

Chapter 13. "Inequality, Identity, and the Structure of Political Cleavages in South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, 1996-2016"

Carmen DURRER DE LA SOTA, Amory GETHIN

Appendix C - Hong Kong

Main figures and tables

Figure C1	Election results in Hong Kong, 1991-2016
Figure C2	The rise of generational cleavages in Hong Kong
Figure C3	Vote for the pro-democracy camp by decade of birth
Figure C4	The mainlander-native cleavage in Hong Kong
Figure C5	Vote for pro-democracy among top-income and highest-educated voters
Figure C6	Attitudes towards Hong Kong identity, immigration, and integration with China by age, 2015

Appendix figures - Structure of the Hong Kong population

Figure C7	The composition of the electorate by education
Figure C8	The composition of the electorate by age
Figure C9	The composition of income quintiles by education level, 1998
Figure C9b	The composition of income quintiles by education level, 2016

Appendix figures - Structure of the vote for the pro-democracy camp

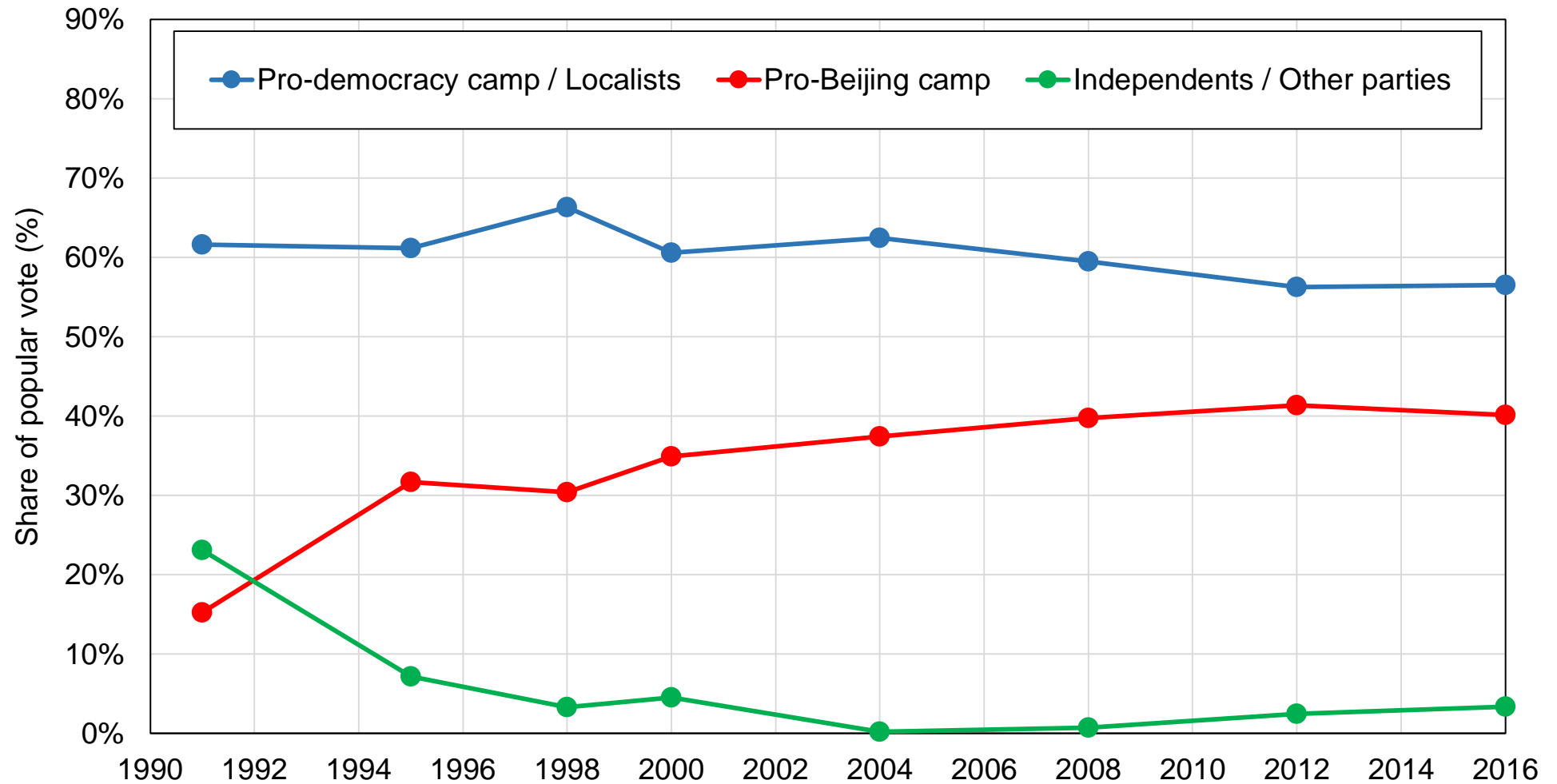
Figure C10	Vote for pro-democracy camp by education level
Figure C10b	Vote for pro-democracy camp by education group
Figure C11	Vote for pro-democracy camp by age group
Figure C12	Vote for pro-democracy camp by income quintile
Figure C13	Vote for pro-democracy camp by location of birth
Figure C14	Vote for pro-democracy camp by income group
Figure C15	Vote for pro-democracy camp by union membership
Figure C16	Vote for pro-democracy camp by gender
Figure C17	Vote for pro-democracy camp by religion
Figure C18	Vote for pro-democracy camp by employment status
Figure C19	Vote for pro-democracy camp by marital status
Figure C20	Vote for pro-democracy camp among top-income and highest-educated voters
Figure C21	Vote for pro-democracy camp among highest-educated voters

Figure C22	Vote for pro-democracy camp among lowest-educated voters
Figure C23	Vote for pro-democracy camp among university graduates
Figure C24	Vote for pro-democracy camp among top income earners
Figure C25	Vote for pro-democracy camp among union members
Figure C26	Vote for pro-democracy camp among women
Figure C27	Vote for pro-democracy camp among non-single voters
Figure C28	Vote for pro-democracy camp among Christians
Figure C29	Vote for pro-democracy camp by place of birth and age
Figure C30	Vote for pro-democracy camp by place of birth and education

Appendix tables

Table C1	Survey data sources
Table C2	Complete descriptive statistics
Table C3	Determinants of the vote for the pro-democracy camp
Table C4	Attitudes towards Hong Kong identity, immigration, and integration with China by age, 2015
Table C5	Structure of the electorate by place of birth

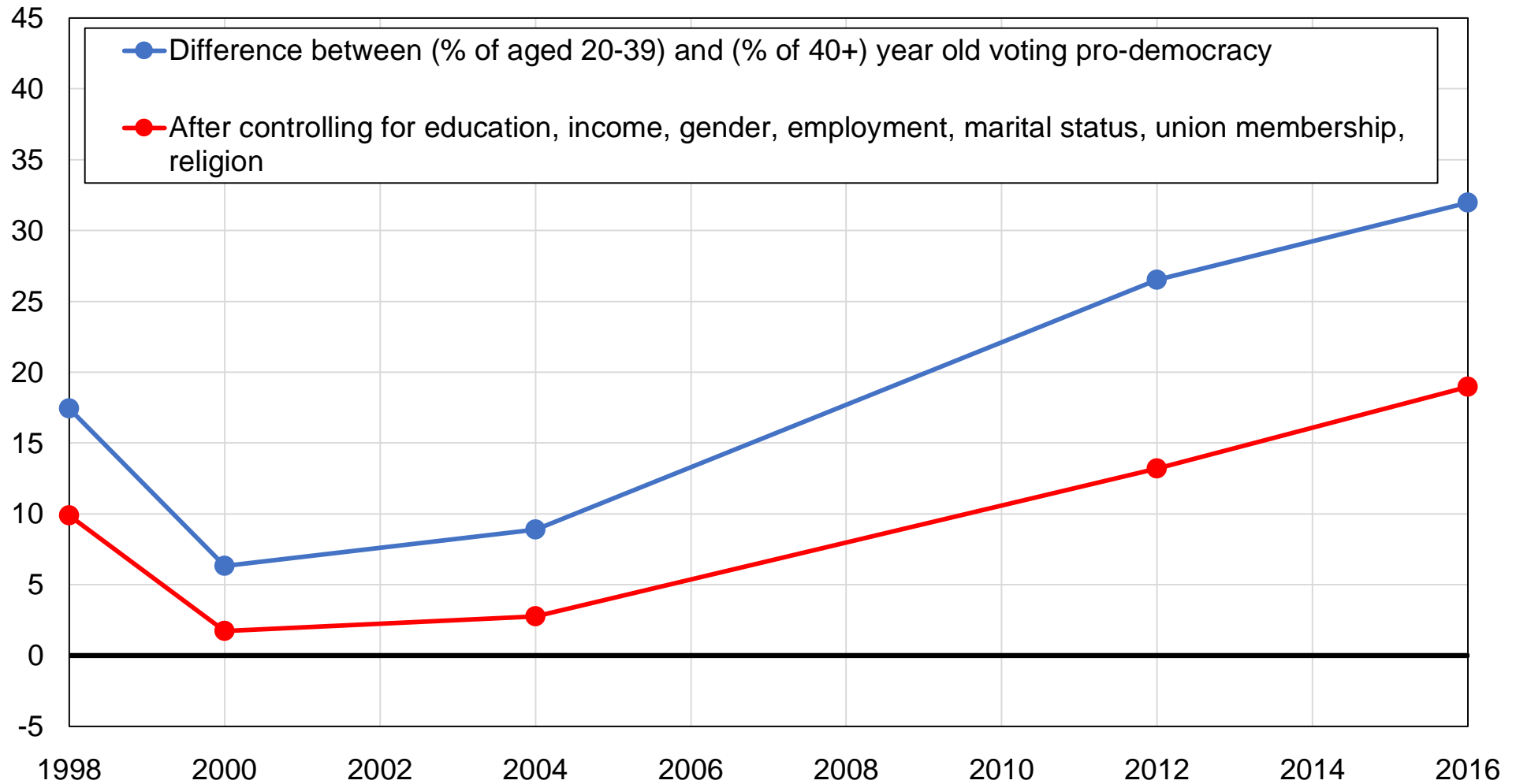
Figure C1 - Election results in Hong Kong, 1991-2016



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Hong Kong political parties in geographical constituencies in Legislative Council elections between 1991 and 2016.

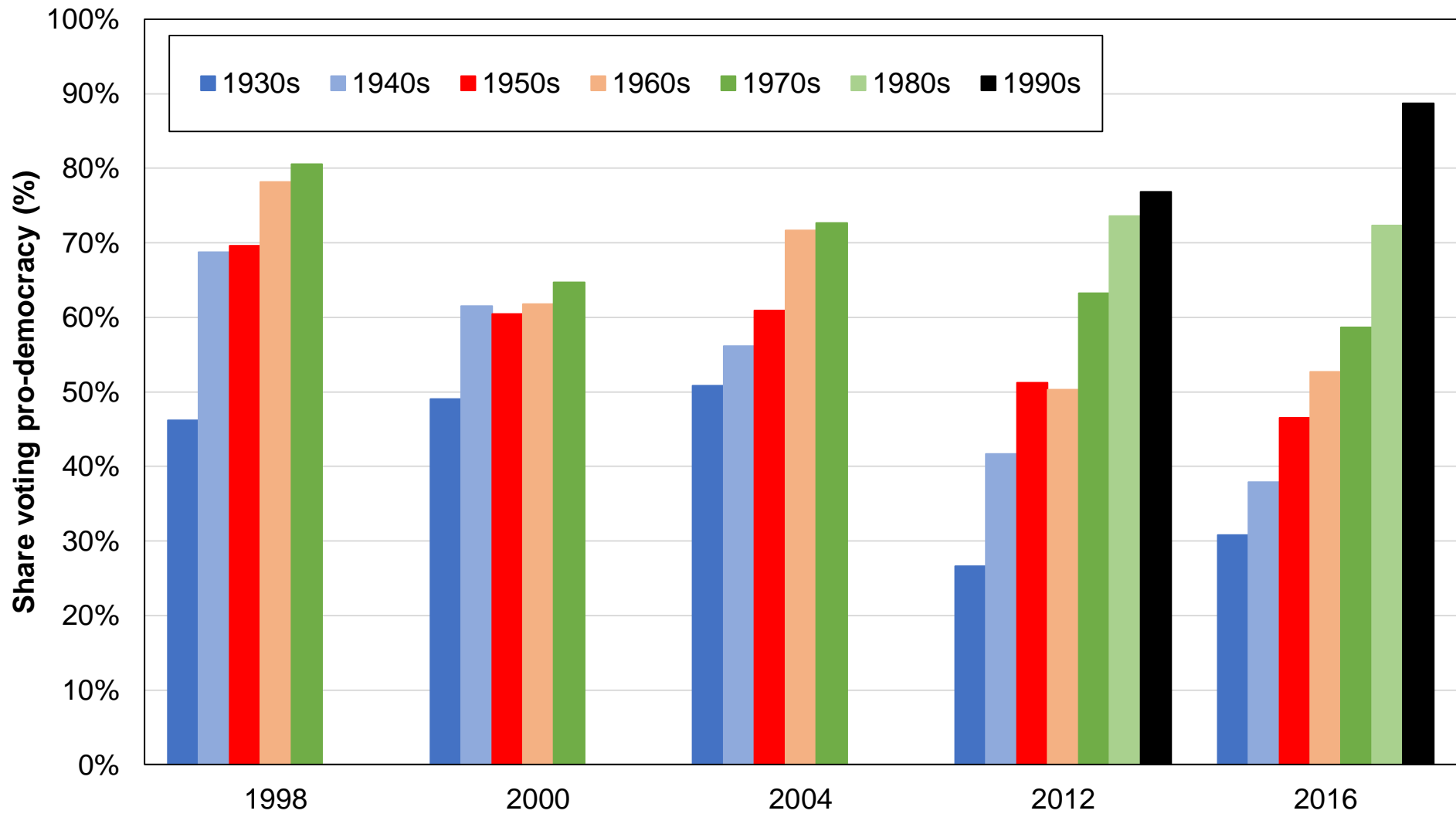
Figure C2 - The rise of generational cleavages in Hong Kong



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

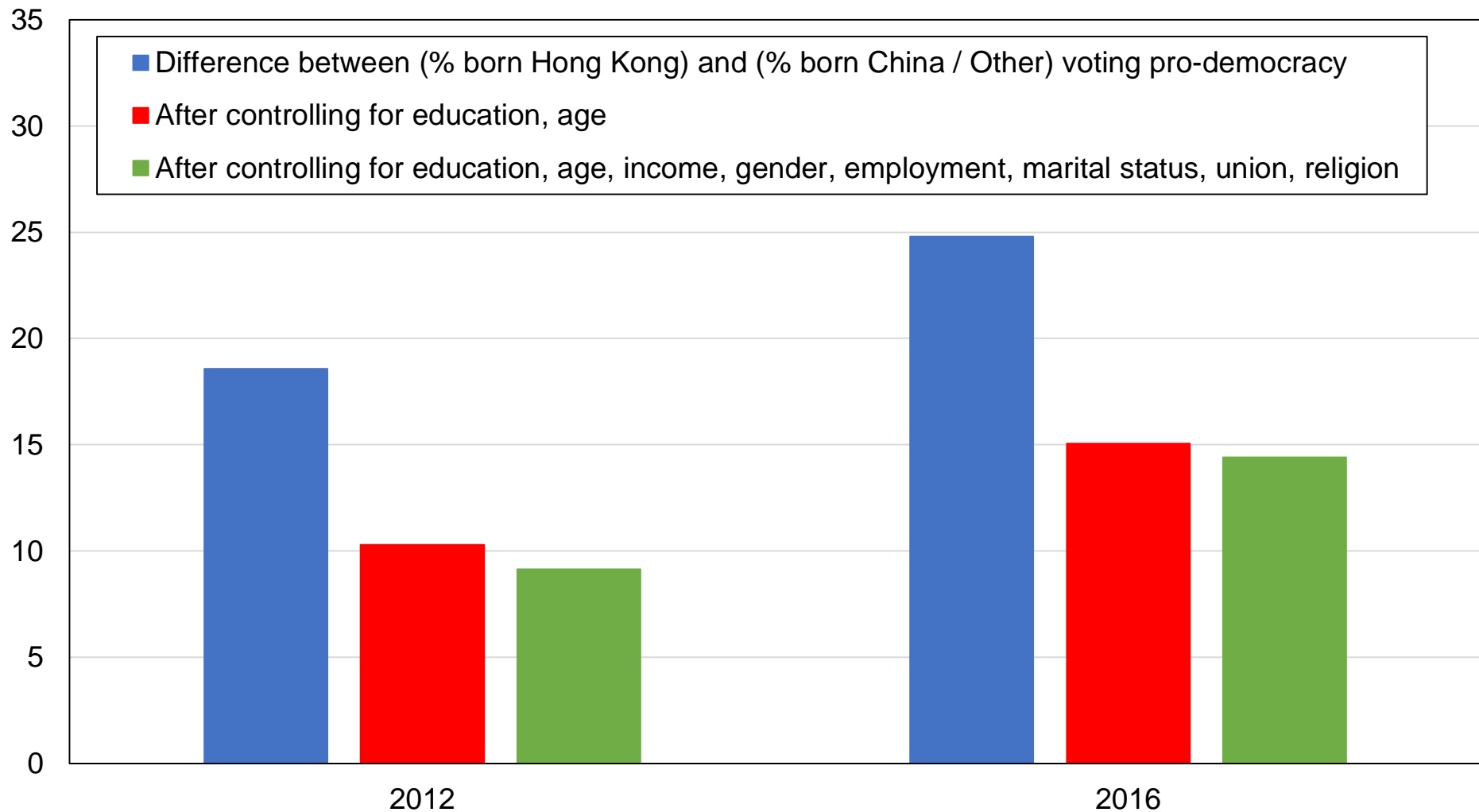
Figure C3 - Vote for pro-democracy by decade of birth



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by decade of birth.

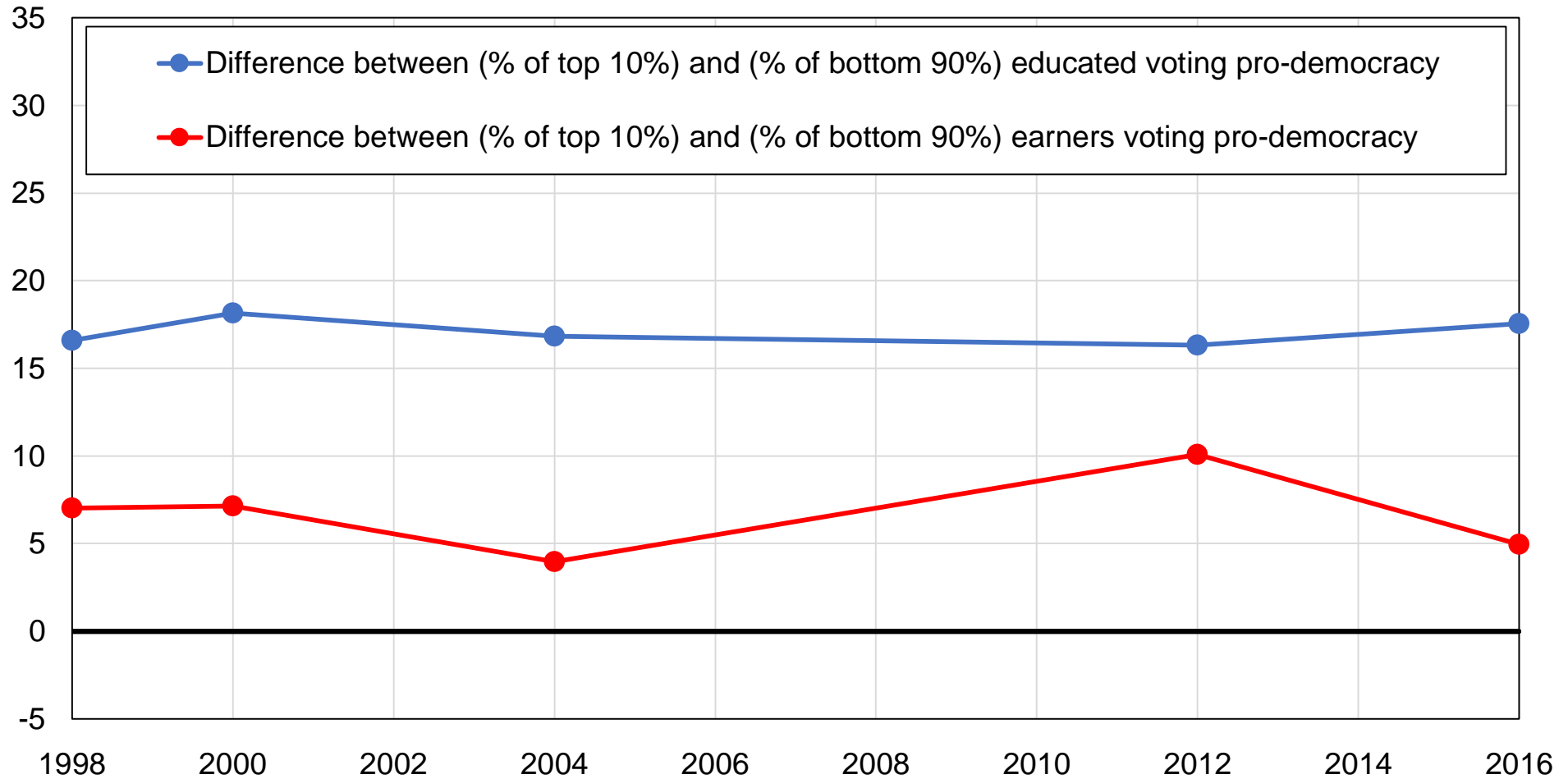
Figure C4 - The mainlander-native cleavage in Hong Kong



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of voters born in Hong Kong for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controls.

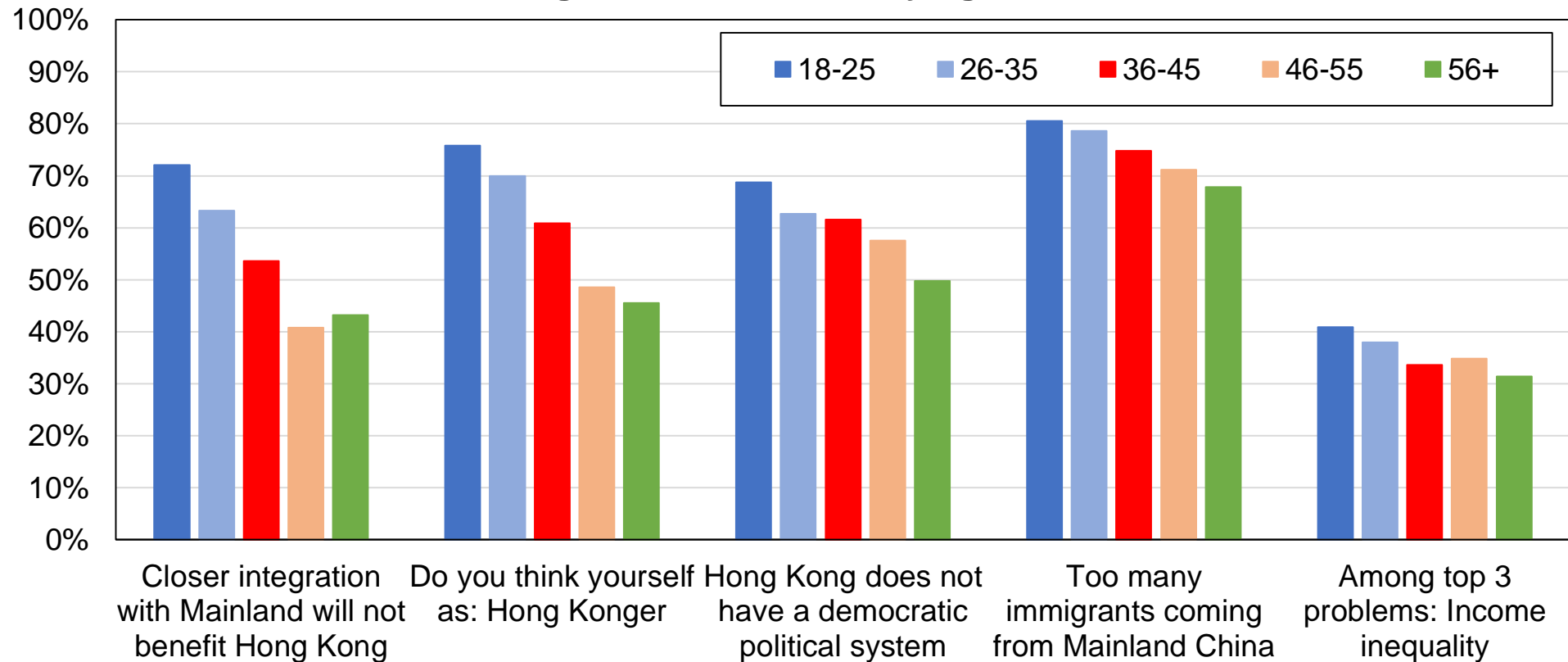
Figure C5 - Vote for pro-democracy camp among top-income and highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for the pro-democracy camp.

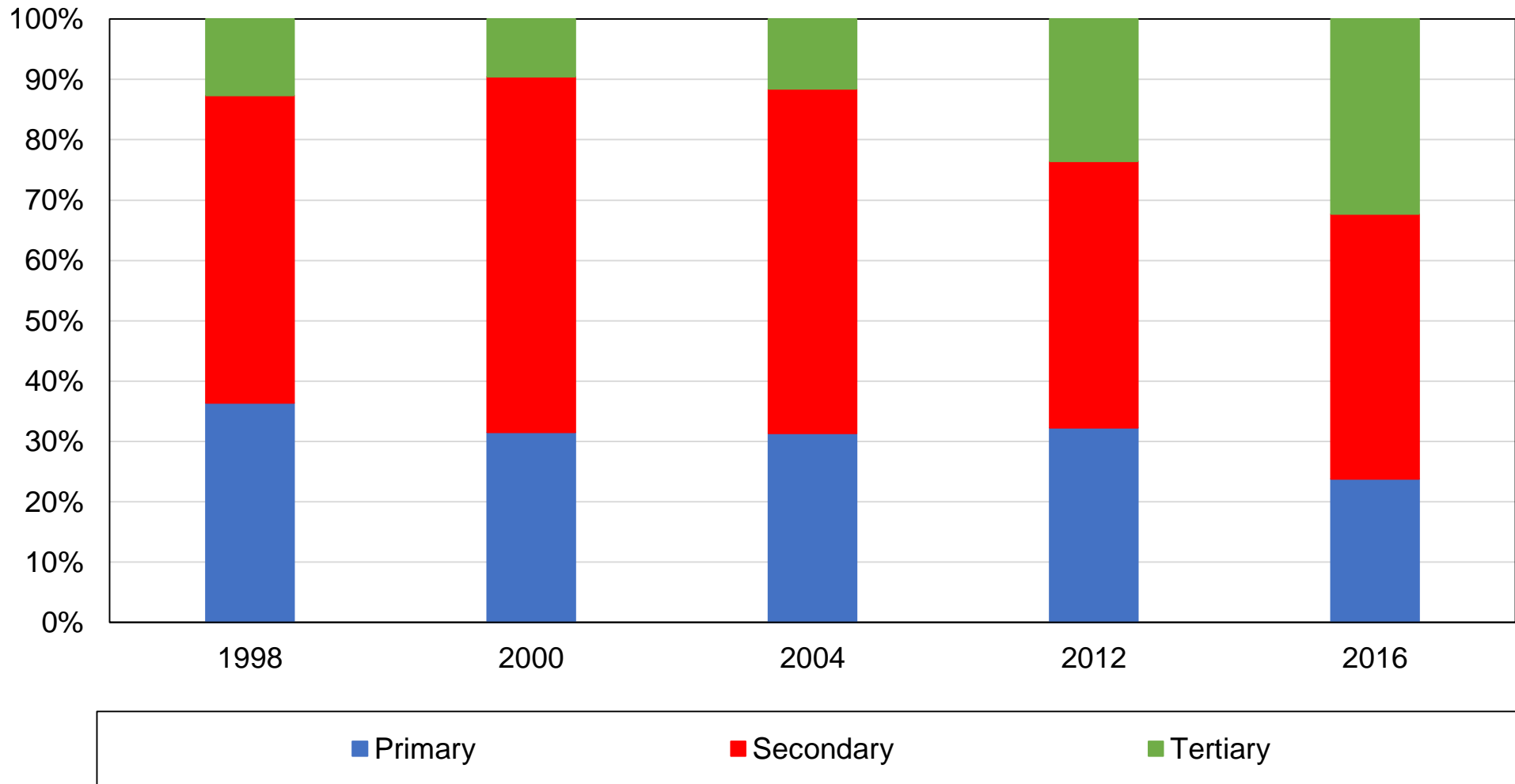
Figure C6 - Attitudes towards Hong Kong identity, immigration, and integration with China by age, 2015



Source: authors' computations using the Hong Kong Election Study 2015.

Note: the figure shows for each age group the share of individuals (1) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that closer integration with Mainland China will benefit Hong Kong (2) thinking themselves as Hong Konger rather than Chinese, Chinese Hong Konger, Hong Kong Chinese, or Other (3) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that Hong Kong has a democratic political system (4) agreeing or strongly agreeing that Hong Kong has too many immigrants coming from Mainland China (5) declaring income inequality as one of the three most important problems facing Hong Kong at the present time.

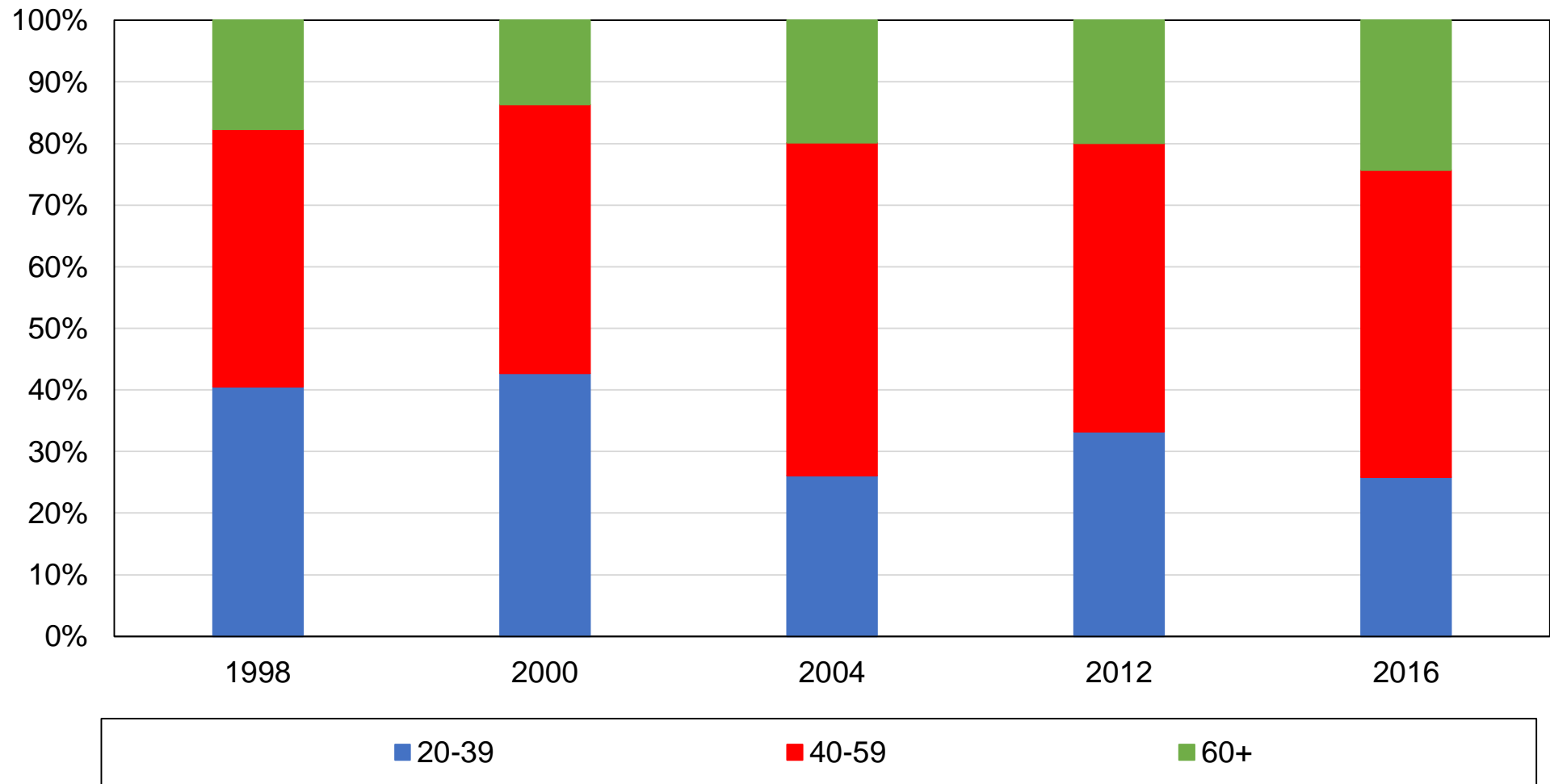
Figure C7 - The structure of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Hong Kong adult population and its evolution over time.

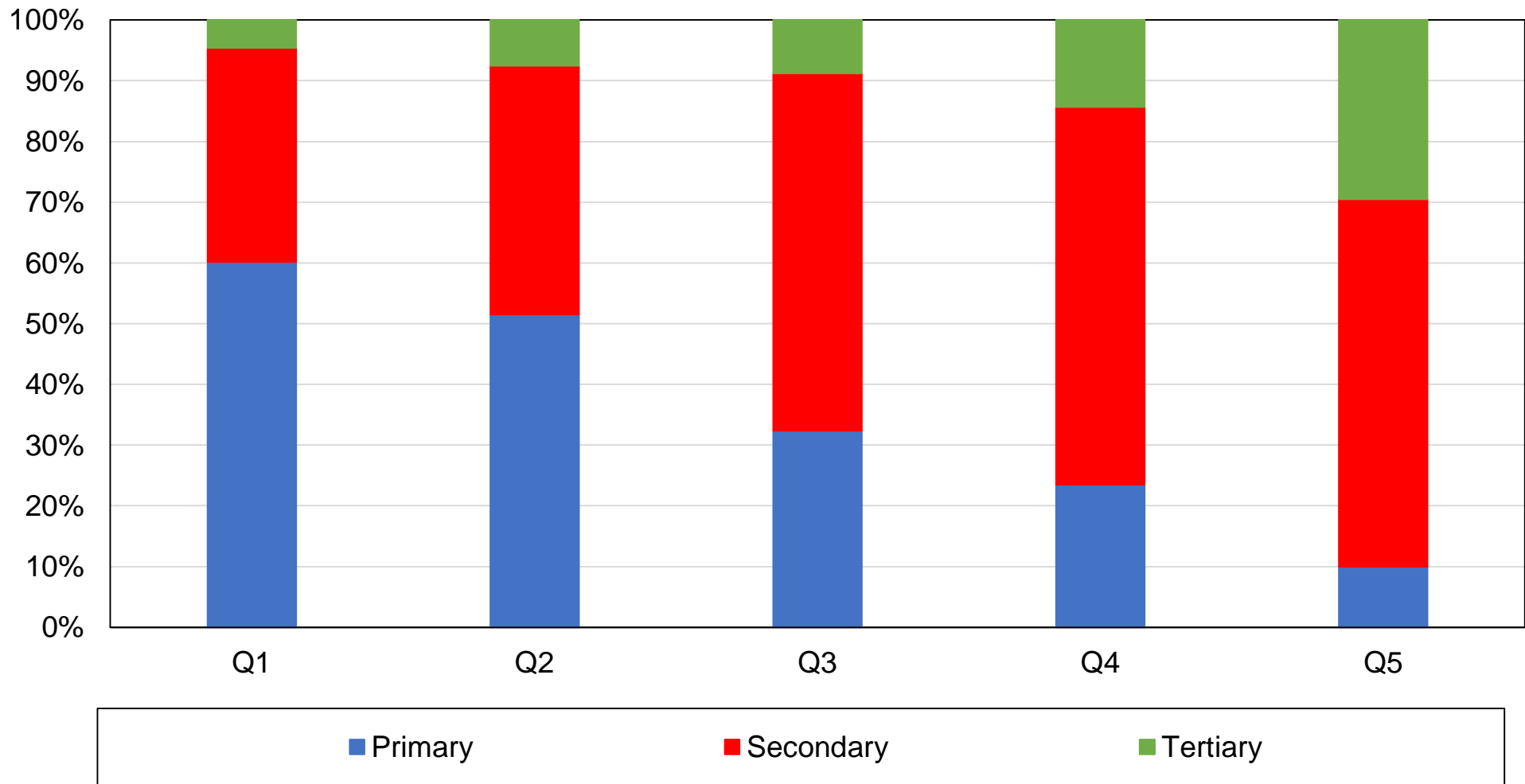
Figure C8 - The structure of the electorate by age group



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the Hong Kong adult population and its evolution over time.

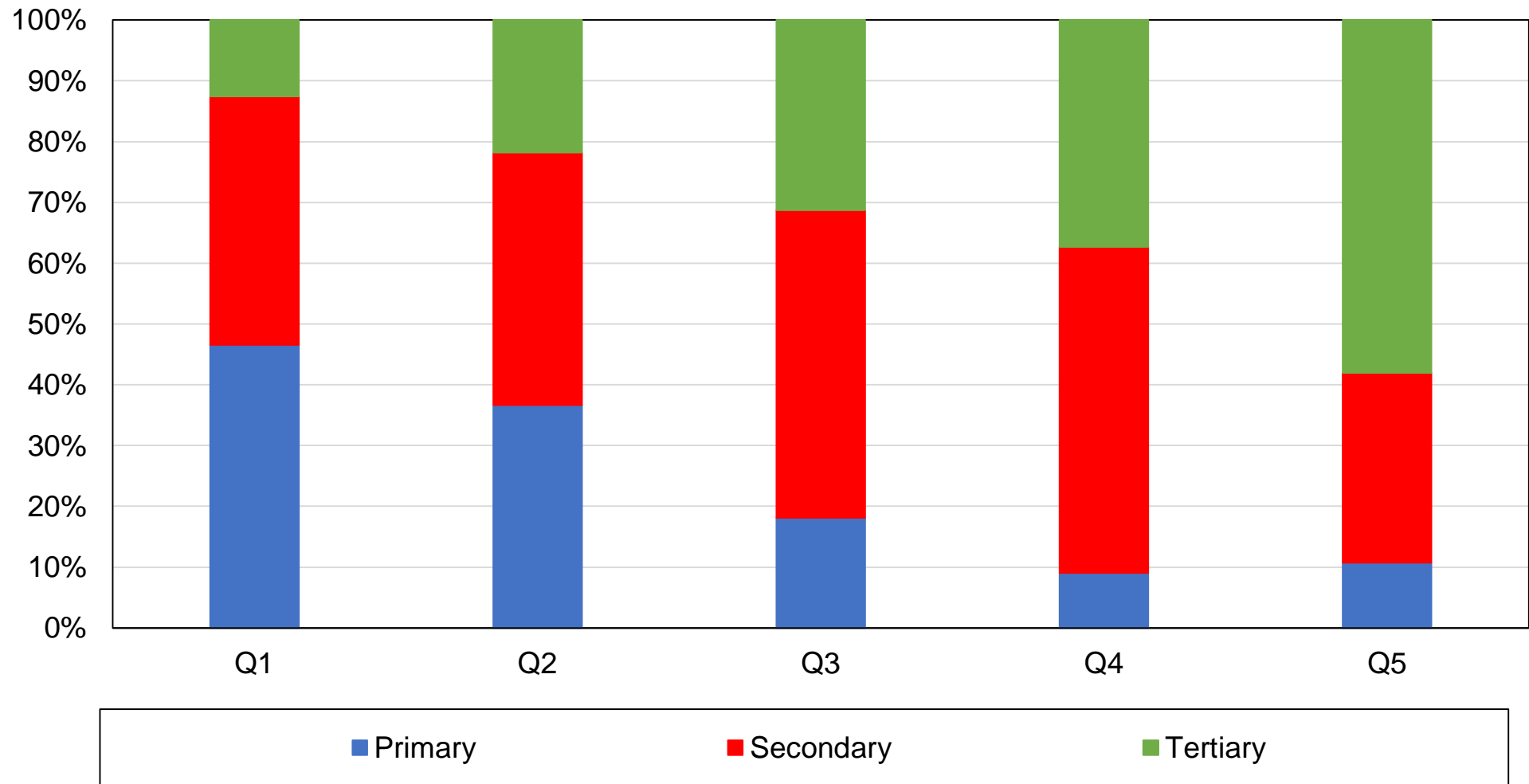
Figure C9 - Educational composition of income quintiles, 1998



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by education level of the Hong Kong adult population in 1998.

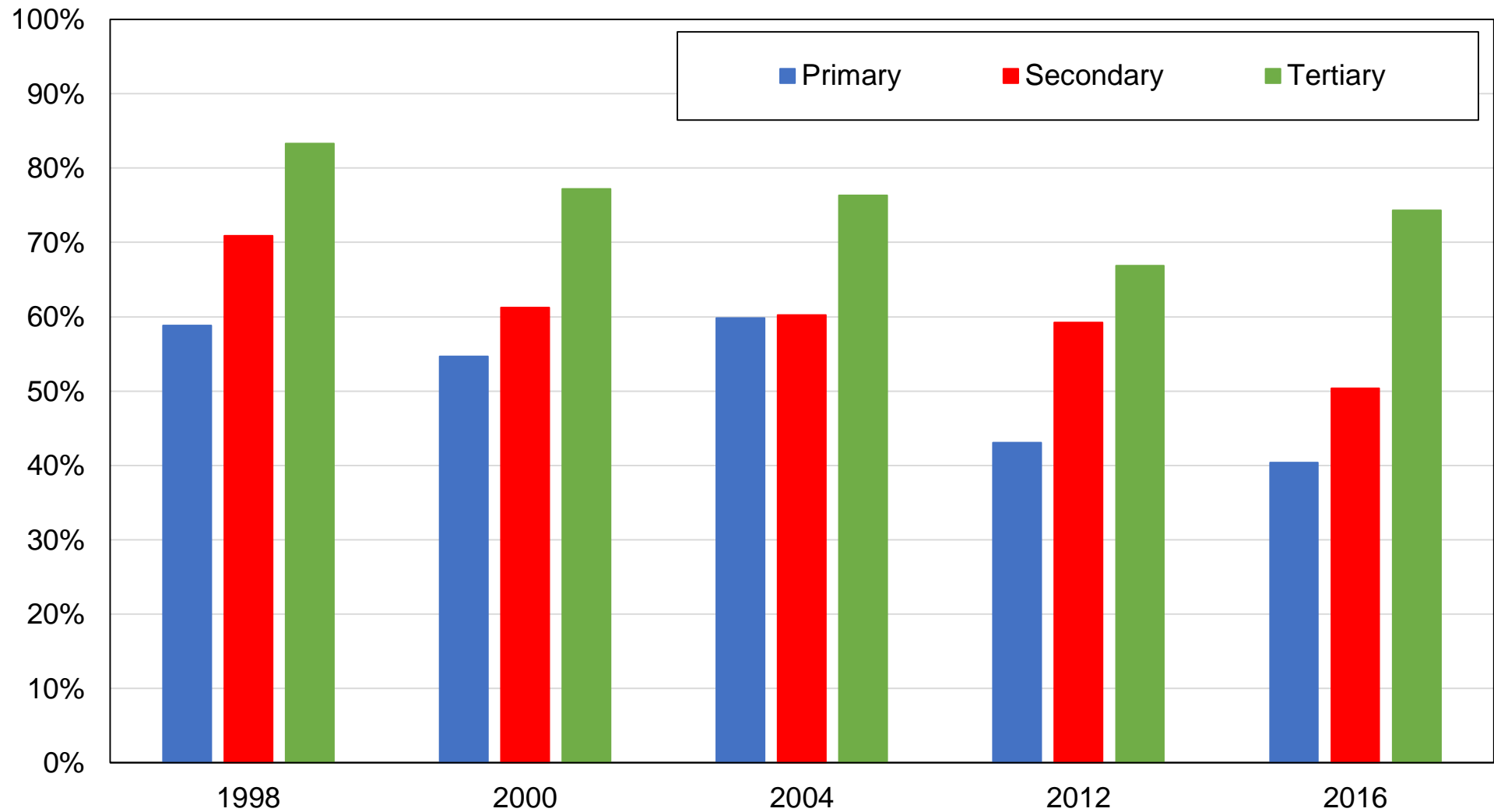
Figure C9b - Educational composition of income quintiles, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by education level of the Hong Kong adult population in 2016.

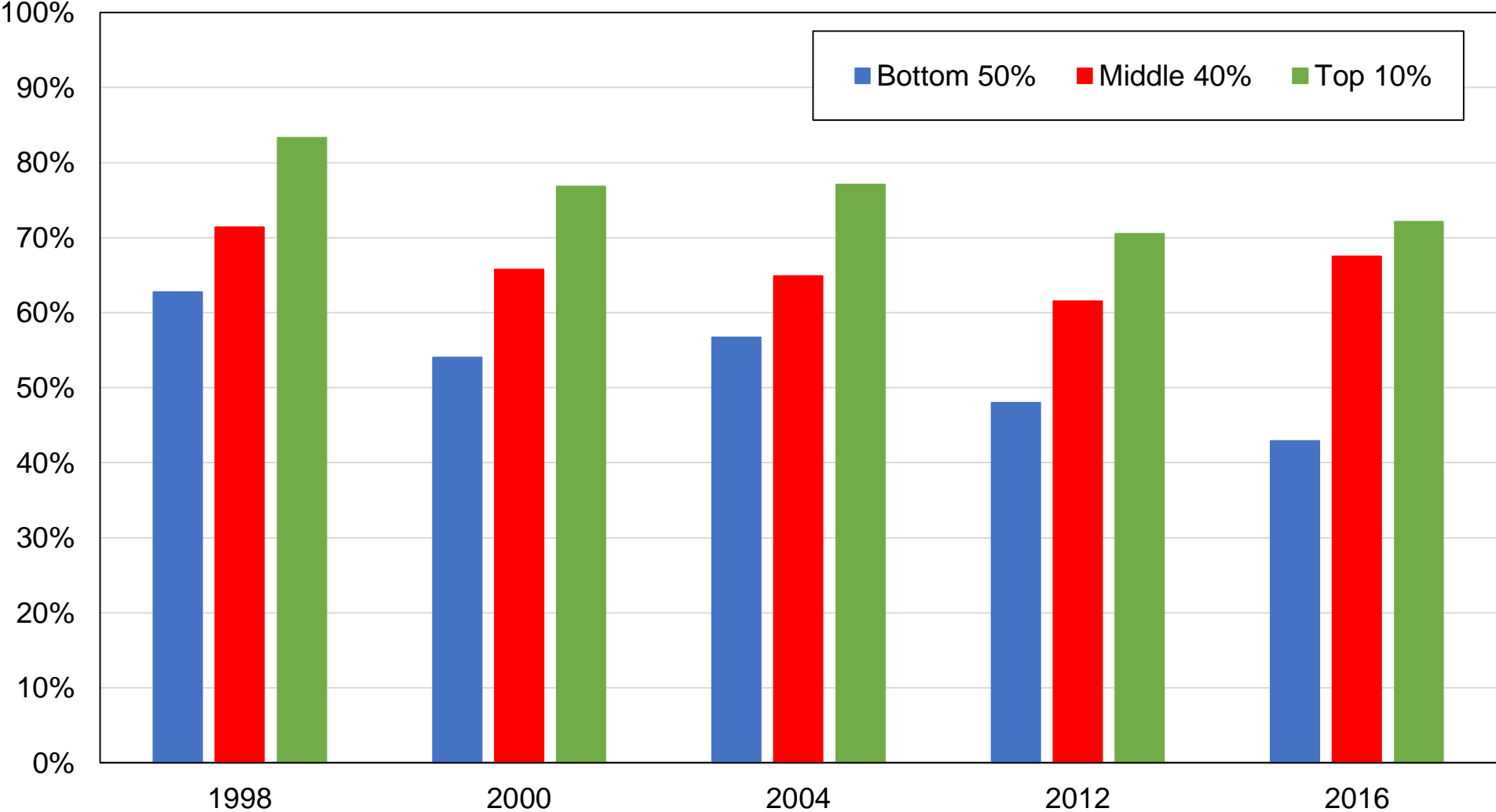
Figure C10 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by education level



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by education level.

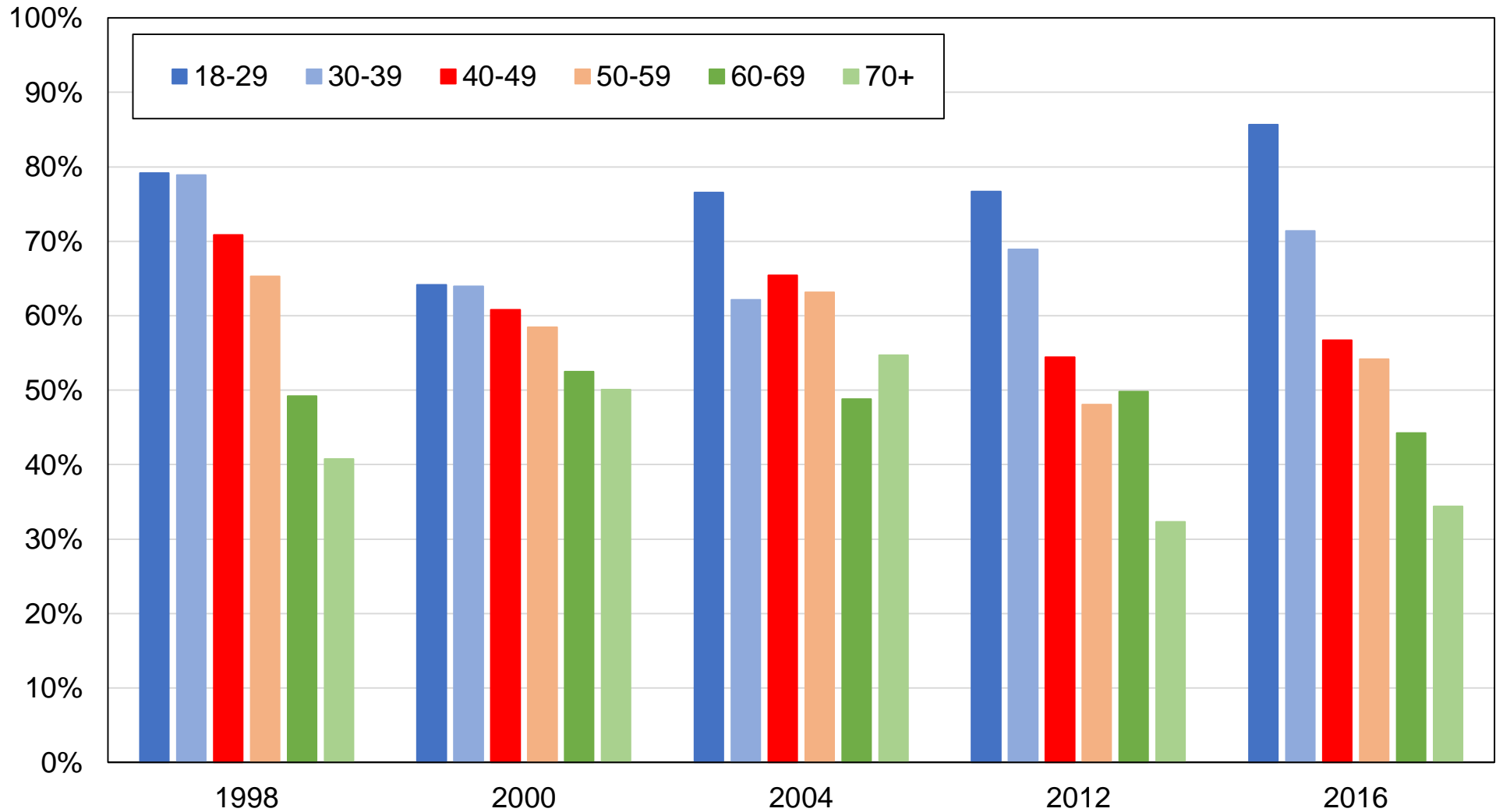
Figure C11 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by education group



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by education group.

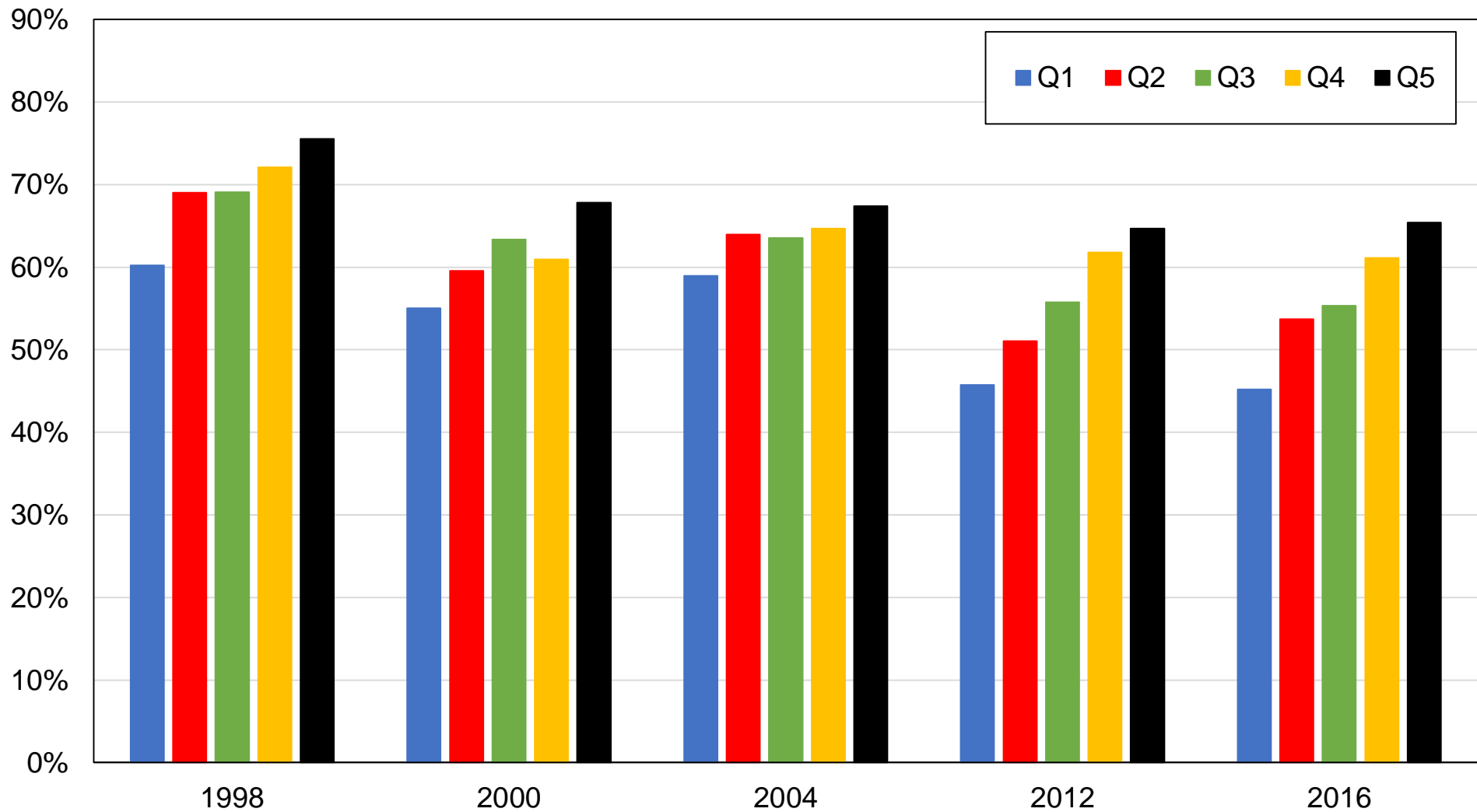
Figure C2 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by age group



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by age group.

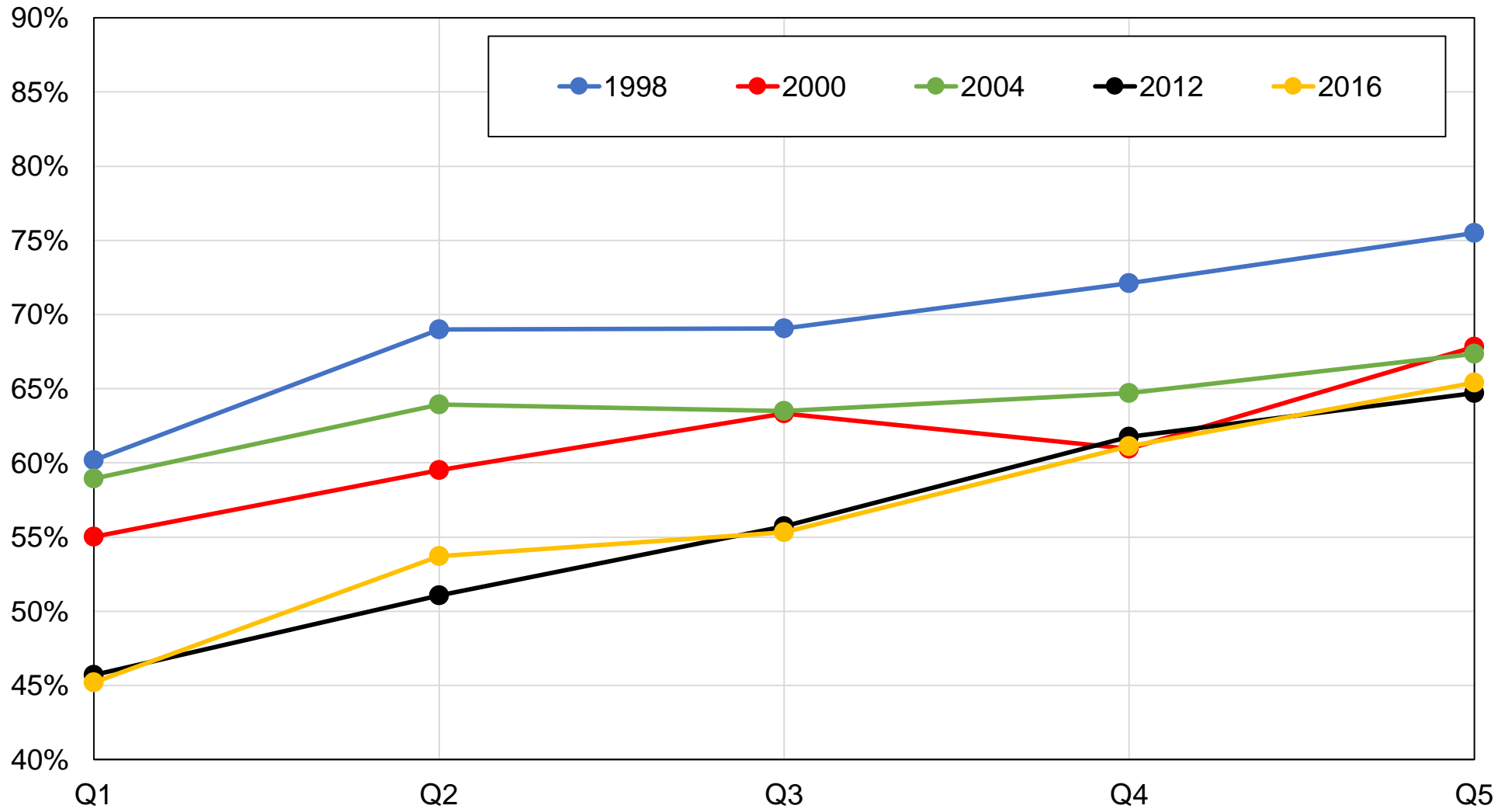
Figure C12 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by income quintile.

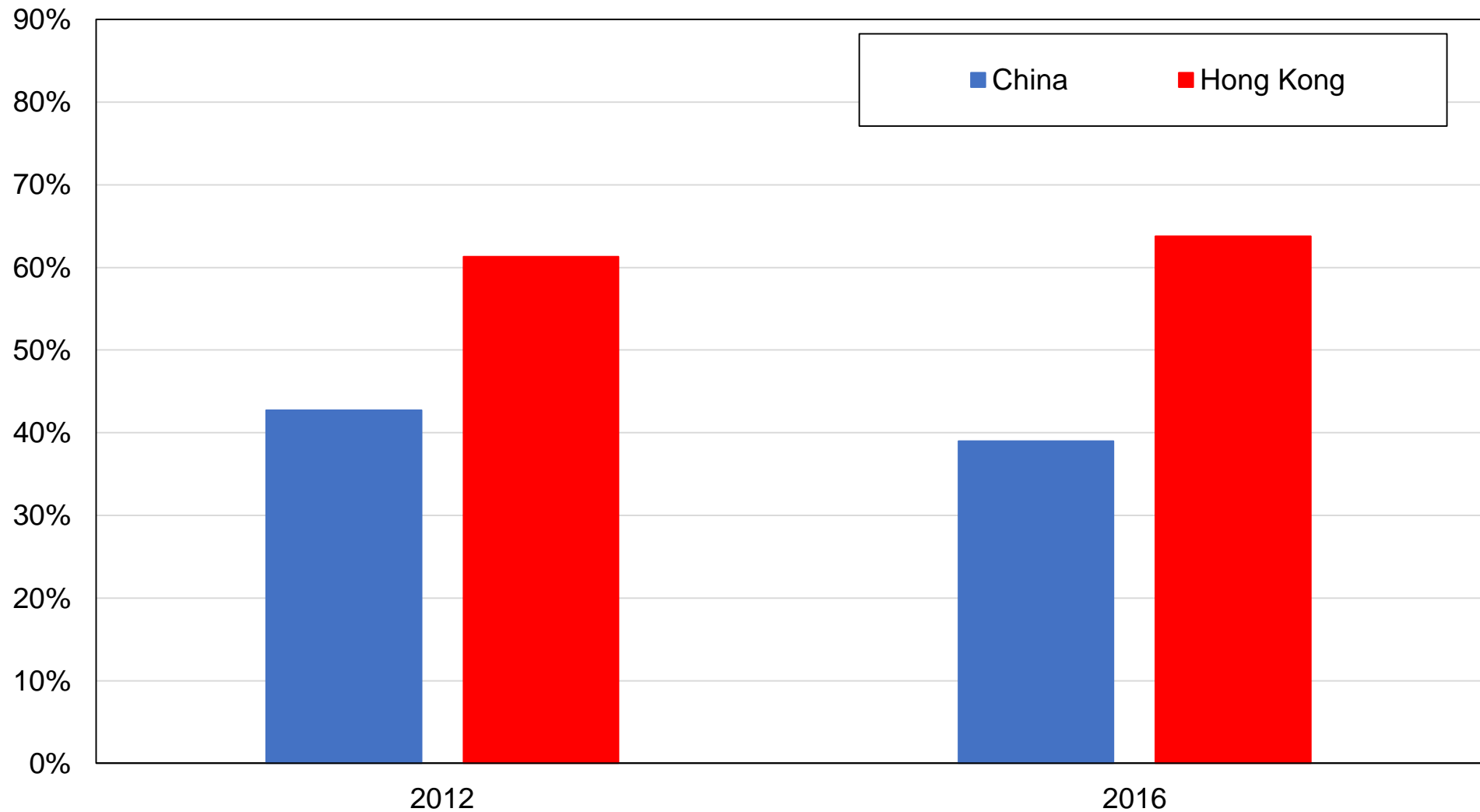
Figure C12b - Vote for pro-democracy camp by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by income quintile.

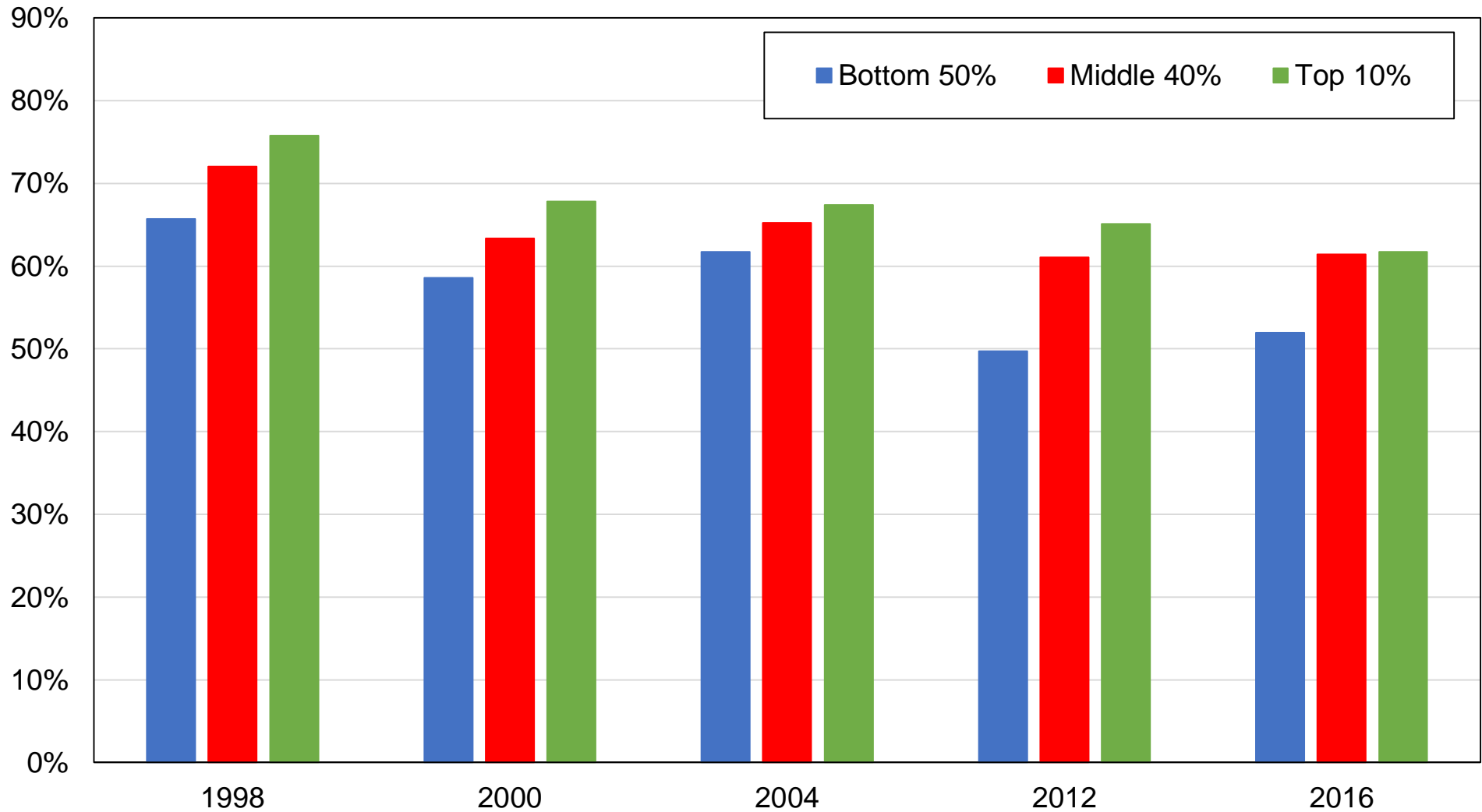
Figure C13 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by location of birth



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by location of birth.

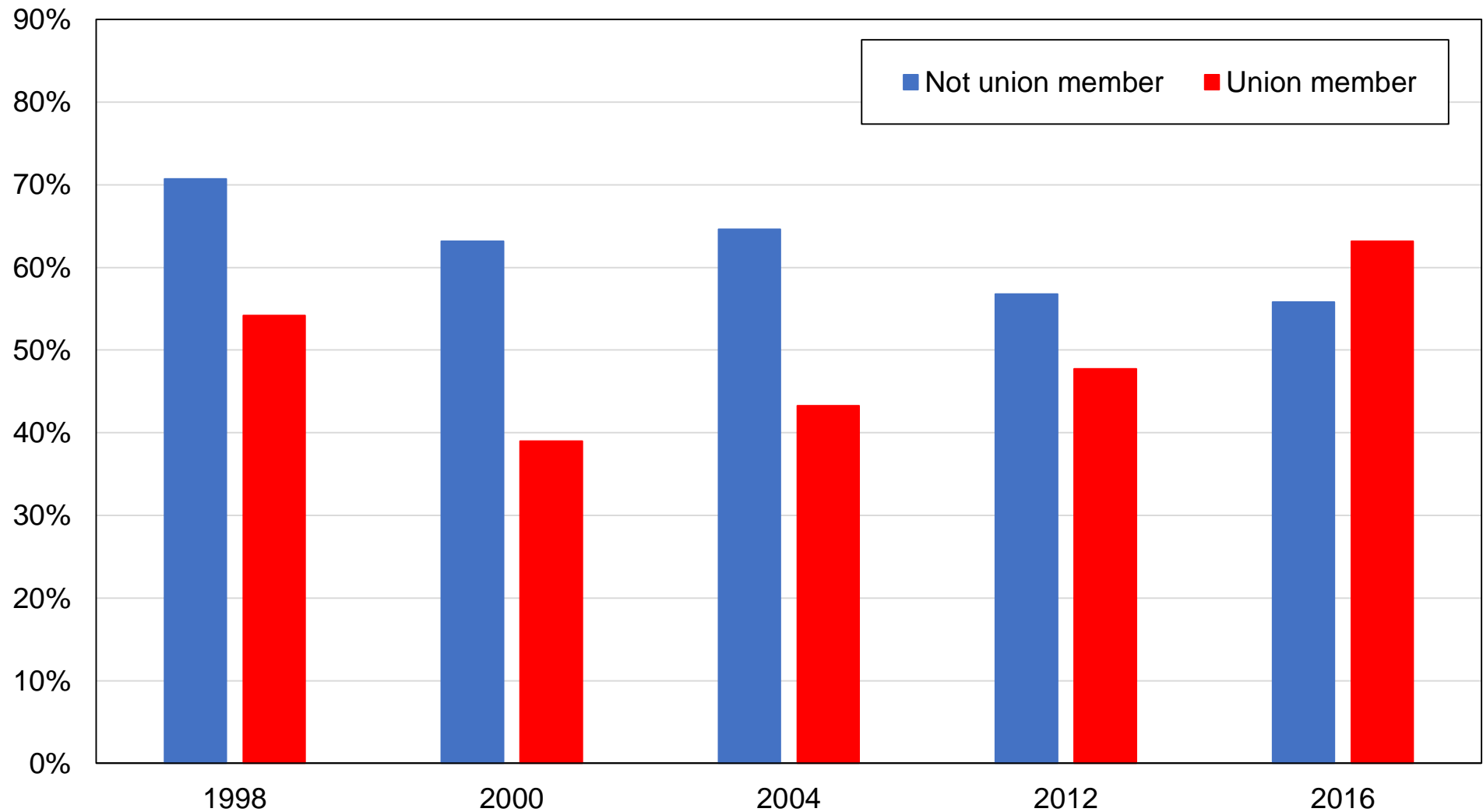
Figure C14 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by income group



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by income group.

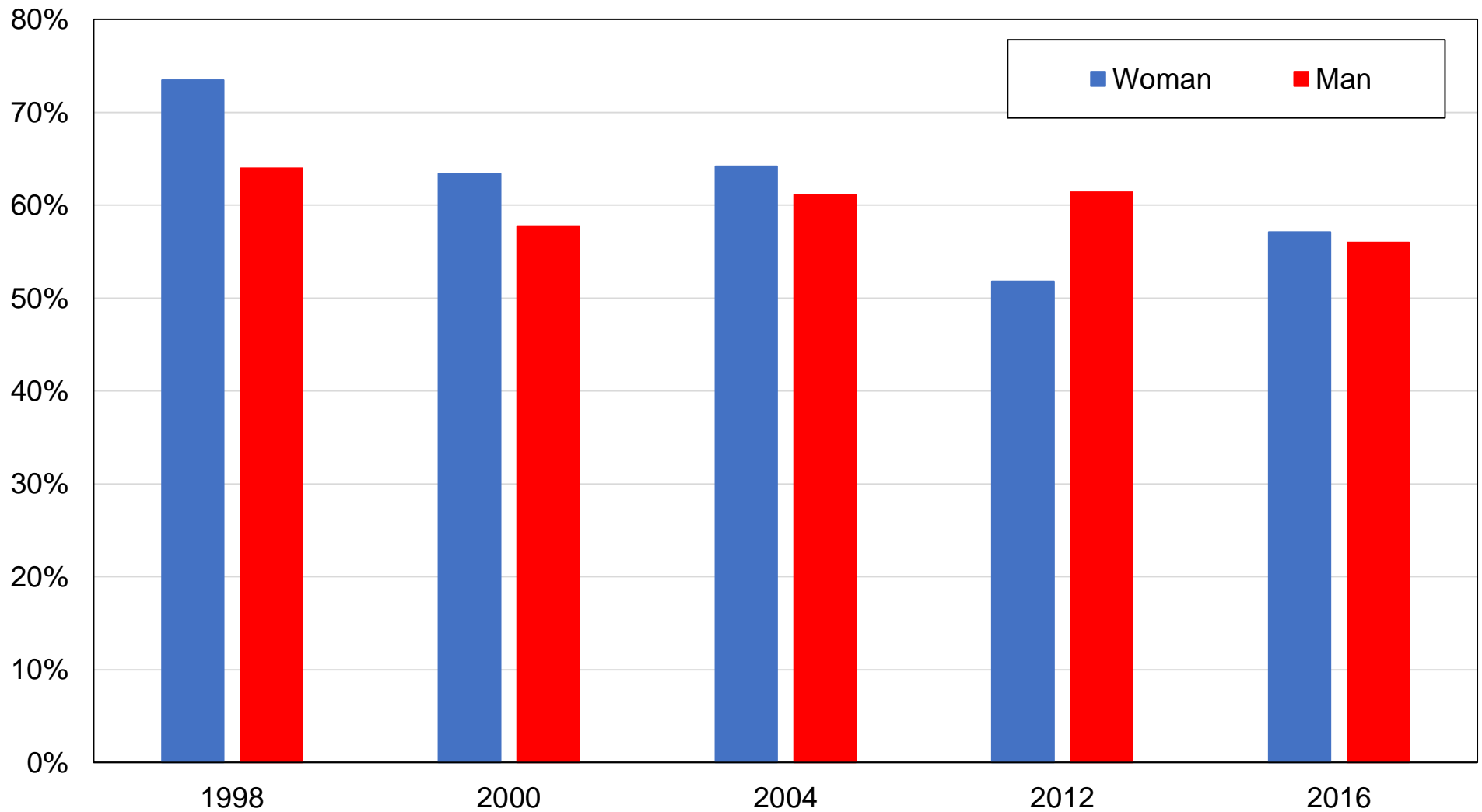
Figure C15 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by union membership.

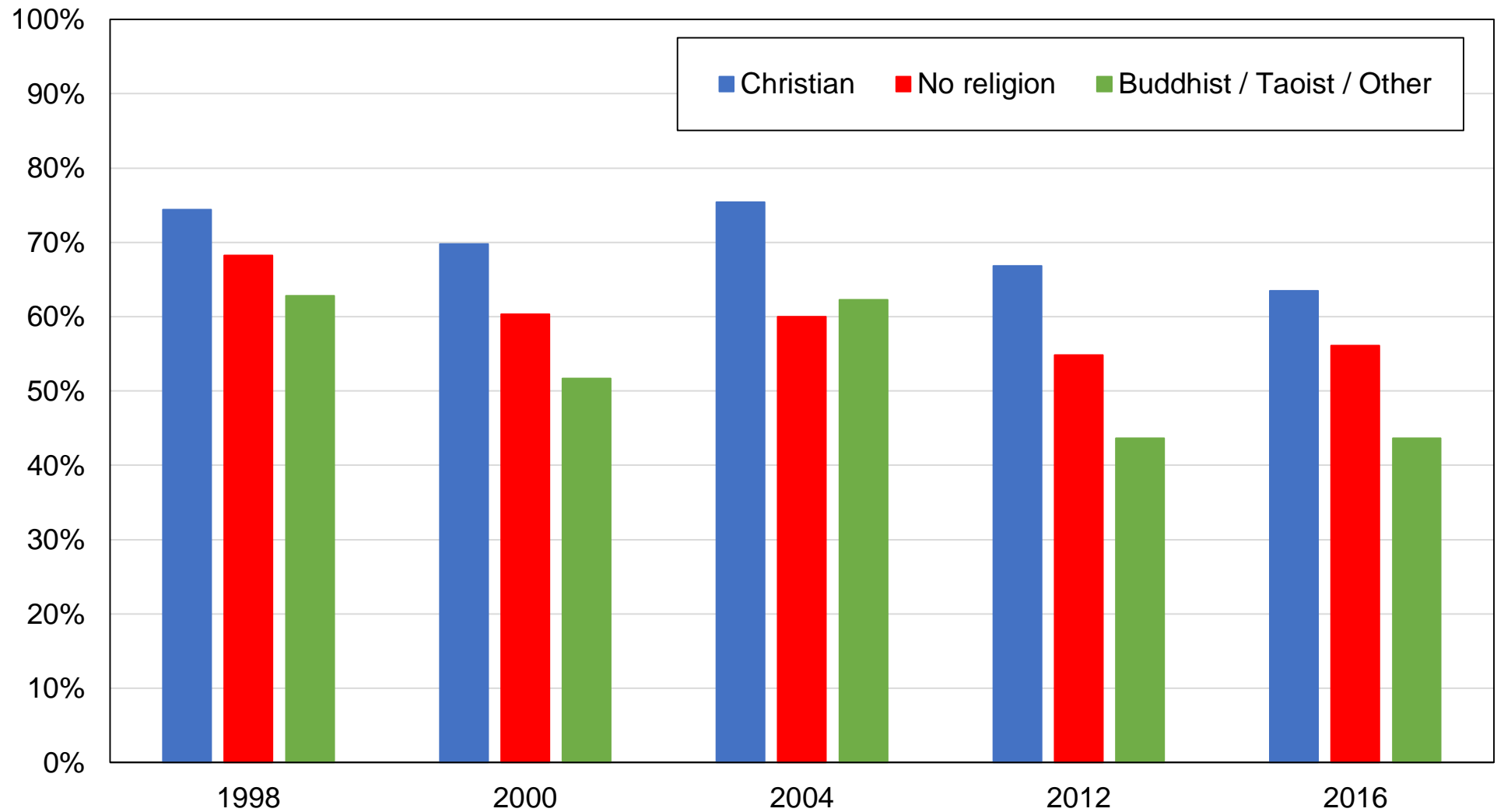
Figure C16 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by gender



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by gender.

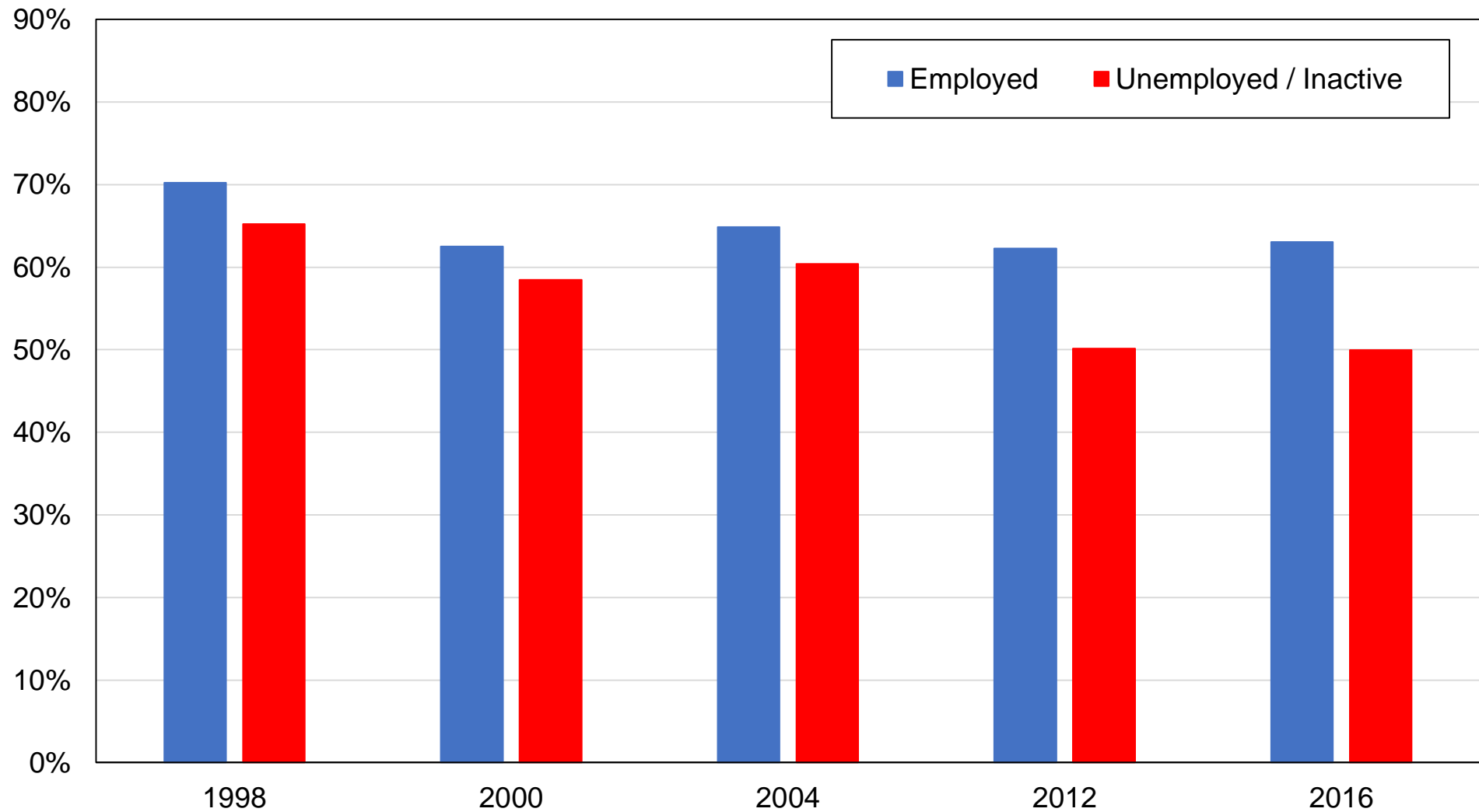
Figure C17 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by religion



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by religious affiliation.

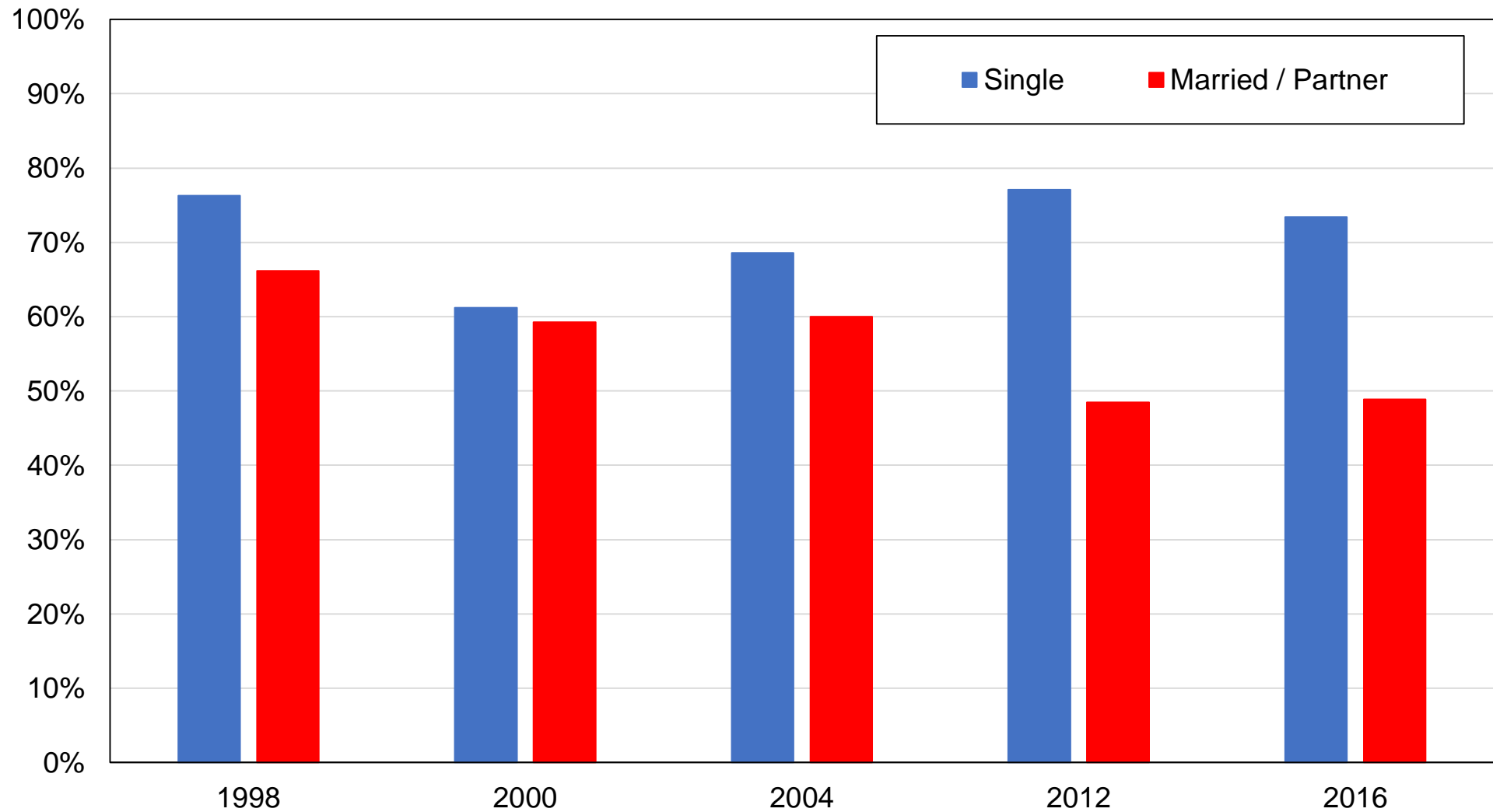
Figure C18 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by employment status.

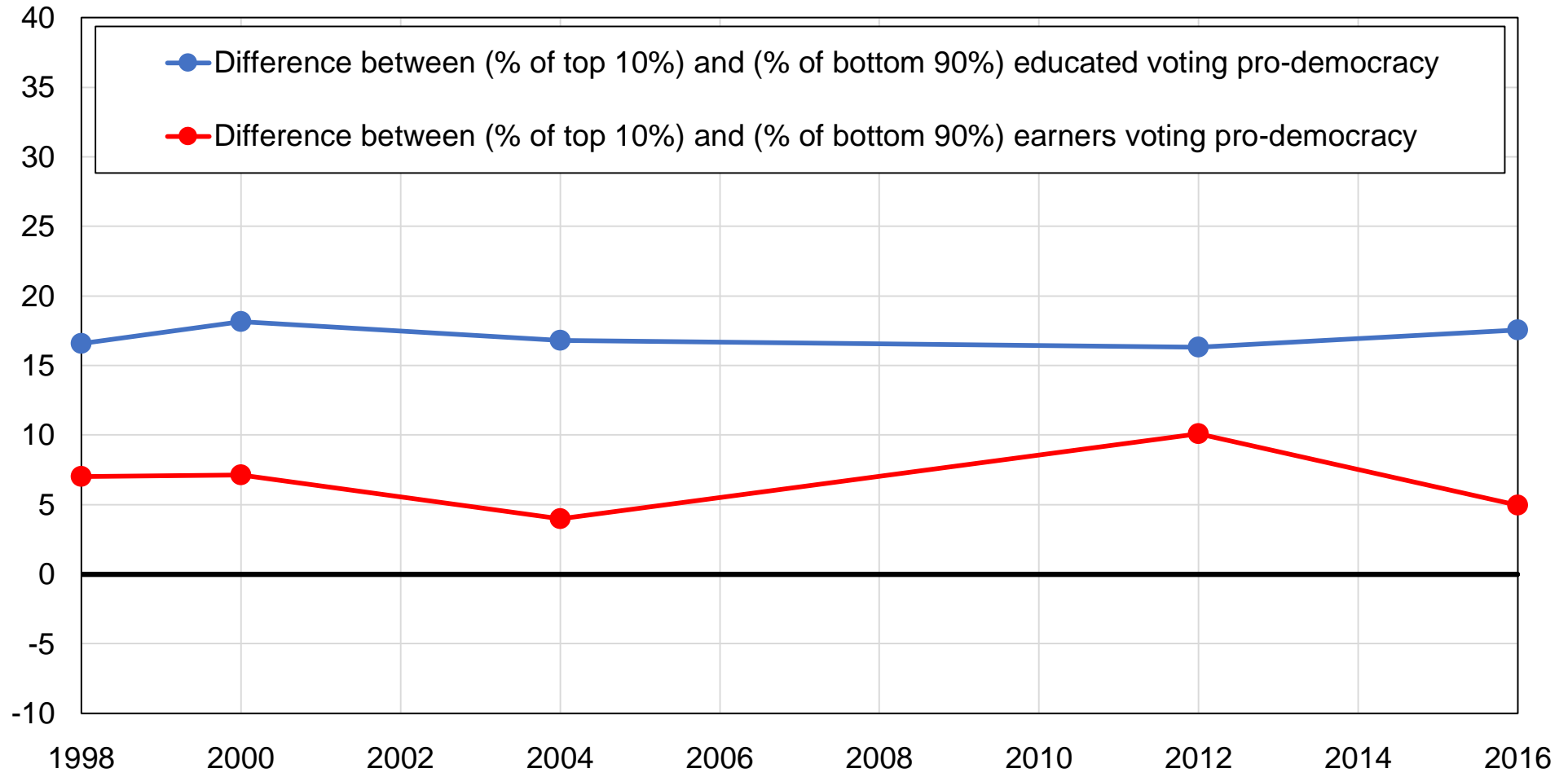
Figure C19 - Vote for pro-democracy camp by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by marital status.

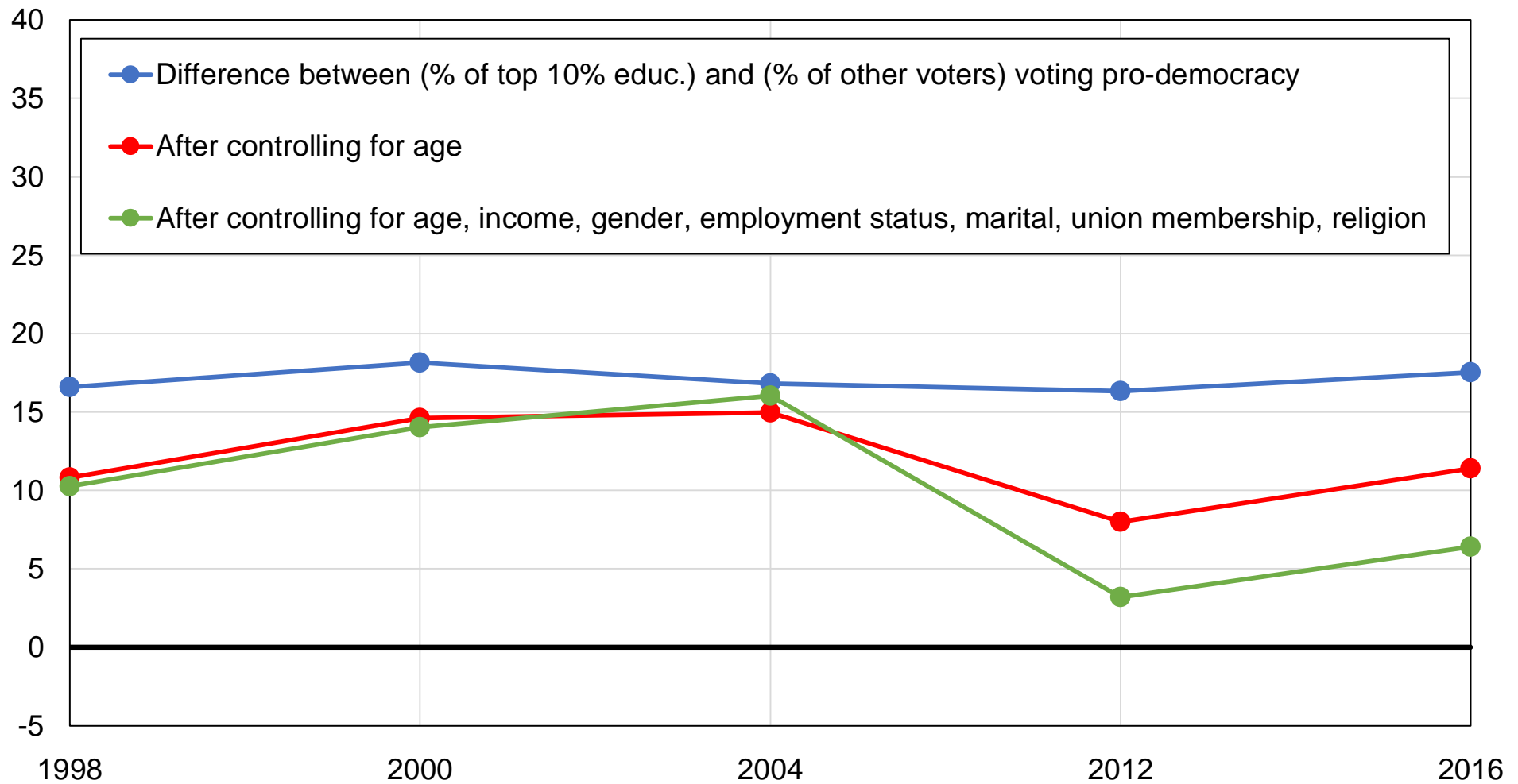
Figure C20 - Vote for pro-democracy camp among top-income and highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for the pro-democracy camp.

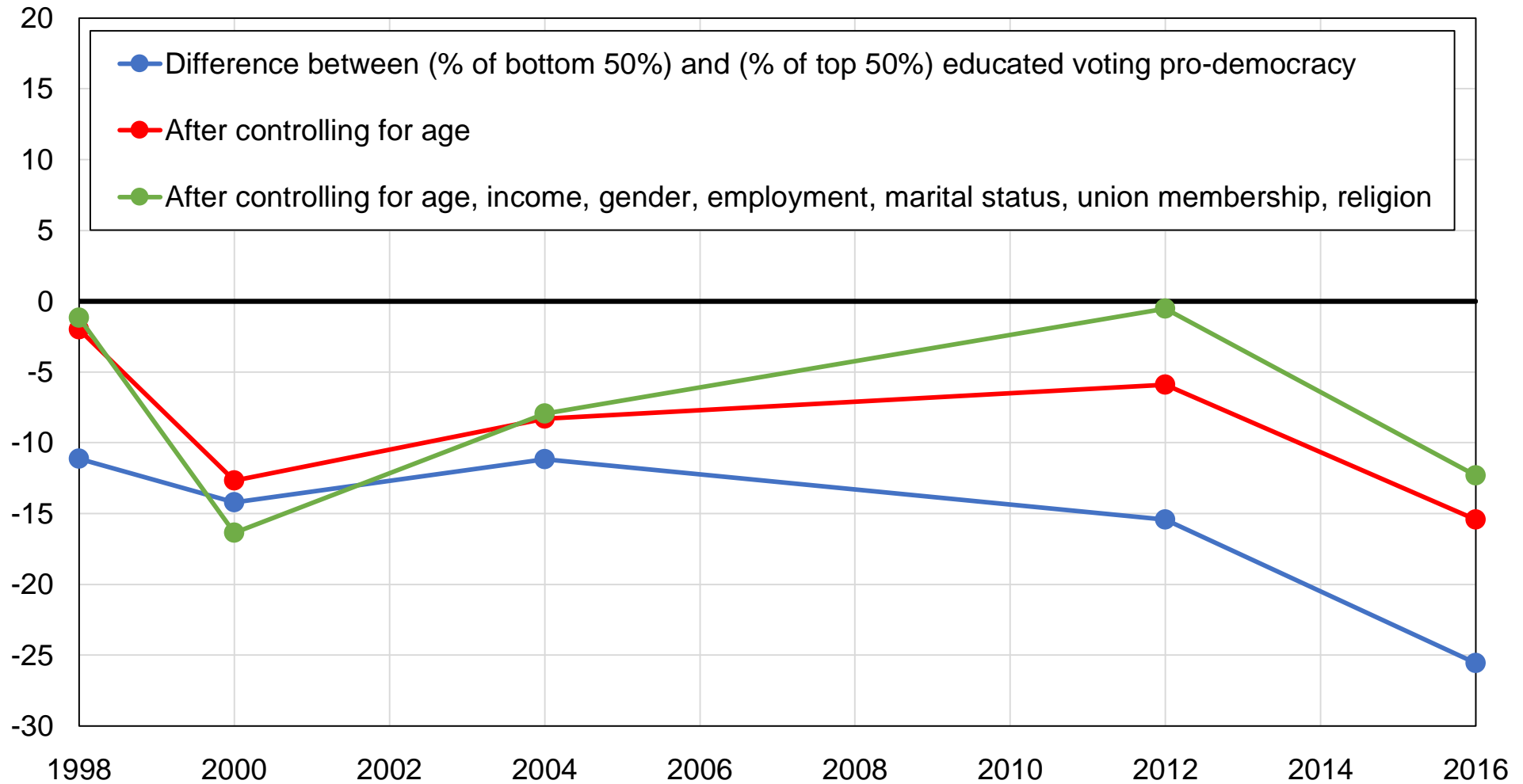
Figure C21 - Vote for pro-democracy among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

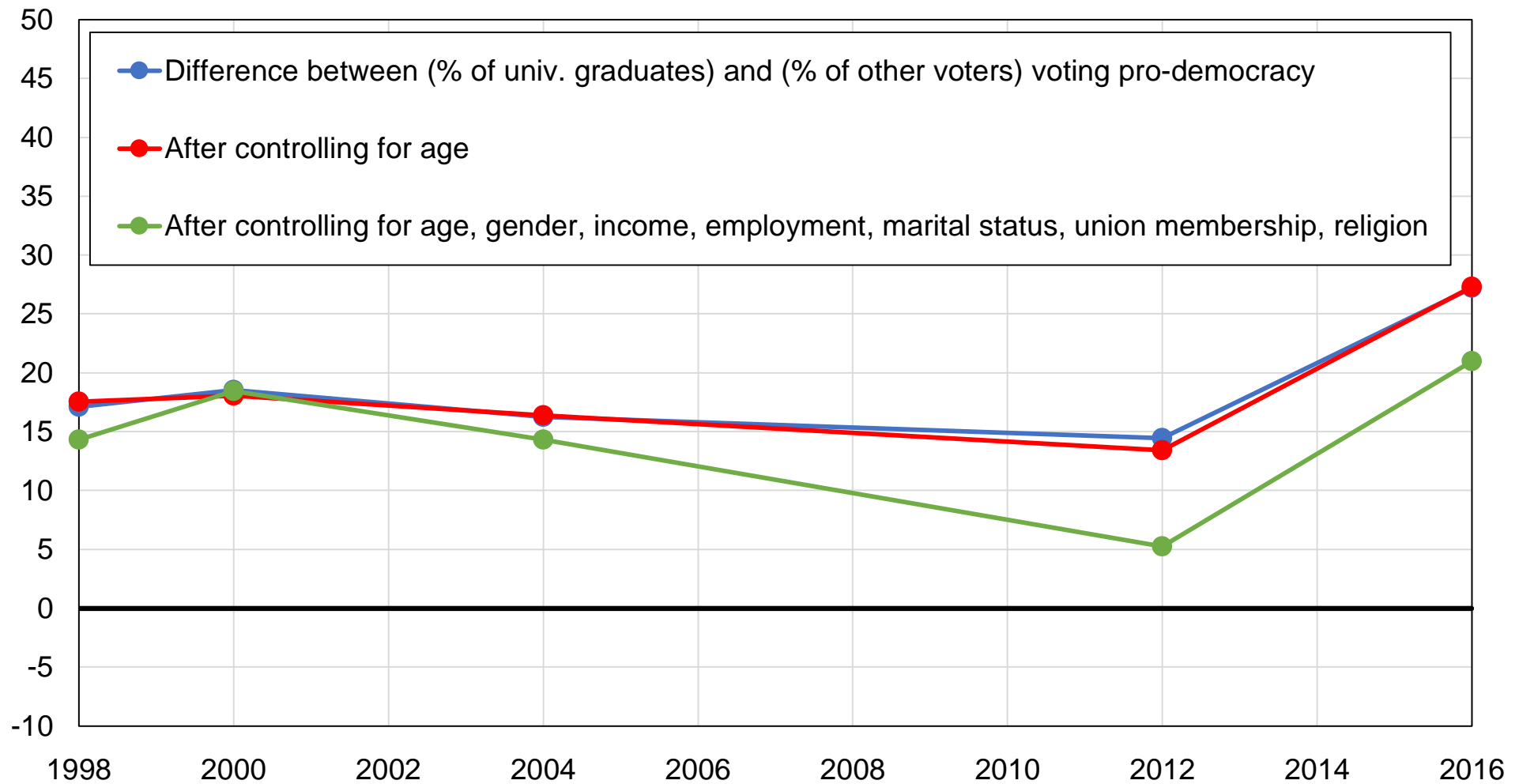
Figure C22 - Vote for pro-democracy among lowest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

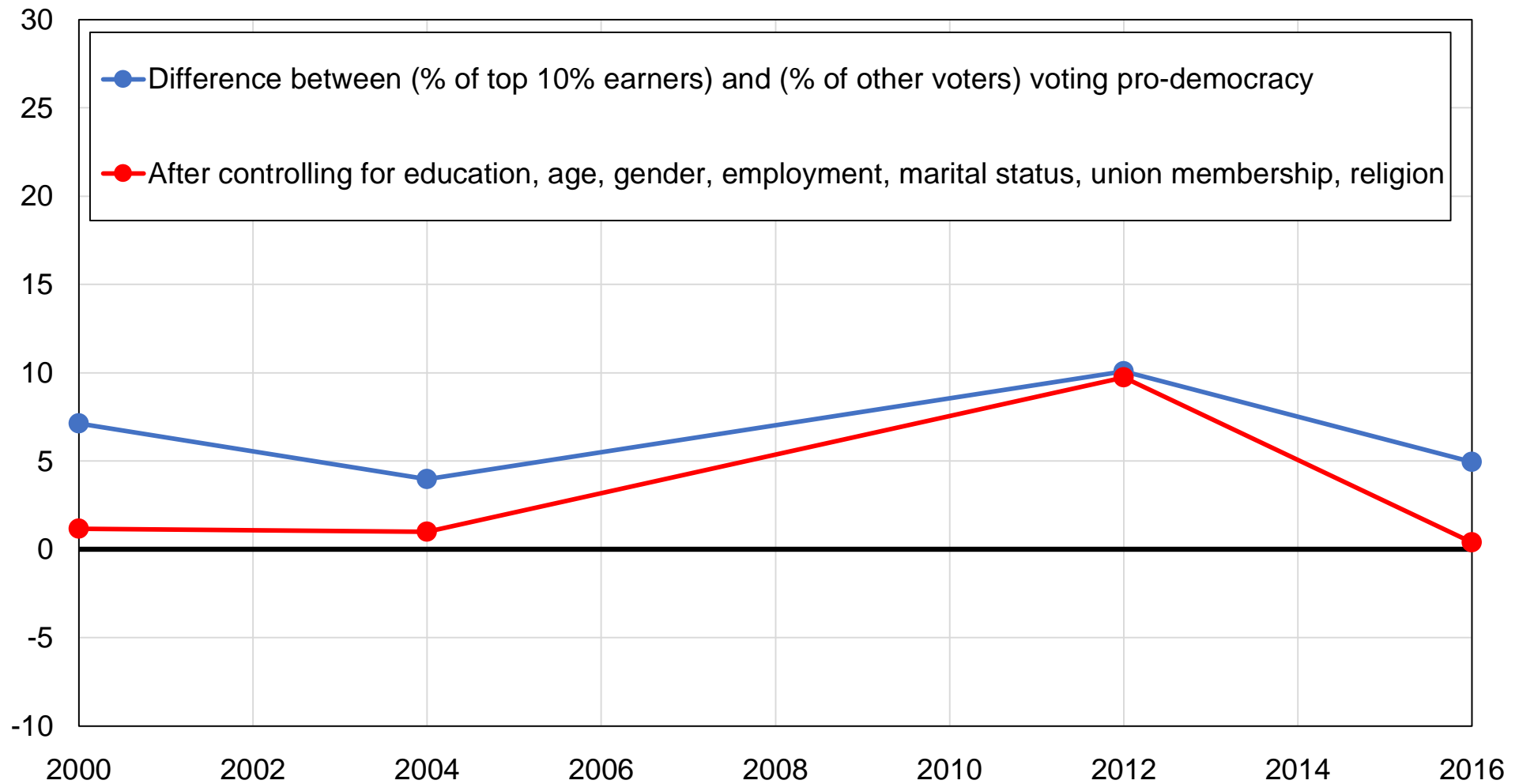
Figure C23 - Vote for pro-democracy among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

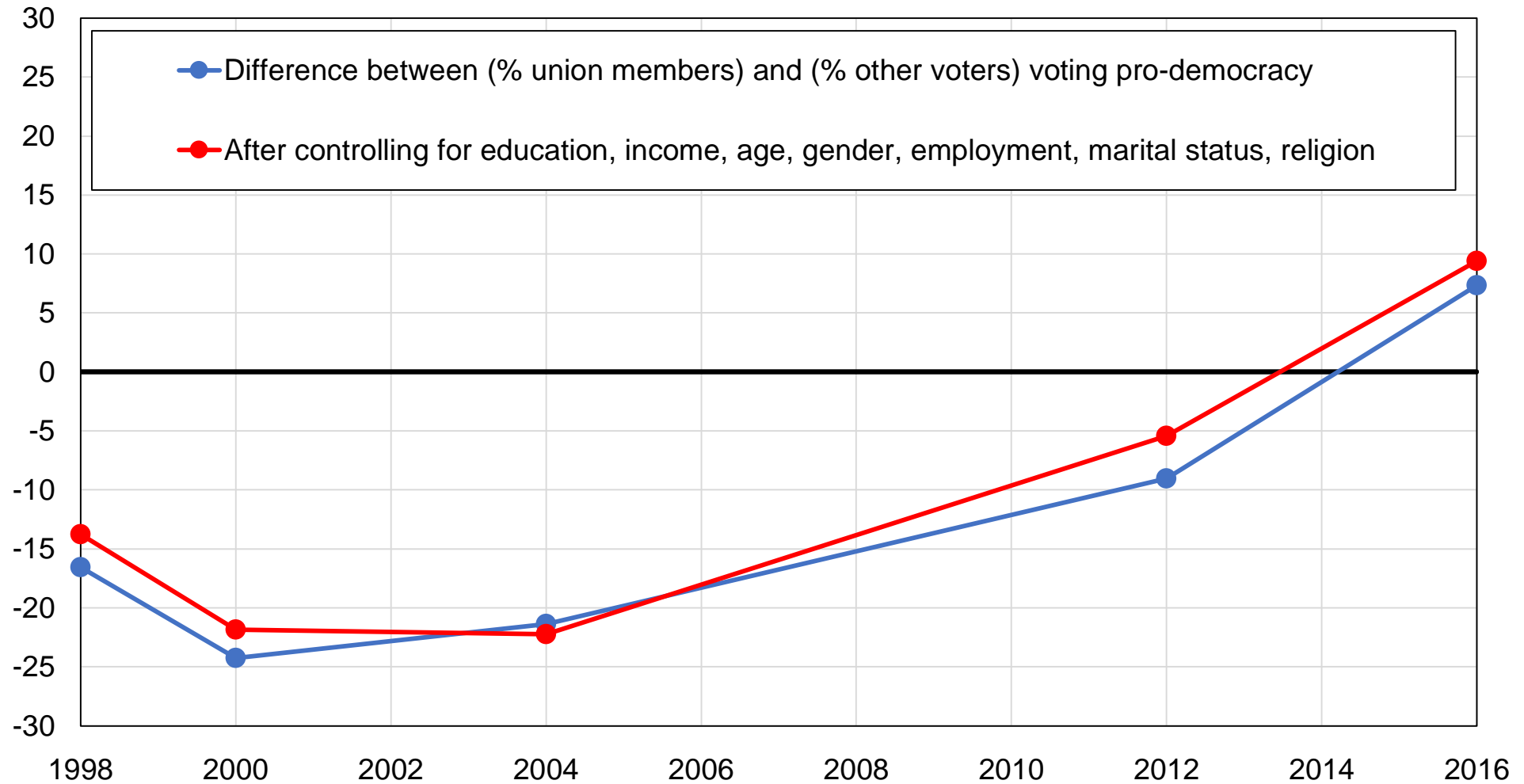
Figure C24 - Vote for pro-democracy among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

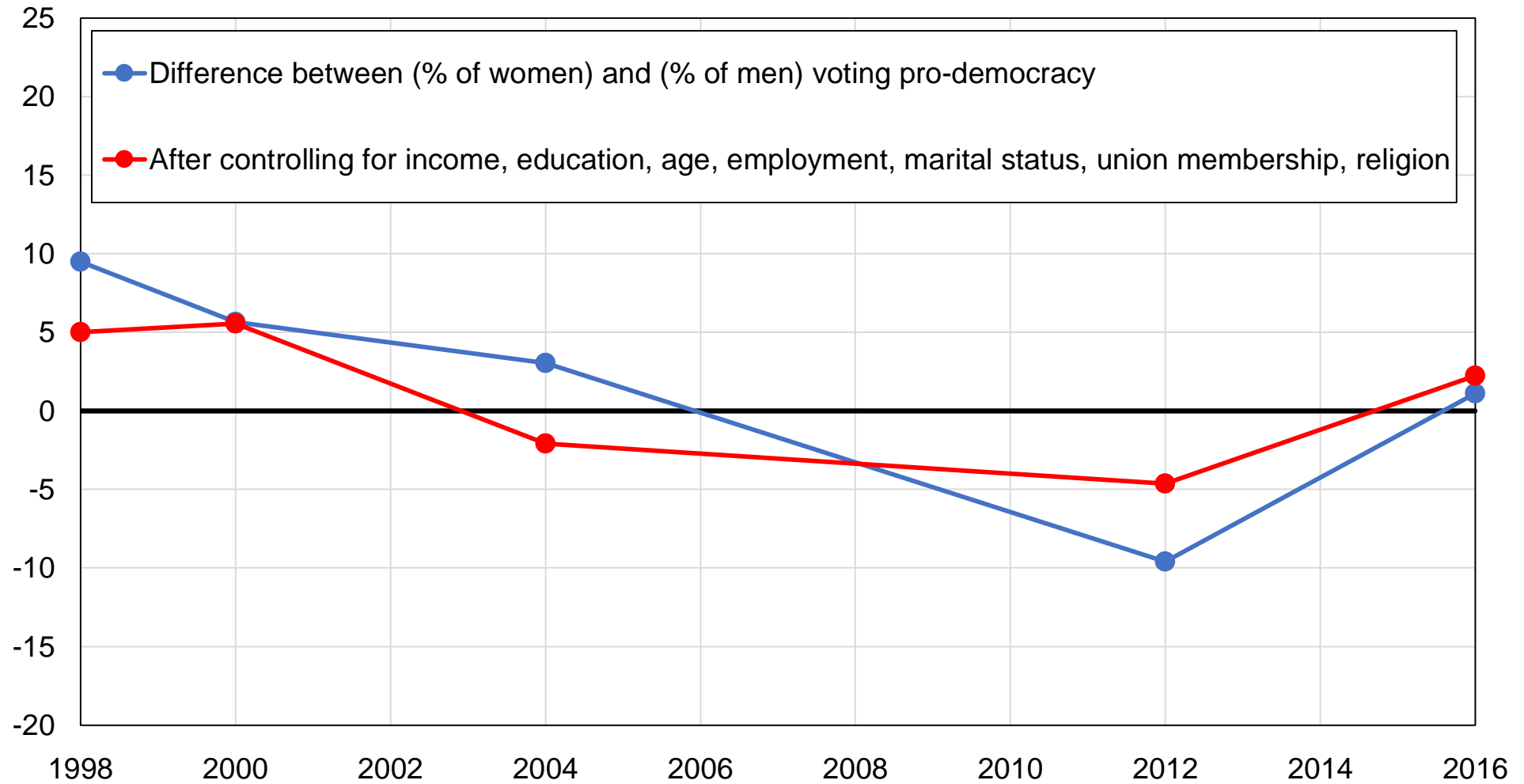
Figure C25 - Vote for pro-democracy among union members



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

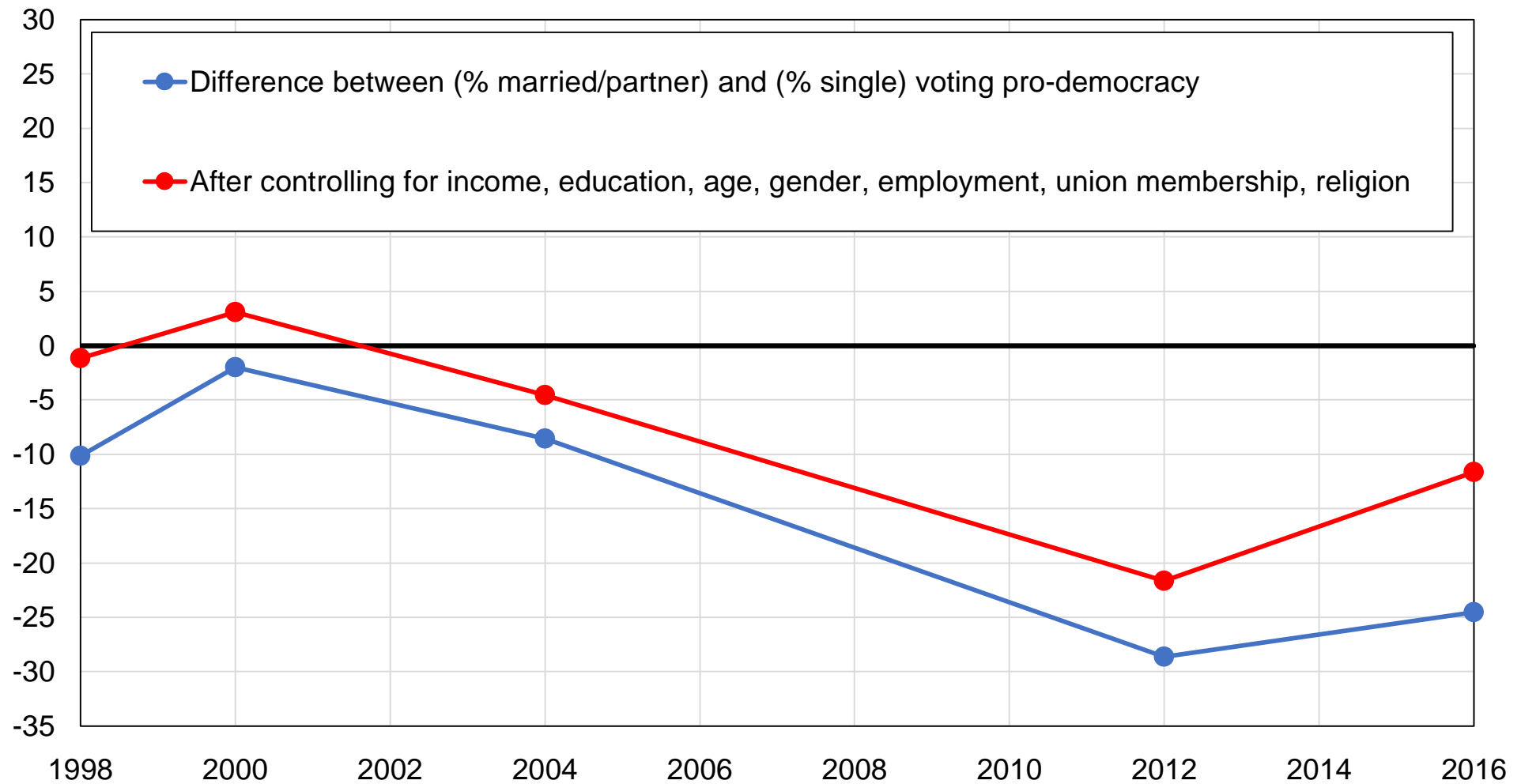
Figure C26 - Vote for pro-democracy among women



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

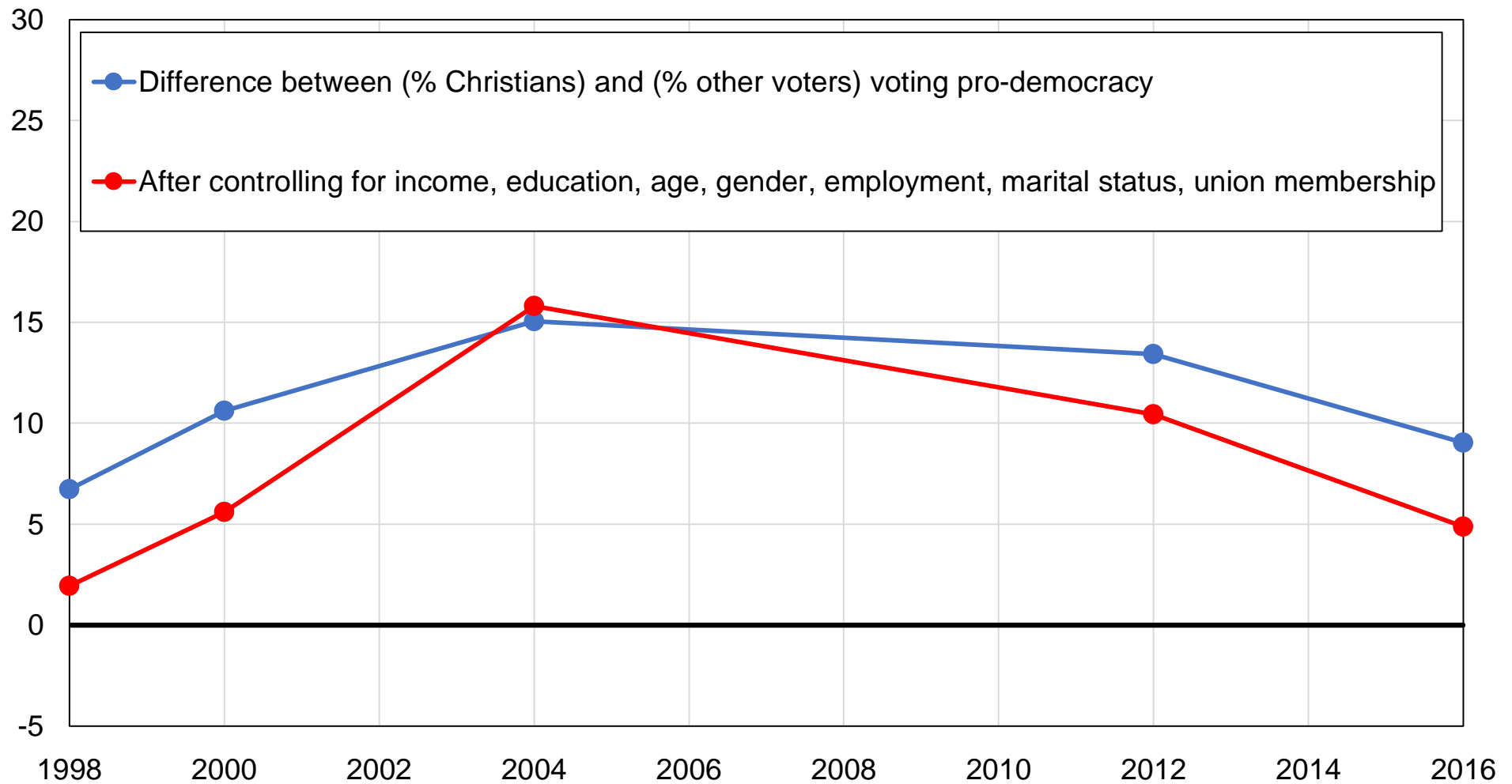
Figure C27 - Vote for pro-democracy among non-single voters



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of married voters or voters with partners and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

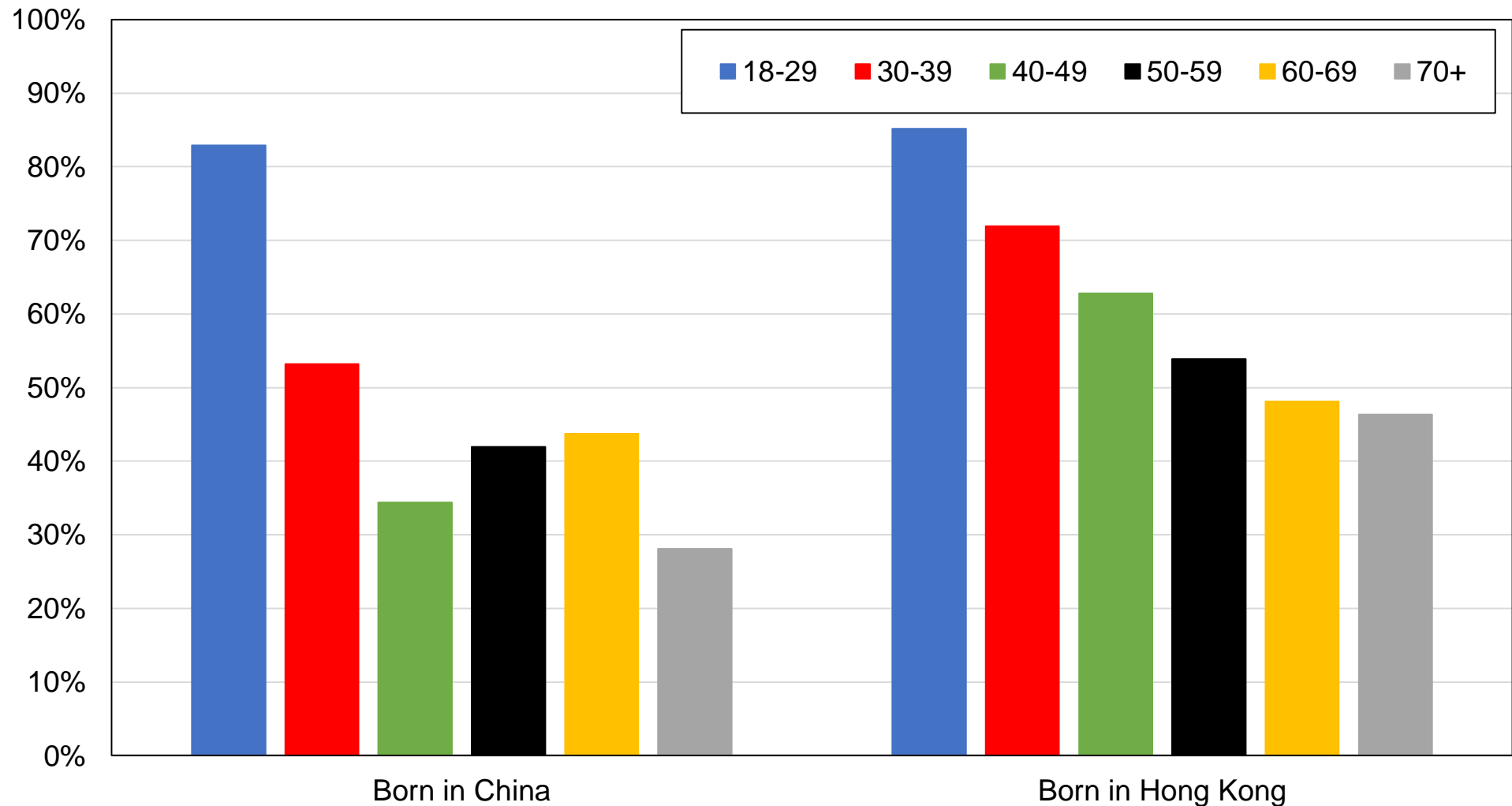
Figure C28 - Vote for pro-democracy among Christians



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Christian voters and the share of other voters voting for the pro-democracy camp, before and after controlling for other variables.

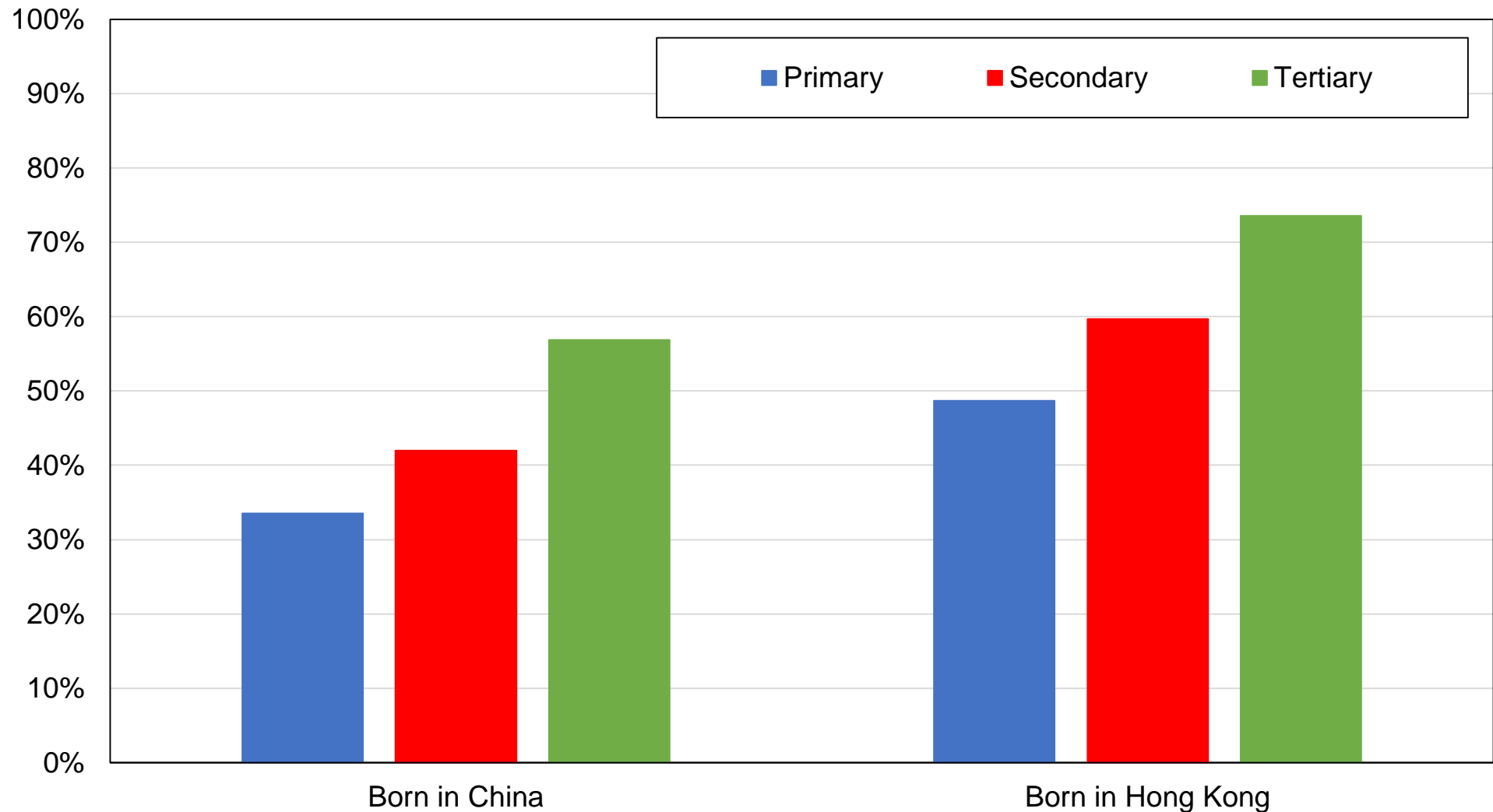
Figure C29 - Vote for pro-democracy by place of birth and age



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the average share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by age and place of birth in the 2012 and 2016 elections.

Figure C30 - Vote for pro-democracy by place of birth and education



Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the pro-democracy camp by education and place of birth in the 2012 and 2016 elections.

Table C1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1998	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1000
2000	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	674
2004	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	582
2012	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1044
2016	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1020

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. CSES: Comparative Study of Electoral System.

Table C2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	1998	2000	2004	2012	2016
Education: Primary	36%	32%	31%	32%	24%
Education: Secondary	51%	59%	57%	44%	44%
Education: Tertiary	13%	10%	12%	24%	32%
Age: 20-40	41%	43%	26%	33%	26%
Age: 40-60	42%	44%	54%	47%	50%
Age: 60+	18%	14%	20%	20%	24%
Gender : Man	50%	47%	57%	45%	49%
Employment status: Employed	62%	60%	58%	51%	52%
Employment status: Unemployed	4%	4%	7%	3%	2%
Employment status: Inactive	34%	36%	35%	46%	46%
Marital status : Married / With partner	73%	69%	73%	71%	68%
Religion: No religion	77%	76%	72%	69%	70%
Religion: Christian	13%	13%	13%	20%	20%
Religion: Buddhist / Taoist / Other	10%	11%	15%	11%	10%
Union membership : Yes	11%	8%	9%	6%	7%
Place of birth: China				25%	28%
Place of birth: Hong Kong				72%	71%
Place of birth: Other				3%	2%

Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables

Table C3 - Determinants of the vote for the pro-democracy camp, 1998-2016

	(1) 1998	(2) 2000	(3) 2004	(4) 2012	(5) 2016	(6) 1998-2016
Age: 18-29	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Age: 30-39	0.090* (0.051)	0.066 (0.076)	-0.012 (0.078)	-0.041 (0.058)	0.007 (0.071)	0.055* (0.029)
Age: 40-49	0.048 (0.053)	0.027 (0.077)	0.057 (0.065)	-0.097 (0.061)	-0.050 (0.088)	0.014 (0.029)
Age: 50-59	0.037 (0.060)	0.050 (0.086)	0.030 (0.069)	-0.185*** (0.061)	-0.085 (0.087)	-0.040 (0.031)
Age: 60-69	-0.167** (0.070)	0.105 (0.108)	-0.172* (0.094)	-0.033 (0.063)	-0.135 (0.088)	-0.126*** (0.036)
Age: 70+	-0.242*** (0.078)	-0.056 (0.131)	-0.066 (0.091)	-0.242*** (0.068)	-0.148 (0.111)	-0.190*** (0.042)
Education: Primary	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Education: Secondary	0.062* (0.035)	0.048 (0.052)	-0.065 (0.044)	0.095** (0.041)	-0.017 (0.060)	-0.002 (0.021)
Education: Tertiary	0.158*** (0.049)	0.182** (0.085)	0.082 (0.065)	0.005 (0.049)	0.134** (0.067)	0.055** (0.026)
Income quintile: 1	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Income quintile: 2	0.032 (0.044)	0.011 (0.068)	0.016 (0.065)	0.016 (0.048)	-0.046 (0.080)	0.003 (0.028)
Income quintile: 3	0.006 (0.044)	0.066 (0.068)	0.010 (0.060)	0.009 (0.057)	-0.026 (0.081)	0.008 (0.028)
Income quintile: 4	0.030 (0.045)	0.002 (0.070)	0.032 (0.060)	0.076 (0.056)	-0.005 (0.084)	0.019 (0.028)
Income quintile: 5	0.046 (0.049)	0.033 (0.077)	0.032 (0.067)	0.151** (0.063)	0.007 (0.088)	0.039 (0.030)

Gender: Man	-0.049 (0.030)	-0.033 (0.043)	0.021 (0.040)	0.050 (0.032)	-0.031 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.017)
Employment status: Inactive	0.067** (0.033)	-0.077 (0.053)	0.035 (0.046)	-0.030 (0.040)	-0.101** (0.049)	-0.018 (0.020)
Marital status: Married / Partner	-0.062 (0.042)	-0.051 (0.056)	-0.094* (0.049)	-0.223*** (0.041)	-0.228*** (0.065)	-0.130*** (0.022)
Religion: No religion	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Religion: Christian	-0.004 (0.042)	0.179*** (0.056)	0.158*** (0.045)	0.114*** (0.043)	0.058 (0.043)	0.083*** (0.021)
Religion: Buddhist / Taoist / Other	-0.073 (0.050)	-0.020 (0.066)	0.076 (0.054)	-0.024 (0.050)	-0.060 (0.077)	-0.013 (0.027)
Union membership: Yes	-0.124*** (0.042)	-0.213*** (0.069)	-0.207*** (0.059)	-0.142** (0.066)	0.061 (0.077)	-0.119*** (0.027)
Constant	0.683*** (0.058)	0.594*** (0.092)	0.671*** (0.079)	0.709*** (0.065)	0.837*** (0.111)	0.730*** (0.035)
R-squared	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.13	0.16	0.07

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows the results of a multivariate regression assessing the determinants of support for the pro-democracy camp by year, and over the entire period studied.

Table C4 - Attitudes towards identity, immigration, and integration with China by age group, 2015

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56+
Closer integration with Mainland will not benefit Hong Kong	72%	63%	54%	41%	43%
Do you think yourself as: Hong Konger	76%	70%	61%	49%	45%
Hong Kong does not have a democratic political system	69%	63%	62%	57%	50%
Too many immigrants coming from Mainland China	81%	79%	75%	71%	68%
Among top 3 problems: Income inequality	41%	38%	34%	35%	31%

Source: authors' computations based on the Hong Kong Election Study 2015.

Note: the table shows the share of individuals (1) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that closer integration with Mainland China will benefit Hong Kong (2) thinking themselves as Hong Konger rather than Chinese, Chinese Hong Konger, Hong Kong Chinese, or Other (3) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that Hong Kong has a democratic political system (4) agreeing or strongly agreeing that Hong Kong has too many immigrants coming from Mainland China (5) declaring income inequality as one of the three most important problems facing Hong Kong at the present time.

Table C5 - Structure of the Hong Kong population by place of birth, 2016

	Hong Kong	Mainland China
Overall population share	71%	28%
Education		
Primary	15%	44%
Secondary	46%	39%
Tertiary	39%	17%
Income quintile		
Quintile 1	15%	29%
Quintile 2	17%	28%
Quintile 3	22%	17%
Quintile 4	24%	10%
Quintile 5	21%	16%
Age		
20-40	32%	12%
40-60	54%	42%
60+	14%	46%

Source: authors' computations using Hong Kong political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table show the composition of the Hong Kong population decomposed by location of birth in 2016. The share of the electorate born in Hong Kong was about 71%; 15% of them were primary educated, as compared to 44% of individuals born in China.