

*Lecture Series: Heritage Produced by the Migration  
Funded by One Asia Foundation*

*Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo  
30 September 2016*

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# **Development of Opinion Polls in Hong Kong**

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*Dr Robert CHUNG*

*Director of Public Opinion Programme  
The University of Hong Kong*

# Overview of Lecture

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- \* **Greetings with a brief introduction of Hong Kong**
- \* **Introduction of Public Opinion Programme (POP), HKU**
- \* **Directions of POP Development**
  - \* **Conventional Surveys**
  - \* **Deliberative Polling**
  - \* **Mass Engagement Projects**
  - \* **Electronic Platforms for Niche Engagement**
  - \* **International Projects**
- \* **2016 Legislative Council Election Surveys**
- \* **2017 Chief Executive Election Surveys**

# About Hong Knog

# About Hong Kong

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- \* From the Wikipidea [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong\\_Kong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong):
  - \* Archaeological studies support human presence in the Chek Lap Kok area (now Hong Kong International Airport) from 35,000 to 39,000 years ago.
  - \* From the mid-Tang dynasty to the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Hong Kong was a part of Dongguan County (東莞縣/ 東官縣). During the Ming dynasty, the area was transferred to Xin'an County (新安縣). The indigenous inhabitants at that time consisted of several ethnicities such as Punti, Hakka, Tanka and Hoklo.
  - \* During the Qing dynasty, the Kangxi Emperor ordered the evacuation of coastal areas of Guangdong from 1661 to 1669. Over 16,000 inhabitants of Xin'an County including those in Hong Kong were forced to migrate inland; only 1,648 of those who had evacuated subsequently returned.

# About Hong Kong

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- \* During the First Opium War (1839–42), Hong Kong became a British colony with the perpetual cession of Hong Kong Island, followed by the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860 and a 99-year lease of the New Territories from 1898.
- \* Hong Kong was occupied by Japan during the Second World War until British control resumed in 1945.
- \* After the war, a wave of skilled migrants from the Republic of China moved in to seek refuge from the Chinese Civil War. When the Communist Party took over mainland China in 1949, even more skilled migrants fled across the open border for fear of persecution.
- \* Many newcomers, especially those who had been based in the major port cities of Shanghai and Guangzhou, established corporations and small- to medium-sized businesses and shifted their base operations to British Hong Kong.

# About Hong Kong

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- \* In the early 1980s, negotiations between the United Kingdom and China resulted in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Hong Kong in 1997 became a special administrative region (SAR) under China with a high degree of autonomy.
- \* On 1 July 1997, Tung Chee-Hwa became Hong Kong's first Chief Executive. In May 2003, he attempted to legislate Article 23 (National Security) of the Basic Law aroused strong suspicion among Hong Kong citizens, causing a mass demonstration on 1 July 2003. Tung stepped down on 10 March 2005.
- \* Donald Tsang succeeded as the Chief Executive until 2012, but he was plagued by news of bribery near the end of his term.
- \* Leung Chun-ying became Chief Executive in 2012, and has become the least popular CE ever since, especially after the Umbrella Movement in 2014.

# **Introduction of HKU POP**

# About HKU POP

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- \* Established in June 1991. The first of its kind established within an academic institution in Hong Kong.
- \* Now directly under the Faculty of Social Sciences of The University of Hong Kong.
- \* To collect and study public opinion on a wide range of topics which are of interest to academics, journalists, policy-makers, and the general public.
- \* Project collaborators include public organizations, NGOs, government departments, media organizations, green groups, political parties, commercial firms, other universities as well as international associations.
- \* By 2016, POP has conducted over 1,500 independent surveys, mostly supported by outside bodies and funding.

# POP's Service Policy

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- \* POP adheres strictly to a set of self-imposed service policies designed to safeguard its independence, autonomy and shared copyrights of the research outputs it produces. All POP Polls are targeted for public consumption, but flexibility is allowed on the timing of release.
- \* POP bears full responsibilities of our research work, including the sampling design, questionnaire design, fieldwork operation, data analysis, and report writing.
- \* These service terms are the pillars of our credibility, and differentiate us from other research institutes.

# Snapshots of POP Head Office

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# Organization Chart

Programme Director  
**Dr Robert CHUNG**

Assistant Director  
**Ms Karie PANG**

Core Research Team

Research Managers

Mr Frank LEE  
Ms Winnie LEE

Senior Research Executive

Ms Joyce CHAN

Research Executives (Projects)

Ms Jasmine LI  
Mr Kenneth CHAN  
Mr Stanley CHU

Senior Data Analyst  
Mr Edward TAI

Statistical Assistants

Mr Alex HUANG  
Mr Alan YUM

Administrative Support

Executive Assistant  
Ms Carmen LAW

Executive  
Ms Shirry HEUNG

Clerical Assistant  
Ms Evelyn CHING

Technical Support

IT Advisor  
Mr KK CHEUNG

Analyst Programmers

Mr Kin WONG  
Mr Dicky WONG

Frontline Support

Supervisors

Mr Jeff CHEUNG  
Ms Jasmine CHOW  
Mr Pak-Ho MUI

Telephone Survey Laboratory

A pool of approx. 300 part-time interviewers

**HKU POP Site**  
(<http://hkupop.hku.hk>)



最新內容 新聞公報 民意調查 民意日誌 研究報告 專題項目 民意平台 民意專欄 網上資源 檔案資料 關於我們

搜尋相關資料

本地公眾人物 非本地公眾人物 政策與政治研究 社會研究 機構及團體

特首梁振英評分  
13/9/2016

38.7 ▲ 2.2

民情指數  
15/9/2016

59.3 ▼ 7.7

# 2016年立法會選舉專頁 2016 LC Election Feature Page

港大民研今日發放特首及政府民望數字

27/9/2016

彭定康、董建華、曾蔭權及梁振英評分比較 - 按次計算

彭定康、董建華、曾蔭權及梁振英評分比較 (按月計算)

Comparison between Ratings of Chris Patten,

Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang Yam-kuen and Leung Chun-ying (monthly average)



重點專題

民情指數

民意平台

「民情指數」專頁

七一遊行人數點算計劃

其他遊行集會研究專頁

市民的身分認同感

財政預算案專頁

施政報告專頁

六四事件專頁

POP 流動應用程式

民意調查原始數據 **New!**  
Opinion Survey Dataset

PopVote  
民間全民投票  
Civil Referendum

普及投票  
POPVOTE

最新內容

媒體報導

民意日誌

港大民研今日發放特首及政府民望數字

27/9/2016

特首民望

27/9/2016

政府民望

27/9/2016



特首民望



政府民望

民情指數



- What's New
- Press Releases
- POP Poll**
- Opinion Daily
- Research Reports
- Special Features
- Opinion Platforms
- POP Column
- POP Resources
- Archive
- About POP

Search Wizard

Local Public Figures Non-local Public Figures Research on Politics and Policies Social Research Groups & Organizations

POP Polls

Back

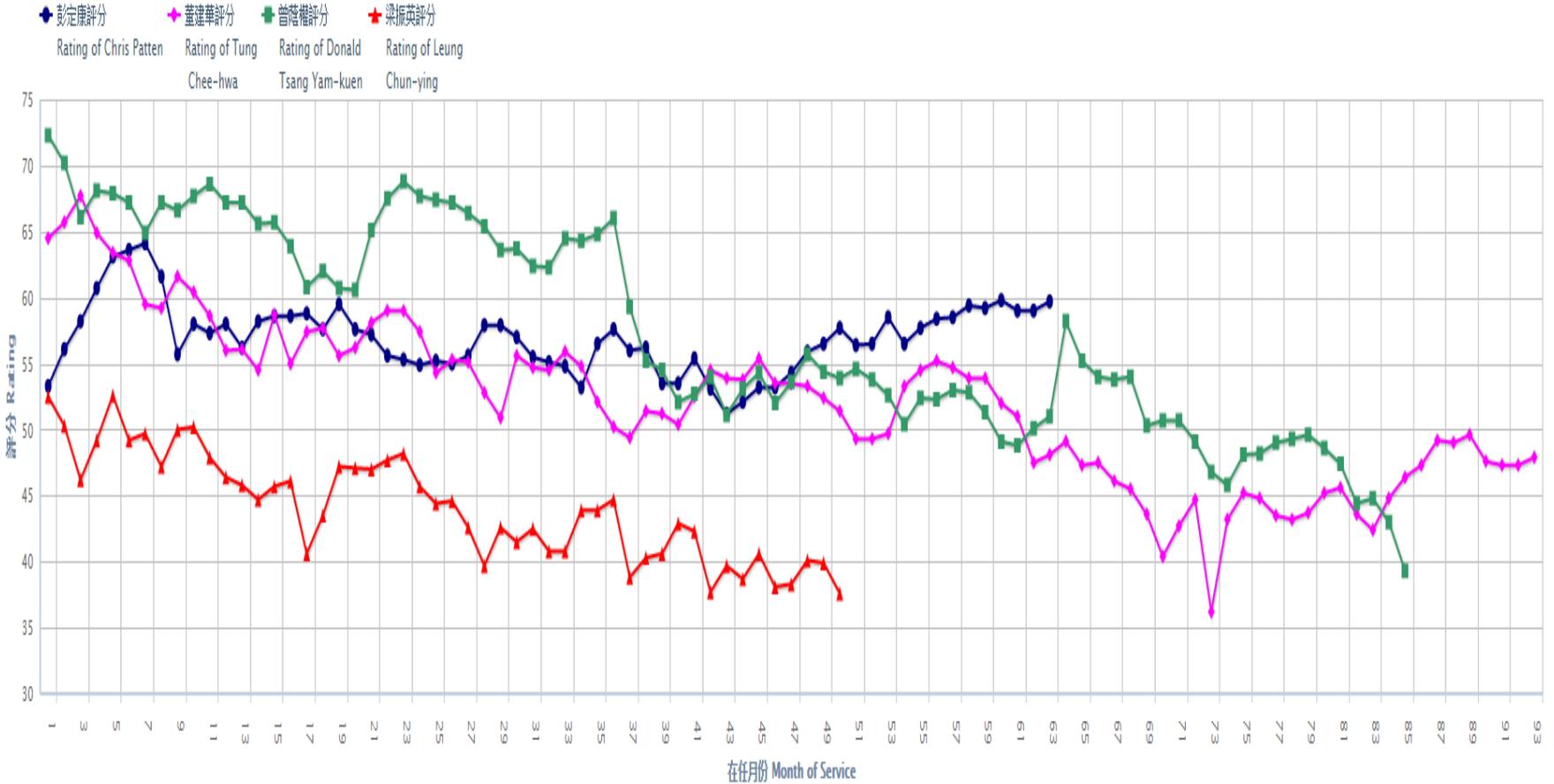
| Listing according to topic and item | Listing according to last date of release | Archive - POP Polls |

| Reference - Collection of Findings for Ratings of Political Figures | Reference - Collection of Findings for Ratings of Political Groups |

| Module code | Description  | First survey | Online since | Last survey  | Last release |
|-------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 01          | Popularity of Chief Executive<br>FAQs                    | 29-31/8/1996 | 17/11/2000   | 19-22/9/2016 | 27/9/2016    |
|             | Support Rating of CE Leung Chun-Ying                     |              |              | Last survey  | Last release |
|             | Support Rate of Leung Chun-Ying                          |              |              | 19-22/9/2016 | 27/9/2016    |
|             |  |              |              | 19-22/9/2016 | 27/9/2016    |
| 07          | Popularity of the Government<br>FAQs                     | 8-10/12/1992 | 28/6/2000    | 19-22/9/2016 | 6/9/2016     |
|             | Satisfaction with HKSARG's performance [+]               |              |              | Last survey  | Last release |
|             | People's Trust in HKSARG                                 |              |              | 19-22/9/2016 | 27/9/2016    |
|             |  |              |              | 19-25/8/2016 | 6/9/2016     |
| 02,03       | Popularity of Principal Officials<br>FAQs                | 10-15/4/1997 | 15/2/2001    | 12-14/9/2016 | 20/9/2016    |
|             | Popularity of Secretaries of Departments [+]             |              |              | Last survey  | Last release |
|             | Popularity of Directors of Bureaux [+]                   |              |              | 5-8/9/2016   | 13/9/2016    |
|             | The suitability of Principal Officials designates        |              |              | 5-8/9/2016   | 13/9/2016    |
|             | Popularity of Executive Councillors                      |              |              | 28-29/6/2012 | 5/7/2012     |
|             | Popularity of Under Secretaries and Political Assistants |              |              | 12-14/9/2016 | 20/9/2016    |
|             |  |              |              | 4-9/1/2010   | 19/1/2010    |

彭定康、董建華、曾蔭權及梁振英評分比較 (按月計算)

Comparison between Ratings of Chris Patten,  
Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang Yam-kuen and Leung Chun-ying (monthly average)



■ 彭定康出任特首任期 (由 7/1992 至 6/1997)  
■ 董建華出任特首任期 (由 7/1997 至 3/2005)  
■ 曾蔭權出任特首任期 (由 6/2005 至 6/2012)  
■ 梁振英出任特首任期 (由 7/2012 至今)

# Directions of POP Development

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- \* Standard **conventional surveys**: Constant enhancement of content and methodology, with a high degree of IQ
- \* **Deliberative polling**: Introduction of quality deliberation in opinion formation and expression, via DF and DP
- \* **Mass engagement** projects: Development of civil referendums and electronic voting (*PopVote*)
- \* Niche engagement projects: Especially with young people on **electronic platforms** (*PopCon*)
- \* International projects: Like **WAPOR 2012** Conference, **WAPOR-Asia**, **ANPOR**, **HAPOR**, World Public Opinion, Greater China Region projects
- \* **Basic groundwork development**: WebCATI, WebOMR, WebCAPI using mobile devices, and so on.

# *Conventional Surveys*

# Research Projects

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- As of now, POP has conducted over 1,500 independent surveys, approx. 60 per year, 5 per month.
- Common survey methods adopted:
  - 1) *Random telephone surveys*
  - 2) *Face-to-face interviews*
  - 3) *Online surveys*
  - 4) *Mail surveys*
  - 5) *Focus groups*
- Two major categories of POP projects: 1) **Self-initiated & self-funded** tracking polls, and 2) **Commissioned projects** by outside parties.

# Areas of Interest

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- \* Electoral study
- \* Government policies
- \* Media performance
- \* General political issues
- \* Societal and livelihood issues
- \* Health issues

# Topics of POP Tracking Polls (selected)

## Popularity of the Chief Executive

- \* Popularity of the Government
- \* Popularity of Principal Officials
- \* Popularity of Councilors
- \* Popularity of Disciplinary Forces
- \* Appraisal of Current Conditions
- \* Social Indicators

## Freedom Indicators

- \* Rule of Law Indicators
- \* Media Performance
- \* Annual Series (4 June, Year-End)
- \* National Issues
- \* Policy Address Survey
- \* Budget Survey
- \* Election Surveys

### 梁振英最新民望



■ 評分：46.5分(-2.5)  
■ 支持率：33%(+2%)  
■ 反對率：50%(-3%)

港大民意研究計劃

### 區議會選舉前哨調查結果

港大民意研究計劃

|            | 2015年 | 2011年 |       |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 打算於區議會選舉投票 | 71%   | 66%   | ▲5百分點 |
| 表示已經決定投給誰  | 30%   | 37%   | ▼7百分點 |

### 警隊民望再創歷來新低

資料來源：港大民意研究計劃



# Commissioned Surveys

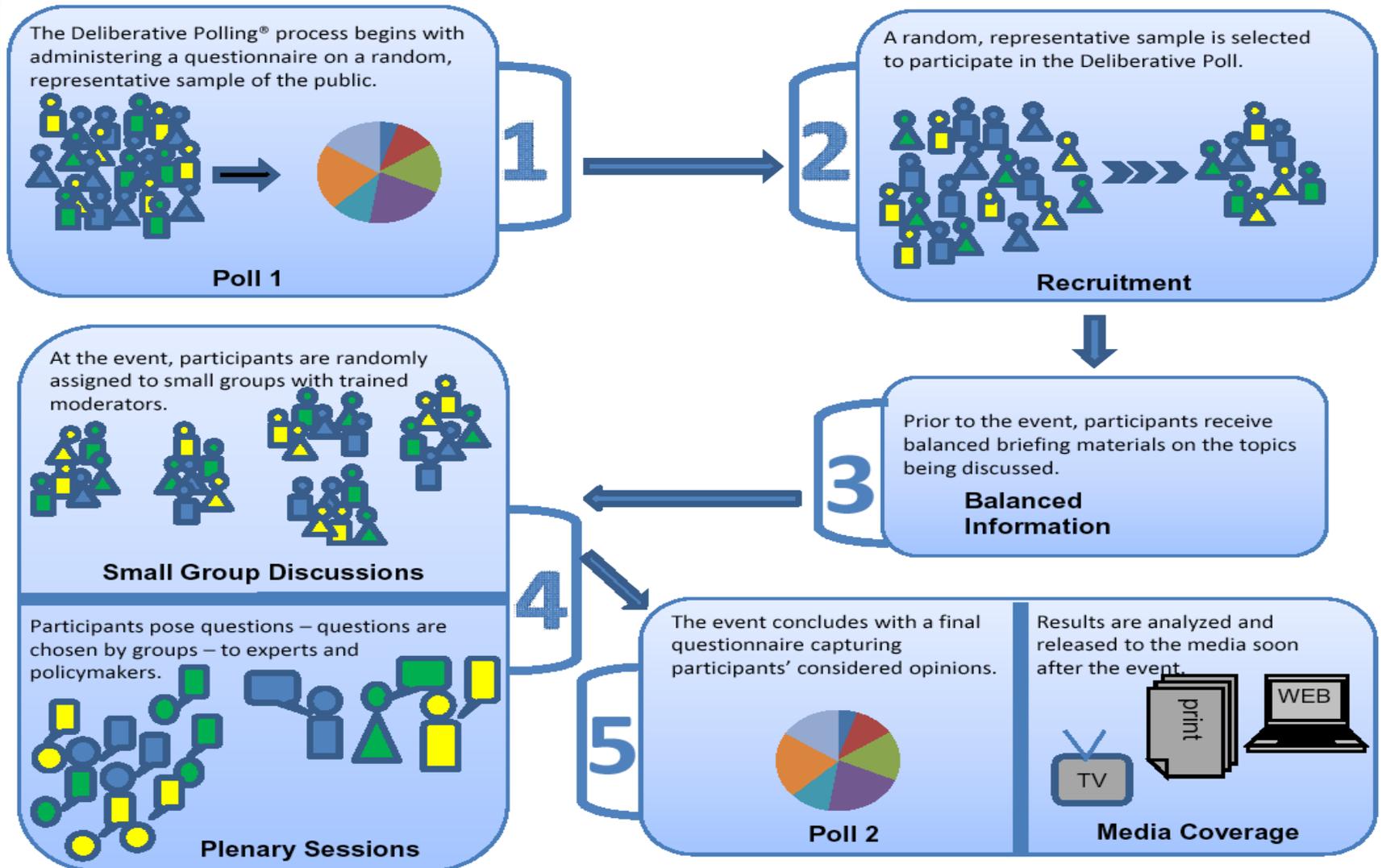
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*Recent commissioned surveys include:*

- \*2016 Legislative Council Election Surveys
- \*Survey on Donation Culture and Policy Donation
- \*Survey on the Review of the Medical Council of Hong Kong
- \*Survey on 2017 Chief Executive Election
- \*Survey on Retirement Protection
- \*Survey on Alcohol Control Policy
- \*Survey on Hong Kong Women's Understanding of Breast Cancer Screening
- \*Press Freedom Index Survey (Annual survey since 2013)
- \*Survey on the Public's Opinion towards Employee Choice Arrangement of MPF
- \*Survey on Public Perception of Independence Police Complaints Council (Annual survey since 2013)
- \*Opinion Survey on the Public Ranking of Universities in Hong Kong (Annual survey since 2001)
- \*TV Programme Appreciation Index Survey (Quarterly survey since 1998)
- \*Opinion Survey on Poverty Issues in the Policy Address (Annual survey since 2010)

# *Deliberative Polling*

# Deliberative Polling



# POP's involvement in DP development in HK

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- \* DP Workshop, Feb 2009, HK
- \* Deliberative Forum, Feb 2010, HK (on policy reform)
- \* DP Workshop, Mar 2010, HK
- \* Deliberative Forum, Nov 2010, HK (on 2023 Asian Games bid)
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- \* Deliberative Forum, June 2015, HK (on political reform proposal)
- \* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2016, HK (on retirement protection scheme)

## Press

Plans to introduce Deliberative Polling® to Hong Kong *Hong Kong Economic Journal* 6/2011

Public consultation helps solve tough problems *Apple Daily* 6/2011



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- \* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2016, HK (on retirement protection scheme)

# Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP)



A civil disobedient movement mobilizing 10,000+ citizens to pressure the Central Government for a “genuine” universal suffrage in 2017 for the selection of the region’s Chief Executive.

# OCLPDS DP2 - Rundown

Date: September 29, 2013 (Sunday)

Time: 14:00 to 18:40

Venue: Lee Shau Kee Lecture Centre, Centennial Campus, the University of Hong Kong

| <b>Time</b>   | <b>Rundown</b>  |
|---------------|---|
| 13:00 – 13:45 | <b>Registration</b>   |
| 14:00 – 14:20 | <b>Plenary Session 1</b><br>[Event moderator to introduce the event objectives, rundown and topics of small group discussions]                                    |
| 14:30 – 15:30 | <b>Small Group Discussion 1</b><br>[Participants to discuss in groups of 10 led by trained facilitators]  |
| 15:40 – 16:50 | <b>Plenary Session 2</b><br>[Representative of each small group to report the most important question(s) raised in group discussion for panel experts to respond] |
| 17:00 – 18:00 | <b>Small Group Discussion 2</b><br>[Participants to discuss in groups of 10 led by trained facilitators, and to fill in a post-deliberation questionnaire]        |
| 18:10 – 18:40 | <b>Plenary Session 3</b><br>[Experience sharing by event organizers and participants]   |
| 18:40         | <b>Event Ends</b>   |

# OCLPDS - Second Deliberation Day (DP2)

## 29 September 2013

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# 民研商討日參加者贊成公民提名



港大民意研究計劃舉辦第二次商討日，隨機抽樣市民參與討論「特首選舉設計」。參與者在經過多輪會議後，明顯對《基本法》規定的重要性評價降低，平均下降1.1，至4.6；認為依《國際公約》原則的則持續在高位，由8.2，升至8.4。參與者相當贊成公民提名，對沿用上屆選舉委員會則相當反對。

但參與者對「佔領中環」行動並不樂觀，商討前有17%認為行動能成功影響中央，商討後為20%。民研同時以電話訪問了逾千人，只有6%受訪者認為行動成功機會大，73%受訪者認為機會細，與6月時變化不大。

雖然多人傾向向公民提名，但行政會議成員鄭耀業昨天表示，公民提名納入政改諮詢是微乎其微，《基本法》及人大常委決議根本沒有提到這建議。政務司司長林鄭月娥昨天也指出，政改討論須在法律框架下進行。但政府消息人士

昨天指，首輪諮詢是開放式討論。

民研計劃總監羅耀輝【圖】在會後公布民調結果，發現參與者相當反對沿用上屆選委會的模式，由不同界別人士產生提名委員會，10分為非常贊成平均值只有2.7。商討後更跌至2.3。支持公民提名的，商討前後維持有7.8及7.9分的高位，多人非常贊成選舉設兩輪制，並非常重視《國際公約》。

就中央政府有權不任命及避免普選產生的特首，參與者商討前分別為2.9及2.7分，即相當反對，評分在商討後略升，雖認為反對意見減低，但仍不希望見到有關情況發生。

## 對「佔中」不樂觀

昨天商討過程全程5個多小時，參與者10人一組，在小組會議由專人帶領下討論特首選舉設計，並商議稍後向專家提出的問題。之後4位專家包括教院教授盧克興、浸大助理教授黃偉國、城大講師黃志偉及港大研究經理李偉健，在全體會議回應小組的問題，由參與者再行深化討論。

論。

17個小組的提問圍繞提委會的代表性、公民提名、普選定義、基本法修訂及中央任命權。盧克興提出公民提名與提委會的精英參與有衝突，而《基本法》難操作可彈性處理，但不應輕易修改。市民要多思考香港普選設計上要走向西式，或是循序漸進產生「香港模式」。

黃志偉回應表示，香港16年的精英參與式政治，正反映問題所在，認為《基本法》有進步空間，修改與否是「事在人為」，並肯定「普及而平等」在國際上的界定清晰。

參與者對佔中成效不樂觀，「佔中」發起人中大社會系副教授陳健民認為結果正常，自言對行動能否成功也不樂觀，但認同「唔係因為有希望先做，係要做先有希望」。他指現時「愈做愈有希望」，形容行動已發揮影響力。

中大政治與行政學系高級講師蔡子強認為，民調結果與討論氣氛及講者背景有關，指市民對對「佔中」未必會應邀出席，故參與者多為對「佔中」開放及關心民主人士。

## 參與者商討前後的意見變化

| 意見   | 商討前<br>(1為絕不重要10為絕對重要) | 商討後 | 變化   |
|--|------------------------|-----|------|
| 按《基本法》規定設立提名委員會                              | 5.7                    | 4.6 | -1.1 |
| 按《公民權利及政治權利國際公約》規定的「普及和平等」原則，不可設下不合理條件限制公民參選 | 8.2                    | 8.4 | +0.2 |
| 意見   | 商討前<br>(1為非常反對10為非常贊成) | 商討後 | 變化   |
| 公民可以直接提名特首候選人，但要有一定數量的公民共同提名一人               | 7.8                    | 7.9 | +0.1 |
| 若在特首選舉中沒有候選人得票超過一半，由得票最多的兩位候選人進入第二輪投票        | 8.1                    | 8.2 | +0.1 |
| 沿用上屆選舉委員會的模式，由不同界別人士產生提名會                    | 2.7                    | 2.3 | -0.4 |
| 中央政府有權不任命普選產生的特首                             | 2.9                    | 3.4 | +0.5 |
| 中央政府有權罷免普選產生的特首                              | 2.7                    | 3.0 | +0.3 |

資料來源：港大民意研究計劃

信報



參與者明顯對《基本法》規定的重要性評價降低

(柯澤儀)

“*POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination*”

Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013

# POP's involvement in DP development in HK

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# Deliberative Forum (January 2015)

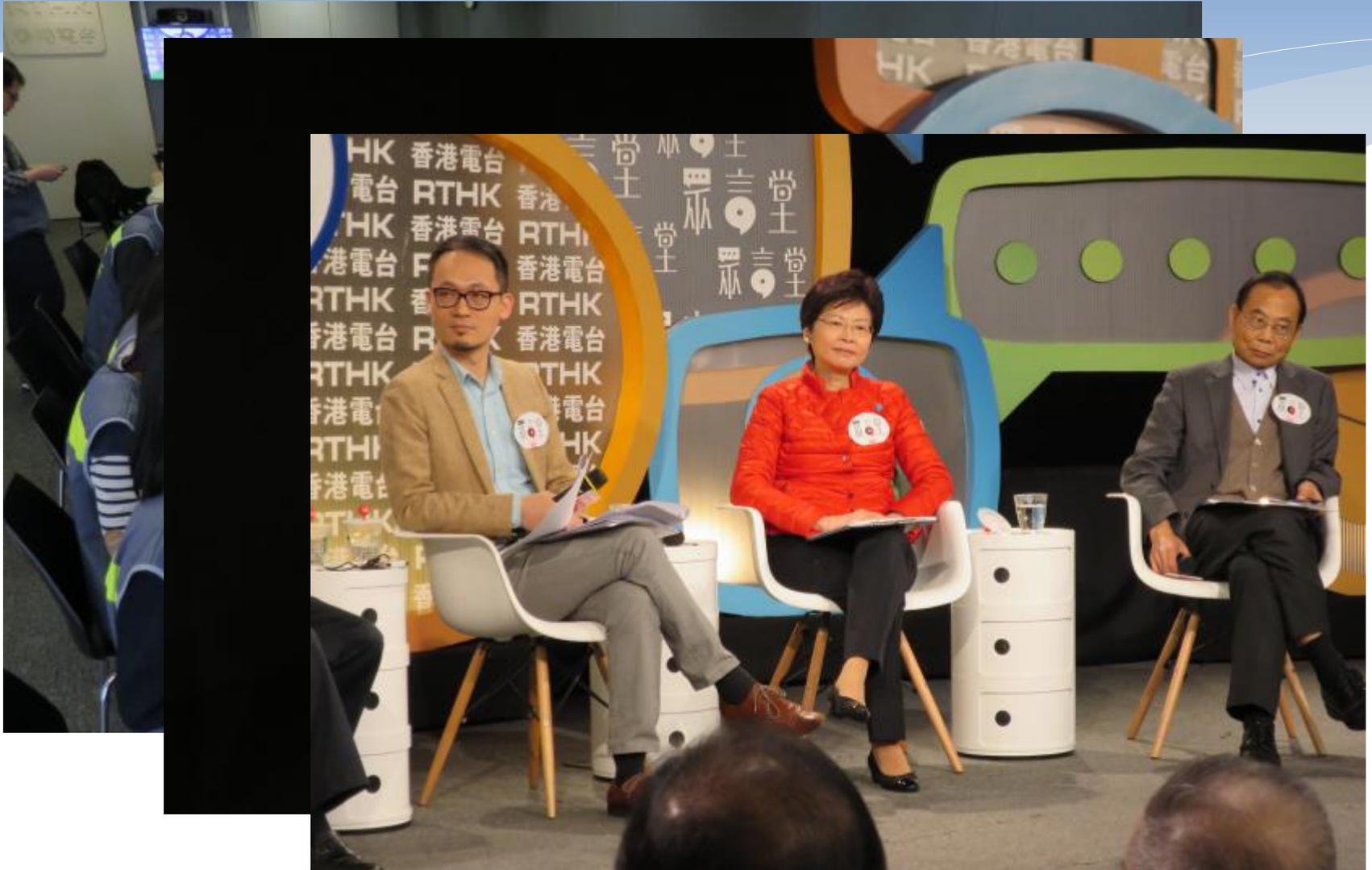


# Deliberative Forum (June 2015)

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# Deliberative Forum (Mar 2016)



# Challenges in Running “D-Projects”

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## *Fulfilling 5 key principles*

- \* **Balance** - The organizer should provide the participants with balanced information for and against all arguments before the deliberation.
  - \* *Ensuring balanced materials and panel experts*
- \* **Engagement** - Deliberative meetings target to promote active citizenship by engaging the public into the discussion and/or decision making process.
  - \* *Ensuring active participation by a randomly selected representative sample*
- \* **Civility** - Discussion and deliberation must be based on mutual respect.
  - \* *Ensuring a safe environment for participants to express their views, e.g. protecting anonymity, privacy, etc.*
- \* **Equality** - Deliberation should be conducted fairly, each participant should be considered equal.
  - \* *Ensuring fair and equal conversation led by moderator*
- \* **Rationality and openness** - Individuals are not called to give up their own interests, but they should also consider other views before building or adjusting their opinions.
  - \* *Ensuring rational conversations between people with different background (education, social, cultural, etc.)*

# *Mass Engagement Projects*

# PopVote

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Voting platform for mass engagement

- \* To construct a civil society by promoting civil participation
- \* To demonstrate an electronic voting system



# Voting Channels

## Website

HKID number  
SMS verification



## Mobile App

HKID number  
SMS verification



香港大學民意研究計劃  
Public Opinion Programme  
The University of Hong Kong

普及投票 PopVote



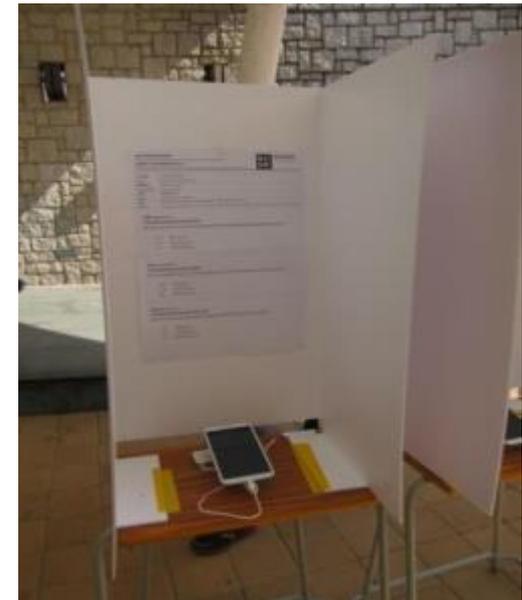
請選擇語言  
Please select a language

中文

English

## Polling Stations

HKID card verification  
Tablets



# Three Large-Scale Events

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## 1st

## 2nd

## 3rd

### 3.23 Civil Referendum

March 23-24, 2012

*Mock CE Election*

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| Web          | 66k         |
| App          | 71k         |
| Station      | 85k         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>222k</b> |

*(valid votes)*

### New Year Civil Referendum

January 1, 2014

*Express views on the principles of CE Election*

|              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| Web          | 19k        |
| App          | 40k        |
| Station      | 3k         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>62k</b> |

*(valid votes)*

### 6.22 Civil Referendum

June 20-29, 2014

*Constitutional reform proposals*

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| Web          | 235k        |
| App          | 486k        |
| Station      | 70k         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>792k</b> |

*(valid votes)*

# PopVote 3.23 Civil Referendum (1)

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- \* To echo with the 2012 CE election held on March 25
- \* On March 23, for the general public to express their support towards different candidates
  - \* Three objectives:
    - \* 1) to provide a multi-dimensional reference for the public and the election committee,
    - \* 2) to construct a civil society by promoting civil participation, and
    - \* 3) to demonstrate the electronic voting system.
- \* Design:
  - \* All local citizens of age 18 or above
  - \* Electronic voting
    - \* via internet or smartphone app
  - \* designated territory-wide physical polling stations

# PopVote 3.23 Civil Referendum (2)

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- \* Voting time extended to 18:00 of the next day (March 24), because:
  - \* Overwhelming responses from the public
  - \* System interruption
- \* Final result: 222,990 votes
  - \* 55% “abstention” or “blank vote”
  - \* ->Preference: aborting the CE election

|                             | Number of votes | Percentage |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <b>Polling Station</b>      | 85,154          | 38%        |
| <b>Smartphone App</b>       | 71,831          | 32%        |
| <b>Website (popvote.hk)</b> | 66,005          | 30%        |
| <b>Total</b>                | 222,990         | 100%       |

## Public opinion

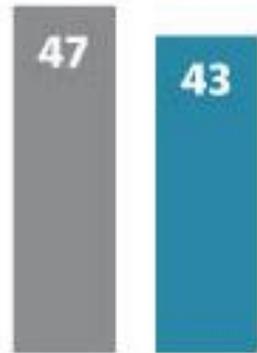
If you were to vote for the chief executive tomorrow from these candidates, who would you vote for? (%)



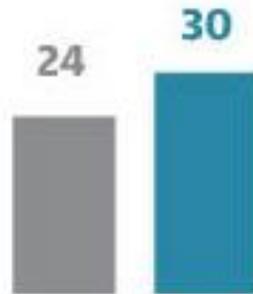
■ Nov 28 - Dec 1 survey  
■ Jan 16-19 survey

Number of respondents  
in this month's poll

1,022



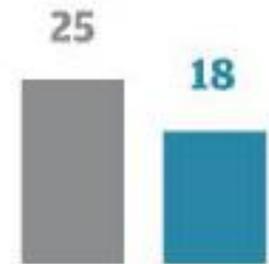
Leung Chun-ying



Henry Tang Ying-yen



Albert Ho Chun-yan



None of the above/  
don't know

Source: HKU

Note: figures rounded to nearest percentage

SCMP

# Snapshots of 3.23 Civil Referendum

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# Cyber Attack – 3.23 Civil Referendum

## Public's view 'will count in CE poll'



A voter in the mock poll at Polytechnic University. Some disabled voters felt frustrated after the organizers decided not to count their votes because of a change in the ballot's format. Photo: Edward Wong

## Thousands queue to vote in mock election

Ada Lee  
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Thousands stood in long queues to cast ballots in yesterday's mock election for the city's new leader.

They said the wait was worth the opportunity to express their political views. Some travelled for up to an hour to get to the main polling station at Polytechnic University, in Hung Hom, only to stand in line when the online voting system broke down.

Many cast blank ballots, saying none of the three candidates would make a suitable chief executive. Others said they cherished the chance to express their views since they had no say in the election on Sunday.

At the university, some people waited for as long as half an hour in the 200-strong queue before they could cast their votes.

A marketing lecturer at the university took the time to vote for Henry

Tong. He cast a blank vote, saying none of the candidates had initiatives to narrow the wealth gap.

Of the 16 people the *South China Morning Post* talked to, five cast blank votes, four voted for Tang, one for Ho and another for Leung. The others refused to disclose their choice.

Separately, some disabled voters said they felt insulted after the mock election's organisers decided not to count their votes because of a change in the ballot's format. About 200 of them voted yesterday before the University of Hong Kong's public opinion programme announced that paper ballots should be placed into envelopes with the voters' identity card numbers written on them.

"That's just wrong," said Tony Shing Li-lim from the Hong Kong Federation of the Blind.

He also criticised the organisers for requiring voters to write their identity card numbers on the envelopes, saying that was against the

Opinion surveys and the exposure of scandals by media will be major factors in result, experts say

Colleen Lee  
colleen.lee@scmp.com

Public opinion and the media's exposure of scandals have shaped the voting preference of the 1,193 Election Committee members like never before, experts say, with the decision on the next chief executive expected tomorrow.

The past months have seen the media expose everything from the illegal basement under a home owned by Henry Tang Ying-yen's wife to the notorious dinner attended by members of Leung Chun-ying's campaign team and a controversial businessman known as "Shanghai Boy". The dinner led to questions about "black gold politics", or collusion with triads.

Many sources were credited to unnamed sources—leading to suspicion that rival candidates or their supporters were behind the negative attacks.

Dr Chung Kim-wah, an assistant professor of applied social sciences at Polytechnic University, said: "The scandals had a certain impact on Leung and Tang. But [the question of] whether Election Committee members may change their voting preferences due to public opinion still hangs in the air."

He added: "In Hong Kong's small-circle election, most people cannot vote [for their chief executive], their views can only be expressed by opinion polls. So besting rivals in popularity polls has become a way for candidates to gain political capital."

The Liberal Party—originally a stronghold of support for its former member Tang, whom it provided 62 nominations—said on Wednesday its members and allies would be given free choice between casting a blank vote or opting for Tang.

But the party's leaders said they would cast blank ballots to reflect the feelings of the public, party chairwoman Midean Lau Kin-yee said.

Ocean Park boss Allan Zeman also

nominated Tang, but said he would have to close the gap to within 20 percentage points of Leung in the polls to justify voting for him.

Tang, once tipped as Beijing's favoured candidate, enjoyed a slight advantage over Leung in polls in the middle of last year.

But Tang's admission of an extramarital affair in October saw him fall behind Leung, who led by 30 percentage points at the height of Tang's illegal structure row in February.

Chung said the fact that revelations about the 2,200 sq ft basement at the house in Kowloon Tong dripped out in several big-circulation newspapers over a few days made it "obvious it was carefully plotted".

He said: "The revelation did affect the election, in particular hitting Tang's popularity."

Chung said the long-running story of Leung's failure to declare a conflict of interests while serving on the judging panel for a 2001 design competition for the West Kowloon arts hub may have raised questions about his integrity.

The row was first reported by *Farweek* magazine, part of Sing Tao News Corporation, chaired by Tang nominator Charles Ho Tzu-kuok.

The government confirmed later that an entrant had suspected links with Leung, having named his company DTZ as its property adviser.

Professor Clement So Yau-kee, of the school of journalism and communication at Chinese University, said media coverage "probably indirectly affected" the public's perception of the candidates.

"The general public cannot take part in [the Election Committee] vote, but may reflect their views through opinion polls. The findings can be used for reference for the central government and various sectors," he said.

State leaders including Premier Wen Jiabao (温家宝) and Wang Guangya (王光亚), director of Beijing's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, say the city's next leader would need a high degree of public acceptance.

### CHIEF EXECUTIVE ELECTION

## LEUNG ALMOST HOME AS PLEDGES ROLL IN



People queue to vote in the mock chief executive election at a polling station at Polytechnic University in Hung Hom. Photo: Jonathan Wong

## Hackers fail to deter voters in mock CE poll

Occasional groupings queue patiently to have their say in an election from which they are excluded

Ada Lee and Tanna Cheng

Hackers' attacks on the online polling system for the simulated chief executive election yesterday failed to deter Hongkongers from queuing outside polling stations for the chance to cast their ballots, which they are not entitled to in tomorrow's election.

Dr Robert Cheng Tang-yuk, director of the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong, said unusual activity had been noticed in the system shortly after 7am. Campaigners could not connect to the University of Hong Kong servers, and the main polling station at Polytechnic University switched from electronic to paper ballots at around 10.30am.

At one long queue at Polytechnic University last night, teacher Ted-man Chan said he was disappointed that the website was being hacked as it had undermined freedom of expression. "I want my voice heard, even though I have to wait for 30 minutes here after work," Chan said.

A 48-year-old man, who only identified himself as Chin, said he queued to cast his vote after finishing working in Shenzhen.

"If I don't vote now, I'm afraid I won't have chance to express my choice in future," he said.

The pro-democracy chief executive candidate, Albert Ho Chun-yin, arrived at a polling station at about 9.30am to find the system out of action. He used the occasion for a little

Former Executive Council convenor sees number of supporters swell, while Tang faces an uphill battle in gaining backers for him to become HK's next leader

Tanna Cheng and Emily Tsang

Leung Chun-ying will probably secure at least the minimum 600 votes needed to win the chief executive election tomorrow.

The ranks of his backers continued to increase yesterday, as several voting blocs declared all or some of their members on the Election Committee would cast their ballots for the former Executive Council convenor, now widely regarded as Beijing's preferred choice.

They included the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, and many in the religious and the cultural sectors.

By day's end, Leung had secured between 351 and 643 votes, according to a count by the POF.

DAB chairman Yau Tin-chung said the party had agreed to support Leung—during an hour-long central executive meeting—and to "advise" all 147 of its members on the Election Committee to vote accordingly.

When asked whether its members would be compelled to support Leung, and if there was a penalty for voters, Yau said: "We believe 'advise' is the best word to use, as the 147 members may be voting at different times, and only they will know who they voted for. I have full confidence that all 147 members will measure the party's advice when they vote."

The jury helped to avoid an in-synchronous election result, in which no candidate won the minimum 600 votes, he said. That would bring uncertainty to the city and worsen its current state of social disharmony. In explaining why Leung won the party's support, Yau said: "He left a

very good impression with all party members he met. We agree with his policy platform."

But uncertainties remain because some voters, including the Chinese medicine subsector, the 25-member engineering group and many voters, have yet to decide who to support.

After learning about the DAB's support, Leung said he would seek further support "until the last moment".

Leading a letter to Election Committee members for the third day as a row to re-appoint them is dissipated. Leung stressed he would work with all members to build a democratic election culture and strive to "accelerate the cracks caused by the election".

Former DAB elections team chief Leung Tin-choi—with strong pro-Leung backgrounds—decided to shift their support from Henry Tang Ying-yen to Leung.

Most of the members from Muslim, Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist groups were initially strong Tang supporters, since he was believed to be Beijing's favourite. Now some of these supporters acknowledge receiving what they called "a different message from officials in the central government" over the past few days.

"The message we received suggested we vote according to the popularity of the candidate," said Lau Wing-ching, from the Hong Kong Tenet Association. "It is clearly a change of mind from the former favourite, and I think a majority will vote according to the will of those high up."

Members of the four religious groups will have a final meeting tomorrow morning to decide on a united move.

The cultural subsector will give all its 14 votes to Leung, according to member Lee Fok-king.

Yiu said he would lead a coalition to vote for Leung, including the six members who earlier nominated Tang, said Lau.

Tang called on voters to "cast their ballot according to their conscience".



# Snapshots of 6.22 Civil Referendum



# Cyber Attack – 6.22 Civil Referendum



**Matthew Prince**  
@eastdakota



Segui

Battling 300Gbps+ attack right now. Knew it was coming so well prepared. Helluva story someday.

# **Electronic Platforms for Niche Engagement**

# PopCon Opinion Platform

The screenshot displays the PopCon Opinion Platform website. The header includes the site name "POP CON 普及民意平台" and navigation links for Home, Forum, Weekly Questions, News, Prize, Points, Winner's List, and Guessing Game. A central banner features the text "特備專頁 Feature Page" with a stylized logo. Below this is a "Voices from the Hall Feature Page" section with a "News" tab selected. The news feed lists several articles, such as "Workshop wracked in land dispute" and "Dearth joy at prospect of hearing 'angels' voices". To the right, there is a login section with fields for E-mail and Password, and buttons for "Register Now", "Login", and "Login / Register via Facebook". Below the login section is a "POP Mobile App" download button and a "Video of Research on Mass Gatherings and Rallies Feature Page" link. At the bottom, there is a Facebook social plugin showing 340 likes and a "No. of hits: 666,557" counter.

[http://popcon.hkupop.hku.hk/popcon\\_v1/index.php?lang=en](http://popcon.hkupop.hku.hk/popcon_v1/index.php?lang=en)

# Smartphone App



# **International Projects**

# WAPOR's Annual Conference 2012 in Hong Kong

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- \* **Theme: The New World of Public Opinion Research**
- \* June 14 to 16, 2012
- \* 246 full participants coming from 37 different countries and regions, representing 137 different organizations.
- \* 117 paper presentations from 32 different countries and regions have been made, plus 8 poster presentations, 6 special panels, 2 plenary sessions, and a parallel workshop on deliberative democracy with 28 participants.
- \* Website: <http://wapor2012.hkpop.hk/en/index.php>

# WAPOR's Annual Conference 2012

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# Other International Projects

- \* World Association for Public Opinion Research – Asia Chapter (WAPOR – Asia)
- \* Asian Network for Public Opinion Research (ANPOR)
- \* Hong Kong Association for Public Opinion Research (HAPOR) [Establishment under progress]
- \* World Public Opinion
- \* Greater China Region projects



# 2016 Legislative Council Election Surveys

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Since its establishment in 1991, POP conduct many surveys to track opinion changes whenever there are large-scale elections.

## 2016 LC Election Series

| Survey series                                | Date               | Details   |
|--|--------------------|---|
| <b>LC pre-nomination survey</b>              | 20/6 - 8/7         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sponsored by Power for Democracy (PfD)</li><li>• 5,084 successful cases</li></ul>   |
| <b>Rolling survey</b>                        | 30/7 - 2/9         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Jointly sponsored by 4 parties (HK01, Cable, Now &amp; PfD)</li><li>• 35 days of rolling surveys, with:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- N=200+ each day for first 22 days</li><li>- N=350+ each day for next 8 days</li><li>- N=500+ each day in final week</li></ul>(Total 10,207 cases done)</li></ul> |
| <b>Exit poll (voluntary student project)</b> | 4/9 (election day) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• No sponsorship, no analysis and projection performed on election day</li><li>• 3,329 successful cases in 47 stations</li></ul>  |

# 2017 Chief Executive Election Surveys

## 2017 CE Election Series

| Survey series                              | Date                  | Details   |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| <b>CEE tracking polls (pre-nomination)</b> | 26/9/16 to early 2017 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10+ rounds of surveys sponsored by media, including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ming Pao (8 rounds)</li> <li>- HK01 (at least 3 rounds)</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
| <b>Rolling survey (after nomination)</b>   | Mar 2017              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To start right after nomination period closes till the election</li> <li>• Sponsor(s) to be confirmed</li> </ul>   |

## 2012 CE Election Series

| Survey series                                 | Date                 | Details   |
|---|----------------------|---|
| <b>CEE tracking polls I (pre-nomination)</b>  | Aug 2009 to Dec 2011 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 19 rounds of surveys sponsored by media and think tank, including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ming Pao (11 rounds)</li> <li>- SCMP (3 rounds)</li> <li>- Apple Daily (4 rounds)</li> <li>- HKPORC (1 round)</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
| <b>CEE tracking polls II (pre-nomination)</b> | Jan to Feb 2012      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 rounds of surveys jointly sponsored by media:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- nowTV, AppleDaily, Ming Pao, SCMP</li> </ul> </li> </ul>  |
| <b>Rolling survey (after nomination)</b>      | Mar 2012             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 24 days of rolling survey, with:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- N=167+ each day for the first 12 days</li> <li>- N=250+ each day for the last 12 days</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Jointly sponsored by media: CableTV, SCMP, STD</li> </ul> |

**End of Lecture ...  
questions welcome**