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 114.2 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 83 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: impose unlimited fines for Art. 23

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	1	9	54	30	6	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	1	10	45	24	20	100
Clerks/secretaries	1	8	60	20	11	100
Service and sales	0	10	43	25	22	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	5	11	38	21	26	100
Housewives	2	7	48	23	21	100
Retired	0	20	28	12	40	100
Unemployed	2	7	40	24	27	100
Students	0	18	39	34	9	100
Educators	4	25	36	29	7	100
Total	2	11	45	24	19	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 91.71 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 84 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: hold Internet Service Providers responsible for chatrooms or websites on their servers

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	4	27	48	10	11	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	4	35	33	16	13	100
Clerks/secretaries	5	38	37	10	10	100
Service and sales	2	43	25	10	20	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	4	33	27	8	29	100
Housewives	4	32	24	5	35	100
Retired	2	27	8	3	60	100
Unemployed	5	26	24	11	35	100
Students	4	35	27	22	12	100
Educators	18	36	29	7	11	100
Total	4	34	29	10	22	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 132.6 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 85 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: hold imported magazine & newspaper distributors responsible for Article 23 offending articles in the materials

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	0	26	42	19	14	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	2	30	35	15	18	100
Clerks/secretaries	3	24	43	12	18	100
Service and sales	4	29	29	14	25	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	4	22	32	9	34	100
Housewives	1	36	33	8	33	100
Retired	2	40	10	3	45	100
Unemployed	4	22	36	5	33	100
Students	1	31	38	16	14	100
Educators	7	43	21	18	11	100
Total	2	28	34	12	24	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 82.56 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 86 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: hold HK perm. residents living anywhere in the world responsible for Article 23 offenses

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	1	17	47	21	14	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	2	21	40	21	16	100
Clerks/secretaries	2	18	49	19	12	100
Service and sales	2	27	37	10	25	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	5	20	35	11	30	100
Housewives	4	21	41	9	25	100
Retired	0	37	18	7	38	100
Unemployed	4	9	47	7	33	100
Students	0	22	47	22	9	100
Educators	4	21	36	29	11	100
Total	2	20	41	15	21	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 87.54 with 40 df p 0.0001

On average, over the preceding 10 years of surveying, 45% of Hong Kongers report having relatives with right of abode living overseas. In this sample, 11% reported having right of abode in another country, while 48% reported having close relatives (mother, father, brother, sister, wife/husband, or children living overseas. This excludes Taiwan and Macao as well as the mainland.

Table 87 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to: Extradite to HK any perm residents overseas for Article 23 offenses

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	0	20	49	20	11	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	2	24	38	22	14	100
Clerks/secretaries	5	21	42	19	14	100
Service and sales	0	29	29	12	31	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	5	26	35	9	26	100
Housewives	2	25	35	10	28	100
Retired	2	37	15	7	40	100
Unemployed	4	16	40	5	35	100
Students	0	23	46	19	12	100
Educators	4	32	29	29	7	100
Total	2	24	38	15	21	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 95.43 with 40 df p 0.0001

Table 88 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to treat foreign residents same as local residents for Article 23 offenses

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	2	42	35	10	11	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	6	39	27	14	15	100
Clerks/secretaries	8	47	24	12	9	100
Service and sales	8	39	20	6	27	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	7	35	28	6	25	100
Housewives	3	41	28	5	22	100
Retired	2	47	10	7	35	100
Unemployed	5	33	26	4	33	100
Students	3	51	28	5	12	100
Educators	7	50	21	7	14	100
Total	5	42	26	8	19	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 65.30 with 40df p = 0.0070

Table 89 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to charge journalists with theft of state secrets for not revealing their anonymous sources (of any allegedly government derived documents or facts)

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	1	16	44	24	15	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	3	12	43	31	12	100
Clerks/secretaries	1	16	43	24	16	100
Service and sales	4	12	41	20	22	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	5	13	41	15	27	100
Housewives	4	20	38	10	28	100
Retired	2	40	10	12	37	100
Unemployed	4	16	35	15	31	100
Students	1	15	42	32	9	100
Educators	4	18	32	32	14	100
Total	3	17	39	21	21	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 101.7 with 40 df p 0.0001

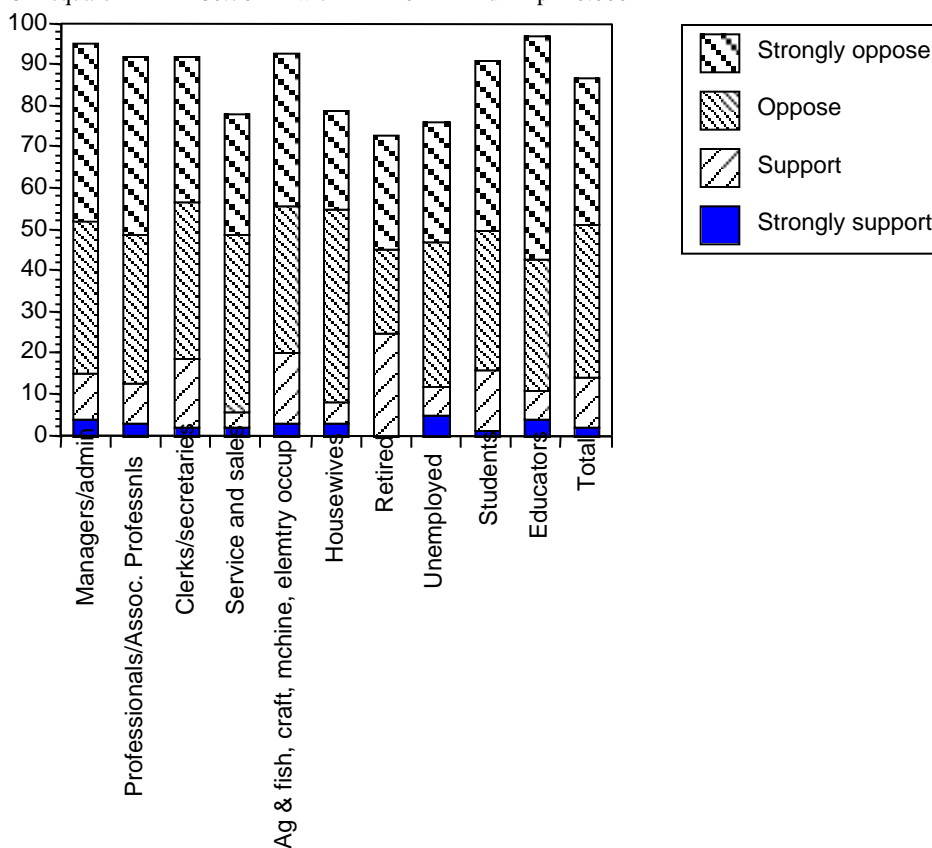
Some of the most strongly felt opposition to proposals in the consultation document can be seen in Table 90, with a majority of educators strongly opposed to emergency entry and search powers which police determine for themselves without first obtaining a court order. Opposition is also extremely high among business and professionals as well as students.

Table 90 Support/oppose Article 23 proposal to without first obtaining a court order, grant police emergency entry and search powers to investigate possible Article 23 offenses

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	total
Managers/admin	4	11	37	43	5	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	3	10	36	43	9	100
Clerks/secretaries	2	17	38	35	8	100
Service and sales	2	4	43	29	22	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	3	17	36	37	8	100
Housewives	3	5	47	24	21	100
Retired	0	25	20	28	27	100
Unemployed	5	7	35	29	24	100
Students	1	15	34	41	9	100
Educators	4	7	32	54	4	100
Total	2	12	37	36	13	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total

Chi-square = 80.76 with 40 df p = 0.0001



The bottom line on Article 23 is, as Table 91 shows, that 70% of people would prefer to see a white bill specifying the details of this controversial Article of the Basic Law. Only 12% oppose the issuing of a white bill. There is no significant correlation of occupation with this view, with similar distribution across nearly all categories, though slightly

stronger among business, educators, professionals and students, as might be expected from preceding results.

Table 91 Would you support or oppose government to issue a white bill specifying Article 23 wording before sending a blue bill to Legco?

	Percent
Strongly support	29
Support	41
Oppose	9
Strongly oppose	3
DK	18

A majority even believe that now is not the time to legislate on Article 23.

Table 92 Do you agree or disagree that now is the time to legislate on Article 23?

	Percent
Strongly agree	4
Agree	15
Disagree	34
Strongly disagree	20
DK	26

The strongest groups opposed to legislating now on Article 23 include educators and students, but the group with the largest percentage of strongly disagree that now is the time to legislate is business people, at 30% strongly disagreeing, a full 10 percentage points above the average of 20% strongly disagreeing that now is time, and fully two thirds opposed versus an average of 54% opposed for all.

Table 93 Agree/disagree that now is time to legislate on Article 23 by Occupation

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	total
Managers/admin	4	10	37	30	20	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	3	16	37	19	25	100
Clerks/secretaries	1	14	44	20	21	100
Service and sales	0	10	39	20	31	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	7	16	31	20	27	100
Housewives	3	22	21	15	39	100
Retired	15	27	22	10	27	100
Unemployed	5	16	29	18	31	100
Students	3	12	41	24	20	100
Educators	7	11	39	29	14	100
total	4	15	34	20	26	100

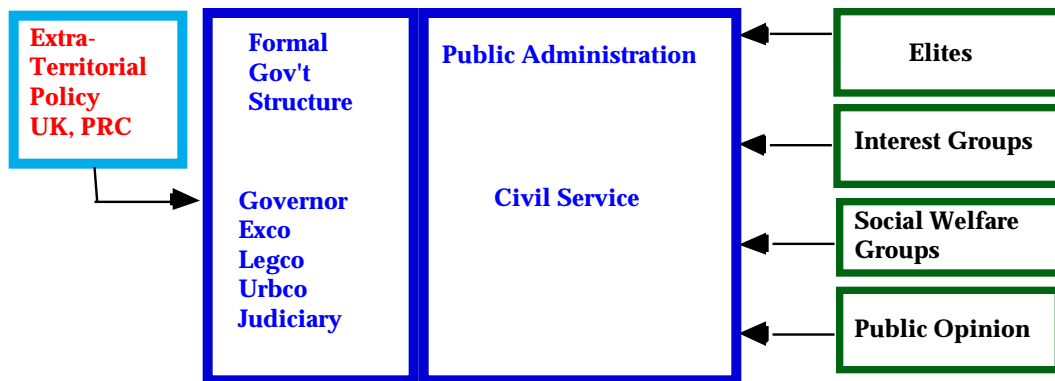
table contents: Percent of Row Total
Chi-square = 72.11 with 40 df p = 0.0014

Part V The Ministerial System, origins and dynamics

Historical context: Subsequent to the riots and unrest during the 1960s the Hong Kong government began to implement structures meant to identify and co-opt elites into advisory bodies. Government also set up the Mutual Aid Committee and Area Committee structures in public housing estates in order to provide informational inputs to and from residents in the rapidly expanding public housing sector. Ownership Committees were less successfully implemented for the same purposes in the private sector. These consultancy bodies were mediated through an expanded civil service which acted as gatekeeper and filter of the views of the public to the colonial administrators.

In effect, the formal structures of “representative” government such as Legco did not function as direct or even indirectly elected representatives of the public during the 1970s, with the exception of the urban council (elected with a very limited franchise of a few thousand) and the rural New Territories village elections for the Heung Yee Kuk. The intent and the effect of the largely local Chinese civil service was to buffer the foreign dominated formal structure of government from local public opinion. The consultancy apparatus mandated that the public form itself, or be formed, into “recognized” consultancy groups with clear lines of communication to, and control from, the government. The first chart illustrates the buffering position of the civil service.

Structure of Hong Kong Political Culture in 1970s



The District Board elections of 1982 were the first broad franchise elections. The boards were partially elected advisory bodies, not fully elected representative bodies. They had no role other than input into policy making and interaction with civil service departments involved in various neighborhood issues. The Sino-British Declaration of 1984 indicated an intent to develop a high degree of autonomy for Hong Kong, and promised that Hong Kong people would rule Hong Kong. This necessitated a further degree of representative electoral development and localization of both the representative bodies and the civil service. The table below indicates the step by step development of self-government as implemented and as planned in the Basic Law.

Composition of Legislative Council 1984-2004

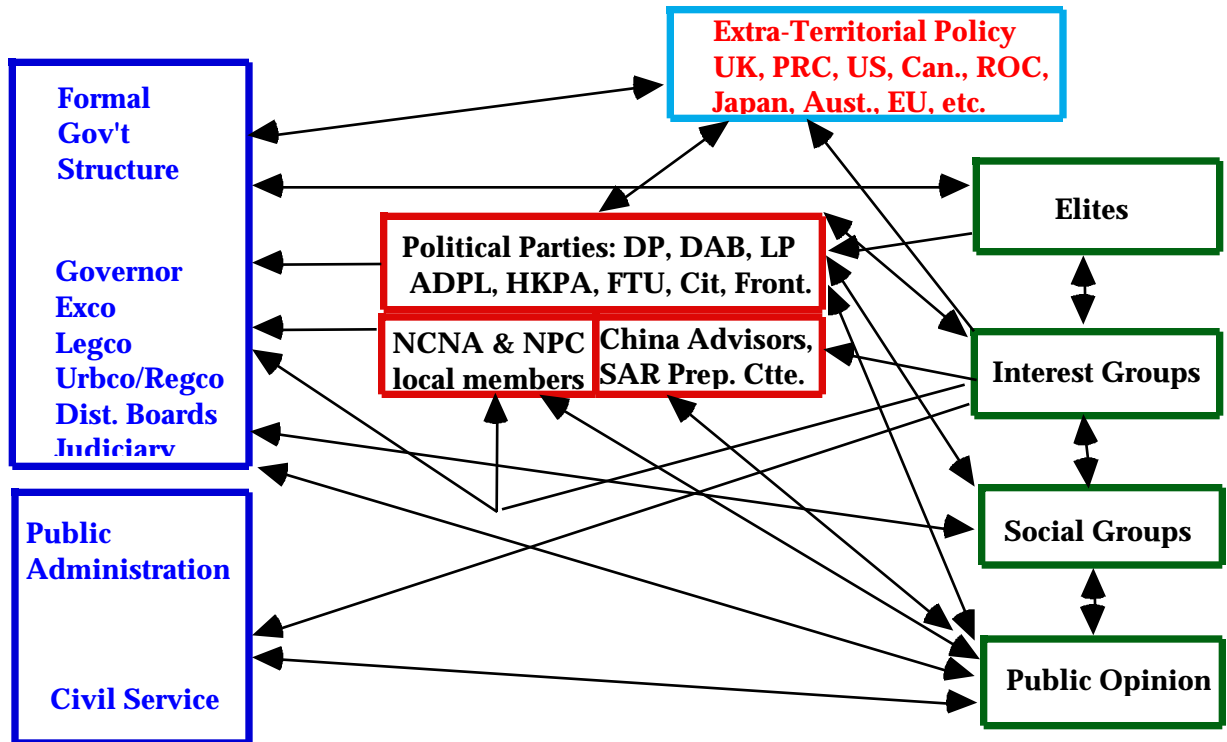
Year of election	Ex officio government members	Appointed	Elected Functional Constituency	Electoral college	Directly elected	Total
1984	17	30				47
1985	11	22	12	12	0	57
1988	11	20	14	12	0	57
1991	4	18	21	0	18	60
1995	0	0	21 +9 new large	10	20	60
*1996	Election of First Chief Executive by 400 appointed Election Ctte					
1997-8	Provisional Legco by same committee			60		60
1998	0	0	30	10**	20	60
2000	0	0	30	6**	24	60
*2002	Second Chief Executive Election by 800 member Election Committee		200 ex officio, 600 by Functional Constituency Selection/Election			
2004	0	0	30	0	30	60
2007	Election rules for Legco to be set					
*2007	Election rules for Chief Executive to be set					

**By 800 member Election Committee, 200 ex officio political officials, 600 others selected/elected by Functional Constituencies

The neatly planned expansion of local representation to elected bodies and of localization of the civil service, along with the repercussions of Tiananmen in June 1989 and subsequent controversies between the two sovereign powers in the lead up to 1997 triggered and responded to a great invigoration of public opinion and civil society. The planned smooth transition (the through train) broke down, and the civil service which had once functioned as gatekeeper between the local populace and the foreign colonials became pushed to the side as heated exchanges arose between the “second stove” of the incoming sovereign and the dying embers of the old colonial power sources.

Battles over leadership, in terms of who would lead and how that leadership would be exercised broke out, with a proliferation of political parties and quasi-parties forming and reforming throughout the 1990s. The chart below shows the unleashed public dynamic during this process, and shows how public opinion and much less organized social group lobbying developed with the local formal structures of government as well as the various elements, national and international, which became involved in the 1997 transfer of sovereignty. Upon taking office in 1997 the first Chief Executive, Tung Chee-hwa, tried to “depoliticize” Hong Kong and restore the status quo ante, in effect, back to the civil service dominated colonial governance model of the 1970s. This attempt was based in part on assessments that the British had deliberately fostered “democratic” development as a means to destabilize Hong Kong and embarrass China by rendering Hong Kong “ungovernable”.

Structure of Hong Kong Political Culture 1991-1997



However, the increasingly democratic political development of Hong Kong during the 1980s and 1990s, and the dynamic of interaction which removed the civil service as a “buffer” between the people and the formal structures of government such as Legco (see chart above) appears to have been more a part of global trends and a part of modernization than a colonial plot. Rising education and rising international contact appear far more certain drivers of politicization.

After five years of attempting to stuff the genie back into the bottle, the Chief Executive threw in the towel and implemented the Principal Officials Accountability System which in effect recognizes the central role of public opinion and the necessity to separate policy making (a political process) from policy implementation and evaluation (a professional process). While structurally the old colonial system and the post-1997 SAR system appear the same on paper, in actuality the functions and effects of the systems had differed radically. The old colonial system had foreign policy makers who lived pressured from outside by a British democratic system which wanted above all to avoid trouble, either with the local populace or with China. From the inside the colonial administrators lived in fear that another outbreak of violence like that in the 1960s and early 1970s might recur and cost them their careers, or even their lives. The local civil servants knew, as Chinese collaborating with colonial imperialist foreigners, that if they did not diligently pursue and honestly report local public reactions to policies made and policies implemented that unrest could lead to the PLA marching into Hong Kong. They would then be targets far more likely to receive the negative repercussions of their

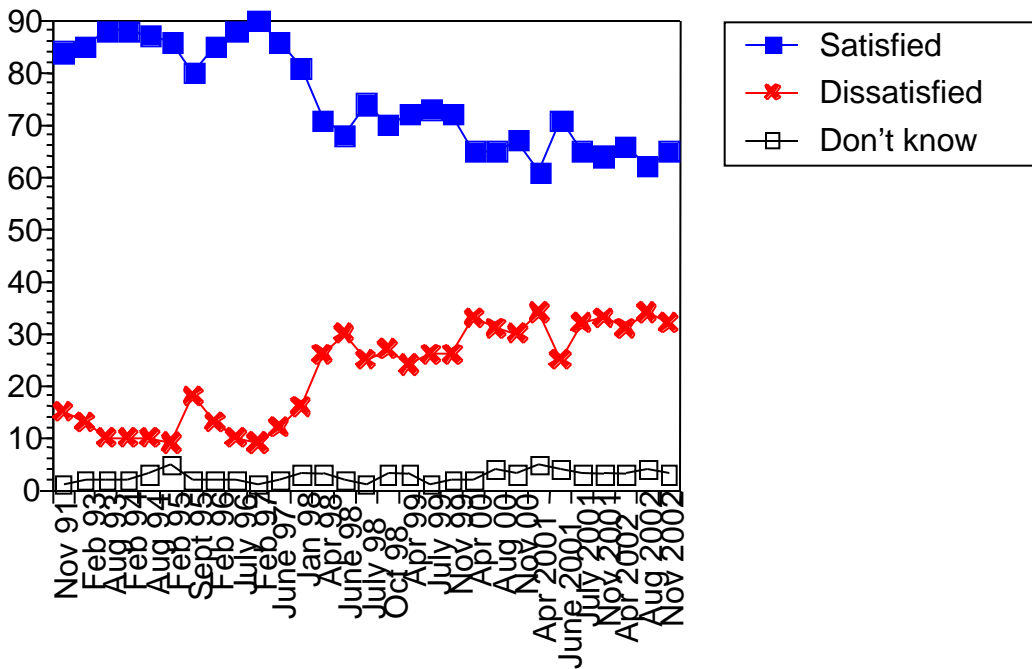
administrative failure. In effect, the colonial system functioned like an elected political system in which politicians know that failure to perform, in terms of making policy or in supervising the implementation of policy, would cost them their jobs in the next election. The 1997-2002 SAR system put both policy making and policy implementation and evaluation into the same, unelected and unrepresentative, hands. Any policy failure was denied and/or covered up as long as possible; policies were made not after extensive and intensive public interactions but by bureaucratic infighting and bargaining. There was no exterior pressure (and what was was similarly unelected and bureaucratic, from the CPG) and internal pressure via Legco and public opinion was regarded as a nuisance, not an asset. Not until the 8 party coalition formed did the administrative apparatus begin to take Legco seriously, and not until public opinion turned consistently and increasingly negative did the Chief Executive accept that the SAR system of governance had serious flaws which had to be addressed by structural reform.

The performance context: Assessing the performance of the new accountability system for senior officials (ministerial system for short) requires measuring that system against government performance and the public opinion context prior to the change made on 1 July 2002. The following tables indicate that context.

Table 94 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 00	65	33	2
Aug 00	65	31	4
Nov 00	67	30	3
Apr 01	61	34	5
June 01	71	25	4
July 01	65	32	3
Nov 01	64	33	3
Apr 02	66	31	3
Aug 02	62	34	4
Nov 02	65	32	3

Chart of Table 94 Satisfaction with life in Hong Kong



During August to November 2002 some first signs of economic recovery perhaps appeared. Unemployment edged down from nearly 8% toward 7%, historically high for Hong Kong, but heading in the right direction at last. GDP also recovered, rising from no growth in the first half to a forecast of 1.5% in the second and 2% or better in 2003. Tourism set records as did exports and re-exports. But, for the first time in 18 years salaries registered a net drop, a development hailed by some as a sign of improved competitiveness but decried by others as another sign that the income gap between top and bottom continues to widen. Civil servants and those whose salaries are tied to civil service scales saw a reduction in pay in this period though the cut was approved earlier in the year. Deflation registered its 48th month in a row of pushing down prices and rents, while the domestic economy continued in the doldrums.

Despite signs of improvement, the pain of adjustment continues to focus Hong Kongers on what is wrong and what may go wrong. Visitors to Hong Kong and former residents, once struck by Hong Kong's positive hopefulness, are now struck by the deep pessimism so rife it appears the dominating feature of Hong Konger's character. The surveys conducted in August and November, and reported here, attest to this pessimism. While the second half of the year may have seen an improvement in GDP growth, sentiments toward Hong Kong's future deteriorated, with pessimism rising sharply to new levels in August.

Despite pledges of economic support from the Premier Zhu Rongji, a highly revered figure in Hong Kong who was visiting Hong Kong during the survey period in November, pessimism remained much higher than optimism, as Tables 95 and 96 show. But, as with the economy, perhaps the first signs of a recovery in spirits may be seen in the slight bounceback in optimism in November from August's all time lows.

Table 95 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

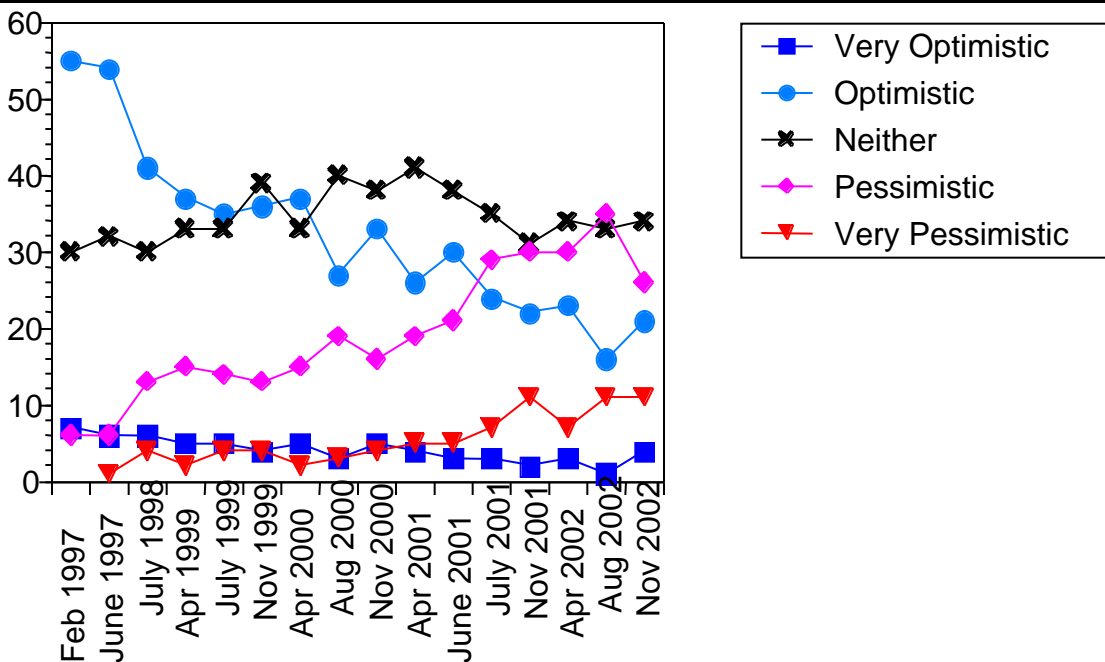
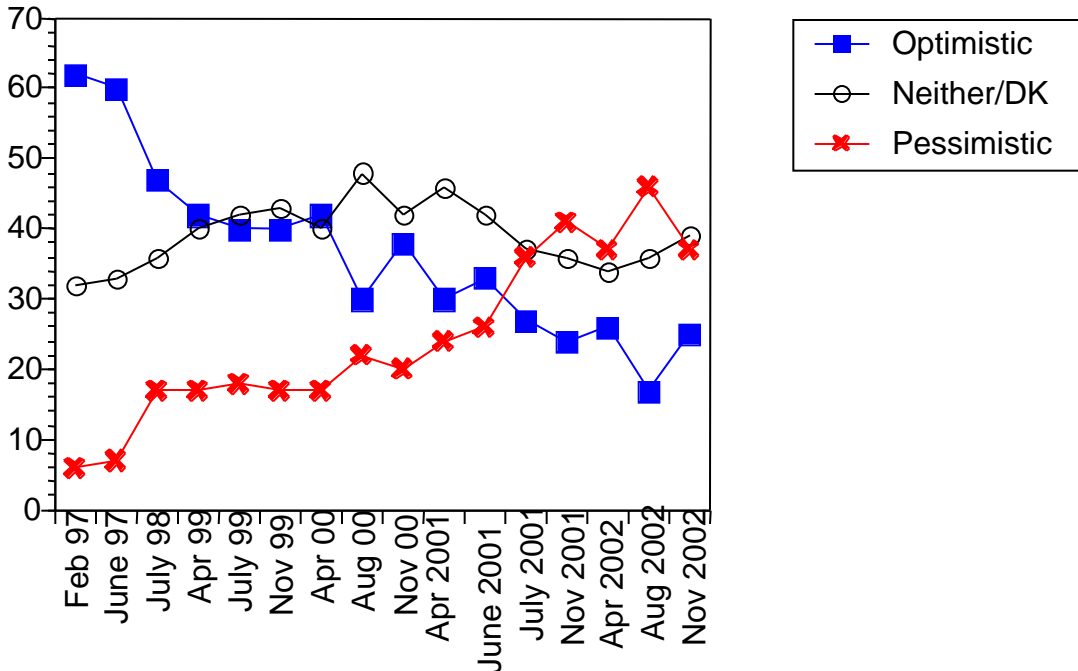


Table 96 “collapses” levels of pessimism and optimism into 2 categories in order to more clearly illustrate overall levels of attitude. The strength of views shown in Table and Chart 1 above indicates that those who are very pessimistic about Hong Kong’s future as a part of China well outnumber those who are very optimistic. However, the possible increase from almost none in August who were very optimistic to around 4% in November, while levels of very pessimistic stayed about the same, may indicate more clearly than the overall measures a swing in sentiment.

Table 96 Collapsed categories—optimism about HK future as part of China

	Optimistic	Neither/DK	Pessimistic
Feb 97	62	32	6
June 97	60	33	7
July 98	47	36	17
Apr 99	42	40	17
July 99	40	42	18
Nov 99	40	43	17
Apr 00	42	40	17
Aug 00	30	48	22
Nov 00	38	42	20
Apr 01	30	46	24
June 01	33	42	26
July 01	27	37	36
Nov 01	24	36	41
Apr 02	26	34	37
Aug 02	17	36	46
Nov 02	25	39	37



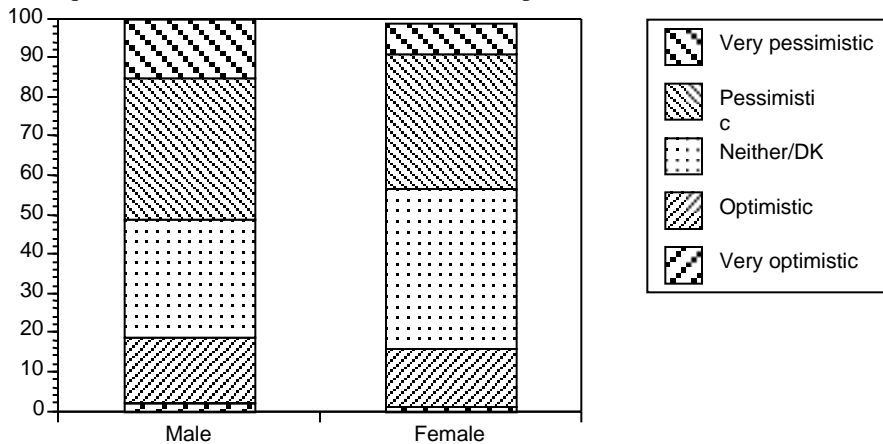
The August survey registered the highest level of pessimism yet measured, and a stronger polarization among males than females, with sharply higher levels of being very pessimistic among males.

Table 97 Optimism about HK future by Gender (Aug 02)

	Male	Female	total
Very optimistic	2	1	1
Optimistic	17	15	16
Neither	28	38	33
Pessimistic	36	34	35
Very pessimistic	15	8	11
DK	3	3	3
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 14.92 with 5 df p = 0.0107



This sharp difference in views about Hong Kong's future shifted in November, with men recovering optimism at higher levels than women. Levels of pessimism among men and women became nearly the same. In part, the recovery of optimism among men may be attributable to more men than women traveling and working on the mainland, where the economy is, relative to Hong Kong, booming.

Table 98 Frequency of travel to mainland by Gender (August 2002)

	Male	Female	total
None	15	16	15
1 to 5	45	55	51
6 to 15	16	16	16
> 15	24	12	18
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

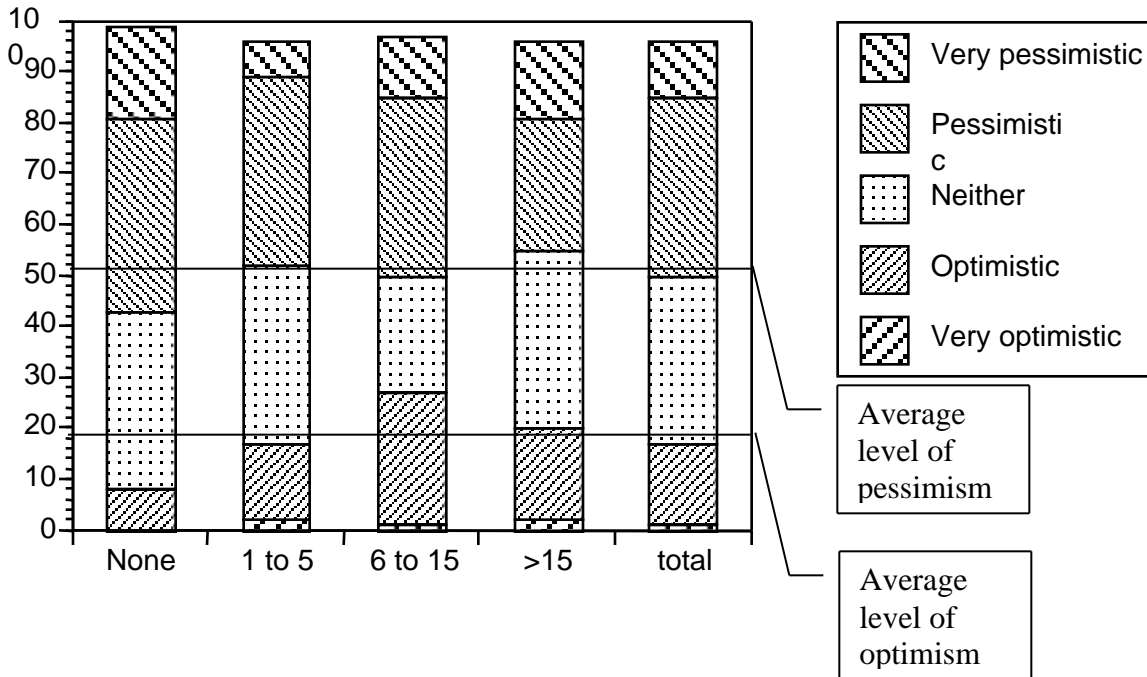
Chi-square = 17.11 with 3 df p = 0.0007

Those who travel more frequently to the mainland generally have a more positive attitude toward Hong Kong's future prospects as a part of China than those who do not. This appears even in August, during the peak of pessimism about that future, as Table 99 below shows.

Table 99 HK future prospects as part of China by frequency of mainland travel (Aug)

	None	1-5	6-15	>15	total
Very optimistic	0	2	1	2	1
Optimistic	8	15	26	18	16
Neither	35	35	23	35	33
Pessimistic	38	37	35	26	35
Very pessimistic	18	7	12	15	11
DK	1	4	3	3	3
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total N = 714
 Chi-square = 35.49 with 15 df p = 0.0021

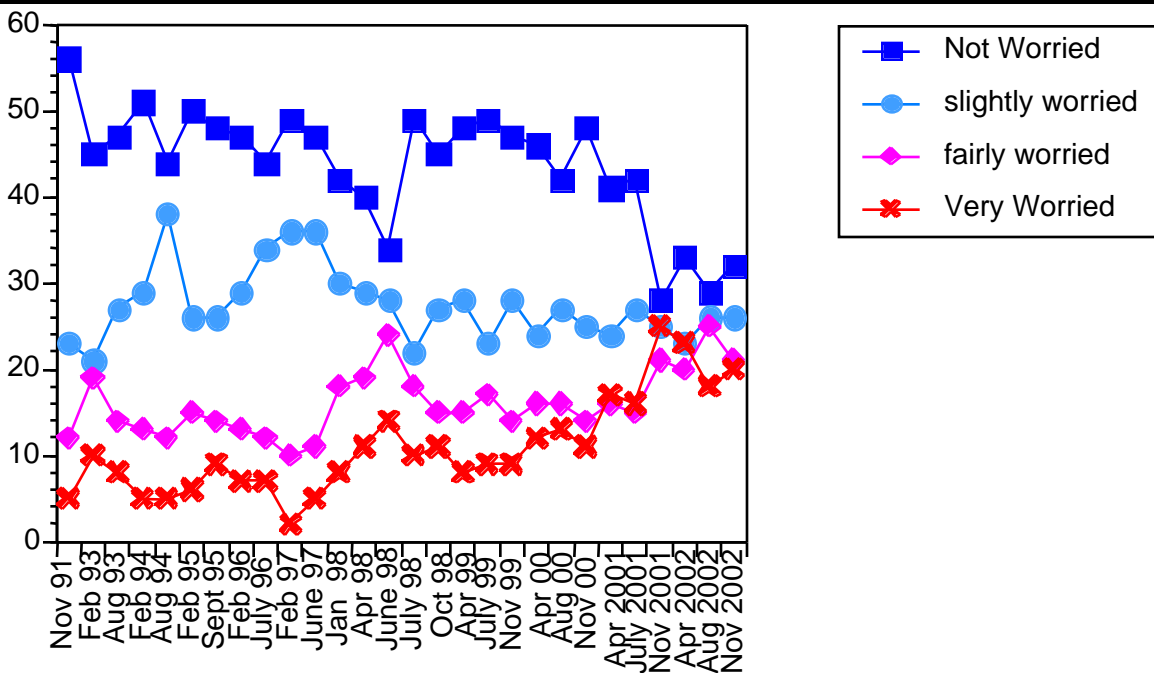


While pessimism about Hong Kong's future as a part of China has been growing, so has worry about personal standards of living and Hong Kong's economic prospects. The last year in particular has been extremely tough on personal standards of living, if worry is any indicator. Worry, in fact, has consistently been higher overall (all levels of worry put together) than during the Asian currency crisis in 1998-1999, as Table 100 below indicates.

More than any other factor, the growing concern about the economy has driven the government's efforts to reform, though, judging from the continued high levels of worry five months after reforming the executive system, the reforms have not been enough to really give a strong boost to confidence.

Table 100 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 00	42	27	16	13	2
Nov 00	48	25	14	11	1
Apr 01	41	24	16	17	1
July 01	42	27	15	16	1
Nov 01	28	25	21	25	1
Apr 02	33	23	20	23	1
Aug 02	29	26	25	18	2
Nov 02	32	26	21	20	1





1982-2007 **The Hong Kong Transition Project**

While worry about one's personal standard of living is high, it is still lower than worry about Hong Kong's economic prospects. For the last year, pessimism has reigned, with an overwhelming majority worried about Hong Kong's economy. Between August and November, there seems to have been a possible reduction in the very worried level, but by a very small margin of 5 percentage points.

Table 101 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 01	21	29	26	22	3
July 01	19	24	25	30	1
Nov 01	12	20	27	39	1
Apr 02	19	21	25	33	2
Aug 02	13	20	29	36	2
Nov 02	16	22	29	31	1

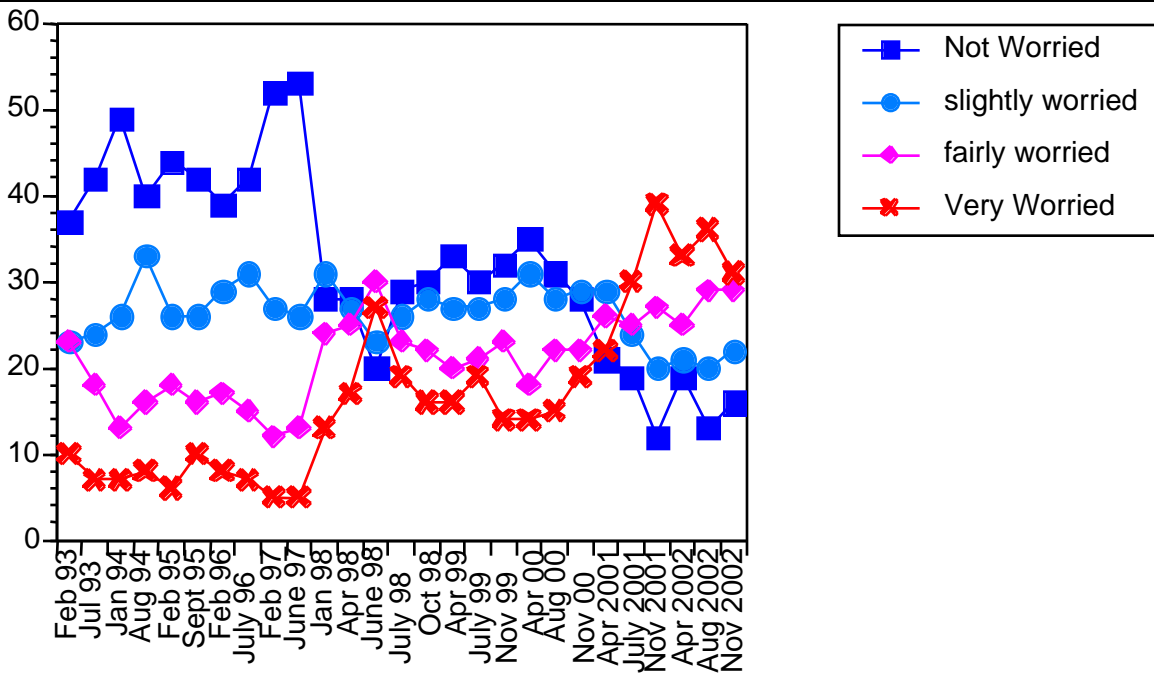


Table 102 How worried are you about: corruption in HK?

	Not Worried	slightly worried	fairly worried	Very Worried	Don't know
July 96	22	26	23	22	6
Dec 96	11	25	29	31	4
Feb 97	20	31	24	17	7
June 97	20	28	28	21	3
Jan 98	43	25	17	9	6
Apr 98	42	24	16	12	7
June 98	46	24	18	9	4
July 98	52	20	14	9	4
Oct 98	53	23	12	6	6
July 99	54	22	12	6	6
Nov 99	48	21	17	9	6
Apr 00	53	20	13	10	4
Aug 00	46	23	17	9	5
Nov 00	50	24	13	9	4
Apr 01	44	25	13	11	6
July 01	54	19	13	10	3
Nov 01	50	24	10	11	4
Apr 02	54	23	11	9	3
Aug 02	46	25	16	9	4
Nov 02	50	22	15	11	3

Concern about corruption appears stable, with perhaps a bare majority unworried about corruption. This is still better than the anticipated corruption expected to appear after 1997, as the 1996 and 1997 data above shows. The July 1996 to June 1997 question was phrased, "How worried are you about corruption in Hong Kong post-1997?" The situation has never gotten as bad as once feared.

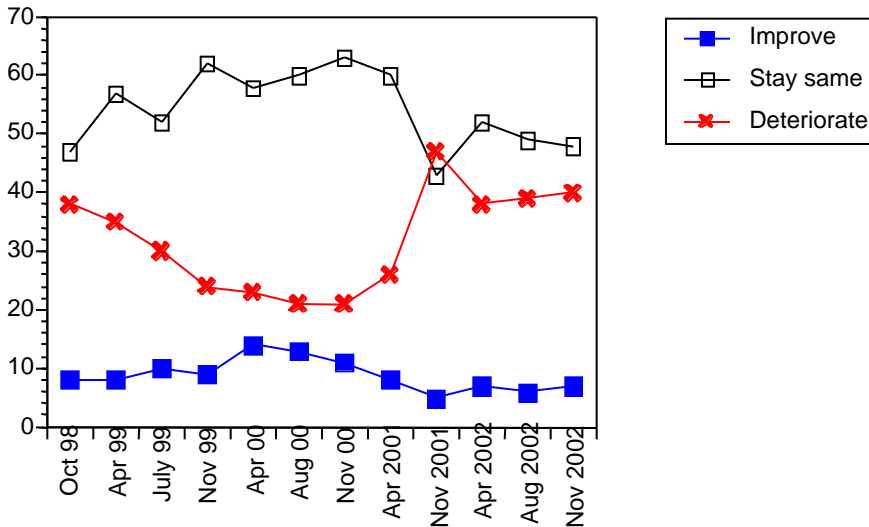
However, the news is not all so good when it comes to expectations about the family financial situation in the next twelve months. As the chart of Table 104 shows, expectations of deterioration shot up in November 2001 and have little diminished since, while expectations of improvement remain down from 2000 levels.

Table 103 How do you expect your family financial situation to change over the next 12 months?

	Oct 98	Apr 99	July 99	Nov 99	Apr 00	Aug 00	Nov 00	Apr 01	Nov 01	Apr 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Improve a lot	1	--	-	--	1	1	--	--	--	1	1	1
Improve somewhat	7	8	10	9	13	12	11	8	5	6	5	6
Stay same	47	57	52	62	58	60	63	60	43	52	49	48
Deteriorate somewhat	31	27	24	20	18	15	15	19	32	26	27	27
Deteriorate a lot	7	8	6	4	5	6	6	7	15	12	12	13
DK	7	4	7	5	5	6	4	5	5	4	6	5

Table 104 Collapsed categories of Table 103

	Oct 98	Apr 99	July 99	Nov 99	Apr 00	Aug 00	Nov 00	Apr 01	Nov 01	Apr 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Improve	8	8	10	9	14	13	11	8	5	7	6	7
Stay same	47	57	52	62	58	60	63	60	43	52	49	48
Deteriorate	38	35	30	24	23	21	21	26	47	38	39	40



These concerns vary among occupational groups, with 16% of business people expecting improvement (against an overall average of 7%). Students also are more optimistic than the average, though since many make little as students, nearly any job upon graduation would represent an improvement. The unemployed, as expected, show the greatest concern, with service and sales people and agriculture, fish, craft workers, machine operators and elementary occupations being third most pessimistic among occupations.

Table 105 Expectations of family finances by Occupation (November)

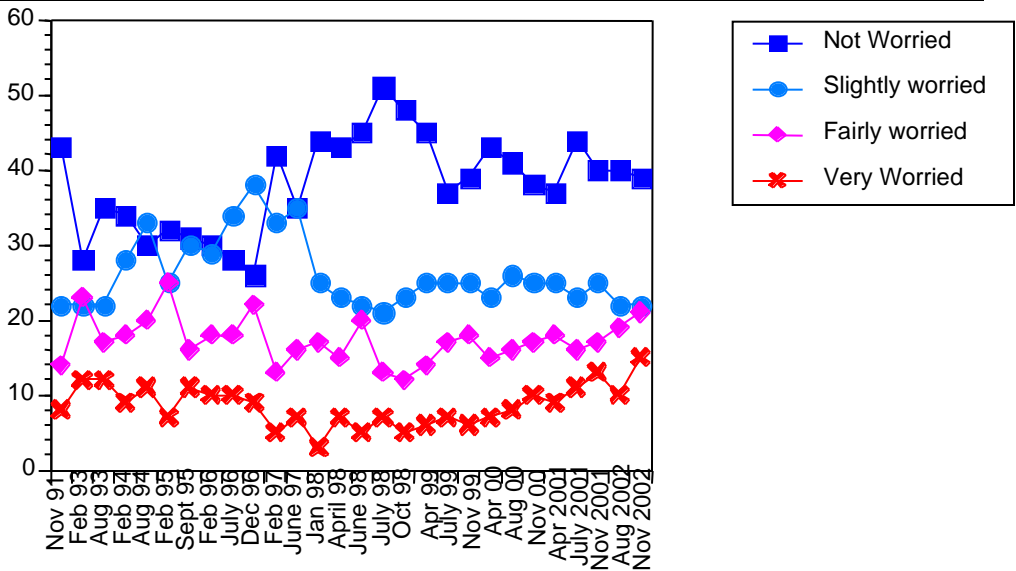
	Improve	Stay same	Deteriorate	DK	total
Managers/admin	16	47	36	1	100
Professionals/Assoc. Professnls	7	59	33	1	100
Clerks/secretaries	7	50	38	6	100
Service and sales	6	41	51	2	100
Ag & fish, craft, mchine, elemtry occup	7	40	47	7	100
Housewives	4	52	39	4	100
Retired	7	47	37	10	100
Unemployed	7	20	64	9	100
Students	11	57	27	5	100
Educators	4	64	32	0	100
Total	7	49	39	5	100

table contents: Percent of Row Total
 Chi-square = 62.23 with 30 df p = 0.0005

The bottom line effect of all this economic concern is seen in worry about political stability which are up over the past two years from before, and at the most worried level, the very worried, up from anytime before.

Table 106 How worried are you about: Hong Kong's political stability?

	Not Worried	Slightly worried	Fairly worried	Very Worried	DK	total
Nov 91	43	22	14	8	13	100
Feb 93	28	22	23	12	15	100
Aug 93	35	22	17	12	14	100
Feb 94	34	28	18	9	11	100
Aug 94	30	33	20	11	6	100
Feb 95	32	25	25	7	12	100
Sept 95	31	30	16	11	12	100
Feb 96	30	29	18	10	13	100
July 96	28	34	18	10	10	100
Dec 96	26	38	22	9	5	100
Feb 97	42	33	13	5	6	100
June 97	35	35	16	7	7	100
Jan 98	44	25	17	3	10	100
April 98	43	23	15	7	13	100
June 98	45	22	20	5	8	100
July 98	51	21	13	7	7	100
Oct 98	48	23	12	5	12	100
Apr 99	45	25	14	6	11	100
July 99	37	25	17	7	13	100
Nov 99	39	25	18	6	12	100
Apr 00	43	23	15	7	12	100
Aug 00	41	26	16	8	8	100
Nov 00	38	25	17	10	10	100
Apr 01	37	25	18	9	10	100
July 01	44	23	16	11	6	100
Nov 01	40	25	17	13	5	100
Aug 02	40	22	19	10	9	100
Nov 02	39	22	21	15	4	100



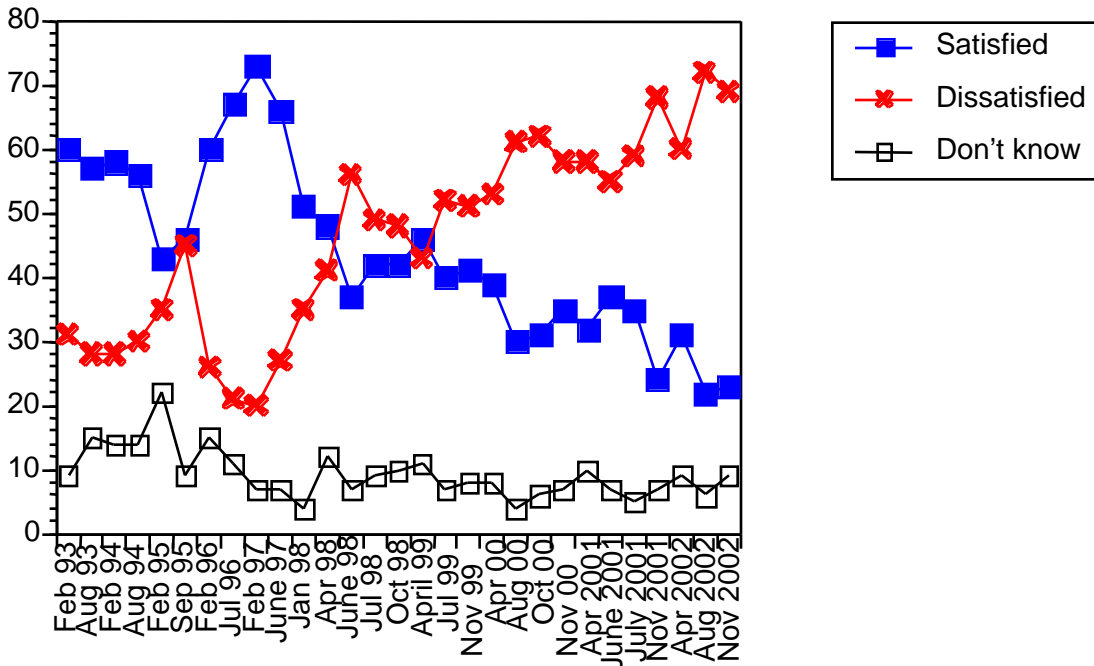
The new ministerial system also seems to have little effect on satisfaction with the performance of the government, which remains at all time low levels. Higher very

worried levels may have more to do with Article 23 than the economy since unemployment has dropped, not risen between August and November.

Table 107 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of the HK Government?

	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 00	39	53	8
Aug 00	30	61	4
Oct 00	31	62	6
Nov 00	35	58	7
Apr 01	32	58	10
June 01	37	55	7
July 01	35	59	5
Nov 01	24	68	7
Apr 02	31	60	9
Aug 02	22	72	6
Nov 02	23	69	9

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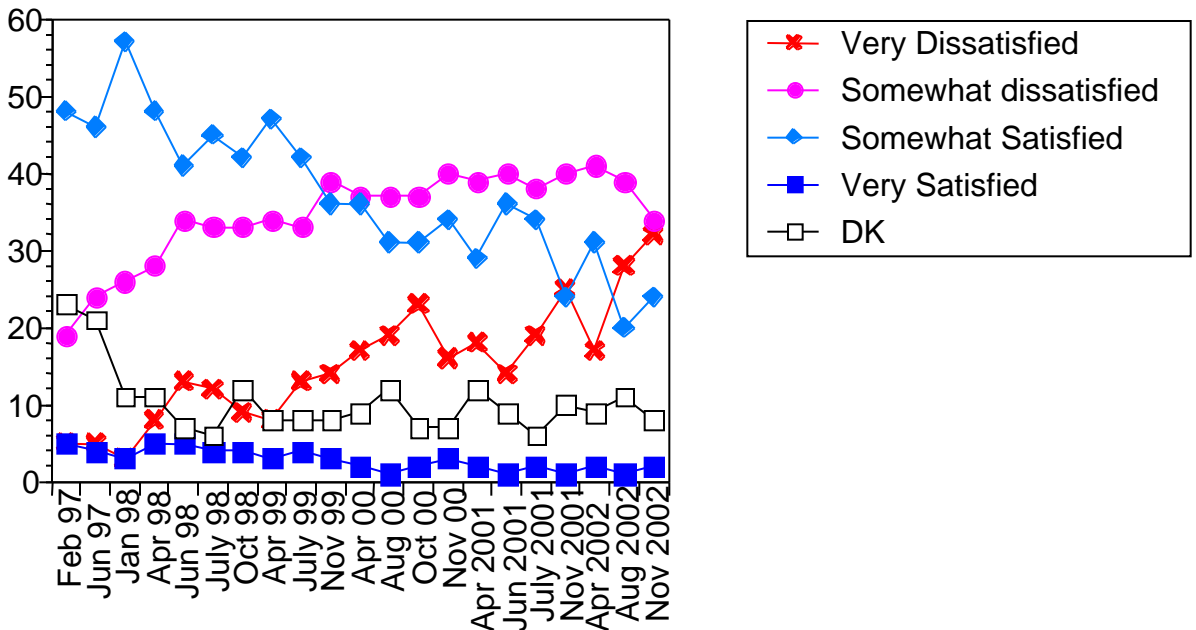


In August satisfaction with the Chief Executive hit an all time low of 21%. In November, Tung Chee-hwa seems to have recovered a bit in satisfaction with his performance, to 26% satisfied, but those very dissatisfied with his performance hit an all time high of 32% in November, up from 28%, another all time high, in August and nearly double the level of very dissatisfied in April 2002.

Table 108 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with performance of C. E. Tung?

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	DK
Feb 97	5	19	48	5	23
June 97	5	24	46	4	21
Jan 98	3	26	57	3	11
Apr 98	8	28	48	5	11
June 98	13	34	41	5	7
July 98	12	33	45	4	6
Oct 98	9	33	42	4	12
Apr 99	8	34	47	3	8
July 99	13	33	42	4	8
Nov 99	14	39	36	3	8
Apr 00	17	37	36	2	9
Aug 00	19	37	31	1	12
Oct 00	23	37	31	2	7
Nov 00	16	40	34	3	7
Apr 01	18	39	29	2	12
June 01	14	40	36	1	9
July 01	19	38	34	2	6
Nov 01	25	40	24	1	10
Apr 02	17	41	31	2	9
Aug 02	28	39	20	1	11
Nov 02	32	34	24	2	8

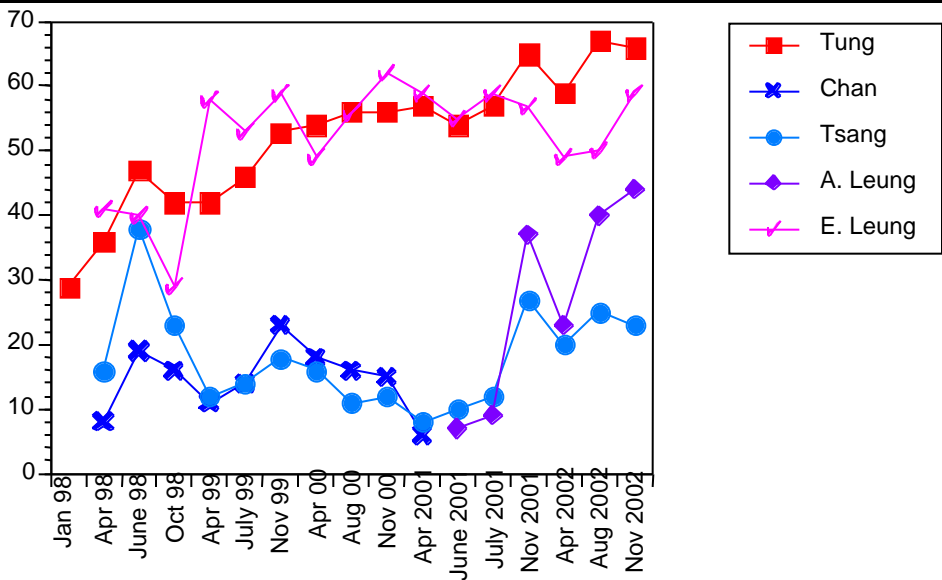
1982-2007 **The Hong Kong Transition Project**

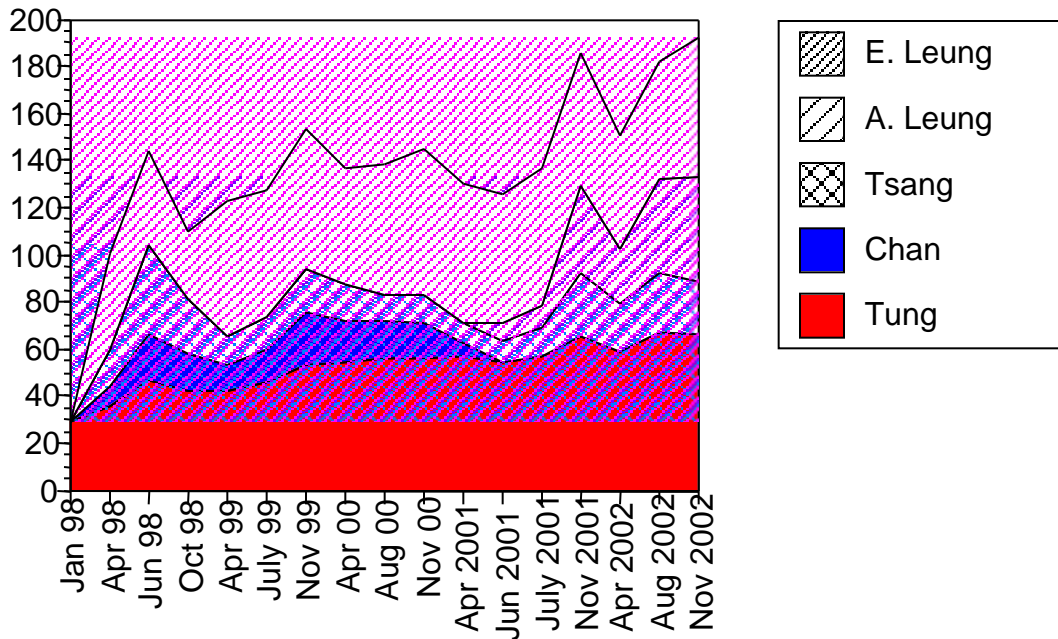


The overall effect of the ministerial system after five months experience shows that the top four officials continue to receive high levels of dissatisfaction with their performance, with Anthony Leung marking a new high of dissatisfaction in November. Cumulatively, November marks an all time high of overall dissatisfaction with the top four leaders.

Table 109 Dissatisfaction with performance of top 4 HKSAR leaders

	Jan 98	Apr 98	June 98	Oct 98	Apr 99	July 99	Nov 99	Apr 00	Aug 00	Nov 00	Apr 01	Jun 01	July 01	Nov 01	Apr 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Tung	29	36	47	42	42	46	53	54	56	56	57	54	57	65	59	67	66
Chan		8	19	16	11	14	23	18	16	15	6						
Tsang		16	38	23	12	14	18	16	11	12	8	10	12	27	20	25	23
A. Leung												7	9	37	23	40	44
E. Leung		41	40	29	58	53	59	49	56	62	59	55	59	57	49	50	59

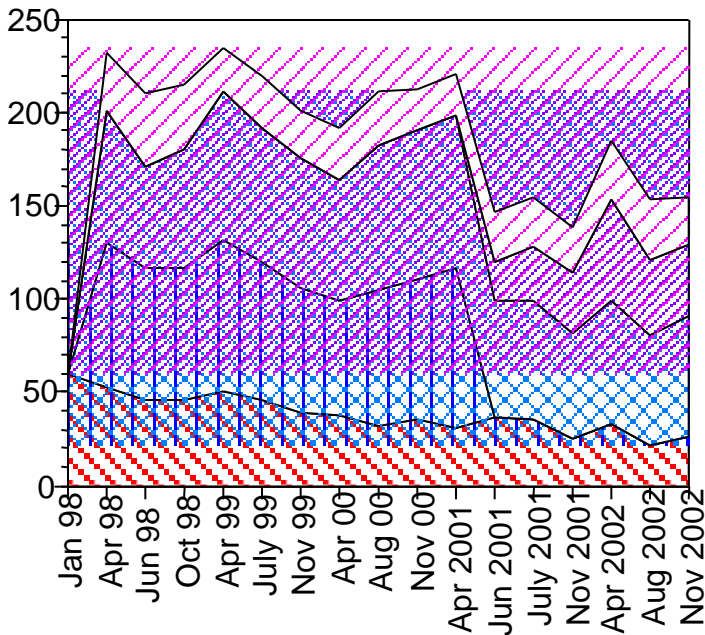
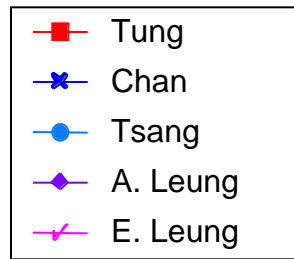
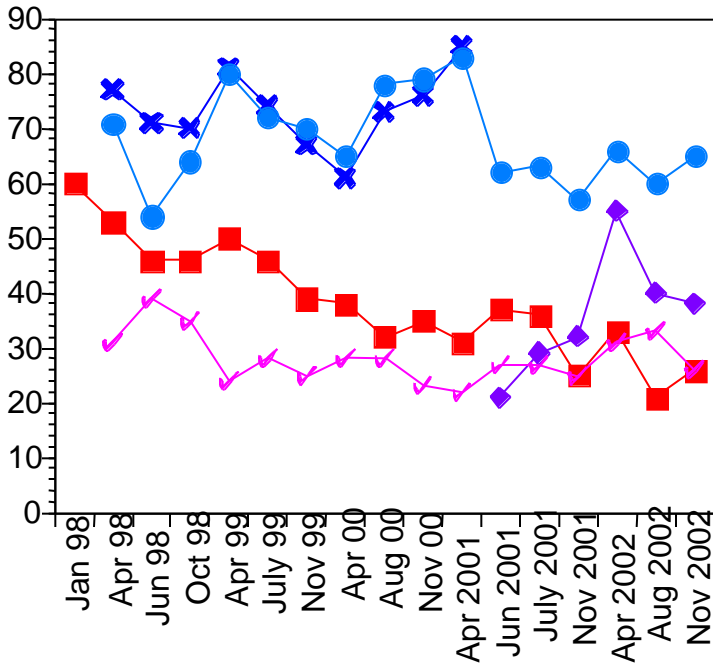




Satisfaction with the top four leaders appears about the same, overall, as in August. What looked like a possible recovery in April failed to take hold. The leaving of Anson Chan left an overall drop in satisfaction yet to be recovered, as Table 110 shows.

Table 110 Satisfaction with performance of top 4 HKSAR leaders

	Jan 98	Apr 98	June 98	Oct 98	Apr 99	July 99	Nov 99	Apr 00	Aug 00	Nov 00	Apr 01	Jun 01	July 01	Nov 01	Apr 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Tung Chan	60	53	46	46	50	46	39	38	32	35	31	37	36	25	33	21	26
Tsang		77	71	70	81	74	67	61	73	76	85						
A. Leung		71	54	64	80	72	70	65	78	79	83	62	63	57	66	60	65
E. Leung		31	39	35	24	28	25	28	28	23	22	27	27	25	31	33	26



Part VI Ministerial Baselines

So far, there appears to be little effect of the new ministerial system on the performance indicators from previous surveys. Beginning in August 2002 we developed new questions to reflect the change in government. Whereas before only the top four officials were in the public eye as mainly accountable, today all but the Secretary for the Civil Service is an outright political appointee explicitly able to be dismissed for performance failure without civil service protections.

Table 111 and 112 show the results--in terms of satisfaction with performance--of the new ministers five weeks and then five months after the start of the new ministerial system.

Table 111 Dissatisfaction with all top officials (Don't Knows in)

	Tung	Tsang	A Leung	E Leung	Tang	Ho	Ma	Liao	Li	R. Ip	Suen	Lam	S Ip	Yeoh	Wong
Aug 02	67	25	40	50	21	16	45	7	11	14	18	21	15	20	28
Nov 02	66	23	44	59	27	29	58	13	30	39	25	22	18	22	28

Table 112 Satisfaction with all top officials (Don't Knows in)

	Tung	Tsang	A Leung	E Leung	Tang	Ho	Ma	Liao	Li	R. Ip	Suen	Lam	S Ip	Yeoh	Wong
Aug 02	21	60	40	33	28	18	11	39	36	57	38	19	3	28	24
Nov 02	26	65	38	26	33	23	12	51	32	44	46	20	44	38	31

The two tables above did not provide clear means of comparing relative levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with performance in August since many of the public did not know or had not formed a view toward the new ministers. For example, 65% of respondents had no view on Mr. Patrick Ho of Home Affairs in August, while only 29% had no view on Regina Ip of Security. This has changed somewhat by November, with many more people making up their minds and also starting to pay attention to the new ministers. Some have benefited from this. Stephen Ip, for example, Secretary for Economic Development and Labour, had only 18% who could indicate satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his performance in August, five weeks after the new system started. By November, 62% had a viewpoint on Mr. Ip's performance, and his satisfaction rate went from 3% to 44%, showing that those who didn't know him or hadn't made up their minds in August had done so by November, with most doing so in his favor. Regina Ip, known by 71% in August, also went up slightly in terms of those expressing an opinion, to 83% of those surveyed. However, her satisfaction with performance rate dropped from 57% satisfied to 44% satisfied, a 13 point drop, while dissatisfaction went from 14% to 39%, a rise of 25 percentage points, indicating both a rise in knowledge about her and in dissatisfaction with her performance.

Tables 113 and 114 remove those who do not have a view on the officials. These tables show the relative balance of negative and positive views toward the new ministers, and as

in Tables 113 and 114 below, allow for a ranking of ministers in terms of public assessments by removing the don't knows and recalculating.

Table 113 Dissatisfaction with all top officials (Don't Knows out)

	Tung	Tsang	A Leung	E Leung	Tang	Ho	Ma	Liao	Li	R. Ip	Suen	Lam	S Ip	Yeoh	Wong
Aug 02	76	30	50	61	43	48	81	15	23	20	32	53	30	41	54
Nov 02	72	26	53	69	45	56	83	19	49	47	36	52	30	37	47

Table 114 Satisfaction with all top officials (Don't Knows out)

	Tung	Tsang	A Leung	E Leung	Tang	Ho	Ma	Liao	Li	R. Ip	Suen	Lam	S Ip	Yeoh	Wong
Aug 02	25	70	50	39	57	52	19	85	77	80	67	46	70	59	45
Nov 02	29	74	47	31	55	44	17	81	51	53	64	48	70	63	53

In terms of satisfaction with their performance in office, out of the top 8 ministers (approximately the top half of the class of 15 political ministers) only 3 were from outside the civil service in August. In November that fell to two. November also shows that except for two rankings, every satisfaction figure was lower, and average satisfaction dropped from 56% in August to 52% in November (this is with don't knows out). Rank 11 was up a point and rank 14, out of 15, held both months by Tung Chee-hwa, saw a rise of 4 points. All others were down on August.

Table 115 Rank order of Satisfaction:

August 2002

November 2002

Rank	Name	%	Rank	Name	%
1	Liao**	85	1	Liao**	81
2	R. Ip	80	2	Tsang	74
3	Li**	77	3	S Ip	70
4	Tsang	70	4	Suen	64
5	S. Ip	70	5	Yeoh	63
6	Suen	67	6	Tang**	55
7	Yeoh	59	7	R Ip	53
8	Tang**	57	8	Wong	53
9	Ho	52	9	Li**	51
10	A. Leung**	50	10	Lam	48
11	Lam	46	11	A Leung**	47
12	Wong	45	12	Ho	44
13	E. Leung**	39	13	E Leung**	31
14	Tung**	25	14	Tung**	29
15	Ma**	19	15	Ma**	17
Aug 02	Average satisfaction all ministers	56	Nov 02	Average satisfaction all ministers	52

**Appointed from outside civil service

While more people knew about, or had made up their minds about, the new officials in November than in August, in terms of paying more attention to the new system, little changed over the months. Most people paid some degree or greater attention to the new system. Interestingly, as Table 117 shows, those born outside Hong Kong paid more attention than those born in Hong Kong, indicating heightened interest from the international community.

Table 116 How much attention have you paid to the principal officials accountability system?

Group	Aug %	Nov %
Great deal	12	10
Fair amount	32	31
Some	38	40
None	14	16
Don't Know	4	4

Table 117 Attention paid to Accountability System by birthplace (DK out, August)

	HK born	China born	Other born	total
Great deal	11	16	21	12
Fair amount	36	23	39	33
Some	39	43	27	39
None	14	18	12	15
total	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total N = 690

Chi-square = 15.13 with 6 df p = 0.0192

However, that attention did not result in greater satisfaction, as Table 118 shows, with those paying more attention being more dissatisfied than those paying only some or no attention. Of those who paid a great deal of attention, 38% were very dissatisfied, 79% dissatisfied to some degree, and 17% (combined) were satisfied. Nearly double that, 31% of those paying no attention were satisfied versus 60% being dissatisfied, so those who watched the system most closely were also most unhappy with it.

Table 118 Attention paid to Accountability system by Satisfaction with Gov't performance (August)

	Great deal	Fair amount	Some	None	total
Very dissatisfied	38	31	18	19	25
Dissatisfied	41	47	52	41	47
Satisfied	15	18	22	31	21
Very satisfied	2	1	--	0	1
DK	4	3	7	9	6
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 35.46 with 12 df p = 0.0004

Table 119, asked in August, indicates that only 12% were satisfied with the new system five weeks into its life. Over a third, 36%, had already made up their minds that they were dissatisfied with it. A majority, 52%, hadn't made up their minds yet.

Table 119 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the new principal officials system as you have seen it work so far? (August)

Group	Count	%
Very satisfied	4	1
Satisfied	79	11
Not made up mind yet	243	34
Dissatisfied	190	27
Very dissatisfied	66	9
DK	128	18

The source of this dissatisfaction is not due to appointing political party members to Exco. More support than oppose the move.

Table 120 Do you support or oppose appointing political party members:

	Strongly support	Support	Oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Exco members	3	45	21	4	27
Principal officials	2	29	34	7	28

However, not that many were satisfied with the appointments of the three parties which got seats. Note that while 48% supported the principle of appointing political parties members as Exco members, only 34-35% were satisfied with the appointments of the three parties which won appointment this time.

Table 121 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the appointments to Exco of: (Aug)

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	DK
LP leader James Tien	7	21	32	2	38
DAB leader Tsang Yok-sing	7	21	30	2	40
FTU leader Cheng Yiu-tong	5	15	34	1	45

And at best, only about a third think the Liberals and DAB have influence (great deal to fair amount) on government policies.

Table 122 How much influence do you think the three political party leaders in Exco have in formulating government policies? (November)

	A great deal	Fair amount	Very small amount	None	DK
LP leader James Tien	11	24	30	12	22
DAB leader Tsang Yok-sing	9	21	29	17	23
FTU leader Cheng Yiu-tong	5	19	30	19	27

However, this assessment varies greatly by amount of attention paid to the new system. For example, of those paying a great deal of attention to the new system, 38% think the FTU has a great or fair amount of influence on government policy while those paying none have 12% who think the same. The real differences appear in the don't know columns.

Table 123 Assessment of influence of FTU by Amount of attention paid to new system (Nov)

	Great deal attn	Fair amount attn	Some attn	None/DK	total
Great deal of influence	14	6	5	2	5
Fair amount influence	24	25	16	10	18
Small amount influence	29	35	33	15	30
None	26	23	18	10	19
DK	8	12	28	63	28
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 159.5 with 12 df p 0.0001

Table 124 Assessment of influence of DAB by Amount of attention paid to new system (Nov)

	Great deal attn	Fair amount attn	Some attn	None/DK	total
Great deal of influence	19	10	8	3	9
Fair amount influence	23	29	20	10	21
Small amount influence	25	34	34	15	29
None	25	19	15	14	17
DK	9	8	22	58	24
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 167.0 with 12 df p 0.0001

A majority, 54% of those who paid a great deal of attention thought the Liberal Party had a great deal to a fair amount of influence on government policies. This is the only party that garnered a majority who thought it had such influence among those who paid attention to the new system.

Table 125 Assessment of influence of Liberals by Amount of attention paid to new system (Nov)

	Great deal attn	Fair amount attn	Some attn	None/DK	total
Great deal of influence	23	13	10	5	11
Fair amount influence	31	33	22	12	24
Small amount influence	25	34	34	19	30
None	15	12	13	8	12
DK	6	9	22	56	23
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total

Chi-square = 157.0 with 12 df p 0.0001

The whole purpose of the new system was to improve the accountability of the government (and also to cushion the civil service from political interference, see below). But the political parties form an anomalous part of the system in that they are not accountable to the Chief Executive for their performance, unlike the other ministers sitting in Exco, all of whom are appointed by, and serve at the pleasure of, Tung Chee-hwa, who is supposed to insure their performance. Instead, the parties seem independent of, and perhaps even participants in this system of accountability. The question is, to whom are they accountable, or better, who holds them accountable for performance? So we asked the following question of the public to see what they thought.

Table 126 If Tung Chee-hwa is supposed to hold the new ministers accountable, then who should hold the leaders of the political parties in Exco accountable?

Members of their own political parties	11
Other members of Legco	14
Voters in the elections	53

Tung Chee-hwa	4
Others	5
DK	14

In April, with the system in prospect, we asked:

Table 127 How do you think the proposed appointment system will affect government accountability to the public? (April 2002)

	Non-civil servants	Civil servants	total
Make gov less accountable	11	25	12
Make gov more accountable	38	38	38
No change	27	21	27
DK	24	17	23
total	100	100	100

table contents Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 8.681 with 3 df p = 0.0338

The total column gives results for the whole sample. It indicates that 38% then hoped the new system would improve the accountability to the public. The August and November results in Table 128 below indicate some dashing of those hopes, with 45% concluding by November that nothing had changed and only one in ten seeing improvements.

Table 128 How do you think the new system has affected government accountability to the public?

	Apr 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Made gov't less accountable	12	10	11
Made gov't more accountable	38	27	26
No change	27	42	45
DK	23	21	18
total	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
Chi-square = 84.53 with 9 df p 0.0001

In August, five weeks after it began, we asked civil servants whether they thought the new accountability system had lessened political interference.

Table 129 Do you think the principal officials accountability system has lessened or increased political interference? (asked of civil servants and public bodies like Housing Authority, Hospital Authority, Airport Authority, etc)

	August	November
Greatly lessened	7	14
Lessened	41	41
Increased	10	18
Greatly increased	--	1
DK	42	27

Apparently, some departments have seen a lessening and others an increase in political interference. Morale has stayed about the same, with 39% rating morale among their fellow civil servants as bad in both August and November and 26-27% as very bad.

Table 130 How do you currently rate morale among your fellow civil servants?

	August	November
Very good	--	1
Good	9	15
Bad	39	39
Very bad	26	27
DK	26	18

Table 131 Has morale gotten better or worse under the accountability system?

	August	November
Much better	--	1
Better	6	11
Worse	33	50
Much worse	16	13
DK	45	24

Civil servants, like the public, do not appear to be overly impressed by the performance of the new system.

As the government prepares for the first policy address under the new system, and the first of the second and final term of the Chief Executive on 8 January 2003, as well as the first new budget in March, it faces great challenges and difficult policy choices. Currently, in various areas as shown in Table 132, it only gets a majority of satisfaction in performance with improving cross border travel and cooperation. All others show less than a majority satisfied. However, only three show a majority dissatisfied. This means that many do not know or do not have a view on performance in various areas. The government thus has room to build support toward majorities in most areas.

Table 132 Rank order: How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the performance of the government on: (August 2002)

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	DK
Reducing unemployment	8	79	10	3
Implementing education reforms	14	65	12	9
Improving medical services	31	53	13	4
Consulting with the public	26	46	17	11
Reducing pollution in HK	32	45	19	5
Caring for the elderly	38	42	17	4
Increasing supply of affordable housing	27	39	20	13
Defending rights of Hkers working & investing on the mainland	23	34	21	22
Preparing to make all Legco seats directly elected	20	33	20	27
Ensuring judicial independence & rule of law	35	30	19	16
Reforming the tax system	23	30	29	18
Improving municipal services	48	20	21	10
Improving cross-border travel & cooperation	54	20	16	9

Table 133 shows which policies get most support from the public.

Table 133 Would you support or oppose the SAR gov to adopt the following policies (ranked by opposition): (August 2002)

	Strongly support	support	neutral	oppose	Strongly oppose	DK
Increase fees & charges of social services	1	16	10	55	17	2
Increase salaries tax	1	21	12	49	11	6
Introduce goods & services taxes	2	26	12	43	12	5
Privatize government services	4	26	17	38	8	7
Increase fees & charges of commercial services	2	35	13	40	6	5
Introduce mandatory medical ins.	3	42	13	31	6	6
Increase profits tax	4	40	13	33	4	6
Bring public sector pay scales in line with private sector pay	6	44	13	25	4	9
Set a minimum wage	10	42	13	23	7	5
Sell more land	3	40	21	25	3	9
Reduce civil service salaries	9	49	13	22	4	4
Increase pollution-control and environmental protection fees	8	53	9	23	3	3
Introduce government-regulated soccer betting**	11	47	12	21	5	4
**If used to lower budget deficit	25	42	8	16	5	4
Reduce number of civil servants	7	42	19	24	2	5
Allow property prices to fall	7	40	21	20	4	8
Sell government holdings (MTR)	4	45	17	21	2	11
Make all seats in Legco directly elected	14	54	10	10	1	11
Develop logistics hub	11	63	9	4	1	13

Table 134 assesses the new policy on land and housing announced late, just before the November survey. The policy list was not asked as a whole again in November.

Table 134 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government’s new 9 step housing plan? (November 2002)

Group	%
Very satisfied	1
Satisfied	26
Dissatisfied	30
Very dissatisfied	14
DK	27

The new housing plan seems to be perceived as favoring the upper classes over the working classes, with 48% of working class dissatisfied versus 38% of middle and 35% of upper middle dissatisfied. Only 24% of working class are satisfied with the new policies, versus 42% of the upper middle class. The nine steps favor new development over resales, and are aimed at raising flat prices, making it harder for working class folks to afford a home if they don’t already have one.

Table 135 Satisfaction with housing plan by Self-ascribed class

	Working	Lower-middle	Middle	Upper-middle	total
Very satisfied	1	1	3	0	1
Satisfied	23	21	31	42	27
Dissatisfied	29	38	29	23	31
Very dissatisfied	19	17	12	9	15
DK	29	23	26	26	26
total	100	100	100	100	100

table contents: Percent of Column Total
 Chi-square = 28.11 with 12 df p = 0.0053

Part VII Accountability and legitimacy: Bottom line for governance and stability

All the issues involved in the Article 23 consultation and in the new accountability system pertain to whether Hong Kong people feel included or excluded from their own governance, and whether they feel a part of the process of making and revising policy, or simply pawns in the process, subjects without much say. While making policy without a lot of bother with the public may seem more efficient than the opposite, and may indeed be what is behind the decision not to issue a white paper on Article 23, the reality is that policies made by what the public perceive is an unfair or biased process are doomed for failure, for they fail to engage the public. Lack of trust by leaders in the people leads, inevitably, to lack of trust in the leaders by the people. And such seems to be the fundamental font of the lack of confidence and the tide of dissatisfaction sweeping through Hong Kong presently. Without change, the tide threatens to sweep not just through the city, but over the government. Hong Kong does not need more discussion without decision; it need better discussion processes and better decision-making

processes. Manifestly, as the data above and below indicate, the public are not convinced that the summertime reforms of the ministerial system are enough.

Table 136 Do you think the government currently makes policies fairly, helping or hurting all sectors equally, or unfairly, favoring the interests of some over others?

Group	Aug	Nov
Very fairly	2	3
Somewhat fairly	18	22
Unfairly	50	50
Very unfairly	13	15
DK	16	10

There seems to have been some improvement occasioned by the new system, since only 20% thought policies were made fairly in August to one degree or another versus 25% who did in November, but that still pales beside the nearly two thirds, 63% in August, 65% in November, who feel policy making in Hong Kong is fundamentally biased. One solution a large majority favor is direct election of the Chief Executive.

Table 137 Would direct election of the Chief Executive make government policies fairer or less fair?

Group	Aug	Nov
Much fairer	23	24
Fairer	36	39
Stay same	12	13
Less fair	11	8
Much less fair	3	3
DK	16	13

They even more strongly feel (by 66% versus only 9% in August, 71% versus 8% in November) that direct election of all Legco members would help make government policy-making fairer.

Table 138 Would direct election of all Legco seats help make government policies fairer or less fair?

Group	Aug	Nov
Much fairer	24	26
Fairer	44	45
Stay same	8	10
Less fair	7	7
Much less fair	2	1
DK	15	11

Currently 54% in August and 50% in November consider Legco's influence on policy making very small, none or unknown.

Table 139 How much influence does Legco have on making government policies?

Group	Aug	Nov
Great deal	18	20
Fair amount	28	29
Very small	29	27
None	10	15
DK	15	8

However, if all seats were directly elected, 63% in August, 61% in November think the influence of Legco on government policy making would increase while just 6% think it would decrease.

Table 140 If all Legco seat were directly elected, would that influence increase, decrease or stay the same?

Group	Aug	Nov
Greatly increase	10	13
Increase	53	48
Stay same	18	22
Decrease	4	4
Greatly decrease	2	2
DK	13	10

Part VIII PERCEPTIONS: The bottom line? Most want the government to listen to them directly when it comes to issues affecting their livelihoods. While improvements in the representative system would certainly redress the current dominant sense of unfairness, most people want the government to do a better job of listening to them.

Table 141 If there is an important issue which is affecting people's livelihood, which is the MOST appropriate group that the governor/Chief Executive should listen to?

	July 96	Apr 2002	Aug 2002
Legislative council members	12	13	9
Specialized knowledge on the issue	21	15	16
Chinese officials	1	2	--
Grassroots activists	-----	5	7
Political parties & pressure groups	2	2	2
General public opinion	53	52	54
Don't Know	10	10	11

Table 142 shows that the new system may have damaged people's sense that the SAR government tended to listen to them more than the colonial government. 37% thought in April that the SAR government as then structured would or might change its policies if many people disagreed. After 6 weeks of the new system, only 32% still felt that way. By November 2002, 5 months into the new system, those who thought the SAR

government would not or probably would not listen has risen from 42% in August to 48%. The new system is not achieving accountability, at least, not to the public.

Table 142: If many HK people disagree with certain policies of the HK government, (SAR government) do you think they would change or modify those policies? (Two separate questions asked, one currently, one prospectively)

	HK colonial Gov't		SAR incoming		SAR 1 st 5yrs	SAR new system	
	Sept 95	July 96	Sept 95	July 96	April 02	Aug 02	Nov 02
Yes	15	17	8	9	18	12	15
Maybe yes	10	14	11	9	19	20	16
Can't say	7	13	9	15	16	20	15
Maybe not	8	5	7	6	10	13	10
No	52	43	51	50	30	29	38
DK	9	8	13	11	6	6	6

The right of abode protests had seen a significant and considerable drop in support for street demonstrations and protests. However, the end of that long episode and the arrival of the new system of political officials has seen a strong rebound in support for demonstrations, rising from only 57% in support up to 70% support. There has also been rises in support for party debates, disagreements between Exco and Legco and lawmakers use of harsh words in debate. With a margin of error of plus or minus 4 points, it is even possible that support has risen for protests inside Legco by non-Legco protestors.

Table 143 Acceptability of political disputes ((those accepting only)

	June 1998	Apr 2000	Apr 2001	Apr 2002	Aug 2002
Multiparty competition in elections	85	78	73	70	70
Party debates in Legco	83	77	73	72	76
Disagreements between Exco & Legco	76	75	73	68	73
Arguments btwn party leaders on tv/radio	73	72	67	67	69
Street demonstrations & protests	72	67	63	57	70
Exco veto of Legco proposals	50	51	47	51	49
Lawmaker's use of harsh words in debate	50	52	49	45	50
Business group veto of grassroots proposals	34	39	40	42	39
Protests in Legco by non-Legco protestors	25	26	24	24	28

Clearly, the political reforms of the principal officials accountability system were a step forward, but only a step. Hong Kong people clearly believe more steps are needed, and that the Basic Law promised that more steps would be taken. The government has finally ceded that critics during the first term were correct in scoring the government for ignoring public opinion and failing to work politically and with Legco rather than in opposition to it. There are further steps needed to restore the old system's dynamic, and improve upon it. For the old colonial system operated under a fear of invasion and

disaster. Far better to have a system which gives politicians a fear for their jobs and the public a sense of power than the reverse.

The only questions remaining to be addressed in this analysis of the new system and of the effects of the Article 23 consultancy are its effects on public perceptions of the mainland, and whether Hong Kong people have given up on Hong Kong and decided to leave it for more attractive, and perhaps freer places. The answer to whether Hong Kongers are unhappy with the way the SAR government in handling mainland relations seems, at this point about a wash in August and slightly improved in November.

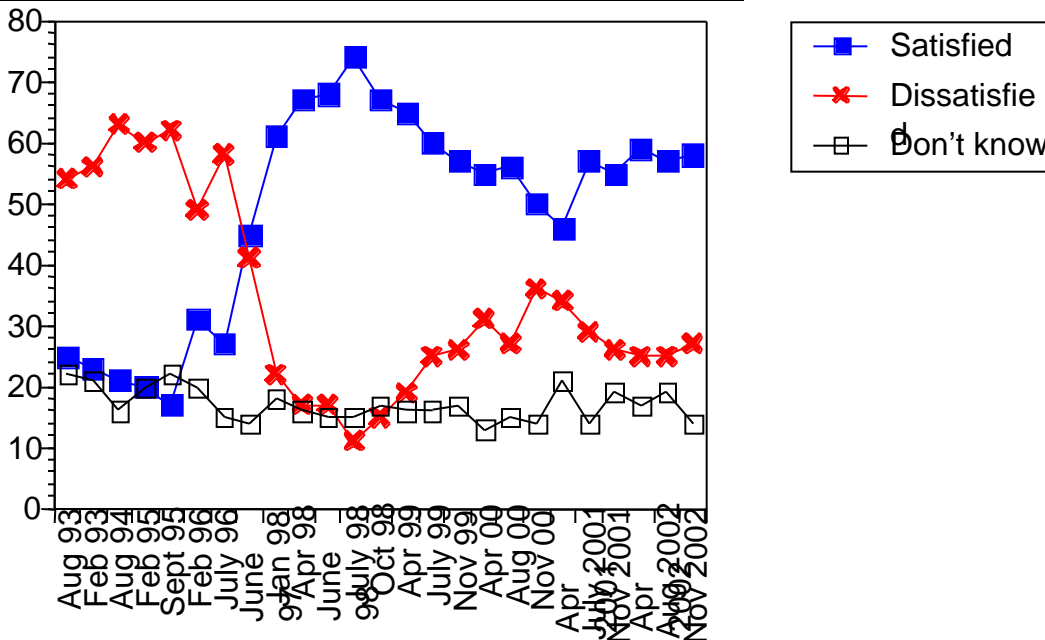
Table 144 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Hong Kong Government (SAR government) in dealing with the mainland?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 95	21	46	33
Sept 95	23	48	29
Feb 96	30	41	29
July 96	37	38	25
June 97	44	41	15
Jan 98	44	32	24
July 98	61	25	14
Oct 98	57	26	17
July 99	43	42	15
Nov 99	39	46	15
Apr 00	42	43	15
Aug 00	42	45	13
Nov 00	44	43	13
Apr 01	32	51	17
July 01	45	42	13
Nov 01	36	49	16
Apr 02	46	40	14
Aug 02	41	42	18
Nov 02	46	42	11

There also seems to be little change registered with the performance of the PRC government in dealing with Hong Kong.

Table 145 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC government in dealing with Hong Kong affairs?

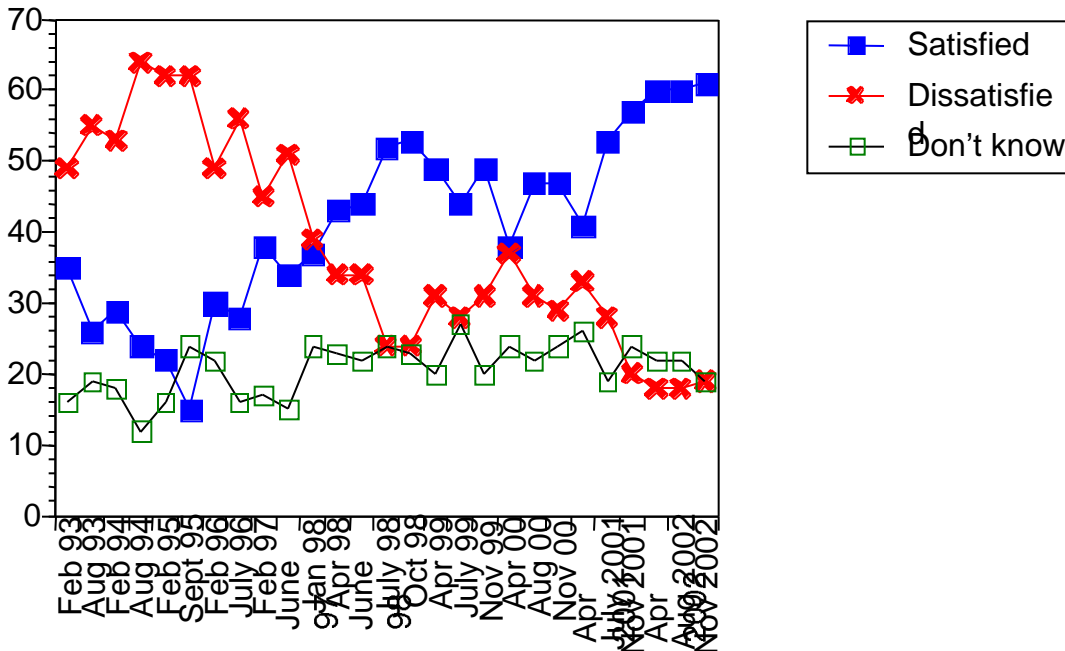
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Aug 93	25	54	22
Feb 93	23	56	21
Aug 94	21	63	16
Feb 95	20	60	20
Sept 95	17	62	22
Feb 96	31	49	20
July 96	27	58	15
June 97	45	41	14
Jan 98	61	22	18
Apr 98	67	17	16
June 98	68	17	15
July 98	74	11	15
Oct 98	67	15	17
Apr 99	65	19	16
July 99	60	25	16
Nov 99	57	26	17
Apr 00	55	31	13
Aug 00	56	27	15
Nov 00	50	36	14
Apr 01	46	34	21
July 01	57	29	14
Nov 01	55	26	19
Apr 02	59	25	17
Aug 02	57	25	19
Nov 02	58	27	14



Satisfaction with the way the central government is running China remains at all time highs, and in stark contrast with the situation in Hong Kong where dissatisfaction with the performance of the Hong Kong government in running Hong Kong lingers at historic highs.

Table 146 Are you currently satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the PRC Government in ruling China?

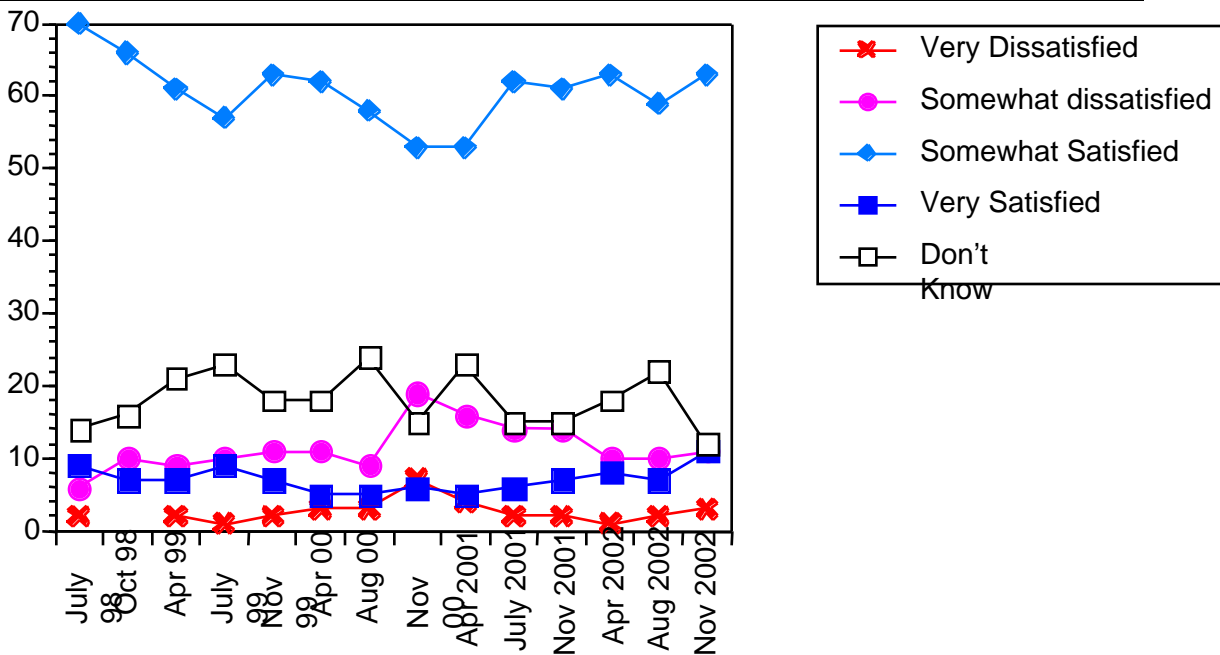
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know
Feb 93	35	49	16
Aug 93	26	55	19
Feb 94	29	53	18
Aug 94	24	64	12
Feb 95	22	62	16
Sept 95	15	62	24
Feb 96	30	49	22
July 96	28	56	16
Feb 97	38	45	17
June 97	34	51	15
Jan 98	37	39	24
Apr 98	43	34	23
June 98	44	34	22
July 98	52	24	24
Oct 98	53	24	23
Apr 99	49	31	20
July 99	44	28	27
Nov 99	49	31	20
Apr 00	38	37	24
Aug 00	47	31	22
Nov 00	47	29	24
Apr 01	41	33	26
July 01	53	28	19
Nov 01	57	20	24
April 02	60	18	22
Aug 02	60	18	22
Nov 02	61	19	19



And satisfaction with the performance of outgoing President, Jiang Zemin is higher anytime since July 1998 when it stood at 79% satisfied.

Table 147 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of the Chinese President Jiang Zemin?

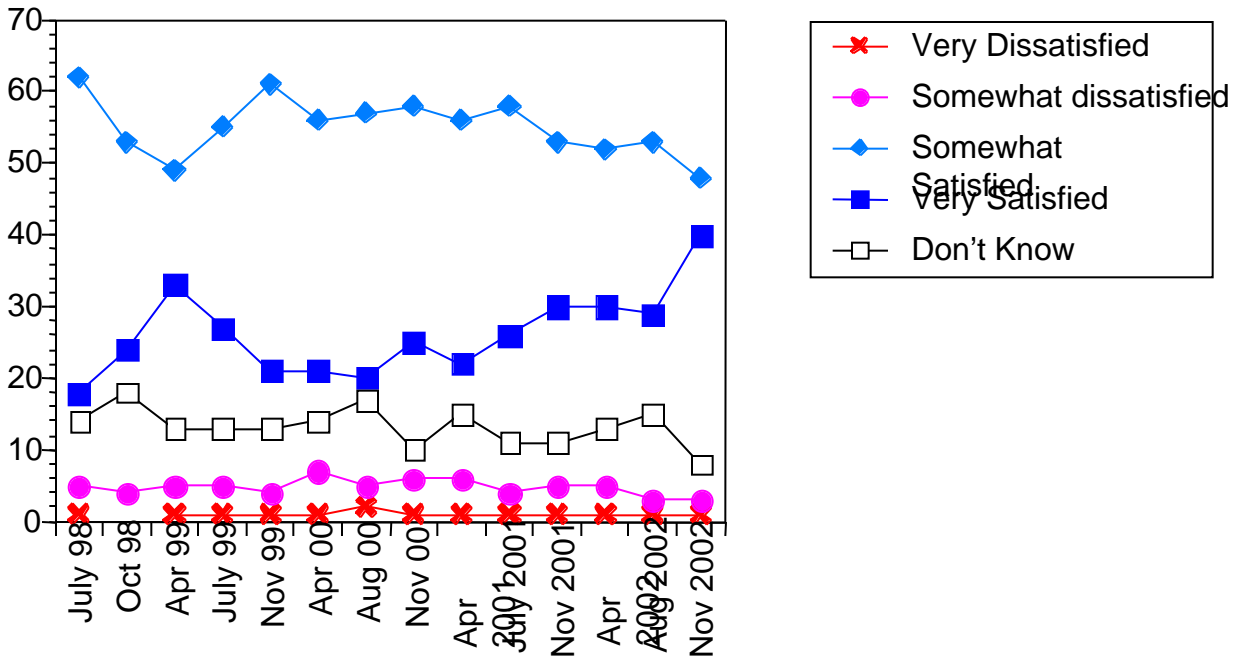
	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Don't Know
July 98	2	6	70	9	14
Oct 98	--	10	66	7	16
Apr 99	2	9	61	7	21
July 99	1	10	57	9	23
Nov 99	2	11	63	7	18
Apr 00	3	11	62	5	18
Aug 00	3	9	58	5	24
Nov 00	7	19	53	6	15
Apr 01	4	16	53	5	23
July 01	2	14	62	6	15
Nov 01	2	14	61	7	15
Apr 02	1	10	63	8	18
Aug 02	2	10	59	7	22
Nov 02	3	11	63	11	12



This is more true of outgoing premier Zhu Rongji, who leaves office polling 40% very satisfied, 88% satisfied to one degree or another. The 40% very satisfied is much higher than all forms of satisfaction with the performance of Hong Kong's Chief Executive.

Table 148 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the general performance of the Chinese premier Zhu Rongji?

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Don't Know
July 98	1	5	62	18	14
Oct 98	--	4	53	24	18
Apr 99	1	5	49	33	13
July 99	1	5	55	27	13
Nov 99	1	4	61	21	13
Apr 00	1	7	56	21	14
Aug 00	2	5	57	20	17
Nov 00	1	6	58	25	10
Apr 01	1	6	56	22	15
July 01	1	4	58	26	11
Nov 01	1	5	53	30	11
Apr 02	1	5	52	30	13
Aug 02	1	3	53	29	15
Nov 02	1	3	48	40	8



Perhaps the most heartening news from the survey in November is that despite dissatisfaction and economic difficulty the proportion of Hong Kongers willing to leave remains, barely, less than a majority.

Table 149 Would you leave or seek means to leave if changes are unsuitable to you after 1997? (Excludes those planning to leave.) Phrasing from Jan 1998: If HK is no longer suitable for you, would you seek means to leave HK?

	Yes	No	Like to but can't	Don't know
Feb 93	50	35	8	7
Aug 93	43	38	9	10
Feb 94	45	42	6	7
Aug 94	40	44	10	6
Feb 95	41	37	7	8
Sept 95	48	34	8	8
Feb 96	40	40	8	12
July 96	44	39	8	9
Feb 97	45	42	8	5
June 97	41	44	9	6
Jan 98	38	53	4	5
July 98	43	49	3	6
Oct 98	42	46	4	8
July 99	40	48	5	7
Nov 99	44	43	8	4
Apr 00	58	26	9	7
Nov 00	46	40	10	4
Apr 01	43	44	9	4
Apr 02	42	50	5	2
Aug 2002	48	40	7	4
Nov 2002	48	41	6	4

As always for Hong Kong, economic reasons could drive many out, but political concerns such as freedom and stability also continue influential on many in this place built by, and still largely populated by, refugees from economic and political upheaval.

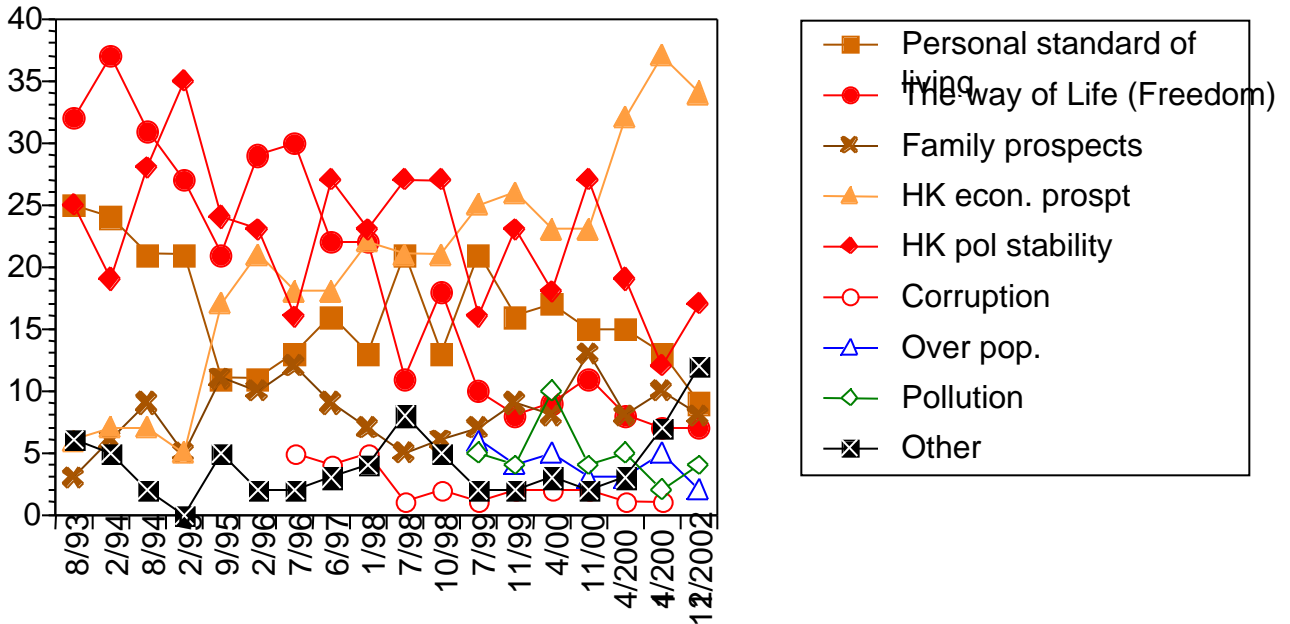
Table 98. What is the MAJOR change which you would find so unsuitable as to make you seek to leave? (of those responding Yes to question above)

	Personal standard of living	The way of Life (Freedom)	Family prospects	HK econ. prospt	HK pol stability	Corruption	Over pop.	Pollution	Other
8/93	25	32	3	6	25				6
2/94	24	37	6	7	19				5
8/94	21	31	9	7	28				2
2/95	21	27	5	5	35				0
9/95	11	21	11	17	24				5
2/96	11	29	10	21	23				2
7/96	13	30	12	18	16	5			2
6/97	16	22	9	18	27	4			3
1/98	13	22	7	22	23	5			4
7/98	21	11	5	21	27	1			8
10/98	13	18	6	21	27	2			5
7/99	21	10	7	25	16	1	6	5	2
11/99	16	8	9	26	23	2	4	4	2
4/00	17	9	8	23	18	2	5	10	3
11/00	15	11	13	23	27	2	3	4	2

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4/2001	15	8	8	32	19	1	3	5	3
4/2002	13	7	10	37	12	1	5	2	7
11/2002	9	7	8	34	17	-	2	4	12

Chart: Major reasons for leaving Hong Kong:



Some seven percent have right of abode in other countries. More than 43% have close relatives living abroad with right of abode. Over half, 53% discuss politics and public affairs with their family members here and abroad. Large numbers of Hong Kongers are alert and aware of changes to their community. They are by no means the inert, politically apathetic colonial ants both the British and the mainland masters propagandized them as being long ago, but not so far away, in a place once, but no longer, borrowed. But, if the government both local and national does not address many of the problems identified in this survey, problems which only political modernization can alleviate, Hong Kong may yet be living on borrowed time.

Demographics

November Age and Sex breakdown

	Male	Female	All
18-19	9	6	8
20-29	20	13	16
30-39	21	28	25
40-49	24	29	26

50-59	15	15	15
60-69	5	7	6
70-87	5	2	4
total	100	100	100

Age August 2002

Group	Count	%
18-19	54	8
20-29	125	18
30-39	173	24
40-49	178	25
50-59	107	15
60-69	45	6
70-81	30	4

Education November

Group	Count	%
0	38	5
1Primary-P6	70	9
F1-F3	116	14
F4-F5	239	30
F6-F7	102	13
Univ	223	28
UPost-grad	19	2

Education August

Group	Count	%
0	47	7
1Primary-P6	62	9
F1-F3	83	12
F4-F5	199	28
F6-F7	105	15
Univ	195	27
UPost-grad	27	4

Education by Age August

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-81	total
0	0	1	2	4	12	22	40	7
1Primary-P6	0	1	3	11	20	24	13	9
F1-F3	6	3	10	19	15	9	20	12
F4-F5	33	26	36	27	24	13	10	28
F6-F7	52	11	12	12	14	11	3	15
Univ	9	52	32	22	14	20	13	27
UPost-grad	0	6	5	5	1	0	0	4

total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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table contents Percent of Column Total N 710

Chi-square = 288.4 with 36 df p 0.0001

Occupation November 2002 survey

Group	Count	%
Managers/admin	81	11
Professionals/Assoc. Profes	103	14
Clerks/secretaries	106	14
Service and sales	49	7
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary	101	13
Housewives	92	12
Retired	60	8
Unemployed	55	7
Students	74	10
Educators	28	4

Occupation August survey

Group	Count	%
Managers/admin	77	11
Professionals/Assoc. Profes	102	15
Clerks/secretaries	85	12
Service and sales	57	8
Ag & fish, craft, machine, elementary	84	12
Housewives	91	13
Retired	59	8
Unemployed	46	7
Students	73	10
Educators	22	3

Identity (nationality) November

Group	Count	%
HK Chinese	203	25
Chinese	199	24
HK person	356	44
HK British	18	2
Overseas Chinese	11	1
Other (Expat)	27	3

Identity (cultural) November

Group	Count	%
Expatriate	23	3

Mainland migrant/professional	44	5
HK returnee	26	3
Hong Konger	689	85
Other (Macau, Taiwan)	32	4

Survey Methods

The August 2002 survey numbered 721 total cases and November was 814 cases. Interviews were conducted by telephone in Cantonese, Mandarin, English, Hakka and Fujianese. Respondents were selected by random generation of final 4 digits of number dialed after random selection of initial exchange digits (first four digits) from latest directories. After determining number of people resident at the number aged 18 and up, respondent chosen to interview was made by use of Kish table in which final digit of number dialed and total number resident in the household embedded in a matrix of randomly generated possibilities. The Kish table below is the table used.

No. of people in the household

The last digit of the telephone number _____

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2
3	3	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	3
4	1	4	2	3	3	2	1	4	2	4
5	5	2	1	1	3	2	4	3	5	4
6	1	6	2	6	4	5	3	2	4	5
7	2	3	5	5	7	4	6	6	1	7
8	7	2	3	4	8	6	5	7	8	1
9	6	7	4	2	1	9	8	5	3	9
10	4	5	8	7	9	3	2	1	6	10

Between August 5 and 13 and for November, between 19th to 29th phone calls were made from 6 pm to 10:30-10:45 pm over weeknights, and from 2 pm to 10:30 pm on Saturday and Sunday, with scheduled callbacks for those who requested such. Up to 5 attempts were made per number or until a respondent was identified, nature of the number determined (fax, answer machines, business numbers discarded), or interview was refused. Completion rate of interviews once a respondent has been identified (in other words, we have attempted to reach the specific person indicated by the Kish table at a particular number) was lower than the government's bimonthly survey completion rate in the low 40% (at 20% in August, 23% in November), but still acceptable in terms of demographic comparison with the comprehensive census data of March 2001. Range of error at 95% confidence interval in a sample this size is on average +/- 4 percentage points (rounded off). All numbers are percentages unless otherwise indicated. Following World Association of Public Opinion Research guidelines, all survey results are rounded off to the nearest whole number to avoid the impression of overprecision. Other surveys by the Hong Kong Transition project in this series used the same methods, with varying

contact and completion rates.

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	July (media)	831	July (party)	1029	Nov 01	759							
	Apr	02	751	Aug	02	721	Nov 02	814											

All Figures are in percentages unless otherwise stated All references should be to the Hong Kong Transition Project, which has project members at Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong University, University of Macau and Academia Sinica.

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All media releases, project briefings, current publication list, and occasional updates and special articles are put on the website. Public, media, and government (consulate) briefings are conducted at no charge.