

ANPOR 2nd Annual Conference (28-30 November 2014, Niigata, Japan)

Citizen's Political Efficacy and Participation: Comparative Perspective in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taipei

**Political Efficacy and Participation in
Hong Kong: Quality versus Quantity**

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Winnie LEE

The University of Hong Kong

29 November 2014

Outline of Presentation

- * **Hong Kong**

- * From British Colony to SAR of People Republic of China
- * One Country, Two Systems
- * Pursuit of Democracy

- * **HK People's Political Efficacy**

- * **Measurement**

- * Quality versus quantity

- * **Reflections**

Hong Kong

From British Colony to SAR of People Republic of China



Sino-British Joint Declaration

19 December 1984



One Country, Two Systems



中華人民共和國 香港特別行政區基本法

(The Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR)

Article 1

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China.

Article 2

The National People's Congress authorizes the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region to exercise *a high degree of autonomy and enjoy executive, legislative and independent judicial power*, including that of final adjudication, in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

Article 3

The executive authorities and legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be composed of permanent residents of Hong Kong in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Law.

Article 4

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall *safeguard the rights and freedoms of the residents of the Hong Kong* Special Administrative Region and of other persons in the Region in accordance with law.

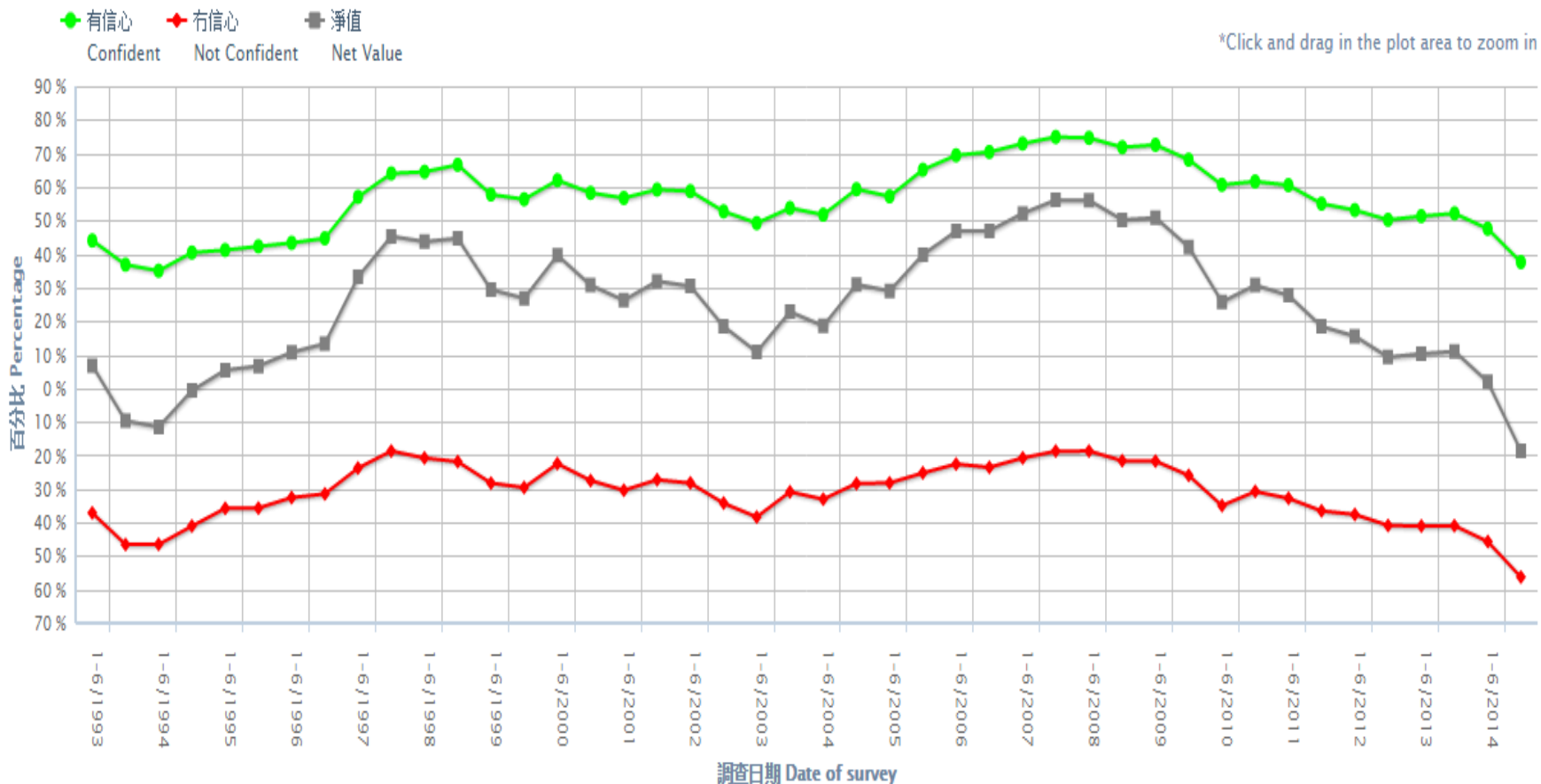
Article 5

The socialist system and policies shall not be practised in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and *the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years.*

市民對一國兩制的信心程度(半年結)

People's Confidence in "One Country, Two Systems" (half-yearly average)

(1-6/1993 - 7-12/2014)



「冇信心」百分比以「負向百分比」表示。
"% of 'Not Confident' is presented as 'negative % of 'Confident'".



HONG KONG

VOTING WITH THEIR FEET



2003



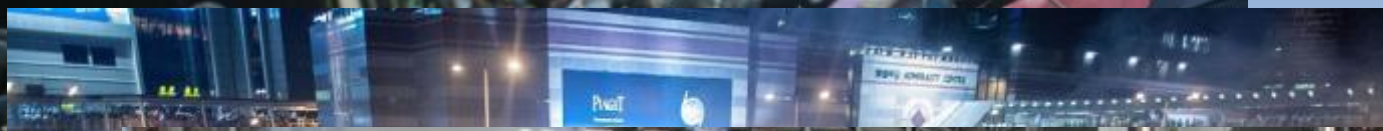
2014





Umbrella Movement 2014





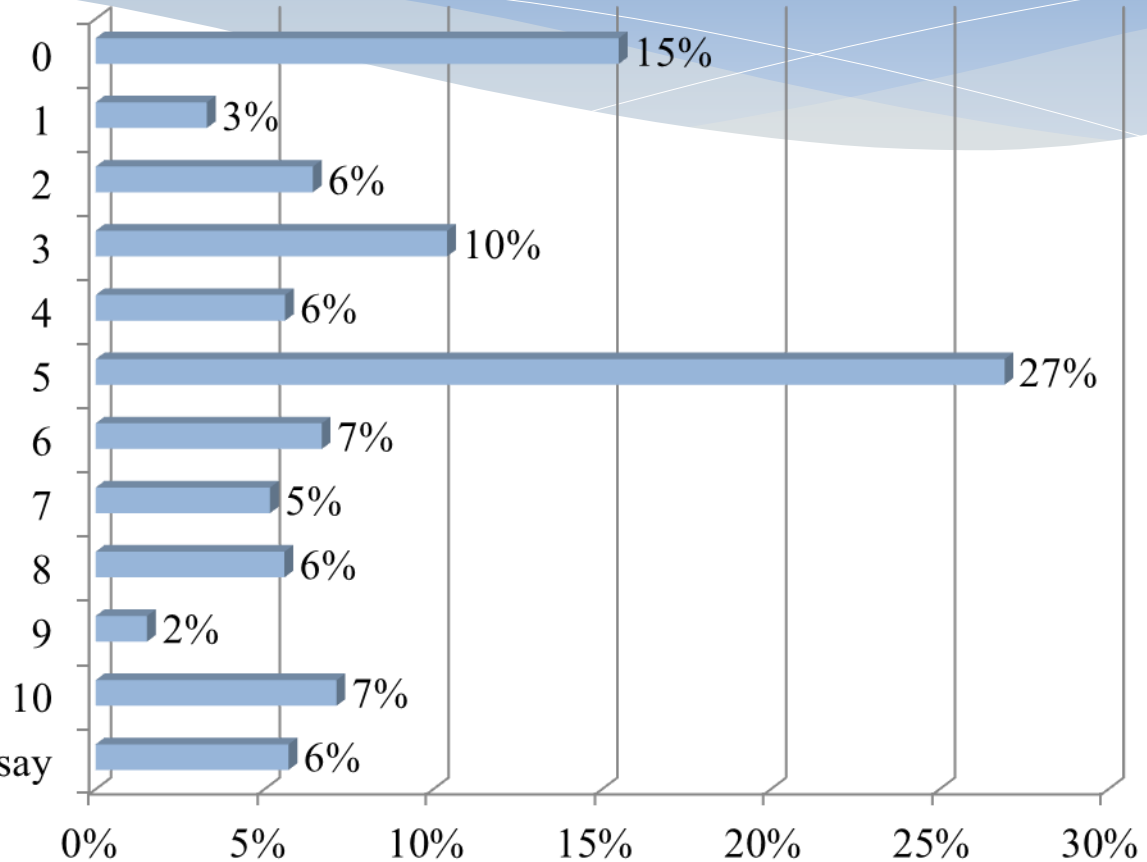






Citizens' Influence to Government Policy

Mean:	4.4
Median:	5.0
Mode:	5
Std error:	0.09
Base:	964

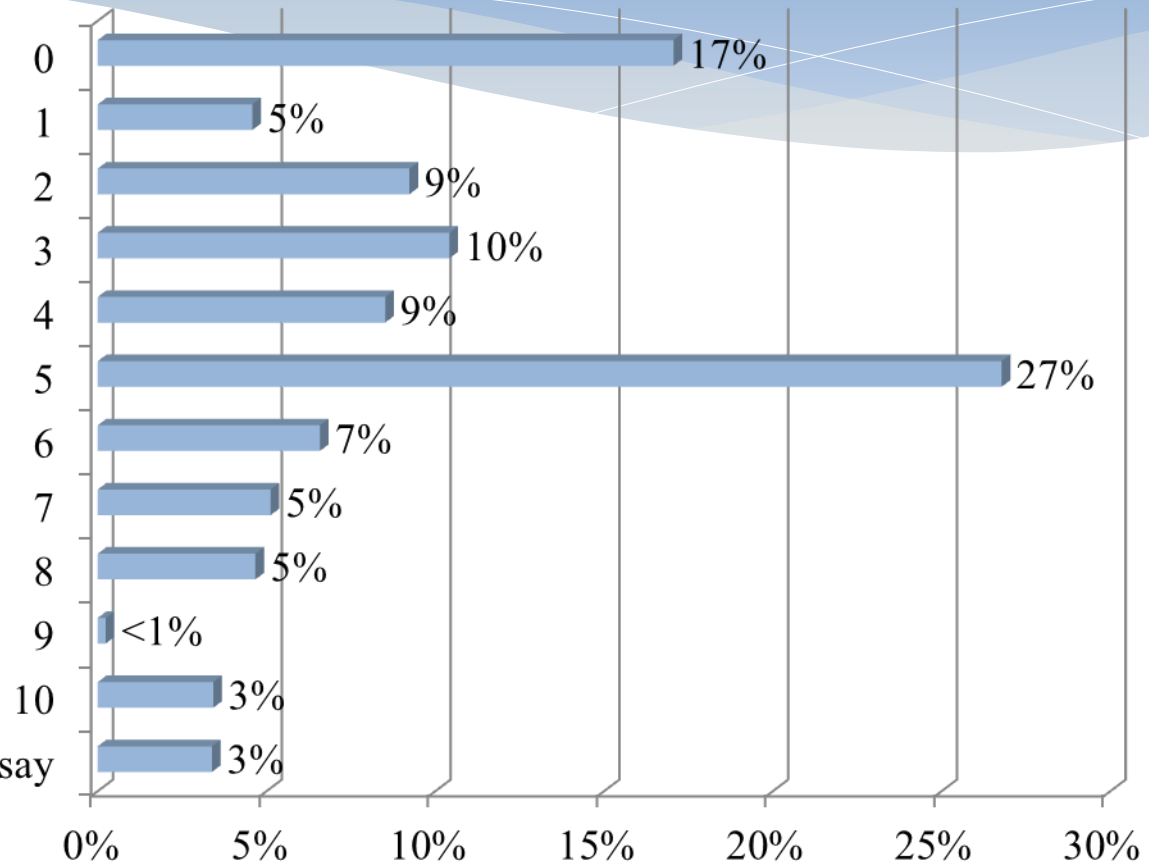


[N=1,023]

[Qn] Please rate on a scale of 0-10, how much influence you think you, as a citizen, have on Government policy making, with 0 meaning no influence at all, 10 meaning very big influence, and 5 meaning half-half.

Government Officials Care about Public Opinion

Mean:	3.8
Median:	4.0
Mode:	5
Std error:	0.08
Base:	989

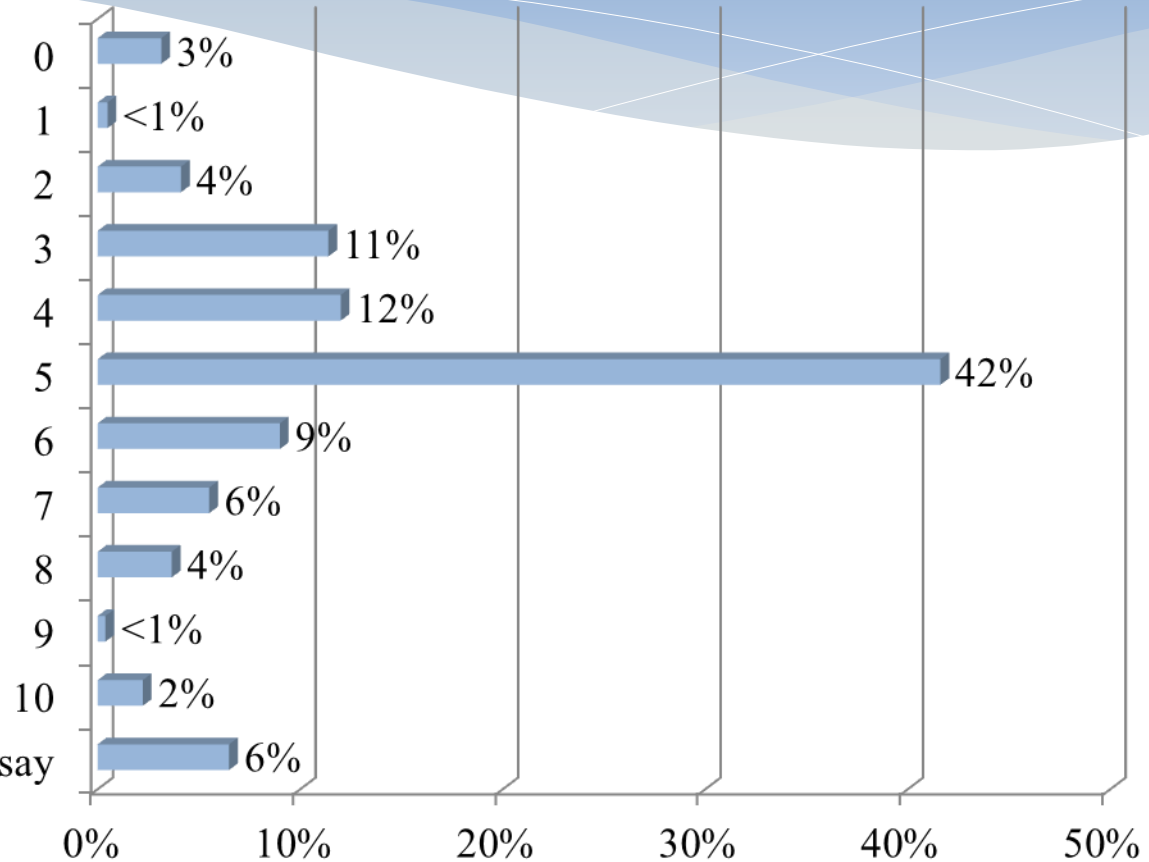


[N=1,024]

[Qn] Please rate on a scale of 0-10, how much do you think the Government officials care about public opinion, with 0 meaning not care at all, 10 meaning care very much, and 5 meaning half-half.

Citizens' Comprehension of Political Issues

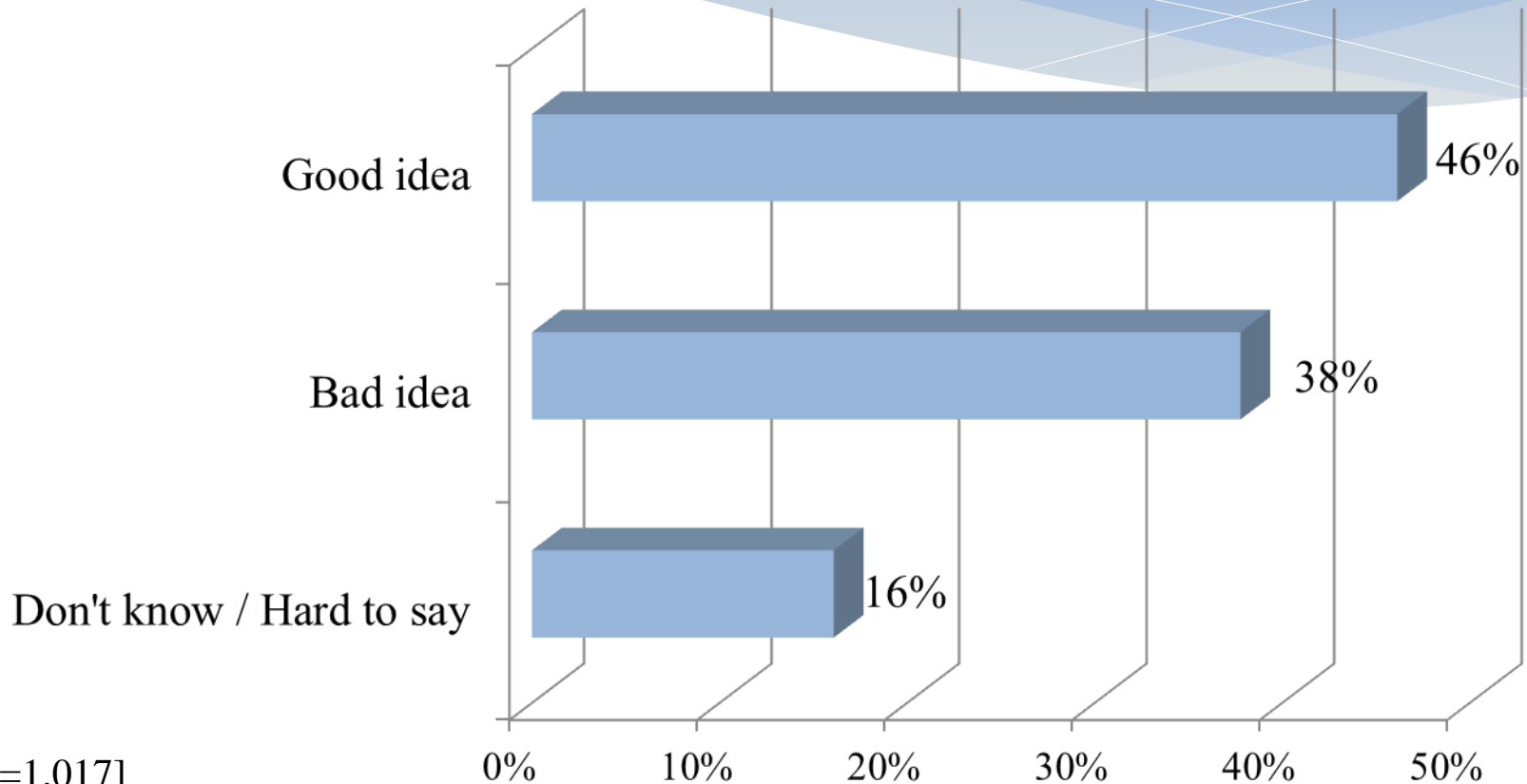
Mean:	4.8
Median:	5.0
Mode:	5
Std error:	0.06
Base:	957



[N=1,023]

[Qn] Please rate on a scale of 0-10, general citizens' level of understanding of political issues, with 0 meaning does not understand at all, 10 meaning completely understand, and 5 meaning half-half.

Opinion on Random Sample to Represent HK in Policy Making Deliberation



[N=1,017]

[Qn] Assuming 500 citizens selected randomly to represent everyone in HK, and they deliberate on the issues faced by LegCo or Government, hear the views, then discuss and submit their views to the LegCo or Government, would this be a good or a bad idea?

About HKU POP

- * 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 November 2014, POP has conducted over *1,400* independent surveys, mostly supported by outside bodies and funding.

Conventional Surveys

Types of Conventional Surveys

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

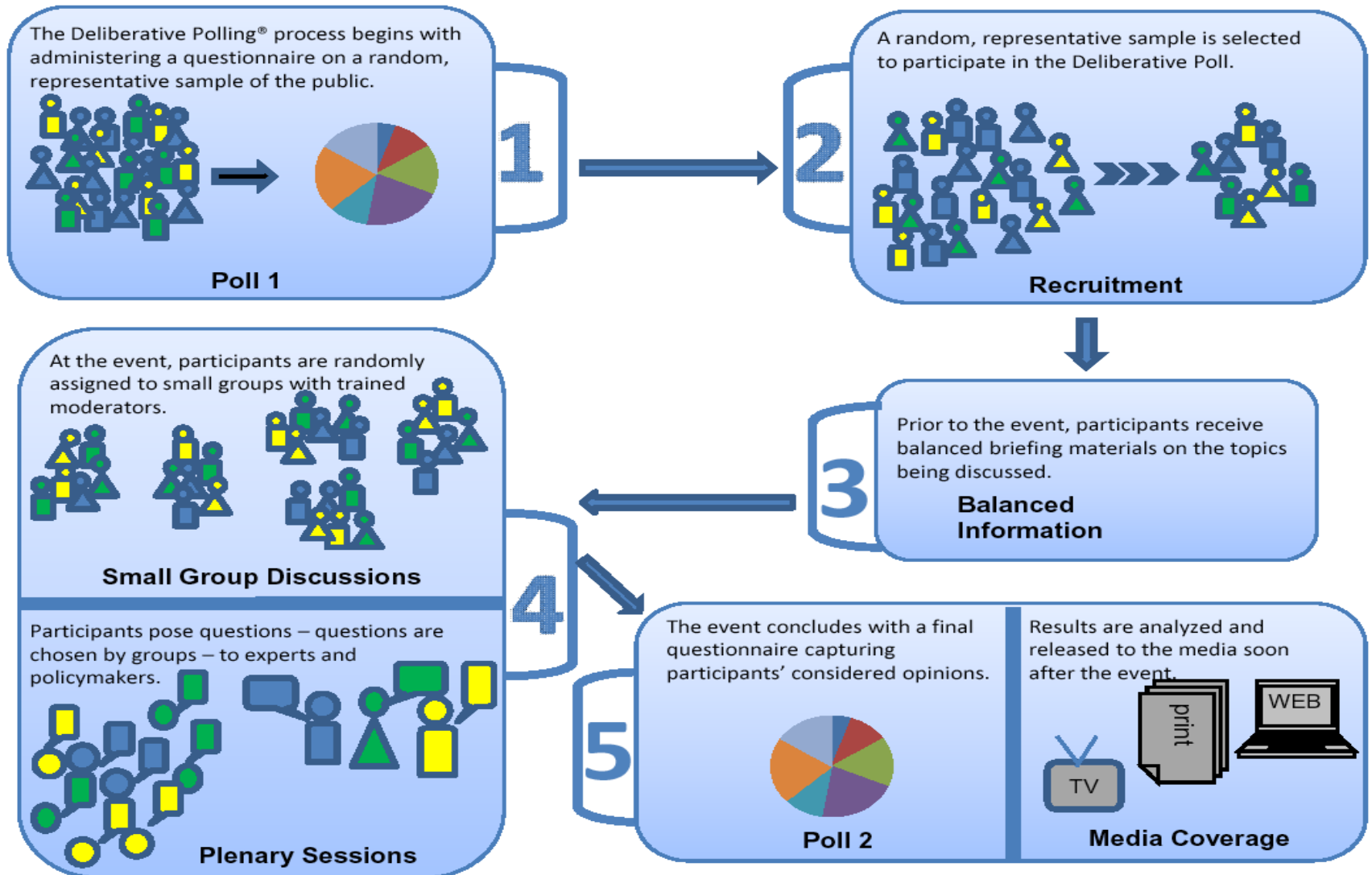


Areas of Interest

- * 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

催谷宣傳誓變全民運動



■佔中首個商討日昨在滬大舉行，參與者踴躍發言。

■佔中三子之一朱耀明的開場白，觸動不少民主鬥士心扉。

和平佔中七大議題

1. 如何加強佔中運動的宣傳及論述，解釋運動是和平進行，不會破壞經濟和社會發展？
2. 如何將運動提升至全民運動層面（能深入各階級、階層，特別是基層）？參加者特別關注到民生與民主主要主張。
3. 談判的虛線是甚麼？尤其是關於提名委員會的組成？
4. 和平佔中運動本身如何建立具公信力的決策機制？
5. 時機問題：甚麼時候要進行佔領行動？甚麼時候退出？運動甚麼時候才叫終結？
6. 如何進一步加強佔中運動的組織，以及增加資源（例如籌款）？
7. 如何應對中央及政府打壓？

資料來源：
「談文與和平佔領中環」網站

佔領中環

【本報訊】佔領中環行動昨舉行首次商討日，約700人經過近四小時的答問環節及小組討論，商討出七大議題，最多參加者提出如何加強的宣傳，將佔中發展成全民運動。佔中發起人之一戴耀廷直言，作為改變政治文化的起點，首個商討日的成功令他鬆一口氣，但又緊張起來：「要趁七個議題點滴。」下個商討日將於10月舉行，討論解決方案，初步構思可分散各區舉行。

記者：陳雪玲 鄭啟鴻 姚國雄

如何令佔中議題「落地」？若然政府真的欲擺渡，怎可令佔中得以持續？抗爭應否堅持非暴力，非暴力？可否加入罷課？佔中首場商討日昨在滬大舉行，逾600名參加者被分成40組進行討論，又有機會與佔中發起人直接對話，提出質詢。經過四小時商討，歸納出七大議題。佔中另一發言人陳健民表示，幾乎所有參加者都提出如何加強宣傳，其次是要將佔中發展成全民運動。

下個商討日最快10月舉行

另外五點包括有關政改方案問題，特別是提名委員會的組成、談判虛線等；建立有公信力的決策機制；討論進行佔中的時機以至何時撤退；加強組織及籌款；以及如何應對中央及政府的打壓。

戴耀廷直言，作為政治文化改變的起點，首個商

討日是成功的。他說：「我職業係鬆一口氣，但馬上好緊張，嚟七個議題點滴呢。」他說，第二個商討日最快要在10月舉行，屆時或有別於今次的形式進行，如與地區組織合作，在各社區搞小型商討日。

支持佔中者各有疑問，黎國智希望了解到底會搞電子公投還是「超級議員」聯職公投？戴說交由市民討論後決定，但指出電子公投在技術上更具機動性。

獲參加者多支持佔中，小組討論時多從策略出發，如有民主黨成員提出近期應與佔委會簽款以加強宣傳；有大學生則認為要拖戰拖決，要佔領主要道路逼政府表態，另一參加者說，很難想像花幾個月甚至一年時間，到底來只是佔領中環絕打花園。政府根本不需一回事。獲聽獲約600多人商討的同時，滬大民議中心在商討日舉行一個偵查／與討民意調查，在全港抽樣近100名市民，分成七個小組討論，隨後每組

選出一名代表，在完全中立的小組大會上發表討論結果。有小組認為和平佔中的概念很初步，普通市民感覺不太清晰，應考慮如何有效推廣佔中的目標及理念。個別小組又擔心中共等組織會施壓及挑撥佔中，並派人聯絡製造暴力事端，令和平佔中變質，亦有小組代表建議用聯職、罷工、罷市等方式。

市民馮先生質疑戴耀廷發起佔中行動，有如行軍打仗，應變非聯機會。組織抽樣小組的討論，不是完全支持佔中，有反對佔中市民表示，出席小組是要表達個人意見，但有市民質疑他是為了100元車馬費，引起在場部份人士鼓掌。

此外，學務處書長陳輝輝表示，學聯明天會舉行學者討論會，約有百人參與，為秋天舉行的學界商討日作準備。

蘋果網圖片
www.appledaily.com.hk

“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



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



參與者明顯對《基本法》規定的重要性評價降低

(柯澤儀)

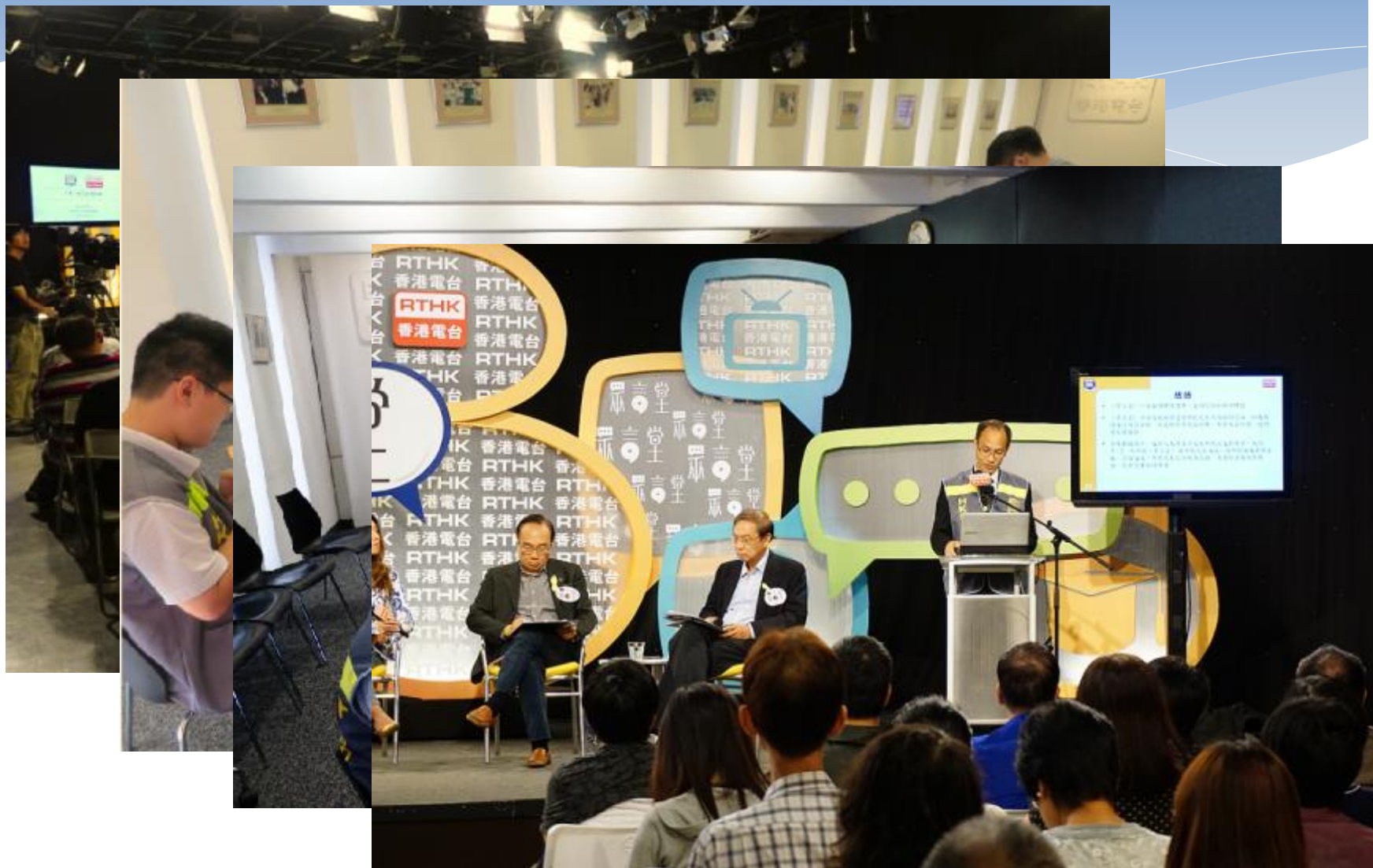
“POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination”

Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013

Deliberative Forum (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
Polling Station	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 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

Leung, but said he was disappointed 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
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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 Hung Hom, Kowloon, Sunday.

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-voting 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-yin, 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 Fu Chun-yun, 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 EIC's next leader

Teresa Cheng (右) Emily Tang

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 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 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 necessary 601 votes, he said. That would bring uncertainty to the city and worsen its current sense of social disharmony. 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 election blocs from the religious sector – with strong pro-Leung backgrounds – 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 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 Hau Tung-cheng, 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".

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
Local On-site Polling Stations	70,378
Overseas On-site Polling Station	391
Total	792,808

Snapshots of 6.22 Civil Referendum



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

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!**