JAPOR 70th Memorial Meeting (13-14 November 2014, Tokyo, Japan)

The Present Situation and Future of Public Opinion Research in East Asia

# The Current Situation and Issues of Public Opinion Research in Hong Kong

#### Dr Robert CHUNG

Director of Public Opinion Programme
The University of Hong Kong

13 November 2014

#### **Outline of Presentation**

#### \* About HKU POP

\* Reflections of and on opinion research in Hong Kong

#### \* Five Lines of POP Development

- Conventional surveys
- \* Deliberation activities
- Civil referendums and mass engagement
- \* e-platforms and niche engagement
- \* International networking

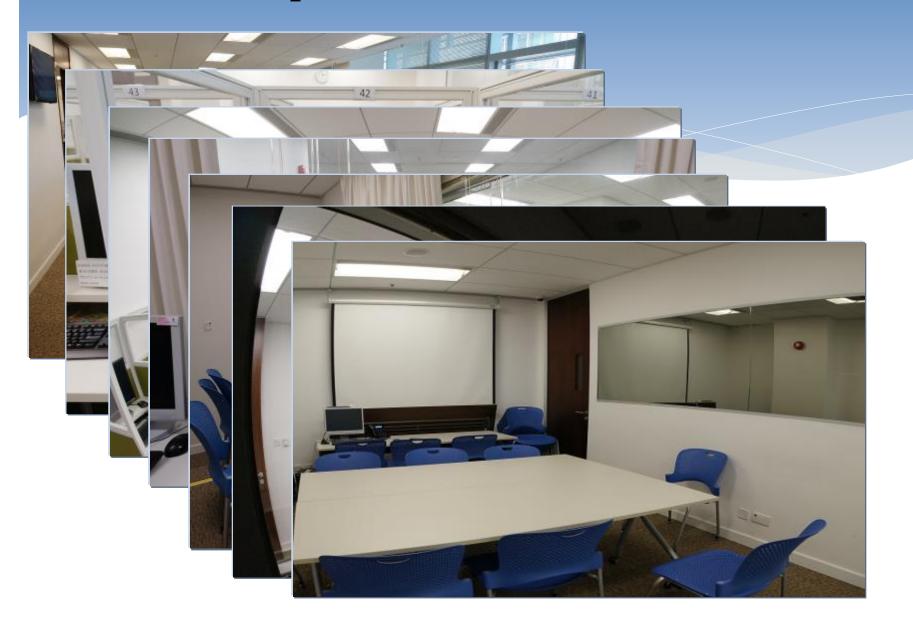
#### \* Feature Topic: Hong Kong

- People to people
- \* Conclusion
  - \* Local, regional, international

#### **About HKU POP**

- \* June 1991 : Establishment of <u>Public Opinion Programme (POP)</u> 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 November 2014, POP has conducted over <u>1,400</u> independent surveys, mostly supported by outside bodies and funding.

#### **Snapshots of POP Head Office**



### **Five Lines of POP Development**

- \* 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, evoting 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**

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

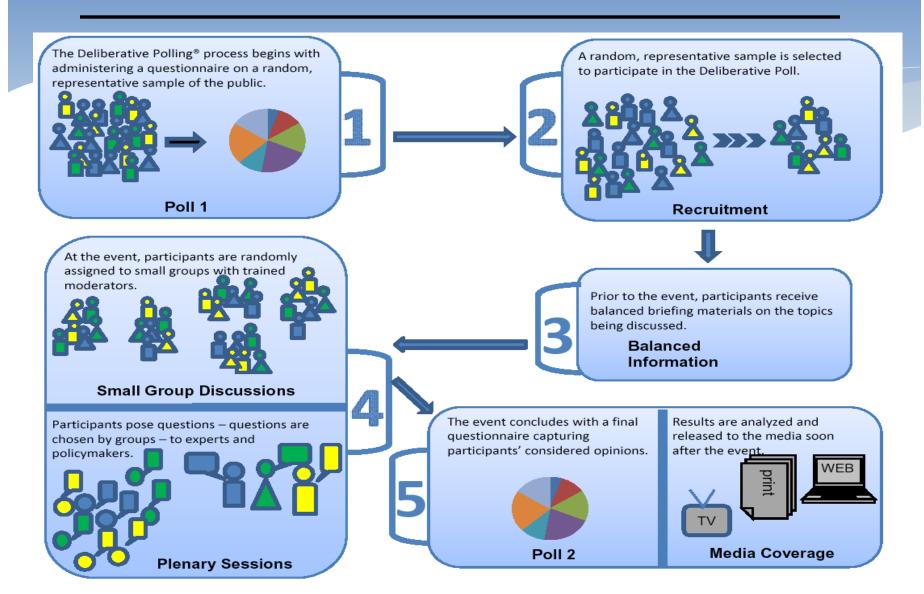


#### **Areas of Interest**

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

# **Deliberative Polling**

### **Deliberative Polling**



### **DP** Development in Hong Kong

- \* 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)

# 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	DDay1 (DP1 and DM1), to raise questions about the movement
29 Sep 2013	DP2, 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	DDay3 (DM3), 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



#### 商討日成功改變政治文化起點





的開場日 : 機動不少民 主門士心園・

最多参加者提出如何加强的宣傳·將佔 中發展成全医運動。佔中發配人之一 羅廷直言,作為改變政治文化的起點 首個商討日的成功令他點一口氣,但又 緊張起來:「要誌七個議題點搞。」下個 務討日將於 10 月舉行·討論解決方案 初步構思可分散各區學行。

记者:陳雪岭 鄭歲漢 姚阅雄

示,幾乎所有參加者都提出如何加強宣傳,其次是要 討論後決定,但指出電子公投在技術上更具機動性。 拆佔中發展成全民運動

#### 下個商討日最快 10 月舉行

到論唯行佔中的時機以至何時衰退;加強組織及案款; 當一回事 - 捷鹿獲費的 600 多人資訊的同時,帶欠民 學界別論會,約有百人參

趾進行討論 · 又 如與地區組織合作 · 在各社區鎮小型商討目 ·

■佔中質個務計日昨在港大

婺。如有民主集成员提出長期權衡站兼籌款以知豫宣 全支持佔中,有反對佔中市民表示,出席小朋是要表 另外五點包括有關政改方案問題,特別是投名委 政府表態,另一参加者說,但難想像花幾個月甚至一 引起在服務份人土鼓撻。 護中心在商討日舉行一個慎思/典討民意講查,在全 與,為秋天學行的學界頁 戴耀廷直言,作為政治文化改變的就點、質個商 港拍樣近 )00 名市民,分成七個小棍討論。隨後每假 討日作準備。

討日是成功的。他說「「我職家係整一口架、租馬上 選出一名代表、在完全中立的小組大會上發表討論結 怎可令佔中得以持續?抗爭應否堅持非華 好聚芸,擊七個議題點換稅。」他拔,第二個無計日 果。有小組総為和平佔中的概念根初步,普舊市民感 骤? 钻中省场商财日昨在港 - 最快要在 10 月攀行,福時或有損於今次的形式進行。 - 覺不太清晰,應考慮如何有效推廣站中的日間及理念 支持佔中省各有疑問,黎則奮希望了解刘宪會揭 人非透製造暴力事場。今和平佔中變質,亦有小組代

要維路絕 建個人意見,但有市民質變化是為了 100 元率馬費。

此外,學聽秘書長辣椒暉表示,學聯明天會學行



"Deliberation Day successfully changes political culture"

**Apple Daily 10-6-2013** 

# 民研商討日參加者贊成公民提名

地大民意研究計劃舉辦第二次商訓目。隨機 抽樣布民參與到論「特首選舉設計」。參與為 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: 認為整依《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。對沿用上區價學委員會別相當反對。

但參與者對「佔領中理」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 鄭 繼 樂 昨天表 示、公民提名納入政改語師是故 乎其微、《基本法》及人大常委決 請根本沒有提到結建議。政務司司 長林鄭月號昨天也指出、政改討論領 在法律框架下進行。但政府消息人士 昨天指,首輪請詢是開放式討論。

民研計劃總監護庭職【圖】在會後公布民調 結果,發現參與者相當反對沿用上脂濃委會的 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27。而討後更跌至23。支 持公民提名的,而討前後維持有78及7.9分的高 位、多人非常贊成還舉設兩輪制。並非常重視《國 際公的》。

就中央政府有權不任命及歷免普通產生的特 首、修與者商制前分別為29及27分,即相當反 對、部分在商割後略升、確認為反對意見滅低。但 仍不希望見到有關情況發生。

#### 對「佔中」不樂觀

昨天新討議程全程5個多小時,參與者10人 一組,在小組會議由專人帶領下討議特首選學 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亮興,浸大助理教授養偉 國。较大講證黃志偉及港大研究提理李偉健。在 全體會議回應小組的問題,由參與者再行深化訂 10.

17個小組的提問團線提委會的代表性、公民 提名。普選定義、基本法哲學及中央任命權。廣 兆與提出公民提名與提委會的精英參與有衛 宋·而《基本法》雖操作可彈性處理·但不應輕 易修改·市民要多思考香港普渡設計上要走向西 武·或是屬序漸級產生「香港模式」。

黄志偉回應表示、香港16年的精英參與式 政治、正反映問題所在、組為《基本法》有維步空 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數·「佔中」發起人 中大社會系副教授陳鏞民認為結果正常。自言對 行動能否成功也不樂觀·但認問「培係因為有希 證先數·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藝子強認 為·民調結果與討論氣氛及講者指導有關·指布 民替及對「信中」未必會務敦出席。故參與者多 為對「信中」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	商討後 10為絕對重要)	變化
按《基本法》規定設立提名委員會	5.7	4.6	-1.1
接《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	商封後 10為非常贊成)	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繼人得票超過一半,由得票最多的 兩位候繼人進入第二輪投票	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
中央政府有權關免營選產生的特首	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

10000

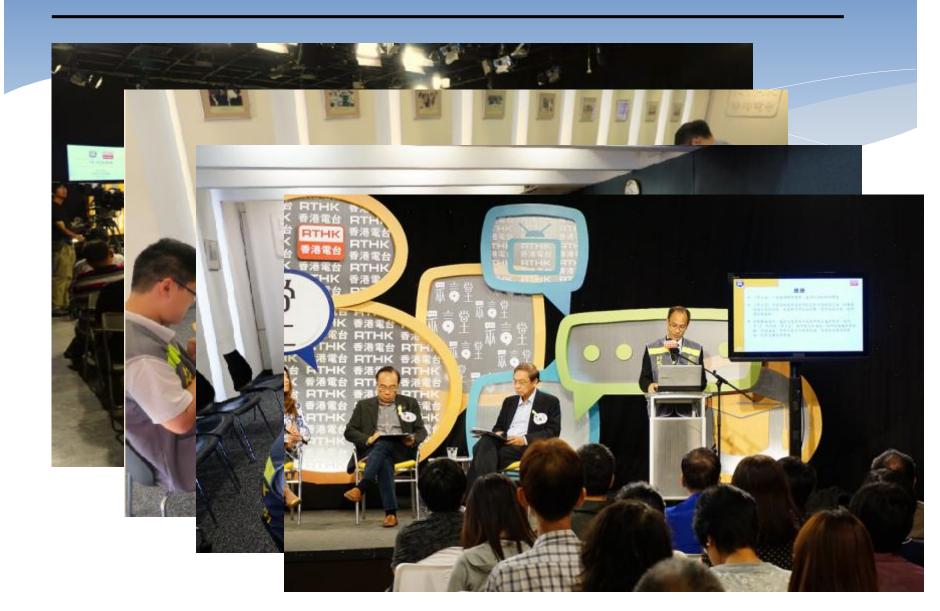
"POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination"

**Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013** 

#### **Deliberative Forum (November 2010)**



### **Deliberative Forum (September 2014)**



# **Mass Engagement Projects**

# PopVote 3.23 Civil Referendum (1)

- \* 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:

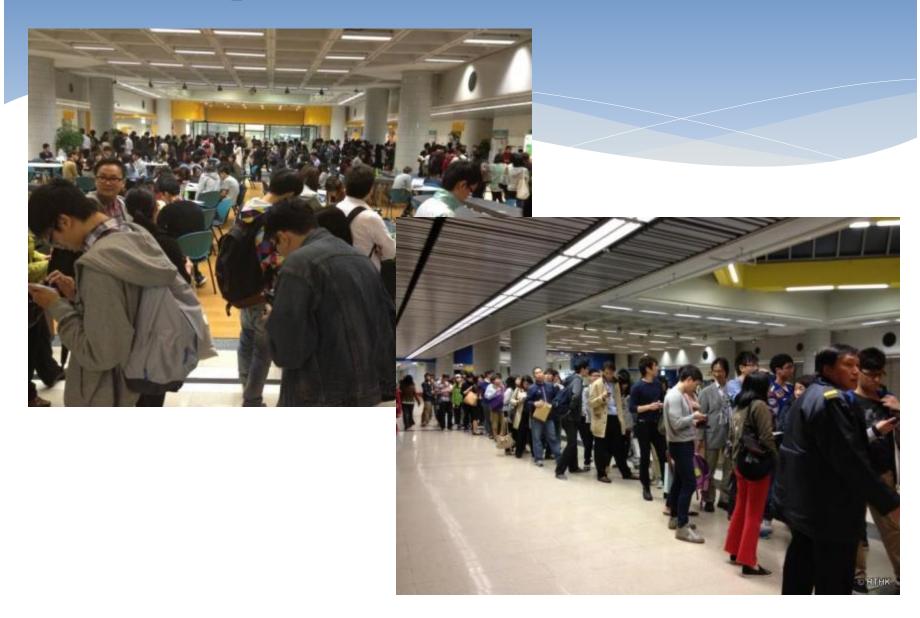
- \* All local citizens of age 18 or above
- \* Electronic voting
  - via internet or smartphone app
- \* designated territory-wide physical polling stations

### PopVote 3.23 Civil Referendum (2)

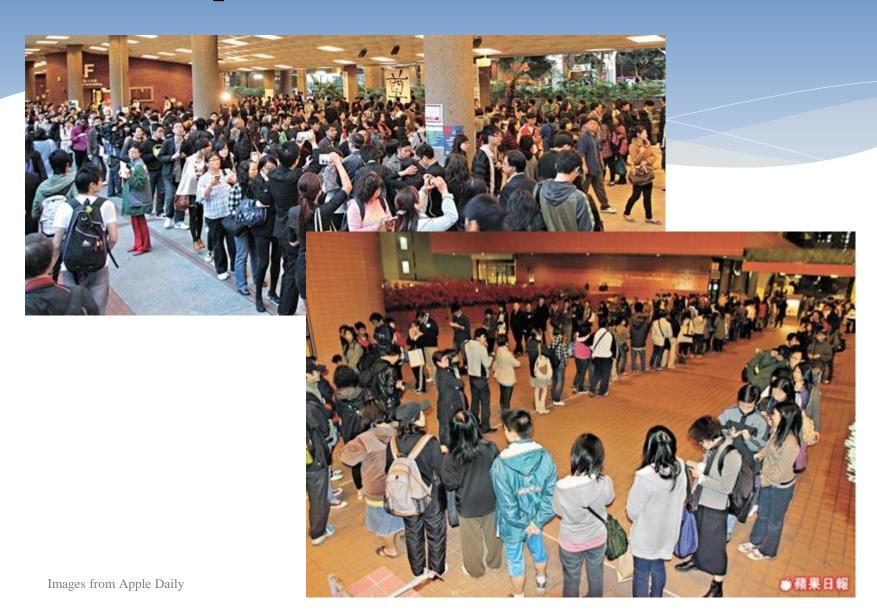
- \* Voting time extended to 18:00 of the next day (March 24), because:
  - \* Overwhelming responses from the public
  - \* System interruption
- \* Final result: 222,990 votes
  - \* 55% "abstention" or "blank vote"
  - \* ->Preference: aborting the CE election

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

#### **Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum**



#### **Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum**



#### Incidents – 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 ballet's format, Photo: Edward Wond

#### Thousands queue to vote in mock election

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 none of the candidates had initiatives to narrow the wealth gap.

Of the 16 people the South China Morning Posttalked 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@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 tomogrow.

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 smallcircle election, most people cannot vote [for their chief executive]. Their views can only be expressed by opinion polls. So beating 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 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 chair-

woenan Miriam 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 Leungin the polls to ustify 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 piomed".

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 Euroweek magazine, part of Sing Tao News Corporation, chaired by Tang nominator Charles Ho Tsu-kwok.

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-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 (海家寮) and Wang Guangya (王光亞), 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 speed to vote in the mock chief executive election at a polling station

#### Hackers fail to deter voters in mock CE poll

Ordinary Hongkongers queue patiently to have their

Ada Lee and Yassa Cheeg

Hackers' smicks in the online polling system for the simulated chief executive election yesterday failed to deter-Hongkreigers from questing outside modified studions live the characte to cast their ballots, which they are not es-

Dr Robert Chang Ting-yiu, dissotor of the Public Optision Programme at the University of Hong Kong, said unusual activity had been sesteed in the system shortly after 7am. Compurpose cought more compared to the University of House Korse's survey, and the main polling station at Polyrechnic Innersity weighed from electronic

to paper ballots at around 16.30am.

At one long queue at Polytechs University last night, teacher Tedman Chan said he was disappointed that the website you being backed as is had undermined beedom of expension. "I want my voice heard. ven though there so wait for 30 mintates here ofter week. "Chun said.

A 48 year-old man, who only identified himself as Chiu, said he parased to cast his vote after finishing odding in Shengtwn.

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

The pun-democrate' dialef meetsther candidate. Albert His Clean-van. arrived at a politing station at about 9.30am to first the system out of actions. 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 HICs next leader

Taxon Chong and Emily Tsang

Lexing Class-ying will probably secore at least the minimum 600 votecher needs to win the chief executive elec-

The ranks of his backers continand to increase potentary, as several soting blocs declared all or some of their members on the Election Comtolities would cast their hallots for the former Executive Council convents. now widely regarded as Beging's preferred chance.

They included the Democratic Alianor for the Bencemere and Propresc of Worst Kong, and many in the

By day's end, Leung had secured tween 353 and 645 years, accord-

ing to a count by the Post DAB chairman Turn Ybe-ching and the party had agreed to support Leung - during an hour-long central the meting-and to advise all 147 of its musebers on the Election Committee to you accordingly.

When usked whether to everybers would be compelled to support Leung, and if there was a penalty for iolators, Turn unit "We believe adviser is the best world to use, as the 147 nembers may be sisting at different times, and only they will know who they world for. I have full confidence pusty's advice when they vote."

The party hoped to avoid an insechance election result, in which no condidate who the minimum title votes, he said. That would bring uncertainty to the city and women its greent sense of social distractions In containing why Leung woo the party's support, Turn said. 'He left a



very good impression with all party morehers he met. We agree with his policy plathers."

some voters, including the Chinese medicine subsector, the 25-member engineering group and tyction voters, have yet to decide who to

After learning about the DAR's pport, Leving said he would saek further support "until the last mo-

Inquiry a letter to Election Commatter menubers for the third day to a yow to convince them of his sinceria Leany stressed be would work with all sectors to build a democratic election culture and strive to "excencile the cracks caused by the election".

Footby (CEO) electors figure the refli gion recentor - with atmaggree-flei Jung backgrounds - decided to shift their support from Henry Tung Ying

Most of the members from Maslim, Taoist, Confucian and Buddhire groups sever briginally strong Tang supporters, since he was believed to be Beiling's favourite. Now some of these supporties acknowledge re-ceiving what they called "a different message from officials in the central overment" over the past lew days.

"The message we received suggested we your according to the pup erry of the candidate," said Has Wing-cheong, from the Hong King Turnet Association, "It is clearly a change of mind from the former favourite, and I think a majority will core according to the will of those highwup."

Members of the four religious coups will have a final meeting to movementing to decide on a unit-

The cultural subsector will give all its 14 votes to Leang, according to member Lee Rok-keung.

"We have seached a conserous to ente for Leung, including the six members who earlier porsinated

Tangcalled in voices to "cost their

#### Incidents – 3.23 Civil Referendum



"District Council encourages citizens to vote", Apple Daily, 24-3-2012

### 6.22 Civil Referendum (1)

#### \* Objective:

- \* to encourage members of the general public to vote on the following two motions on 6.20-6.20-29 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)

- \* 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

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

#### **Snapshots of 6.22 Civil Referendum**



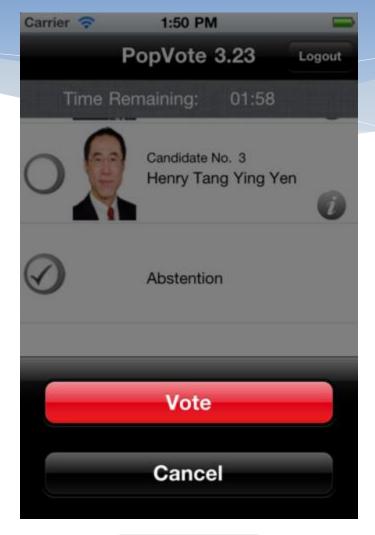
#### **Electronic Platforms**

## **PopCon Opinion Platform**



## **Smartphone App**









### Website (popvote.hk)



# **International Projects**

# WAPOR's Annual Conference 2012 in Hong Kong

- \* 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.

#### **WAPOR's Annual Conference 2012**



# Other International Projects

- \* ANPOR
- \* World Public Opinion
- \* Greater China Region projects

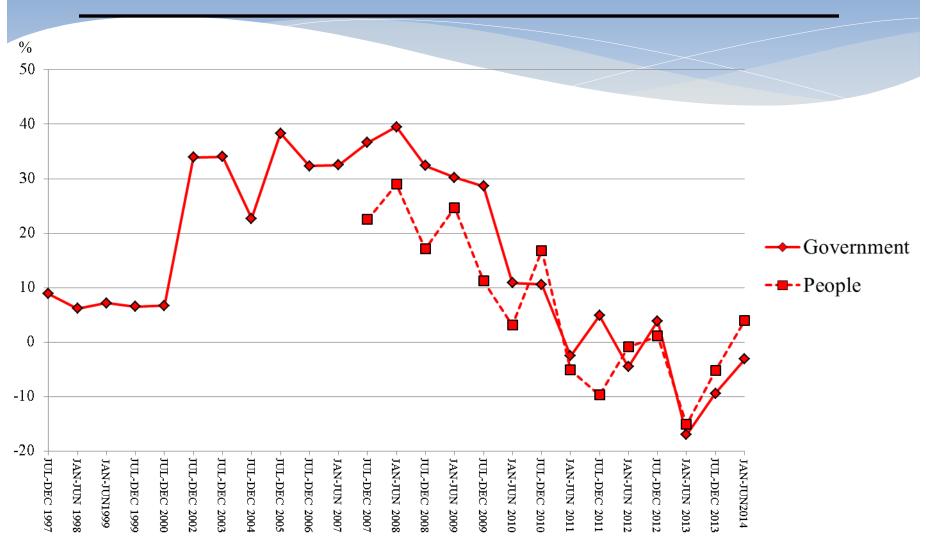


# Feature Topic: Hong Kong People's Feelings towards Different Governments and Peoples

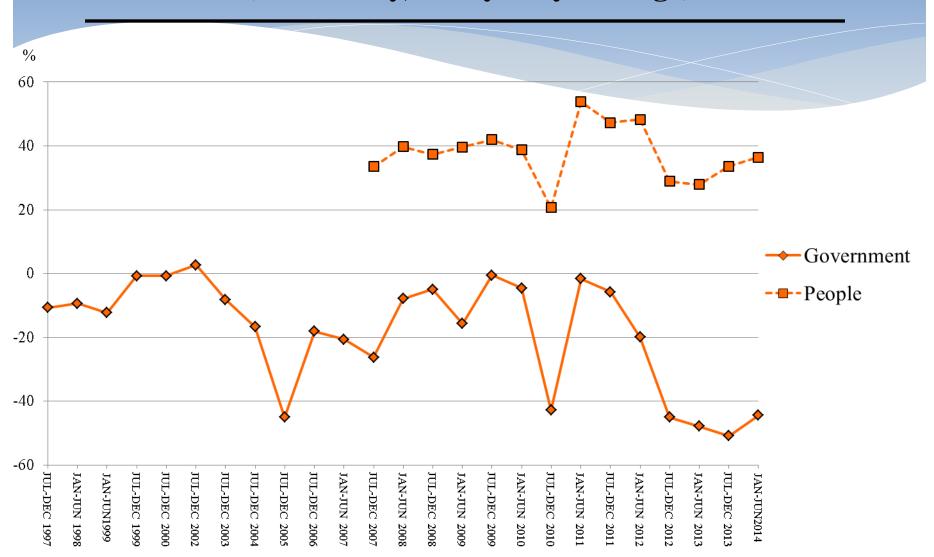
### **Background of Study**

- \* Surveys on governments are conducted at least once a year since 1997 and the surveys on peoples began in 2007
- \* A double stage survey on Hong Kong citizens' feeling towards different governments and peoples
- \* Surveys are held by means of random telephone interviews conducted by real interviewers
- \* Every year, POP selects 15 regions and countries that are best known to Hong Kong people, and conduct surveys to measure people's feeling towards the governments of these places

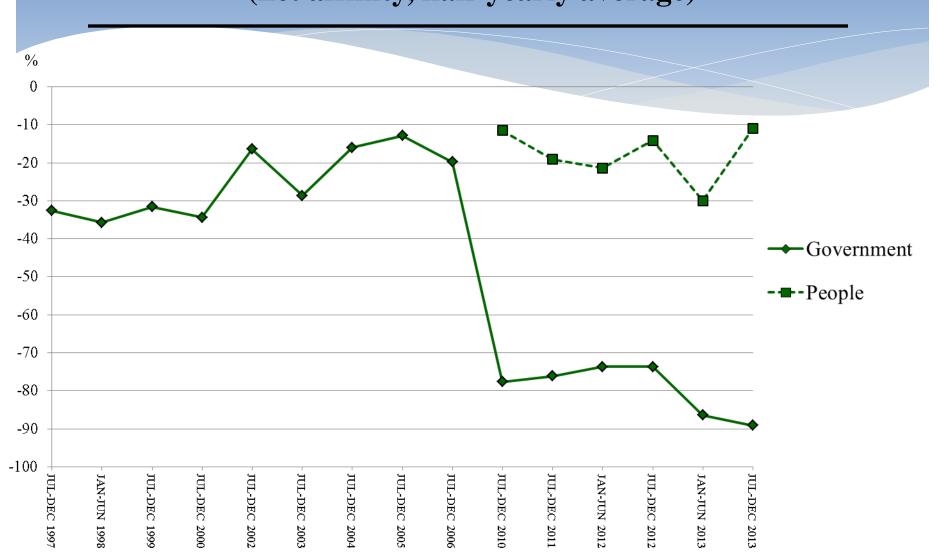
### People's Feeling towards Mainland Chinese Government and Chinese People (net affinity, half-yearly average)



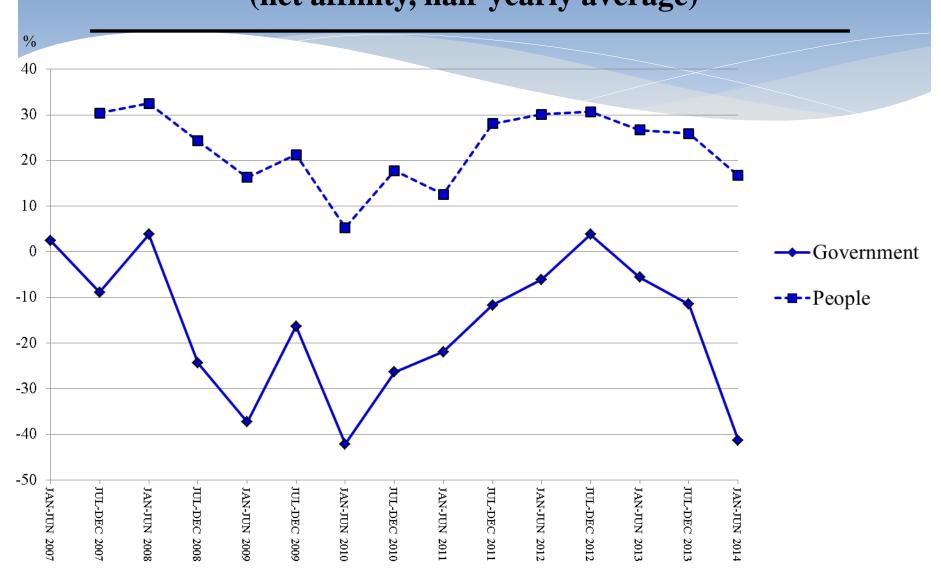
# People's Feeling towards Japanese Government and Japanese People (net affinity, half-yearly average)



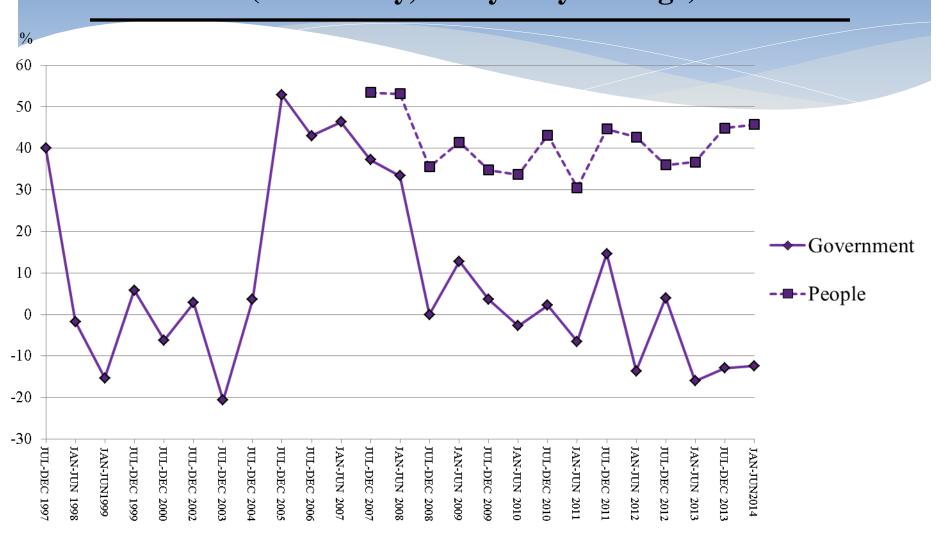
# People's Feeling towards Filipino Government and Filipino People (net affinity, half-yearly average)



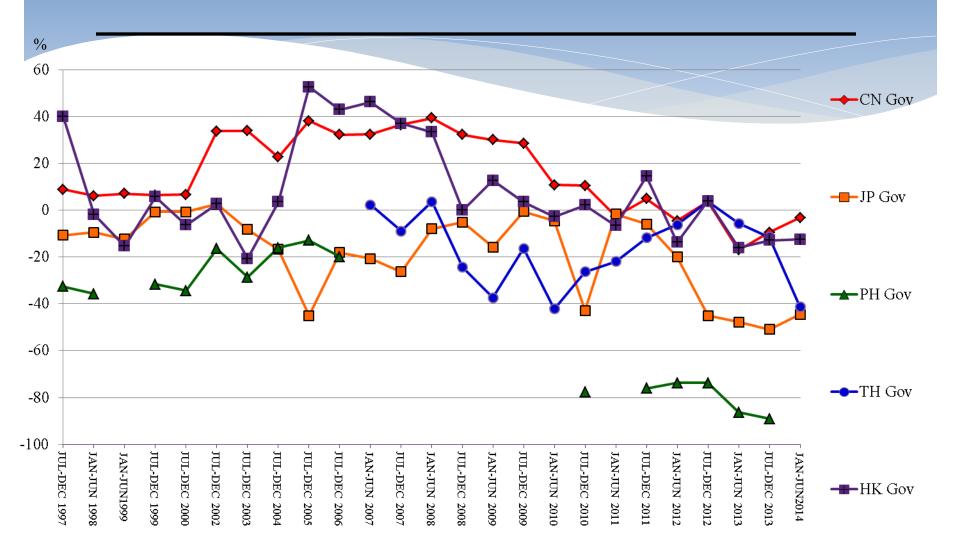
# People's Feeling towards Thai Government and Thai People (net affinity, half-yearly average)



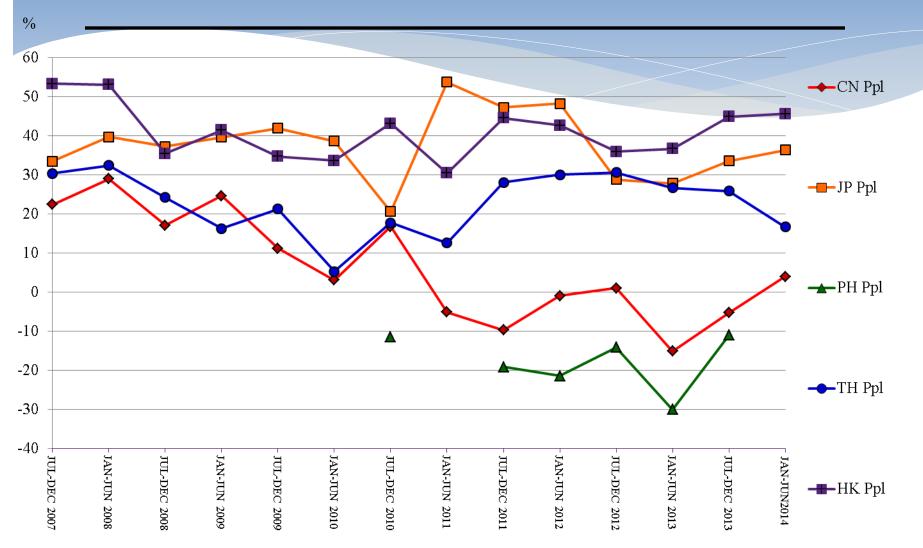
### People's Feeling towards Hong Kong SAR Government and Hong Kong people (net affinity, half-yearly average)



## **Combined Chart – Net Affinity Towards Governments**



## Combined Chart - Net Affinity Towards Peoples



CN=China; JP=Japan; PH=Philippines; TH=Thailand; HK=Hong Kong

### **Observations**

### **Observations**

#### As of June 5, 2014

- \* In terms of net affinity Hong Kong people feel much more positively about other peoples than their governments.
- \* Regarding the four cross-strait societies, the net affinity of Hong Kong people towards fellow Hong Kong people is 55 percentage points higher than that towards the Hong Kong SAR government, that towards Taiwan people is 43 percentage points higher than that towards the Taiwan government, that towards Macau people is 24 percentage points higher than that towards the Macau government, that towards Mainland Chinese people is 7 percentage points higher than that towards the Mainland Chinese government.
- \* As for countries outside the cross-strait regions, Hong Kong people seem to dislike the governments of Russia, the United States, Thailand and Japan, whereas they seem to like all peoples rather than dislike them.
- \* The survey only covers regions and countries best known to Hong Kong people. Hong Kong people may well like or dislike other places much more, but because they are not the most well-known places, they do not appear on the list by design.

# Some reflections: Hong Kong then and now...



### Events...



### **Umbrella Movement 2014**











#### More Reflections...

- \* Hong Kong = a society in transition
- \* Hong Kong = where East meets West
- \* New media, new technology, new people
- \* New methodologies, new standards
- \* New ways to resolve local, regional, international conflicts
- \* "The New World of Public Opinion Research"
- \* JAPOR, ANPOR, WAPOR...

# End of Presentation. Thank you!