

Directors in Dialogue - Polling and Elections in the United States and Hong Kong

Public Seminar

The Hong Kong Story

Robert Chung

Director of Public Opinion Programme,
The University of Hong Kong

11 October 2016

Directors in Dialogue

Polling and Elections in

United States and Hong Kong

📅 11 October 2016 (Tue)
🕒 10:00am - 12:00nn
📍 Wang Gungwu Theatre (Graduate House) HKU

Panelists



John Della Volpe

Director of Polling at the Institute of Politics (IOP)
Harvard University



Robert Chung

Director of Public Opinion Programme (POP)
The University of Hong Kong

Moderator



Tsim Tak Lung

Chairman and Director of Project Citizens Foundation

Discussion Topics

US Presidential Election: Trump vs Clinton / HKLC Election /
Strategic Voting / Opinion Polling / Electoral Engineering /
Professional Standards

☎ 3917-7700

✉ enquiry@hkupop.hku.hk

Details and registration:
<http://bit.ly/2csga4w>



PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME
THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG
香港大學民意研究計劃



公民實踐培育基金
project citizens
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香港研究學院
The Institute of Politics
香港中文大學 The Education University of Hong Kong



香港中文大學 傳播與民意調查中心
Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey
The Chinese University of Hong Kong



政
CENTRE FOR SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES
應用社會科學及社會政策研究中心
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University 香港理工大學

With the first US presidential election debate just held and the election around the corner, opinion polls are springing up everywhere in the US, making headline stories of Hong Kong's electronic and print media. Meanwhile in Hong Kong, we have also witnessed the impact of opinion polls on the outcome of the LegCo election. In this seminar, two directors of academic polling institutions located in the US and Hong Kong, moderated by a director of a civic group, will discuss the role of opinion polling in electoral engineering both in the US and Hong Kong. They will also talk about international professional standards of polling and make recommendations for promoting good practices in the US and Hong Kong.

隨着美國總統選舉的首場辯論剛剛完成，大選在即，在美國湧現的選前民意調查，便成為香港各大媒體爭相報導的題材。而在香港，我們亦見證了選前民調對立法會選舉的影響。本研討會由民間組織的主席主持，並由兩位分別來自美國和香港民意調查機構的總監，就選前民調在兩地選舉工程中所扮演的角色作出深入討論。他們亦會提及國際有關規管選前民調的專業守則，並就如何在兩地推廣專業的民調準則提出建議。

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The Hong Kong Story: LC2016 Rolling Poll



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

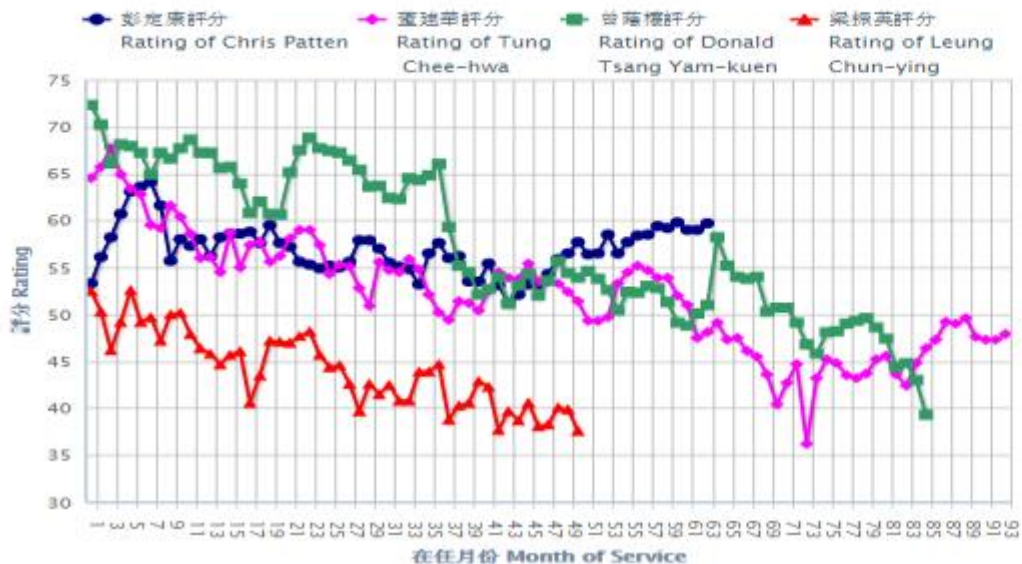
27/9/2016

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



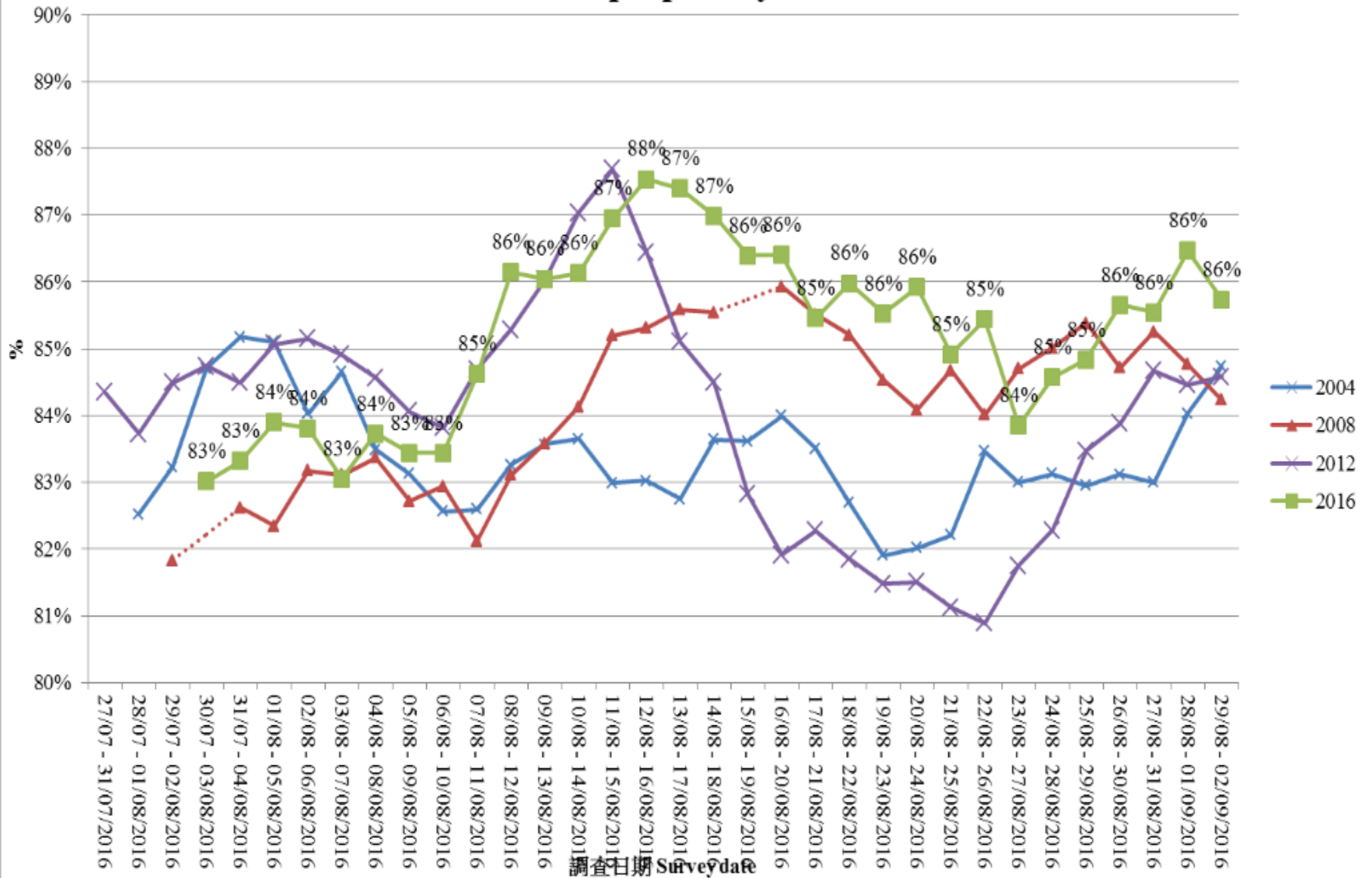
特首民望



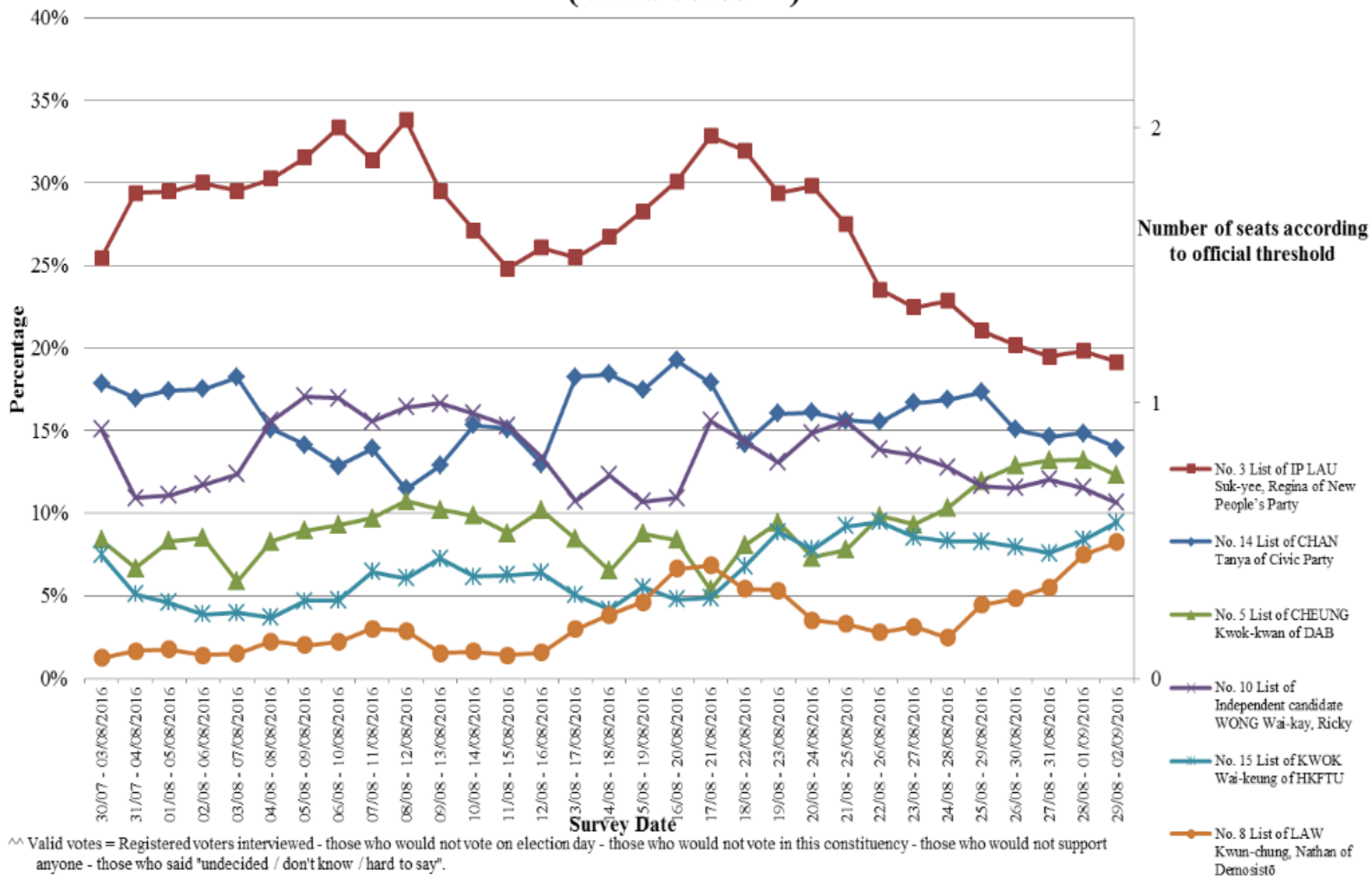
政府民望

民情指數

選民投票意欲 Voters' propensity to vote

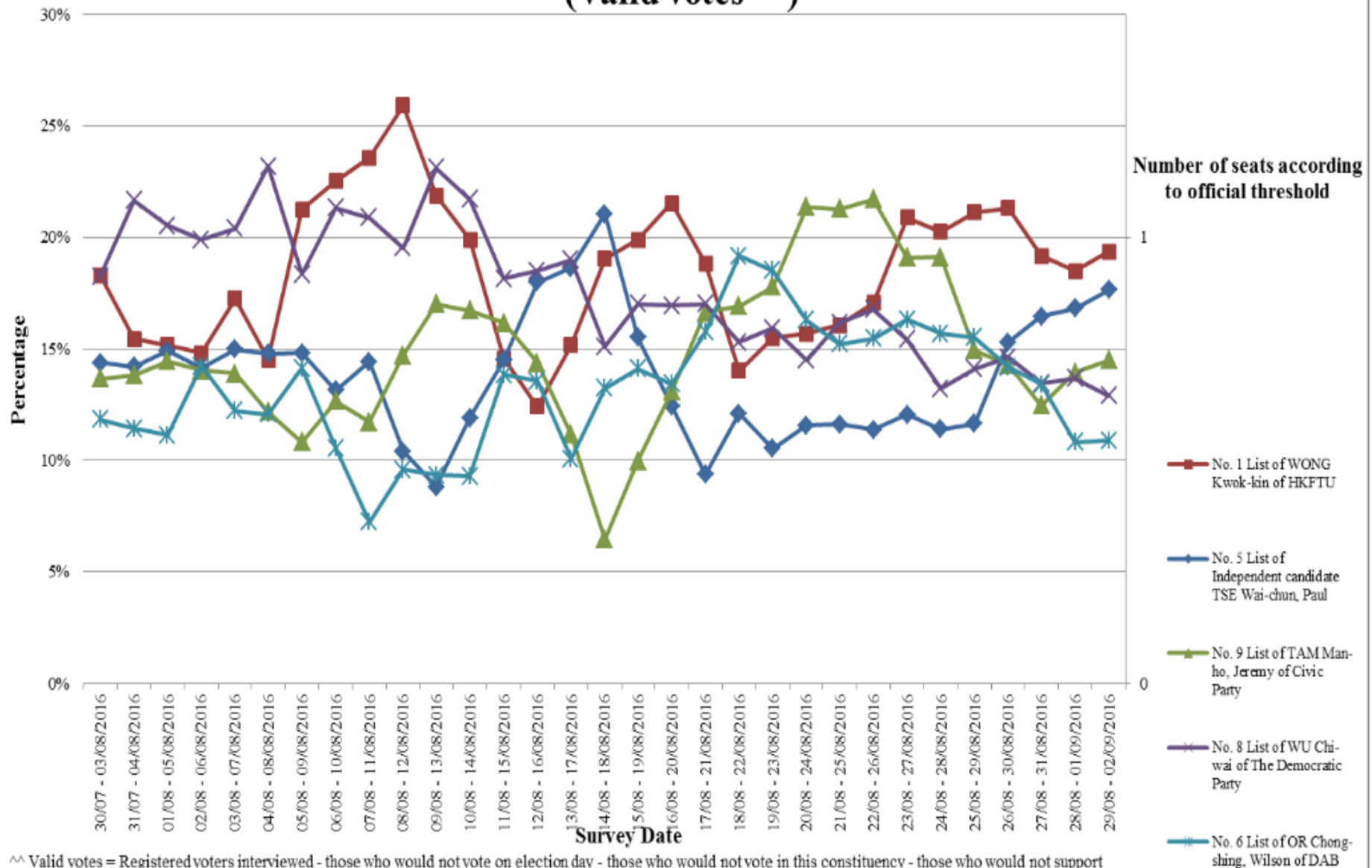


Support Rate of Hong Kong Island Candidates (Valid votes^^)



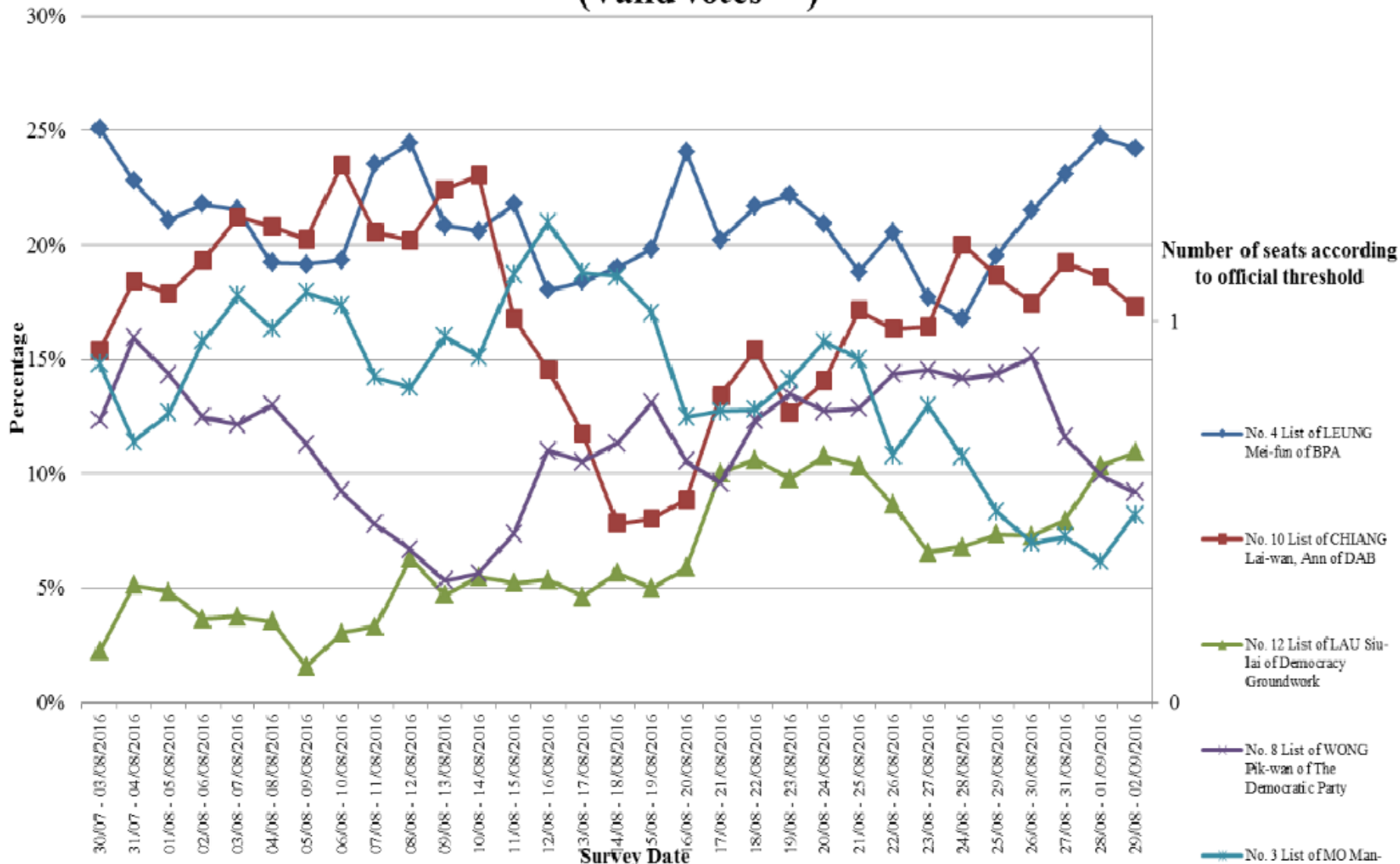
^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said "undecided / don't know / hard to say".

Support Rate of Kowloon East Candidates (Valid votes^^)



^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said "undecided / don't know / hard to say".

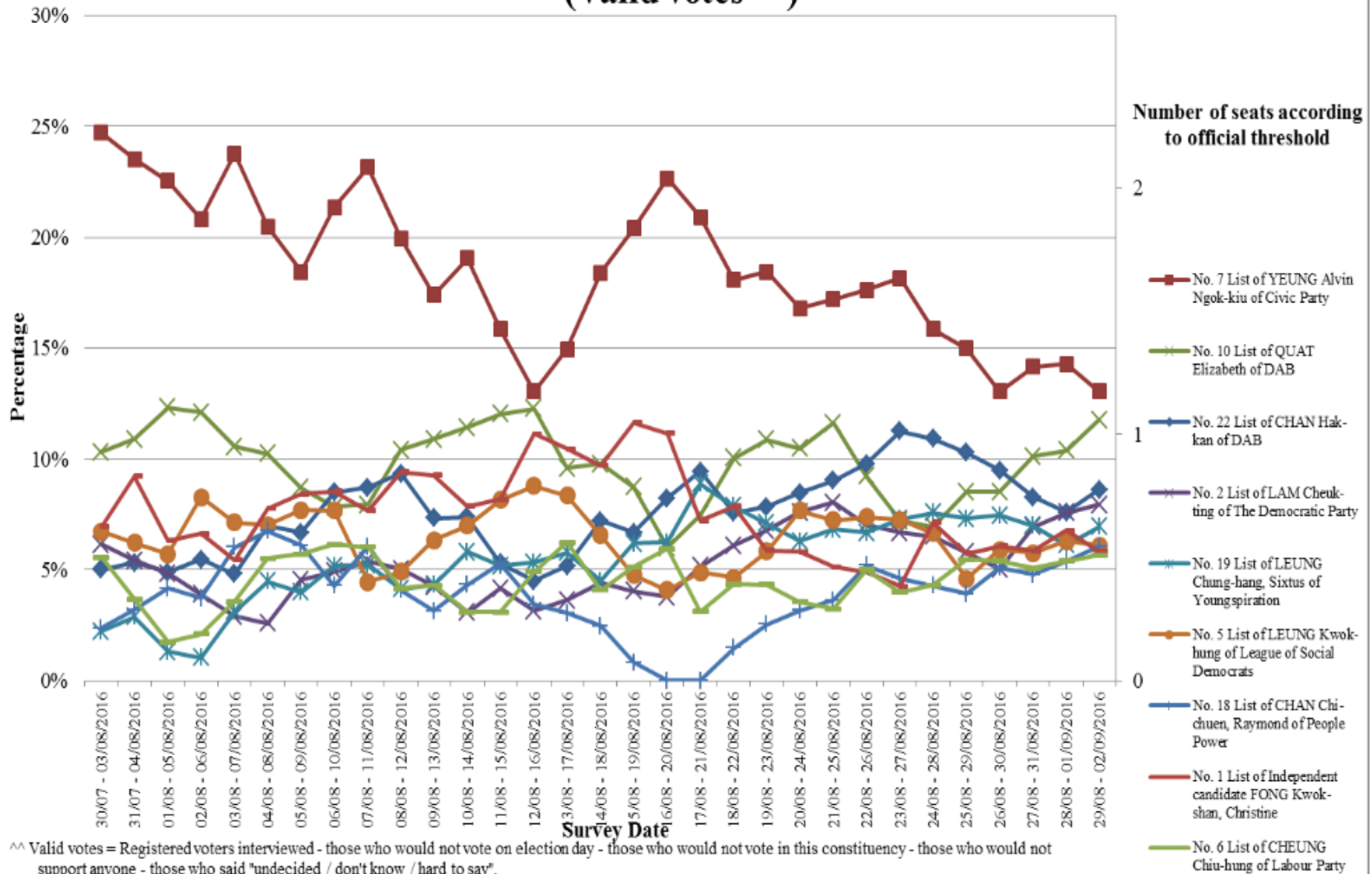
Support Rate of Kowloon West Candidates (Valid votes^^)



^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said 'undecided / don't know / hard to say'.

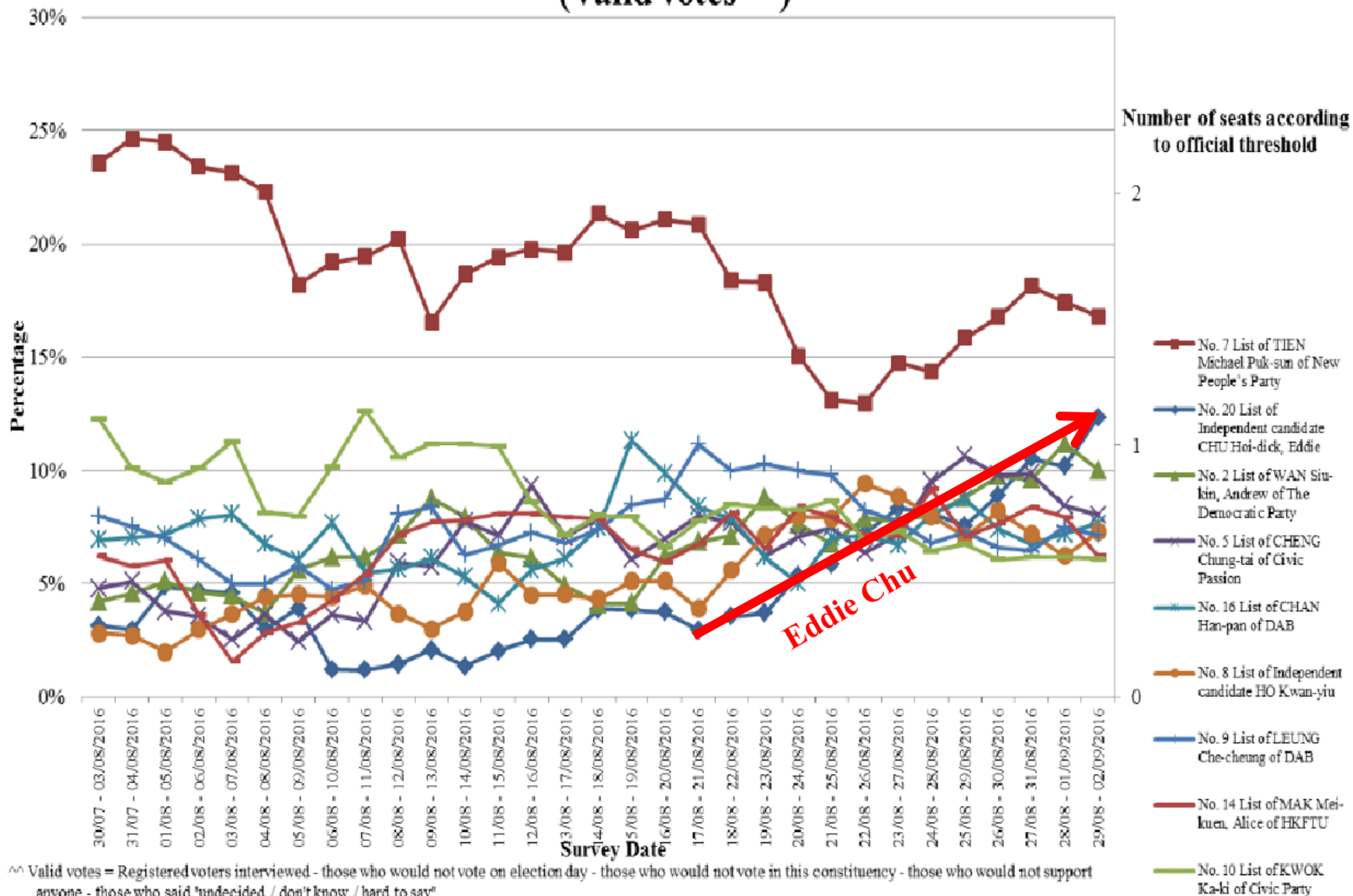
Only those in the latest projection list are shown. The list of Leung Mei Fun and Leung Man Kwong may win 2 seats.

Support Rate of New Territories East Candidates (Valid votes^^)



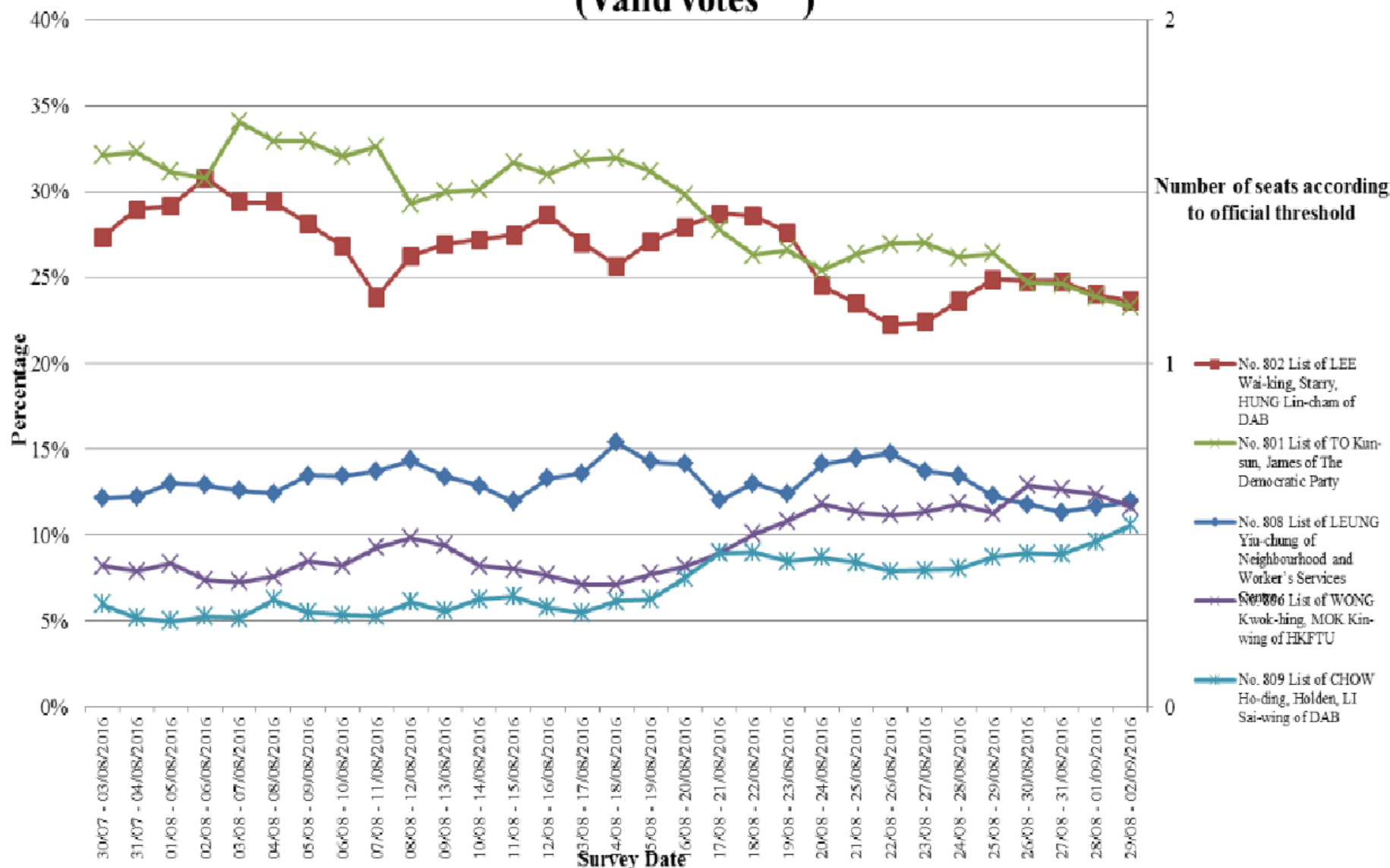
^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said "undecided / don't know / hard to say".

Support Rate of New Territories West Candidates (Valid votes^^)



^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said 'undecided / don't know / hard to say'.

Support Rate of DC (2nd) FC Candidates (Valid votes ^^)



^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this functional constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said 'undecided / don't know / hard to say'.

Accuracy of POP rolling poll predictions (28/8 – 2/9/2016, last rolling point)

	High odds	Higher chances	Equal chances	Lower chances
HKI	2/2	1/1	3/5	3/3
KlnE	1/1	1/1	3/4	1/1
KlnW	2/2	0/0	4/5	0/0
NTE	2/2	2/2	5/10	4/4
NTW	2/2	0/0	7/11	1/1
Super DC	2/2	0/0	3/4	0/0
Overall	11/11	4/4	25/39	9/9
	100%	100%	64%	100%

The Hong Kong Story: Partisan vs Neutral Exit Polls

Surfacing of partisan exit polling in HK...

票站調查配票 鍾樹根爆民建聯違規

【本報訊】遭民建聯「拔根」不獲支持連任的立法會議員鍾樹根（圖），繼日前暗中聯辦插手建制選舉部署後，昨又大爆民建聯於上屆立法會選舉投票



日，利用票站調查即時數據配票，調動義工為工聯會港島候選人王國興拉票，令王最終勝出。有泛民指屬嚴重事件，除違反選舉事務處的票站調查指引，更破壞選舉公正性，要求選管會徹查事件。

鍾昨接受商台電話訪問時，表明難以接受民建聯在今年立會選舉讓路給工聯會，因民建聯若在港島區派兩隊出選，只須取得工聯會3%選票即可當選，但工聯會要勝出，則要民建聯過票30%。「有冇倒到咁多票，我都好難理解」。

葉國謙：有咩？我唔知

鍾隨即爆料稱，工聯會自稱有7萬會員在港島，但在2012年立會選舉投票日，「到頭嚟到（傍晚）6點，咪又叫我哋唔好做到咁行，話佢哋唔夠票」；又承認民建聯因有做票站調查，所以6時已知他和曾鈺成夠票當選，調動義工替工聯會拉票，最終令王以兩萬多票當選。當主持再追問該黨是否有進行票站調查時，鍾說：「有時我哋自己都會做，因為我哋唔好做。」

根據選舉事務處的票站調查指引，申請進行票站調查的機構須簽承諾書，保證不在投票結束前，向包括候選人在內任何人或機構發放調查資料。有港島泛民助選團證實，當日民建聯助選團在傍晚已差不多停工，「鍾樹根說法證明當日我哋懷疑，民建聯用票站調查資料配票係真」。

民建聯葉國謙昨回應時，最初稱「有咩？我唔知道」，之後否認鍾說法，多次重申民建聯從無進行票站調查。王國興則不予置評，「由得佢（鍾樹根）點講啦」。

公民黨議員陳家洛認為，民建聯用票站調查配票明顯違規，破壞選舉公正性，認為選管會有責任跟進調查；又呼籲市民日後只回應大學調查，以免被建制派利用操控選舉。 ■記者林俊謙

—蘋果日報 (Apple Daily) | 2016-06-04 | A04

有線電視新聞報導 (Cable TV)

<http://cablenews.i-cable.com/ci/videopage/news/483363/%E5%8D%B3%E6%99%82%E6%96%B0%E8%81%9E/%E6%B0%91%E5%BB%BA%E8%81%AF%E4%B8%8A%E5%B1%86%E7%AB%8B%E6%9C%83%E9%81%B8%E8%88%89%E7%96%91%E9%81%95%E5%8F%8D%E6%8C%87%E5%BC%95>

From REO to POP on 31 August 2016

“... We note there have recently been some reports on a rolling survey on the 2016 Legislative Council Election being conducted by HKUPOP under the co-sponsorship of a number of media organisations and a civic organisation...”

“... We appreciate that HKUPOP has taken measures to address possible public perception issues. Nonetheless, you may appreciate that there may still be lingering public concern on the conduct of exit polls and the overall fairness of the election...”

“... we write to reiterate that HKUPOP should not use any data obtained from the exit polls in any election-related activities... before the close of poll...”

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG 香港大學 PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME 民意研究計劃

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地址: 香港薄扶林香港大學賽馬會教學樓 7 樓 706 室



2 September 2016

Mr P H Li
Chief Electoral Officer
Registration and Electoral Office
10th floor, Harbour Centre, 25 Harbour Road
Wan Chai, Hong Kong
(By fax: 2827 4644)

Dear Mr Li,

Your Mr Fankie Fong's letter of 31 August 2016 addressed to our Mr Frank Lee refers.

While I appreciate your approval of our application for conducting exit polls on 4 September 2016, and your reminder of the terms and conditions for your approval, I wish to re-iterate our position which should be well-known to your office and the general public, that we have never used our exit poll data in “any election-related activities, including any other projects... in connection with the election, before the close of poll” (Mr Fong's wording) and we will continue to refrain from doing so. Since 1991, I have personally met with and also written to the Electoral Affairs Commission (previously called the Boundary and Election Commission) many times to express my concern on sub-standard exit polling in Hong Kong. I therefore take this opportunity to attach four documents to illustrate my concern, and hope that you would respond to them if thought fit:

- Annex 1: Newspaper report of Oriental Daily, 14 September 2004, entitled “李柱銘贏得不光彩” (“Martin wins in shame”)
- Annex 2: Newspaper report of Sun, 14 September 2004, entitled “馬力：最艱難時刻已過” (“Ma Lik: The hardest moment has passed”)
- Annex 3: My column article of 6 October 2004, entitled “票站調查：專業操守不可無” (Exit Polling: Professional ethics needed)
- Annex 4: Newspaper report of Apple Daily, 4 June 2016, entitled “票站調查配票” (“Election engineering using exit poll”)

Looking forward to your reply, and wishing your team a smooth operation on 4 September.

Yours sincerely

Robert Chung
Director of Public Opinion Programme

From REO's email reply to POP dated 7 September 2016

“... it has been the **established practice** of the Registration and Electoral Office (“REO”) to issue reminder letters to applicants or applicant organisations when necessary to draw their attention to the particular requirement(s) for the conduct of exit poll...”

“... the Electoral Affairs Commission (“EAC”) has all along taken very seriously the need to ensure that electors’ **behaviour will not be unduly affected** by the **conduct** of exit poll, and the **publication and broadcast** of the results of exit polls before close of poll. To strike a good balance between the need to **maintain order** outside polling stations and upholding the **freedom** of expression, freedom of the press and academic freedom, the EAC has set out detailed guidelines for the conduct of exit poll...”

“... Since the 2015 District Council Ordinary Election, every applicant or applicant organisation for exit poll has been required to make a **statutory declaration to abide** by the relevant Guidelines on Election-related Activities (“the Guidelines”) and the terms in the application form... subject to legal liability for any non-compliance...”

“... We trust that the enhanced arrangement will help ensuring the public elections are conducted **in an open, honest and fair manner.**”

POP exit polls...

The operation in 2012 ...



Accuracy of 2012 predictions released at 10:30 pm

	High odds	Higher chances	Equal chances	Lower chances
HKI	1/1	3/3	3/7	2/2
KlnE	0/0	0/0	5/7	0/0
KlnW	4/4	1/1	0/0	1/1
NTE	2/2	4/4	3/7	1/1
NTW	1/1	0/0	8/11	1/1
Super DC	1/1	2/2	2/3	0/0
Overall	9/9	10/10	21/35	5/5
	100%	100%	60%	100%

Accuracy of 2012 predictions released at 11:30 pm

	High odds	Higher chances	Equal chances	Lower chances
HKI	3/3	2/3	2/3	1/1
KlnE	1/1	2/3	2/3	0/0
KlnW	2/2	2/2	1/2	0/0
NTE	4/4	3/3	2/6	0/0
NTW	1/1	1/1	7/10	1/1
Super DC	4/4	1/1	0/0	1/1
Overall	15/15	11/13	14/24	3/3
	100%	85%	58%	100%

Accuracy of 2012 predictions released at 1:00 am

	High odds	Higher chances	Equal chances	Lower chances
HKI	4/4	1/2	2/3	1/1
KlnE	1/1	2/3	2/3	0/0
KlnW	4/4	1/1	0/0	1/1
NTE	4/4	3/3	2/6	0/0
NTW	2/2	0/0	7/10	0/0
Super DC	5/5	0/0	0/0	0/0
Overall	20/20	7/9	13/22	2/2
	100%	78%	59%	100%

Accuracy of 2016 “would-have-been” predictions

	High odds	Higher chances	Equal chances	Lower chances
HKI	2/2	1/1	3/6	1/1
KlnE	1/1	0/0	4/6	0/0
KlnW	3/3	1/1	2/4	2/2
NTE	4/4	3/3	2/4	3/3
NTW	6/6	0/0	3/8	1/1
Super DC	5/5	0/0	0/0	0/0
Overall	21/21	5/5	14/28	7/7
	100%	100%	50%	100%

POP exit poll response rates

	LC 2016	LC 2016 by-election	LC 2012	LC 2010 by-elections	LC 2008 [^]	LC 2007 by-election	LC 2004
Date	4-Sep	28-Feb	9-Sep	16-May	7-Sep	2-Dec	12-Sep
Response rate	55.9%	58.4%	53.3%	66.4%	51.4%	66.9%	66.7%
No. of stations	45	10	105	42	106	40	101
Sample size	3,092	1,068	14,917	3,562	8,755	3,424	9,223

-[^] a total of 951 cases from 14 stations were removed due to data quality problem

Exit poll restrictions in different countries

(from WAPOR Freedom to Publish Poll Survey 2012)

Country	Blackout period for pre-election opinion polls	Days (prior to an election) of polls banned	Legal restrictions on the conduct of exit polls						
			Completely banned	Banned inside the polling station	Banned outside close to polling station	No restriction – no exit polls conducted to date	No restriction – some exit polls conducted today	Don't know	Refused to answer
China	No	--	✓						
Hong Kong	No	--		✓					
Macau	Yes	15		✓	✓				
Taiwan	Yes	10		✓	✓				
Summary									
Number of countries affected (out of 85)	38 “yes” (45%)	-	7 (8%)	35 (41%)	18 (21%)	10 (12%)	26 (31%)	3 (4%)	3 (4%)

The importance of non-partisan exit polls to Hong Kong ...

- **A symbol of free society**
- **A symbol of non-partisan opinion survey**
- **A symbol of academia-media cooperation**
- **A symbol of middle force in civic society**
- **A symbol of success for “one country, two systems”**

End of Presentation