

Macro-Level Data for CNEP II Hong Kong

1. Structure of the Government

- Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China that is a unitary state.
- The Hong Kong SAR has, in local vocabulary, "an executive-led government". The HK team of CNEPII calls it "quasi-presidential" (See Appendix 1: HKSAR Authority Structure From 1998 Through 2008; Note that this Appendix must be viewed in Page Layout format).
- The legislature, "Legislative Council", is unicameral. It has 60 members, returned by three different kinds of constituencies: geographical, functional, and the Election Committee (See Appendix 1).
- Constitutional provisions governing the scope of their competence, the procedure for submitting private member's bill and the requirement of split voting on such bills severely curtail the powers of the legislators.¹
- The CNEPII survey focused on the direct elections to return 20 members from the geographical constituency to the Legislative Council conducted in May 24, 1998. The election was the first of its kind after China resumed sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997.

2. Electoral Law

- The Chief Executive and the Legislative Council are elected non-concurrently: the current Chief Executive, Mr. Tung Chee-wah was elected in 1996 and the present Legislative Council in 1998.
- The current Chief Executive was selected by a Selection Committee of 400 members for a term of five years, using the plurality method. It consisted of members from the following categories in equal proportion: (1) Industrial, commercial, and financial sectors, (2) The professions, (3) Labor, grass-roots, religious and other sectors, (4) Former political figures, Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress, and representatives of Hong Kong members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Future Chief Executives are to be elected by an Election Committee of 800 members from the above categories in equal proportion, with the fourth category modified by a replacement of "former political figures" with "members of the Legislative Council, representatives of district-based organizations".
- The Legislative Council consists of 60 members, returned by three different kinds

¹ . For a private member's bill to be passed, a majority vote of both the category of directly elected lawmakers and the other category of non-directly elected lawmakers is required.

of constituencies. As of 1998, there were 10 members by the 800-strong Election Committee, 20 by the geographical constituency, and 30 by the functional constituency. For the second term of the Council, the Election Committee will return 6 members only. Correspondingly, 4 more members will be added to the geographical constituency. The Council in its third term will have no member at all from the Election Committee, with the geographical constituency increased to the same size as the functional constituency, i.e. 30 members (See Appendix 1).

The Election Committee for the election of the current Legislative Council consisted of the same four categories of sectors as the Selection Committee for the Chief Executive, with some amendments to the voting methods within some sectors. The method of block vote was used to return the ten representatives to the Council.

For the current geographical constituency, Hong Kong was divided into five electoral districts. Four seats were allocated for Hong Kong Island, three each for Kowloon East and Kowloon West, and five each for New Territories East and New Territories West. To translate votes into seats, the PR closed-list system with the largest remainder formula and the Hare quota was employed. An independent candidate could put up a single list on his/her own. These arrangements may be changed in future.

For the current functional constituency, there are altogether 28 recognized sectors (functional constituencies): Urban Council, Regional Council, Heung Yee Kuk, "Fishery & Agriculture," Insurance, Transportation, Education, Law, Accounting, Medical, Health Services, Engineering, "Architecture, Surveyance, & Urban Planning," Labour, Social Welfare, "Real Estate & Construction," Tourism, Commerce I, Commerce II, Industry I, Industry II, Finance, Financial Services, "Sports, Performance, Culture, & Publishing," Import/Export, "Textile & Clothing," "Wholesale & Retail," "Information & Technology". Each functional constituency is entitled to one seat, except for Labor which has three. Except for Labor where block vote is used, all other functional constituencies employ the preferential elimination formula to convert votes into seats. Voters in most functional constituencies are corporate entities, with exceptions of individual voters for Education and a mixture of individual and corporate voters for Social Welfare. Functional constituencies are also likely to change in future.

Eligible voters must first register in order to vote.

Anyone who were aged over 18, has the right of abode in Hong Kong, and had registered was entitled to a vote in a geographical constituency; some people also had at the same time votes in the functional constituency and the Election Committee. In the extreme case, a voter could have five votes, one for his electoral district of the geographical constituency, another one for either a

functional constituency or the Election Committee, then a third one as a designated voter for a company with a corporate vote in a functional constituency, and finally two votes to elect the members of the Election Committee.

In the geographical constituency, the limits on campaign spending by each candidate was HK\$500,000; in the functional constituency, the cap varied between HK\$100,000 and HK\$480,000 according to the size of the electorate.

3. Politicized Social Cleavages

Social cleavages on ethnic, language, religious, or regional grounds if exist are extremely weak.² The reasons are numerous. First, Hong Kong has been an immigrant society that sustains a certain degree of fluidity in cleavage formation. Secondly, given the century-old separation between the Chinese society and the British colonial regime, the people got used to solving their problems by self-help or communal efforts. The motivation for social cleavages to be politicized has been thus arrested. Thirdly, short of significant democratic reforms or an independence movement, there has been little room for a political elite to grow. Consequentially, cleavage formation and social mobilization are robbed of their political leadership.

4. Structure of the Media

Television:

1. Television is subject to licensing of air waves by government. In times of elections, they are required to observe rules of neutrality and give equal time to the contestants.
2. Apart from cable and satellite television, two regular television stations, TVB and ATV, each operate both a Chinese and an English channel. Chinese television from the Mainland may also be received in some parts of Hong Kong.
3. There is no public television network. However, Radio and Television Hong Kong (RTHK) produces television programs for broadcast by TVB and ATV as a matter of licensing condition. Funded by public money, RTHK is administratively a government department but enjoys editorial independence. It has since July 1997 produced programs that are not at all pleasing to the Hong Kong SAR government and Chinese authorities in the Mainland and has been under regular attack by pro-China forces in Hong Kong.

Newspapers and periodicals:

². Major cleavages are political instead. See Leung (1993) and Li (1996).

1. There are almost 700 registered periodicals and 70 newspapers, all locally produced. Besides, foreign periodicals and newspapers can also be bought at some centrally located vendors.
2. Among the more serious press, four are Chinese Communist-controlled, another four story press which together account for some 80% of the entire newspaper readership, six are newspapers of information with small circulation but high credibility.
3. The transition from a colony to a SAR has narrowed the ideological spectrum of the press. By 1997 when the transition took place, all three ultra-rightist newspapers (*Hong Kong Times*, *Kung Sheung Daily News* and *Kung Sheung Evening News*) and four rightist newspapers (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, *Wah Kiu Man Pao*, the *Hong Kong Daily News*, and the *Express*) had closed down. Another rightist press group (*Sing Tao Jih Pao* and *Sing Tao Man Pao*) had moved to the centrist position. Two of the four story press mentioned above are new entrants to the market, representing a growing trend of press commercialization.
4. In terms of exposure, newspaper use in Hong Kong is high. The per capita circulation is about one newspaper to four persons.

· Radio: There are four radio stations, including one run by the RTHK.

· Media bias:

1. Television: According to one study, all networks provide impartial coverage to the major candidates, parties or political groups contesting the 1998 election.
2. Newspapers: According to another study, newspapers are partisan to a varying degree. For example, the leftist press is notably pro-DAB. Apple Daily, a tabloid press, reports the DP more favorably. The Hong Kong Economic Journal, an elitist paper, provides a very balanced coverage of all contestants.
3. Radios: This media is by and large not biased toward any parties or candidates. There are however specific programs that put the democratic camp in a more favorable light.

· Quality of electoral news or programs: The Hong Kong team has not conducted any content analysis. Two scholars who do have criticized the mass media for having failed to fulfill their social responsibility by informing the citizens in a better way.

5. Basic Nature of Campaign

· Campaigns in Hong Kong are dull. No party has professional staff to manage its campaign effort. Unlike Taiwan, election time is no carnival. Forums attract only a small audience. Debates among candidates tend to be superficial.

Although the list system of proportional representation is used, campaign is basically candidates-centered. Visibility in the mass media is regarded as the most important objective of campaign. Yet, there is only few commercial advertising. Therefore, candidates have to make use of issues to catch media attention. Junior candidates have to rely on the political stars of their parties.

6. Basic election data (see Appendix 2)

7. Females in labor force and educational levels

Participation rates of women in the civilian labor force:

	<u>Participation, 1996</u>
15-19 years old	22.8 (22.3)
20-24	76.9 (75.4)
25-34	74.8 (72.2)
35-44	57.6 (55.2)
45-54	50.9 (49.8)
55-64	21.2 (20.8)
65 and over	3.8 (3.7)
Overall	49.2 (46.8)

Note: Figures in parenthesis exclude foreign domestic helpers.

Source: 1996 Population By-Censuses - Main Report Tables 5.4, 5.6.

Percentages of unemployed persons by sex and age, first quarter of 1998

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Both</u>
12 15-19	12.9	14.0	13.4
13 20-29	4.7	2.9	3.8
30-39	2.7	1.7	2.3
40-49	3.3	2.3	2.9
50-59	3.7	3.8	3.7
65 and over	1.6	0.7	1.4
Overall	3.6	2.7	3.2

Source: Census and Statistical Department, Quarterly Report on General Household Survey, January to March 1999, Table 3A.

Education rate of women vs. men in 1996:

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
No schooling/Kindergarten	13.8	5.1
Primary	22.6	22.7

Lower Secondary	15.2	22.7
Upper Secondary	28.8	26.6
Tertiary		
Non-degree course	4.5	5.1
Degree course	8.8	12.0

Source: 1996 Population By-Censuses – Main Report Tables 4.2

8. Salient Features of Key Secondary Organizations

Trade unions:

1. In the first few decades after the Second World War, union movement in Hong Kong was closely related to China politics with Communist-controlled unions ("unions of the left") pitted against the KMT (Taiwan) controlled ones ("unions of the right"). With the scheduled resumption of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong, the influence of rightist unions has declined to insignificance.
2. Trade union membership has been small, estimated at about 7.5% of wage and salary workers in 1996. There is no mandatory membership at all.
3. There is no peak trade union, unions are organized along occupational lines and sometimes further subdivided into the leftist, rightist and the independent unions.
4. The biggest union group is the pro-Beijing Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions with 118 affiliated unions totaling some 270,000 members. Apart from fielding its own candidates in elections at all levels, the Federation is closely related to the Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB). The second largest group, The Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions claims 43 affiliated unions with 94,000 members. It is an independent union group, but somewhat sympathetic to the democratic camp. The Hong Kong and Kowloon Trade Unions Council is the rightist union group with 64 affiliated unions and a total membership of only 27,000. The Federation of Civil Service Unions is, with only 10,000 members, small but strategically important.
5. There is a functional constituency for labor in the legislature.

Business organizations:

1. Business organizations have been influential since the early days. Under the existing electoral laws, many of them are corporate electors in the respective functional constituencies. The most important peak organizations include Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Hong Kong Industries, Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and Chinese Manufacturers' Association of Hong Kong. The

latter two are pro-Beijing bodies. None of these organizations however explicitly support any particular parties.

2. Foreign business organizations are influential too, especially the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong.

Religious organizations:

1. Only about half of the Hong Kong Chinese profess any religious preference. Among them, most believe in buddhism (a diffused religion) or practice ancestor worship (a proto-religion). Of the organized churches, protestant Christians represent the large group with roughly 300,000 members in 1997, spreading over 1300 congregations in more than 50 denominations. Two ecumenical bodies perform the function of coordination among the denominations, the Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches and the Hong Kong Christian Council. Members of the Roman Catholic Church amount to about 240,000 in 1997, comprising nearly 4% of the population. Other religions such as muslim (about 89,000 believers), hinduism (12,000), and others have few followers.
2. As a matter of tradition and devotion, Christian churches have played an important role in the delivery of social services, such as education, health and welfare.
3. In general, religious bodies are apolitical. But they are entitled to representation in a functional constituency to the legislature. All peak religious organizations cooperate with the Hong Kong SAR government in sending representation to the constituency concerned, except the Catholic church which adopts a "passive accommodation" approach to protest against the undemocratic nature of the electoral system.

9. Basic Socioeconomic structure

In 1996, 24.9 of the active labor force were employed in wholesale, retail, import/export trades, restaurants and hotels. 23.8% of them were in community, social personal, and other services; 18.9% in manufacturing and 8.1% in construction; 13.4% in funancing, insurance, real estate and business services; and 10.9% in transportation, storage and communication.

Of the civilian labor force 15 years of age or older, 1.8% were unemployed in 1991, whereas 3.2% were unemployed in the first quarter of 1998, two months before the time of the survey. In 1996 when the population bi-census was taken, 48.8% of the total population were economically inactive, compared with 49.0% in 1991.

10. Parties in Hong Kong

The history of party development is short, as electoral politics is new. The following parties/political groups competed for seats of the three different constituencies:

The Democratic Party (DP)

The Liberal Party (LP)

Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB)

Citizens Party (CP)

Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPL)

The Frontier (TF)

Atlas Alliance (AA)

123 Democratic Alliance (123)

Civil Force (CF)

Hong Kong Progressive Alliance (HKPA)

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Our description will be confined to the first three, as the rest are very small.

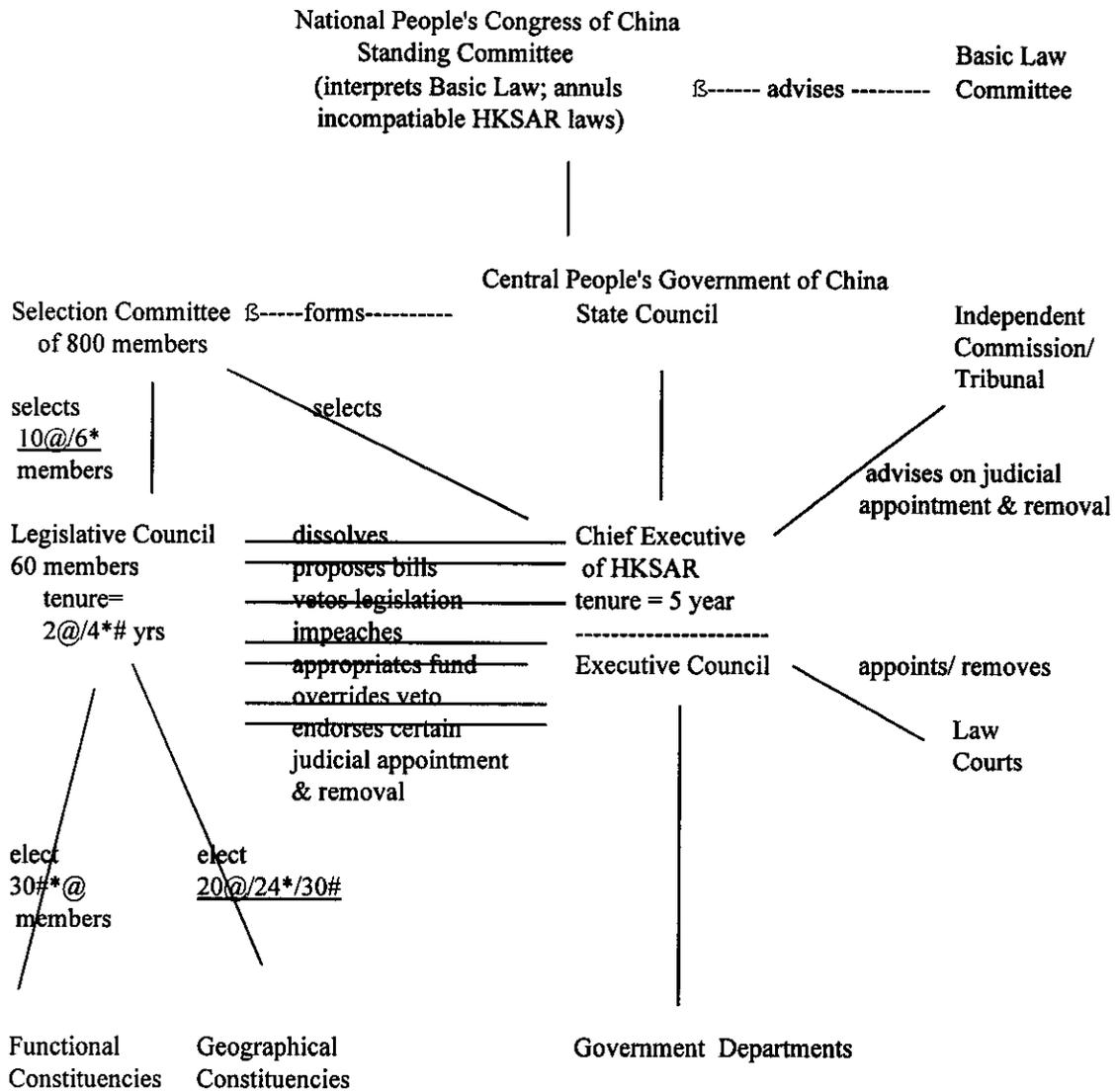
The DP – the flagship party of the democratic activists—was founded on 1994. It has now 547 members. Martin Lee, a barrister, has been its chairman since its inception. It advocates a democratic, open and accountable government, but has no ambition itself to rule. In contrast to its strong democratic goals, its socioeconomic reform agenda are moderate. On economic policy, it basically supports the capitalist status, but believes that economic development and social justice should receive equal attention from the government. It champions a reasonable distribution of the fruits of economic growth and a more flexible use of public money to upgrade the people's livelihood. Leading members of the DP played an active role in supporting the pro-democracy movement in Beijing in 1989. China has treated it as an anti-Communist enemy.

The DAB was founded in July 1992 with an encouragement by the central government of China who wished to counter the political influence of the democratic activists. It now has about 1,440 members. Its chairman Tsang Yok-sing is a principal of a "pro-China" middle school. The party's orientation is steadfastly "pro-China" and "pro-SAR government". It is strongly grassroots and mildly reformist in the socioeconomic sense.

The LP is a pro-business and mildly "pro-China" party with a publicized ambition to become a ruling party. It was founded in 1993 and chaired by Allen Lee, a businessman-turned-politician under colonial patronage. The party has a membership of 1,500. Most of its core members were "pro-British" elite before 1997, but they had succeeded in gaining entry into the united front crafted by China even before the end of colonial rule. Since July 1997, the LP has become chiefly a pro-government party, though the fact that it has an eye on the directly-elected seats has made its support for the Tung administration somewhat

unsteady. As the party's legislators owe their primary allegiance to their functional constituencies rather than to the party, party organization is loose, discipline weak, and policy position unstable.

Appendix 1: HKSAR AUTHORITY STRUCTURE FROM 1998 THROUGH 2008



Notes: @ = First term (1998-00); * = Second Term (2000-2004); # = Third Term (2004-8)

Appendix 2

Part B -- Legislative Council Elections 1998
Distribution of Seats

Party Affiliation	Geographic Constituency	Functional Constituency	Election Committee	Total
DP	9 (12)	4 (5)	0 (2)	13 (19)
LP	0 (1)	9 (9)	1 (0)	10 (10)
DAB*	5 (2)	3 (3)	2 (2)	10 (7)
HKPA	0 (0)	2 (0)	3 (3)	5 (3)
Frontier	4* (1)	0 (3)	0 (0)	4 (4)
Other Groups	1 (3)	1 (2)	0 (2)	2 (7)
Independents	1 (1)	11 (8)	4 (1)	16 (10)
Total	20 (20)	30 (30)	10 (10)	60 (60)

Legends: DP = Democratic Party
LP = Liberal Party
DAB = Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of H. K.
HKPA = Hong Kong Progressive Alliance

Notes: 1. Figures in brackets are for the Legislative Council elected in 1995 when it was fully elected one way or another for the first time.

* = Includes also members who belong to The Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions.

= Includes Mr. Leung Yiu-chung who was a member of, but did not run under the banner of, The Frontier.