

*Harvard College in Asia Program 2015*

*Technology & Our Generation:  
From the Individual to the World*

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# **Technology and Society**

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*Dr Robert CHUNG*

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

*20 March 2015*

# One news clip today...

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鍾庭耀：民調與全民投票可並行



**“Robert Chung: Opinion  
polling and civil  
referendum can  
be run in parallel”**

**Hong Kong  
Economic Journal  
20-3-2015**

港大民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀【圖】表示，基本法委員會委員陳弘毅提出的政改大型民調及自己提出的全民投票可以並行不悖，民調要客觀科學，全民投票則強調文明參與，「兩者意義不同，但都屬好事」。讚陳建議具建設性 鍾庭耀回覆本報書面查詢時表示，歡迎任何以民意為依歸的方法解決政改困局，認為陳弘毅建議具建設性。他認 ...

# One news clip 7 days ago...

8 TOP NEWS

The Standard 英文虎報

Friday, March 13, 2015

## Call for referendum to break reform impasse

**Kenneth Lau**

A civil referendum should be held on the government's political reform package after it is released next month, the University of Hong Kong's chief pollster proposed.

And pan-democrat lawmakers, Public Opinion Programme head Robert Chung Ting-yiu said, should not insist on vetoing the package if more than two-thirds of those polled support it.

Chung said a referendum would solve the impasse and promote the spirit of democracy in Hong Kong.

Pan-democrat legislators have vowed to veto political reform based on the framework decided by the National People's Congress Standing Committee on August 31.

"But if we hold a civil referendum, lawmakers could take it as a reference," Chung said.

He added the process would be meaningful only if the pan-democrats recognize the results.

But Secretary for Justice Rimsky Yuen Kwok-keung thumbed down the idea "because a referendum has no legal basis and no place in Hong Kong."

**Rimsky Yuen said there is no legal basis for the proposal of Robert Chung, right.**  
SINGTAO

Yuen added: "Under the Basic Law, there is no provision for a referendum. And Hong Kong is a special administrative region, therefore, there is no legal basis for us to have a referendum."

But if it is a survey, the government might consider it, Yuen said.



Civic Party's Alan Leong Kah-kit noted that Chung held a de facto referendum last summer.

Its results saw 88 percent of the nearly 800,000 people who cast a ballot calling for the Legislative Council to veto any reform proposal that did not satisfy in-

ternational standards of universal suffrage. Leong said if any new referendum is held, the SAR government and pro-Beijing camp should respect its results.

Democratic Party chairwoman Emily Lau Wai-hing said she thinks the government should hold a referendum.

Meanwhile, Civic Party lawmaker Ronny Tong Ka-wah said he is planning to set up a think-tank and collaborate with moderate pan-democrats. But he has no plans to withdraw from the Civic Party at the moment.

He said if he left the party he is afraid that some people might misunderstand his stance on political reform.

He added the aborted visit of Basic Law Committee chairman Li Fei meant that the political reform was doomed.

Meanwhile, the HKU Public Opinion Programme said the public sentiment index of 61.8 on March 8 is among the worst in the past 20 years. It plunged by 5.9 points from two weeks ago.  
[kenneth.lau@singtaonews.com](http://kenneth.lau@singtaonews.com)

**The Standard 13-3-2015**

# About HKU POP

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- \* June 1991 : Establishment of *Public Opinion Programme (POP)* at The University of Hong Kong
  - \* To collect and study public opinion on topics which could be of interest to academics, journalists, policy-makers, and the general public
  - \* The first of its kind established by an academic institution in Hong Kong
  - \* Directly under the Faculty of Social Sciences of The University of Hong Kong
- \* By 2014, POP has conducted over *1,400* independent surveys, mostly supported by outside bodies and funding.

# Snapshots of POP Head Office





# Five Lines of POP Development

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- \* Standard **conventional surveys**: Constant enhancement of content and methodology
- \* **Deliberative polling**: Introduction of quality deliberation in opinion formation and expression, via DF, DP and DM.
- \* **Mass engagement** projects: Development of civil referendums and electronic voting, e.g. mobile apps, e-voting platforms, PopCon
- \* Niche engagement projects: Especially with young people on **electronic platforms**
- \* International projects: Like **WAPOR 2012** Conference, **ANPOR**, World Public Opinion, Greater China Region projects

# **Conventional Surveys**

# Types of Conventional Surveys

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- \* Random telephone surveys
- \* Face-to-face interviews
- \* Mail surveys
- \* Online surveys
- \* Household surveys
- \* Focus groups





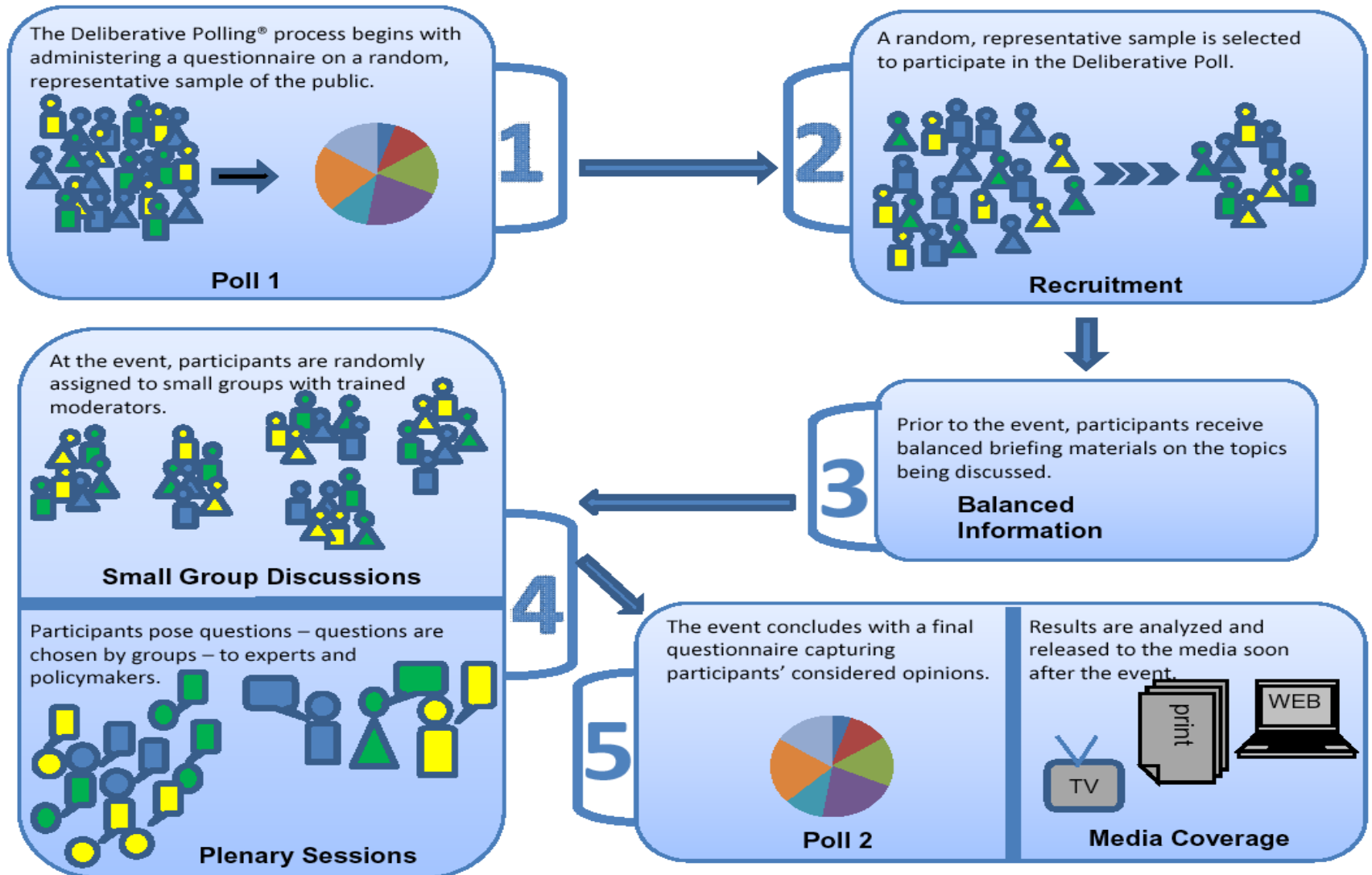
# Areas of Interest

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

# **Deliberative Polling**

# Deliberative Polling



# DP Development in Hong Kong

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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)
- \* DP Workshop, Jan 2011, Beijing
- \* DP Workshop, Jul 2011, HK
- \* Deliberative Forum, Sep 2011, HK (on LegCo vacancy filling mechanism)
- \* Deliberative Poll in Macau, Dec 2011
- \* DP Workshop, Jun 2012, HK (parallel workshop with WAPOR HK Conference)
- \* OCLP Deliberation Series – DDay 1 [comprised of Deliberative Poll (DP1) and Deliberative Meeting (DM1)], Jun 2013, HK
- \* Deliberative Forum, May 2013, HK (on 2017 CE Election)
- \* Deliberative Forum, Aug 2013, HK (on landfill extension)
- \* OCLP Deliberation Series – DP 2 (on Design of Chief Executive Election), Sep 2013, HK
- \* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2014, HK (on civil nomination)
- \* Deliberative Forum, Sep 2014, HK (on NPC decision on 2017 political reform)
- \* Deliberative Forum, Jan 2015, HK (on 2017 political reform)
- \* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2015, HK (on Voluntary Health Insurance 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.

# Deliberation Projects for OCLP

Date	Event
9 Jun 2013	<b>DDay1 (DP1 and DM1)</b> , to raise questions about the movement
29 Sep 2013	<b>DP2</b> , to discuss the basic principles of 2017 CE Election Design
Oct/Nov 2013	DM2s to discuss 1) Why democracy is important? 2) Basic principles of 2017 CE Election design, and 3) how to make OCLP successful
Jan 2014	E-voting 1 (e-voting warm-up)
May 2014	<b>DDay3 (DM3)</b> , and members only e-voting (to discuss and select the proposals for CE election)
Jun 2014	E-voting 2 (citizens' authorization)



# 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。

雖然多人傾向公民提名，但行政會議成員鄧耀業昨天表示，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，指市民對反對「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 (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 (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

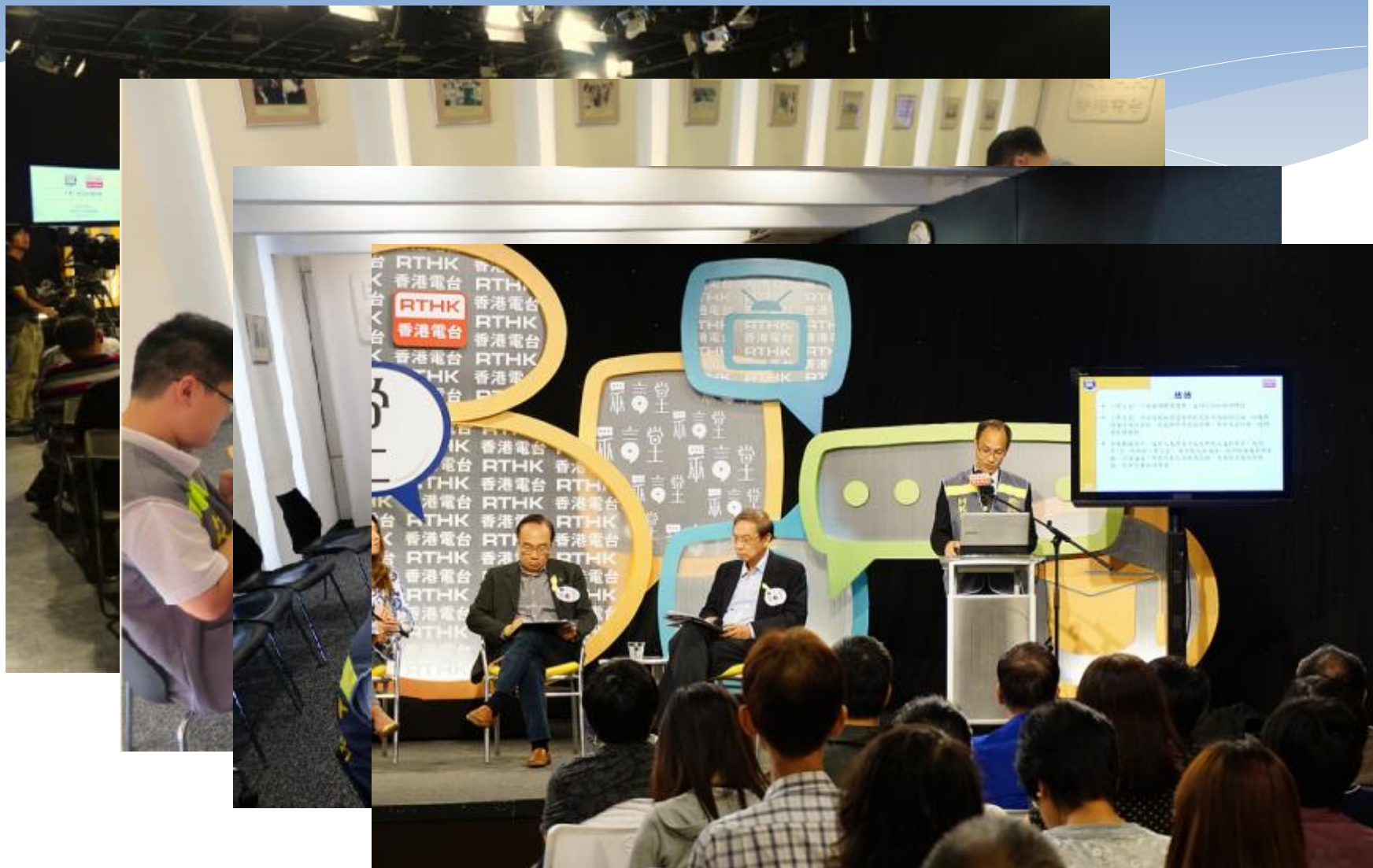
(柯澤儀)

“POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination”

Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013



# Deliberative Forum (September 2014)



**Mass Engagement  
Electronic Voting System:  
PopVote**

- Voting platform for mass engagement
- To construct a civil society by promoting civil participation
- To demonstrate an electronic voting system



# IT Advisory Group



Established since Jan 2013. 11 IT Professionals from the IT industry.

- Mr. S.C. Leung, Convenor of IT Advisory Group (Director, Internet Society Hong Kong)
- Dr. K.P. Chow (Department of Computer Science, The University of Hong Kong)
- Dr. Joe CK Yau (Department of Computer Science, Hong Kong Baptist University)
- Dr. Ricci Jeong (Director, Cloud Security Alliance HK & Macau Chapter)
- Mr. Henry Ng (Head of Consulting Service of an international consultancy firm)
- Mr. Vincent Ip (Council Member of Information Security and Forensics Society)
- Mr. Eric Fan (Vice Chairperson, Professional Information Security Association)
- Mr. Chester Soong (Chairperson, Internet Society Hong Kong)
- Mr. Ben Cheng (Vice Chairperson, Convenor, Startup Working Group, Internet Society Hong Kong)
- Mr. Sang Young (Director, Education; Convenor, Security & Privacy Working Group, Internet Society Hong Kong)
- Mr. Ken Lam (Director; Convenor, Internet Application Development Working Group, Internet Society Hong Kong)



# Voting Channels

普及投票  
POPVOTE

## 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

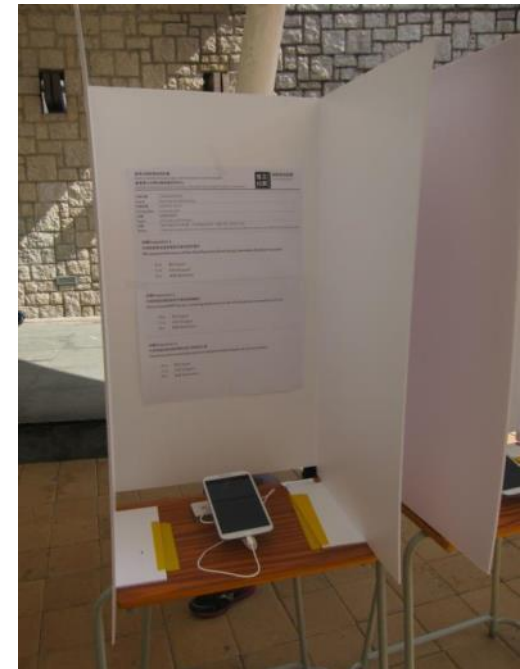
中文

English

## Polling Stations

HKID card  
verification

Tablets



# Three Large-Scale Events

## 1st

### 3.23 Civil Referendum

March 23-24, 2012  
Mock CE Election

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

*(valid votes)*

## 2nd

### New Year Civil Referendum

January 1, 2014  
Express views on the  
principles of CE Election

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

*(valid votes)*

## 3rd

### 6.22 Civil Referendum

June 20-29, 2014  
Constitutional reform  
proposals

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

*(valid votes)*

# Interface of POPVote system

普及投票  
POPVOTE

## 0. Download POPVote mobile app

1. Read the terms

2. Input HKID & mobile number

3. Send an SMS to POPVote system

4. Cast your vote



# Interface of POPVote system

普及  
投票  
POPVOTE

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投票人士必須是香港永久居民，並於投票日年滿十八歲或以上。

投票人士必須確保傳送的任何短訊，均不含任何病毒或可能影響此投票運作的元素，又或對香港大學民意研究計劃的資料或系統造成損害、干擾或刪減。電訊商可能會向發送短訊者收取費用，有關費用與香港大學民意研究計劃無關。

所有收集的個人資料只用作是次活動的身分驗證，傳送時會使用SSL進行加密，並會以不能還原的散列代碼形式記錄於伺服器，以確保有關資料實際上無法被人破解和還原。所有個人資料將在投票活動結束後一星期內於伺服器完全刪除。

接受

不接受

# Interface of POPVote system



0. Download POPVote mobile app

1. Read the terms

2. Input HKID & mobile number

3. Send an SMS to POPVote system

4. Cast your vote

A screenshot of the POPVote mobile application interface. At the top, the status bar shows 'SMC HK', signal strength, Wi-Fi, time '20:55', location, and battery '82%'. The app header includes a '返回' (Back) button and the title '普及投票'. Below the header is a navigation bar with '閱讀條款 >>' (Read Terms >>), a greyed-out '輸入資料 >>' (Input Information >>) button, '身份驗證 >>' (Identity Verification >>), and '請投票' (Please Vote). The main form area contains three sections: 1. '身份證號碼:' (HKID Number) with three input fields (one with a dot, one with six dots, one with a dot in parentheses). 2. '手機號碼:' (Mobile Number) with one input field containing seven dots. 3. '年滿十八歲 香港永久性居民?' (Are you 18 years old and a permanent resident of Hong Kong?) with two buttons: '是' (Yes) in a blue box and '否' (No) in a white box. At the bottom of the screen is a large black button labeled '提交' (Submit).

# Interface of POPVote system

0. Download POPVote mobile app

1. Read the terms

2. Input HKID & mobile number

3. Send an SMS to POPVote system

4. Cast your vote





# Interface of POPVote system



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# Interface of POPVote system

普及  
投票  
POPVOTE

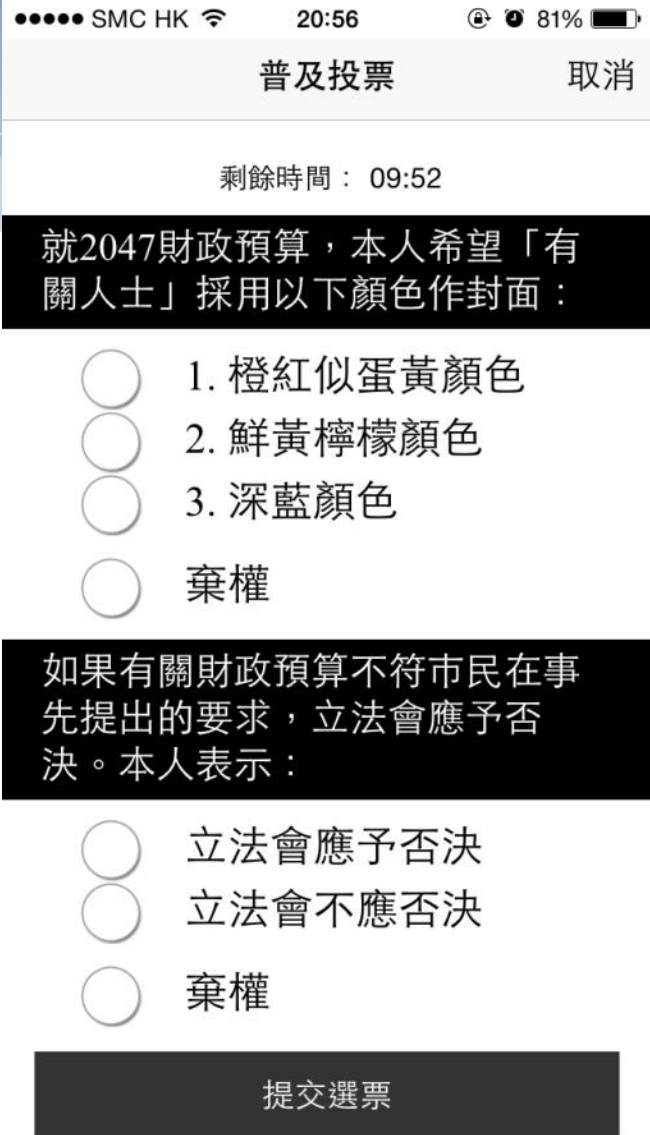
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### 3. Send an SMS to POPVote system

### 4. Cast your vote



SMC HK 20:56 81%

普及投票 取消

剩餘時間：09:52

就2047財政預算，本人希望「有關人士」採用以下顏色作封面：

- 1. 橙紅似蛋黃顏色
- 2. 鮮黃檸檬顏色
- 3. 深藍顏色
- 棄權

如果有關財政預算不符市民在事先提出的要求，立法會應予否決。本人表示：

- 立法會應予否決
- 立法會不應否決
- 棄權

提交選票

# Polling Stations

## Local Area Network



- Electronic voting - using tablet devices
- Voters can vote at any polling station
- Can be disconnected from Internet
- Data are hashed and encrypted



POPVOTE 普及投票

HKID   (  )

Language  中文  English

Voting Machine Status ✓ Voting Machine: idle  
Last online time of voting machine 2014-04-30 12:52:12

#	Reg. Time	Action
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POPVOTE 普及投票

剩餘時間: 09:51

就2017特首選舉，本人支持「和平佔中」向政府提交以下方案：

- 1. 橙紅似蛋黃顏色
- 2. 鮮黃檸檬顏色
- 3. 深藍顏色
- 棄權

如果政府方案不符國際標準讓選民有真正選擇，立法會應予否決。本人表示：

# 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**

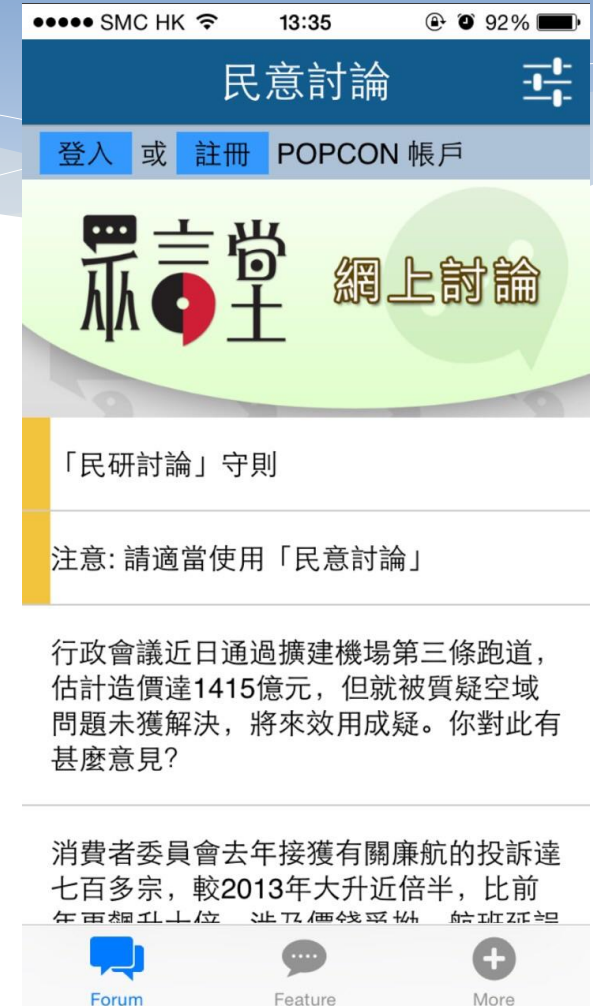


# PopCon Opinion Platform

The screenshot shows 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 site logo and the text "特備專頁 Feature Page". Below this, there are sections for "Voices from the Hall Feature Page" and "News". The main content area displays several news items with titles and timestamps, such as "Workshop wreaked in land dispute" and "Don't ask for the full moon this mid-autumn festival -- you won't get it". On the right side, 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, there are promotional banners for the "POP Mobile App" and a "Video of Research on Mass Gatherings and Rallies Feature Page". At the bottom, there is a Facebook social plugin showing the site's profile 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



# Other International Projects

- \* Asian Network for Public Opinion Research (ANPOR)
- \* World Public Opinion
- \* Greater China Region projects





# **Constitutional Debates in Hong Kong**

# One news clip 7 days ago...

8 TOP NEWS

The Standard 英文虎報

Friday, March 13, 2015

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But Secretary for Justice Rimsky Yuen Kwok-keung thumbed down the idea "because a referendum has no legal basis and no place in Hong Kong."

**Rimsky Yuen said there is no legal basis for the proposal of Robert Chung, right.**  
SINGTAO

Yuen added: "Under the Basic Law, there is no provision for a referendum. And Hong Kong is a special administrative region, therefore, there is no legal basis for us to have a referendum."

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He said if he left the party he is afraid that some people might misunderstand his stance on political reform.

He added the aborted visit of Basic Law Committee chairman Li Fei meant that the political reform was doomed.

Meanwhile, the HKU Public Opinion Programme said the public sentiment index of 61.8 on March 8 is among the worst in the past 20 years. It plunged by 5.9 points from two weeks ago.

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**The Standard 13-3-2015**

# One news clip today...

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鍾庭耀：民調與全民投票可並行



**“Robert Chung: Opinion  
polling and civil  
referendum can  
be run in parallel”**

**Hong Kong  
Economic Journal  
20-3-2015**

港大民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀【圖】表示，基本法委員會委員陳弘毅提出的政改大型民調及自己提出的全民投票可以並行不悖，民調要客觀科學，全民投票則強調文明參與，「兩者意義不同，但都屬好事」。讚陳建議具建設性 鍾庭耀回覆本報書面查詢時表示，歡迎任何以民意為依歸的方法解決政改困局，認為陳弘毅建議具建設性。他認 ...



**2012 ...**

## Public opinion

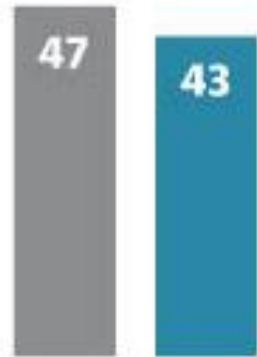
If you were to vote for the chief executive tomorrow from these candidates, who would you vote for? (%)



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

Number of respondents  
in this month's poll

1,022



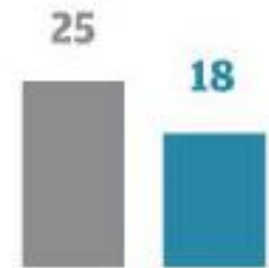
Leung Chun-ying



Henry Tang Ying-yen



Albert Ho Chun-yan



None of the above/  
don't know

Source: HKU

Note: figures rounded to nearest percentage

SCMP

# 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%

# Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum



# Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum





# 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 insulted after the organisers 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  
ada.lee@scmp.com

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, the incumbent chief executive, 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 stories 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 being 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, to whom it provided 82 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 Mielan 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 *Forbes* magazine, part of Sing Tao News Corporation, chaired by Tang nominator Charles Ho Tsu-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 York-lee, 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 Macau 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 Hong Hom.

## Hackers fail to deter voters in mock CE poll

Ordinary Hongkongers queue patiently to have their

Ada Lee (左) Faana 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.

De Robert Chang Tang-yu, director of the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong, said unusual activity had been noticed in the system shortly after 7am. Computers could not connect to the University of Hong Kong's 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 Tsui-man Chan said he was disappointed that the website was being hacked as it had undermined the main aim of the election. "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 pan-democratic 'chief executive' candidate, Albert Ho Chun-yan, 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 HKE's next leader

Teresa Cheng (右) Emily Tsang

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

The ranks of his backers continued to increase yesterday, as several writing 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 subsectors.

By day's end, Leung had secured between 262 and 645 votes, according to a count by the Post.

DAB chairman Tam Yiu-chung said the party had agreed to support Leung – during an hour-long central committee 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, Tam 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 when they voted for. I have full confidence that all 147 members will measure the party's advice when they vote."

The party hoped to avoid an in-southern election result, in which no candidate wins the minimum 601 votes, he said. That would bring uncertainty to the city and worsen its current sense of social disaffection. In explaining why Leung won the party's support, Tam said: "He left a



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

But uncertainty remains because some voters, including the Chinese medicine subsector, the 25-member engineering group and tycoon 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".

Issuing a letter to Election Committee members for the third day in a row to reassure them of his sincerity, Leung stressed he would work with all means to build a democratic election culture and strive to "overcome the cracks caused by the election".

Fifty of 60 elections from the poll get in on time – with strong pro-Leung backers – decided to shift their support from Henry Tang Ying-yen to Leung.

Most of the members from Mission, Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist groups were originally strong Tang supporters, since he was believed to be Ho'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 Hau Tung-ching, from the Hong Kong Taoist 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 to narrow in on a decision on a candidate.

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

"We have reached a consensus to vote for Leung, including the six members who earlier nominated Tang," said Leo.

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



**2014 ...**

sky Yuen, SC  
y for Justice  
資深大律師





# 6.22 Civil Referendum (1)

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- \* Objective:
  - \* to encourage members of the general public to vote on the following two motions on 6.20-29 Civil Referendum
    - \* 1. Issue related to constitutional reform proposals
    - \* 2. Issue related to the principles of constitutional reform
- \* Voters:
  - \* Hong Kong permanent residents aged 18+
- \* Voting channels:
  - \* Website
  - \* Mobile apps
  - \* Polling stations
    - \* 23 polling stations in various parts of HK
    - \* 1 overseas polling station in Toronto
    - \* Polling stations voting hours: 10:00 – 22:00



## 6.22 Civil Referendum (2)

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- \* Regarding repeated voting, the votes cast at onsite polling stations shall prevail in the final vote count, while the first paper ballot submitted to the system shall prevail for repeated paper ballots
- \* Final result: 792,808 votes

	<b>Number of votes</b>
<b>Website (popvote.hk)</b>	486,142
<b>Mobile Apps</b>	235,897
<b>Local On-site Polling Stations</b>	70,378
<b>Overseas On-site Polling Station</b>	391
<b>Total</b>	<b>792,808</b>

# 6.22 Civil Referendum (3)

## Motion 1:

For CE Election 2017, I support OCLP to submit this proposal to the Government: 1. Alliance for True Democracy Proposal; 2. People Power Proposal; 3. Students Proposal; Abstention

	境內投票 Local Votes				境外投票 Overseas Votes	總數 Total
	流動程式 電子選票 Mobile App e-votes	互聯網站電子選票 Website e-votes	實體票站電子選票 Onsite e-votes	實體票站紙張選票 Onsite p-votes	實體票站紙張選票 Onsite p-votes	
1. 真普選聯盟方案 1. Alliance for True Democracy Proposal	204,333 (42.0%)	98,323 (41.7%)	28,099 (44.0%)	3,052 (46.6%)	155 (39.6%)	333,962 (42.1%)
2. 人民力量方案 2. People Power Proposal	50,350 (10.4%)	25,539 (10.8%)	5,501 (8.6%)	584 (8.9%)	29 (7.4%)	82,003 (10.3%)
3. 學界方案 3. Students Proposal	186,527 (38.4%)	88,318 (37.4%)	26,799 (42.0%)	2,475 (37.8%)	200 (51.2%)	304,319 (38.4%)
棄權 Abstention	44,221 (9.1%)	23,296 (9.9%)	2,803 (4.4%)	304 (4.6%)	6 (1.5%)	70,630 (8.9%)
沒有投票 Not voted	711 (0.1%)	421 (0.2%)	629 (1.0%)	--	--	1,761 (0.2%)
白票 Blank votes	--	--	--	26 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)	26 (<0.1%)
廢票 Invalid votes	--	--	--	104 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)	104 (<0.1%)
拒絕投票 Refused to vote	--	--	--	2 (<0.1%)	1 (0.3%)	3 (<0.1%)
合計 Total	486,142 (100.0%)	235,897 (100.0%)	63,831 (100.0%)	6,547 (100.0%)	391 (100.0%)	792,808 (100.0%)

# 6.22 Civil Referendum (4)

## Motion 2:

If the government proposal cannot satisfy international standards allowing genuine choices by electors, LegCo should veto it. My stance is: LegCo should veto; LegCo should not veto; Abstention

	境內投票 Local Votes				境外投票 Overseas Votes	合計 Total
	流動程式電子選票 Mobile App e-votes	互聯網站電子選票 Website e-votes	實體票站電子選票 Onsite e-votes	實體票站 紙張選票 Onsite p-votes	實體票站紙張選票 Onsite p-votes	
立法會應予否決 LegCo should veto	427,613 (88.0%)	208,939 (88.6%)	53,693 (84.1%)	5,488 (83.8%)	359 (91.8%)	696,092 (87.8%)
立法會不應否決 LegCo should not veto	37,059 (7.6%)	16,691 (7.1%)	5,613 (8.8%)	507 (7.7%)	27 (6.9%)	59,897 (7.6%)
棄權 Abstention	19,111 (3.9%)	9,621 (4.1%)	2,337 (3.7%)	221 (3.4%)	4 (1.0%)	31,294 (3.9%)
沒有投票 Not voted	2,359 (0.5%)	646 (0.3%)	2,188 (3.4%)	--	--	5,193 (0.7%)
白票 Blank votes	--	--	--	264 (4.0%)	1 (0.3%)	265 (<0.1%)
廢票 Invalid votes	--	--	--	65 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)	65 (<0.1%)
拒絕投票 Refused to vote	--	--	--	2 (<0.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (<0.1%)
合計 Total	486,142 (100.0%)	235,897 (100.0%)	63,831 (100.0%)	6,547 (100.0%)	391 (100.0%)	792,808 (100.0%)



全國人民代表大會常務委員會



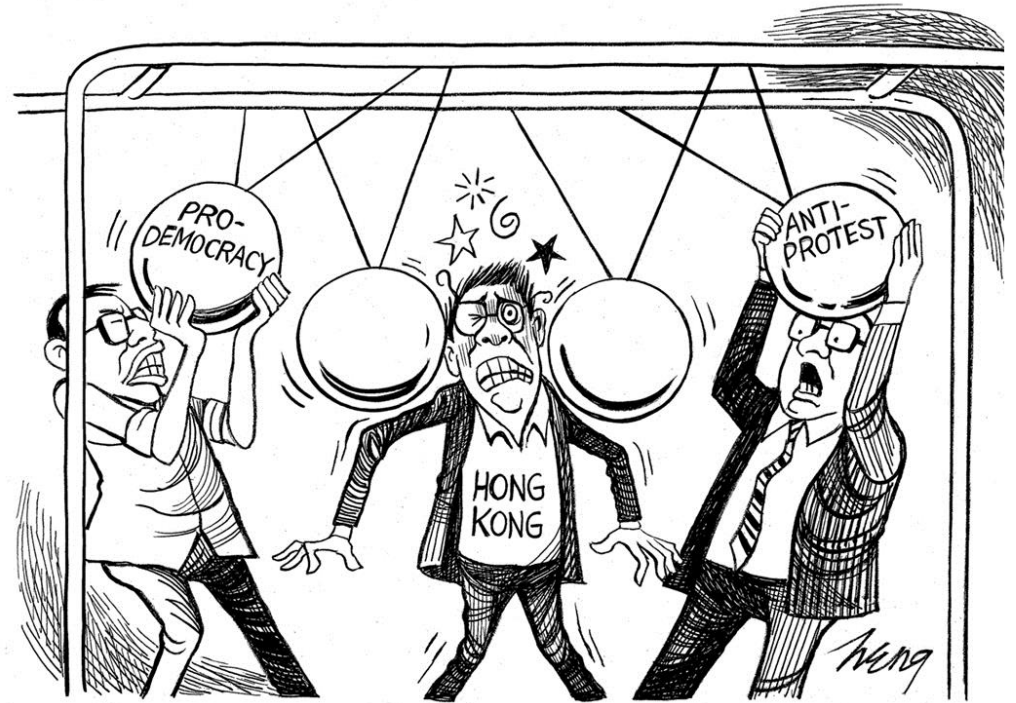
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# Untying the Deadlock?



# My submission...

## THE OFFICE OF ROBERT T.Y. CHUNG 鍾庭耀辦公室

c/o Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 7/F, Jockey Club Tower, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong. 香港薄扶林道 香港大學賽馬會教學樓 7樓 香港大學民意研究計劃代收  
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6 March 2015

Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau  
The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government  
12/F, East Wing, Central Government Offices  
2 Tim Mei Avenue, Tamar, Hong Kong  
(Email: [views@2017.gov.hk](mailto:views@2017.gov.hk))

### Resolving the Deadlock of Chief Executive Election

The Hong Kong SAR Government on 7 January 2015 released a consultation document entitled "Consultation Document on the Method for Selecting the Chief Executive by Universal Suffrage", to consult the public on issues relating to the method for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage. Members of the public were invited to send their views to the government on or before 7 March. The undersigned hereby submits his views to the government, with a copy sent to the media for public consumption and for gathering collective wisdom.

To the undersigned, the "Occupy Movement" which happened in Hong Kong last year has stemmed from three deep-rooted contradictions in the Hong Kong society. These include the contradiction between Communism China and Freedom Hong Kong, between patriotism and global values, and between senior citizens and local youths. The eruption was triggered by the failure of governance of the local government, and the lack of confidence of the central government.

Our society was torn after the "Occupy Movement", and constitutional reform came to a standstill, as more than one-third of the Legislative Councillors vowed to veto all government proposals based on the "31 August 2014 Decision" of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC). The undersigned therefore would like to address these two problems:

- (1) How to untie the deadlock and pull the two opposing sides closer together?
- (2) How to develop democracy and public wisdom under "one country, two systems"?

The undersigned would not address any specific proposal, nor discuss concepts like "NPC framework", "civic nomination", "nomination threshold", "blank vote gatekeeping", and so on.

According to the Basic Law, the method for selecting the Chief Executive has to be passed by a two-thirds majority of all Legislative Councillors. This is a constitutional design to protect the interest of the minority, from being exploited by the majority where important matters are concerned. Any Councillor claiming to represent all or some members of the public in vetoing government proposals in order to protect minority interest should be respected. However, if any Councillor claims to represent the general public, and if more than two-thirds of the public have clearly indicated their support of certain proposals, then the vetoing of these proposals would not be

1

## THE OFFICE OF ROBERT T.Y. CHUNG 鍾庭耀辦公室

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reasonable. The Councillor can at most claim that he/she is only representing the minority to protect minority interest.

On the contrary, if a Councillor claiming to represent the general public can make reference to the degree of public support for certain proposals (like whether the degree of support has reached two-thirds) gauged by some mechanisms one accepts, before deciding whether or not to veto a proposal, it would help to promote rational democracy.

The undersigned therefore proposes that when the government makes one or more official proposals on constitutional reform, it should allow ample time for the people to discuss the proposals and then make a vote via a civil referendum to be organized by the civil society, before asking the Legislative Council to cast its final vote. The result of the civil referendum would obviously not bind the government, nor those who deny the referendum, but for those Councillors who are willing to follow the result of the referendum, the balance may be tipped.

The undersigned proposes that Councillors who are willing to follow the result of the referendum should announce to the public before the referendum how they would make use of the result, and on what conditions it would become binding. Examples being thresholds of voter turnout, support rate (like one-half, two-thirds, three-quarters), and number of support votes. If there are independent parallel votings on more than one proposal (whether on government or non-government proposals), those Councillors should also explain before the referendum how they would treat the result.

Before the civil referendum is held, there can be lobbying campaigns. The government can commission independent academic bodies to run general opinion surveys, as well as deliberative surveys aimed at promoting rational discussions. If resource is limited, one single deliberative survey can be split into three or more deliberative forums. After these rational discussions, another date is set for a civil referendum which promotes rational and peaceful expression of the public wish.

Over the years, the undersigned has already written a lot on the concept and practice of deliberative surveys and civil referendums. They are not repeated here. With the combination of rational deliberation and civil voting, plus endorsement by some Legislative Councillors, the undersigned wishes to untie the deadlock of block voting and to find a way out of the current standoff, while developing democracy and public wisdom at the same time.



Robert Chung  
Director of Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong  
(signed in personal capacity)

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# One news clip today...

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鍾庭耀：民調與全民投票可並行



**“Robert Chung: Opinion  
polling and civil  
referendum can  
be run in parallel”**

**Hong Kong  
Economic Journal  
20-3-2015**

港大民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀【圖】表示，基本法委員會委員陳弘毅提出的政改大型民調及自己提出的全民投票可以並行不悖，民調要客觀科學，全民投票則強調文明參與，「兩者意義不同，但都屬好事」。讚陳建議具建設性 鍾庭耀回覆本報書面查詢時表示，歡迎任何以民意為依歸的方法解決政改困局，認為陳弘毅建議具建設性。他認 ...

# Conclusion

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- \* **Addsd fsd fdsa fsdg fsdg sdfg fsdgfsdgsd gfsgq  
eryer yte adsgf sdfg**
- \* **Sadfsa sdgf**
- \* **Fgwa dfsad dgfsdg**
- \* **Yreq rtyj ga rdagfsd**
- \* **Sdfgs rwtr weryw gkjlj sdfrl kjl fdg ijoji io ojip ji  
huih hi uhu rtwqe rwgh rtywty frgtw ojk ye reu  
rwfy rwtrw gsfg sgrrw fsdgs rwtw gsgts grwet grwt  
sgrs tr grwet**



# Conclusion

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- \* **Technology & Our Generation: From the individual to the world**
- \* **Technology is the tool, humanity is the spirit**
- \* **In this part of the world, at this point in time...**
- \* **What can we do? What can I do?**
- \* **In the flow of human history, intellectuals have an indispensable duty to serve the world... with new ideas and new technologies which could help our human race advance to a new state of life...**

**Thank you!**