

Swing States and the American Election 2016
A Simulation Program by the Hong Kong America Center

Experts' Presentation

The Role of Polling in Elections

Robert Chung

Director of Public Opinion Programme,
The University of Hong Kong

29 October 2016

The Poll Figures

POLL CHART

2016 General Election: Trump vs. Clinton

Currently tracking 352 polls from 43 pollsters

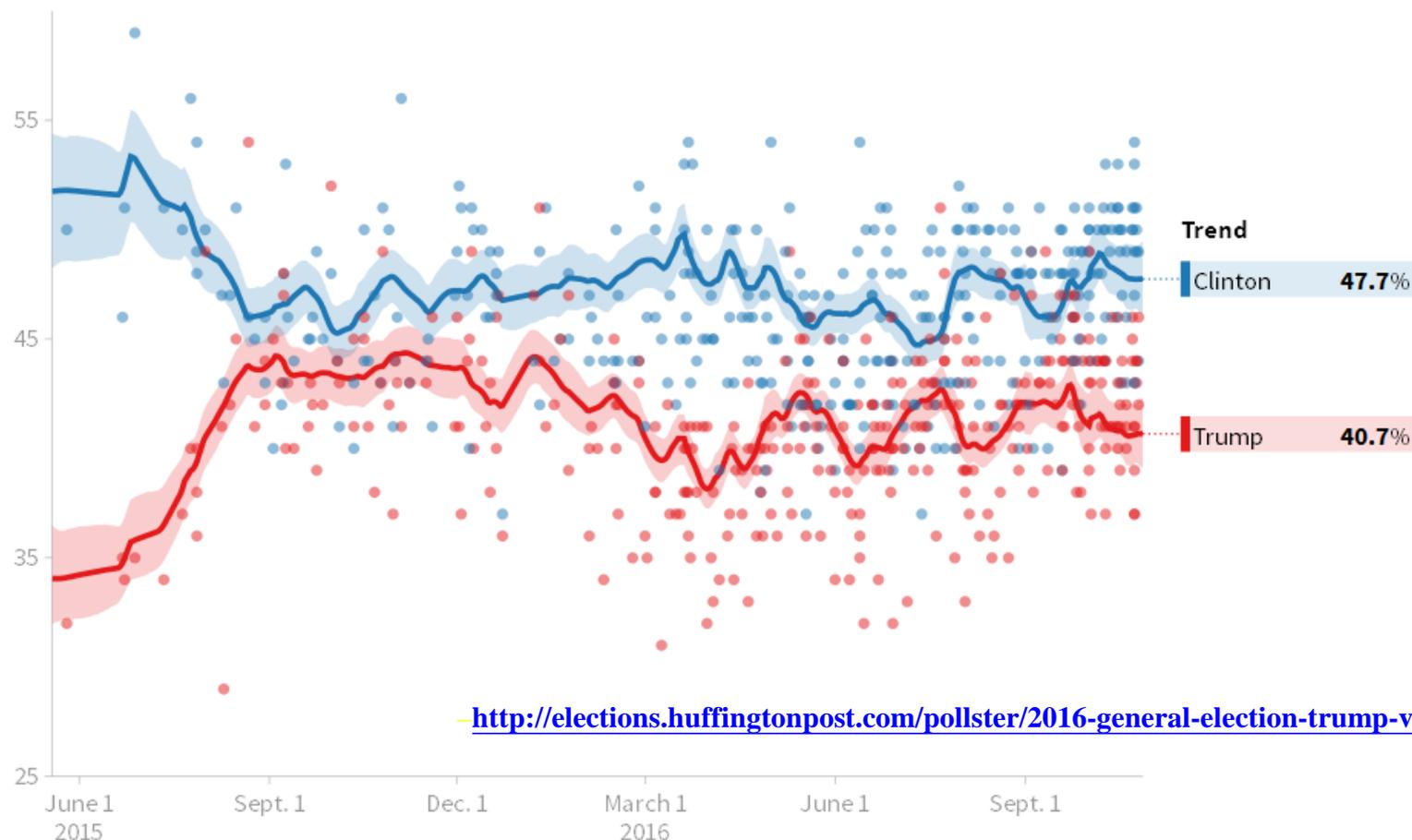
Updated 33 minutes ago

Election on November 8, 2016

Customize this chart

FAQ

This chart combines the latest ● opinion polls into ~ trendlines using a poll-tracking model and is updated whenever a new poll is released.



<http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton>

This chart shows the results of polls that offered Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton as the only named options. Some surveys offered respondents an "other" option. View the chart for a Trump vs. Clinton vs. Johnson matchup [here](#).

Outline of Presentation

- **Regular polls**
 - **Popularity Ratings of Top Leaders**
- **Pre-election polls**
 - **The “Trump Phenomenon”**
 - **Tracking / Rolling Polls**
- **Exit polls**

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
foundation



香港研究學院
The Institute of Politics
香港中文大學 The Chinese 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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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。

Popularity of the Top Leaders

Presidential Job Approval Center

Explore Gallup data on presidential job approval ratings from Truman to Obama.



OBAMA JOB APPROVAL

HISTORICAL TREND

COMPARE PRESIDENTS

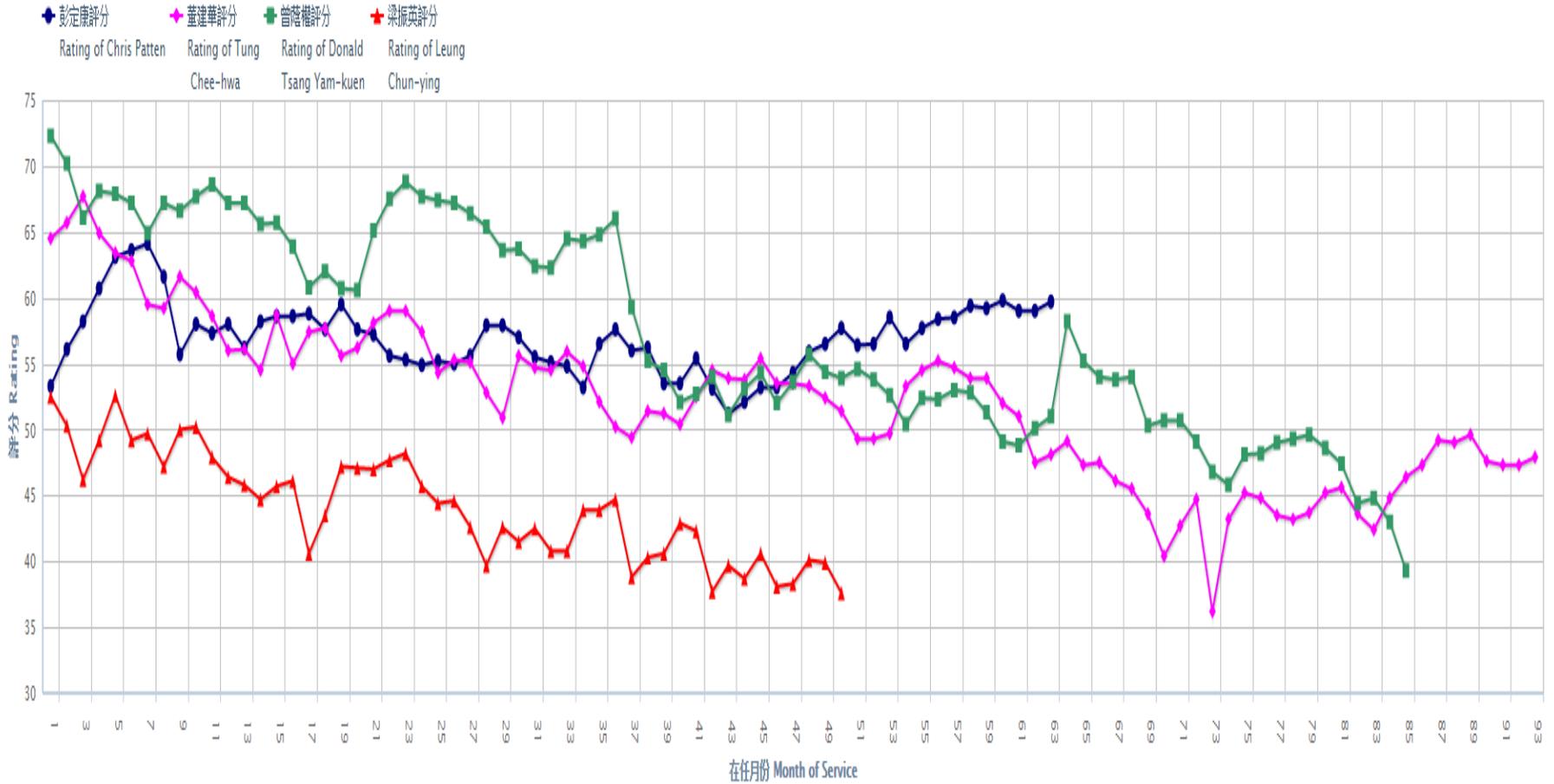
KEY STATISTICS

Compare past presidents chronologically and view key world events.



彭定康、董建華、曾蔭權及梁振英評分比較 (按月計算)

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



■ 彭定康出任特首任期 (由7/1992至6/1997) Chris Patten as Governor (from 7/1992 to 6/1997)
■ 董建華出任特首任期 (由7/1997至3/2005) Tung Chee-hwa as CE (from 7/1997 to 3/2005)
■ 曾蔭權出任特首任期 (由6/2005至6/2012) Donald Tsang as CE (from 6/2005 to 6/2012)
■ 梁振英出任特首任期 (由7/2012至今) Leung Chun-ying as CE (from 7/2012 to now)

**The American Story:
“The Trump Phenomenon”**

Directors in Dialogue

Polling and Electionsⁱⁿ

United States^{and} Hong Kong

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🕒 **10:00am - 12:00nn**
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John Della Volpe

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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

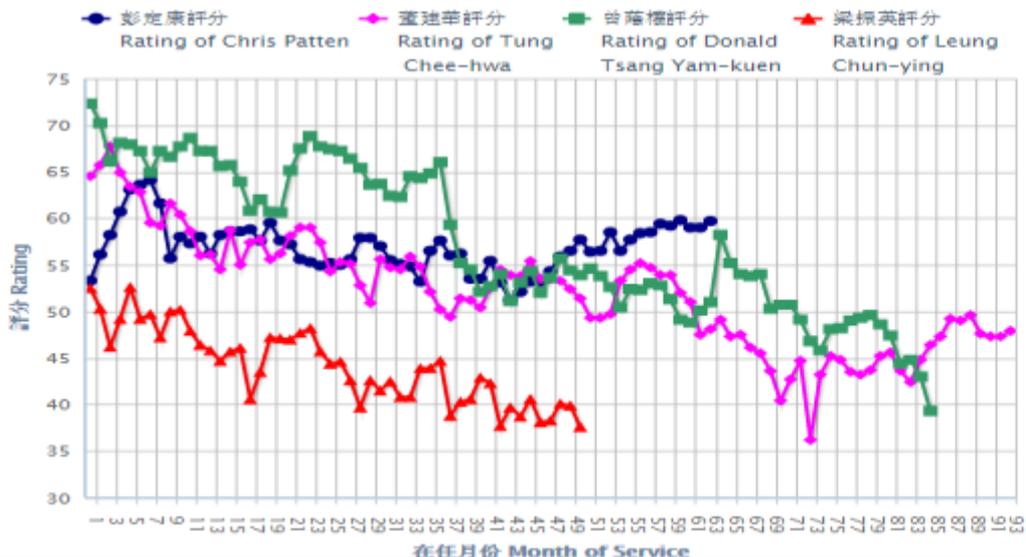
2016年立法會選舉專頁 2016 LC Election Feature Page

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



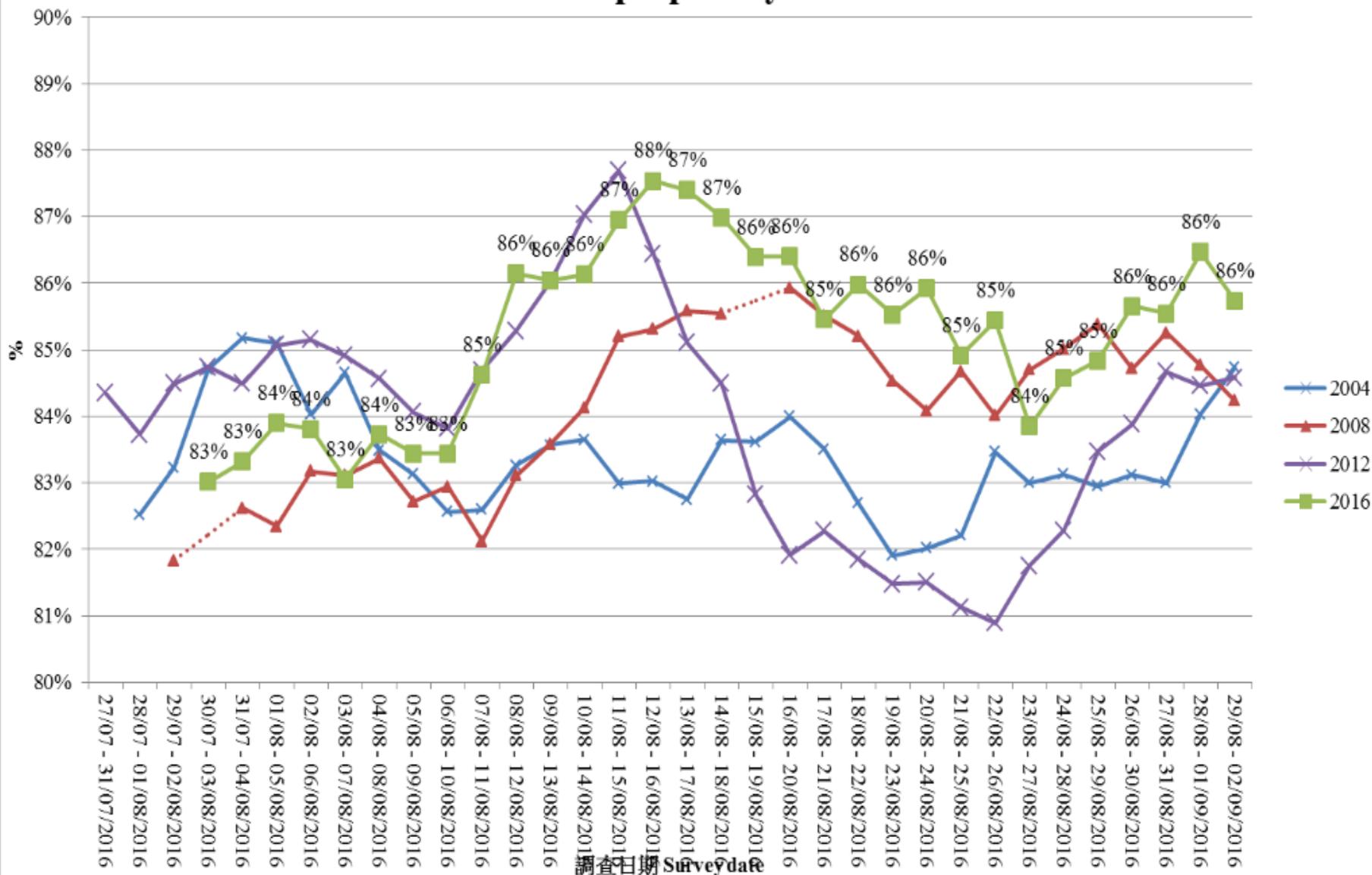
特首民望



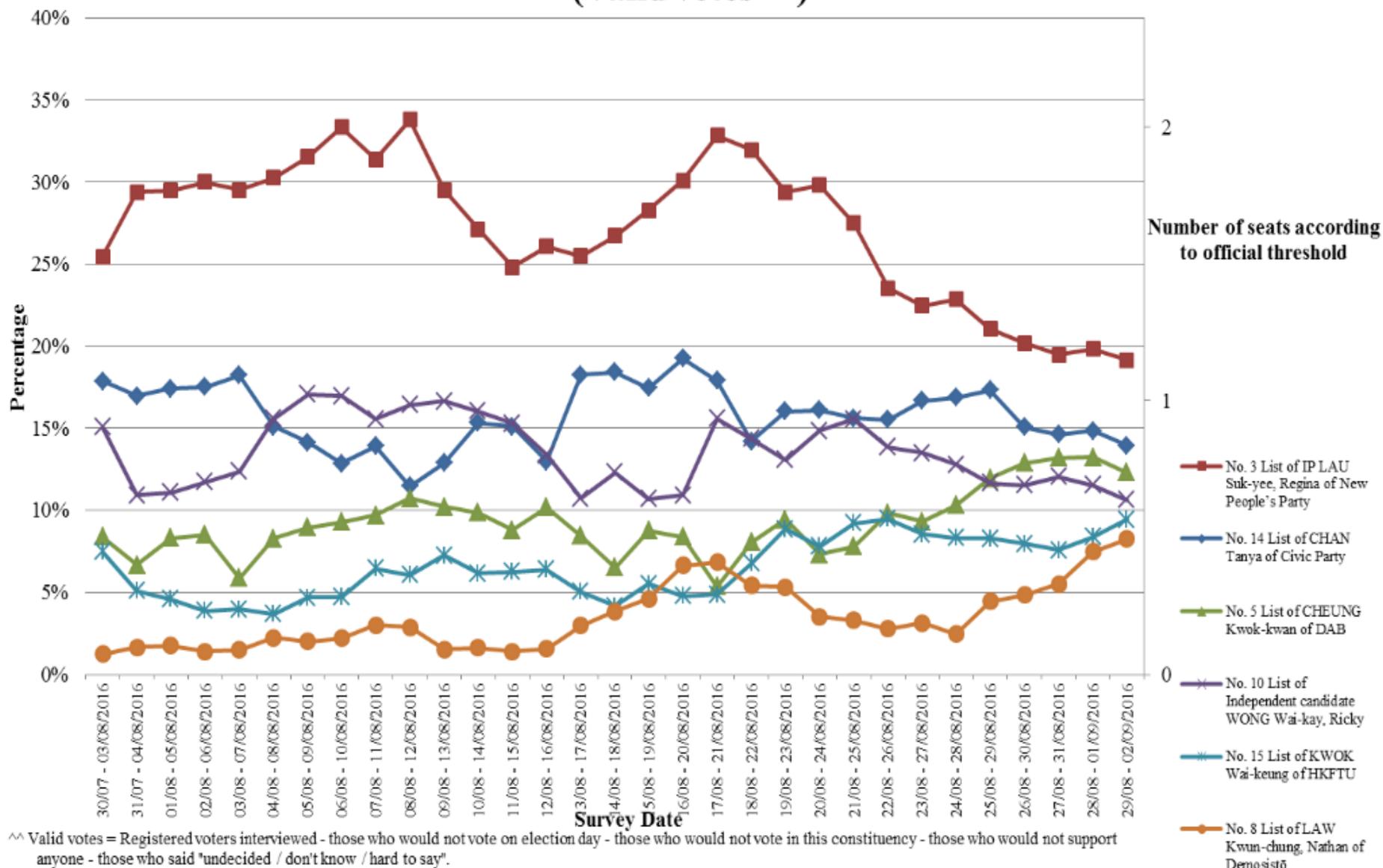
政府民望

民情指數

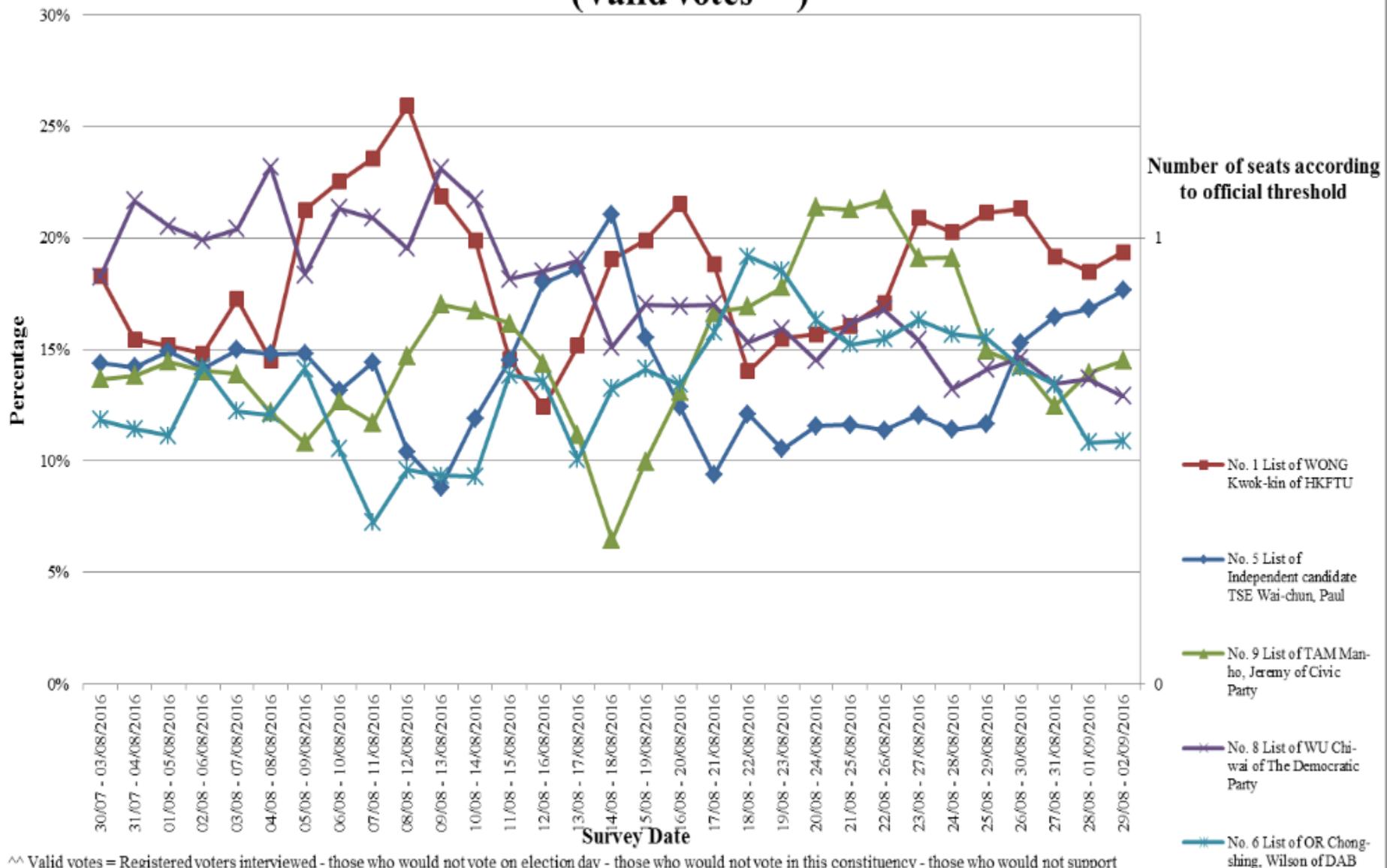
選民投票意欲 Voters' propensity to vote



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

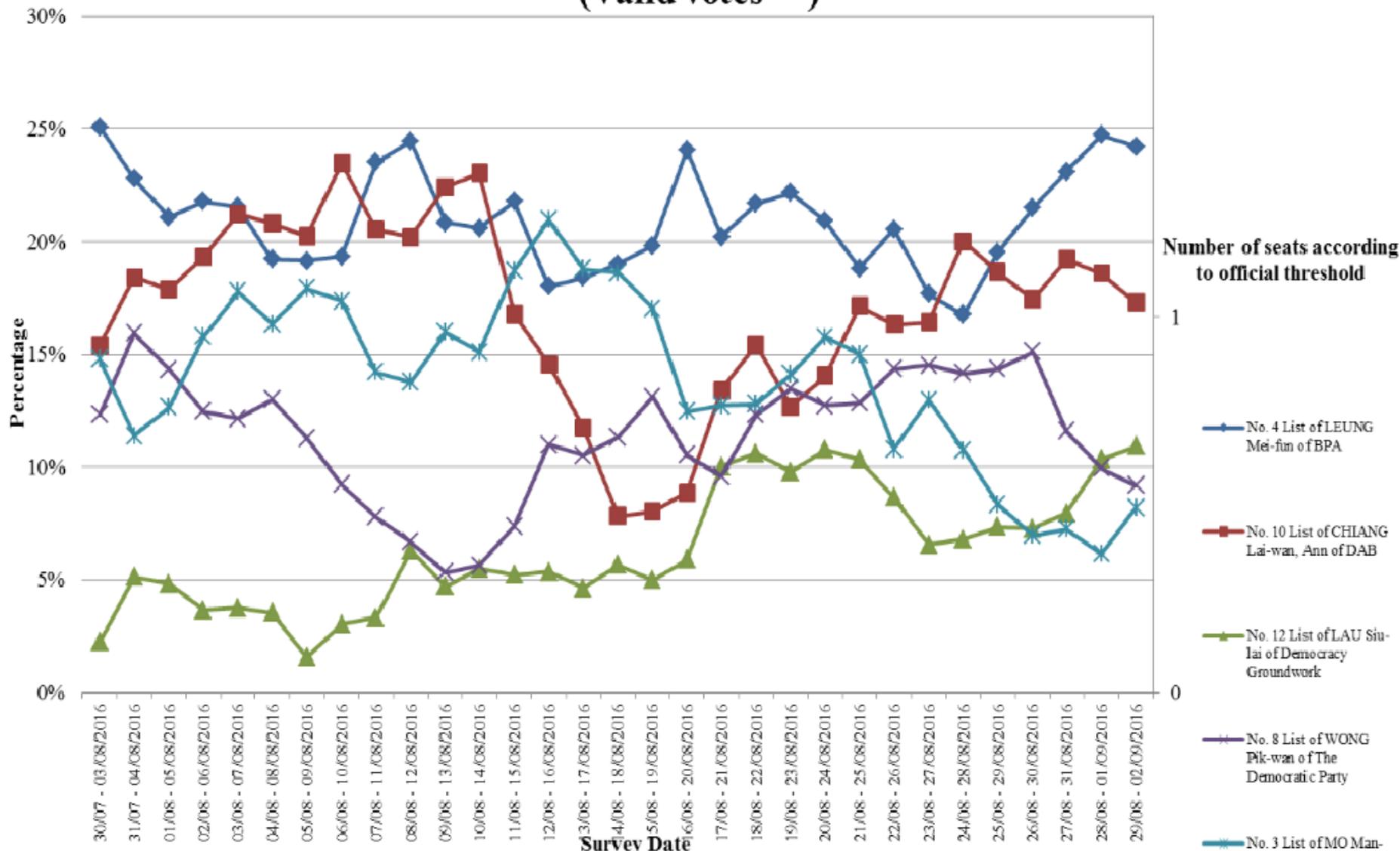


Support Rate of Kowloon East Candidates (Valid votes^^)



^^ 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".

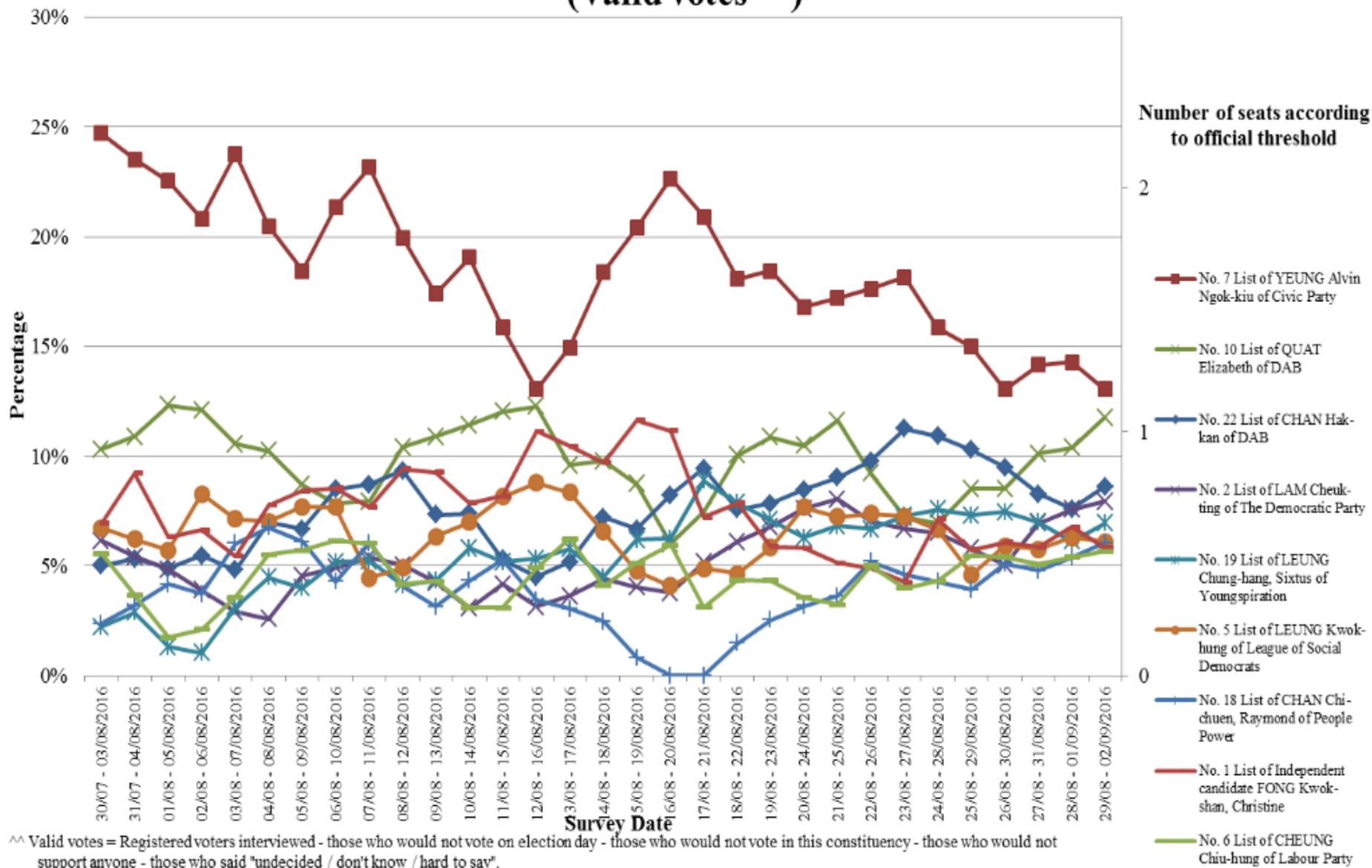
Support Rate of Kowloon West Candidates (Valid votes^^)



^^ 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'.

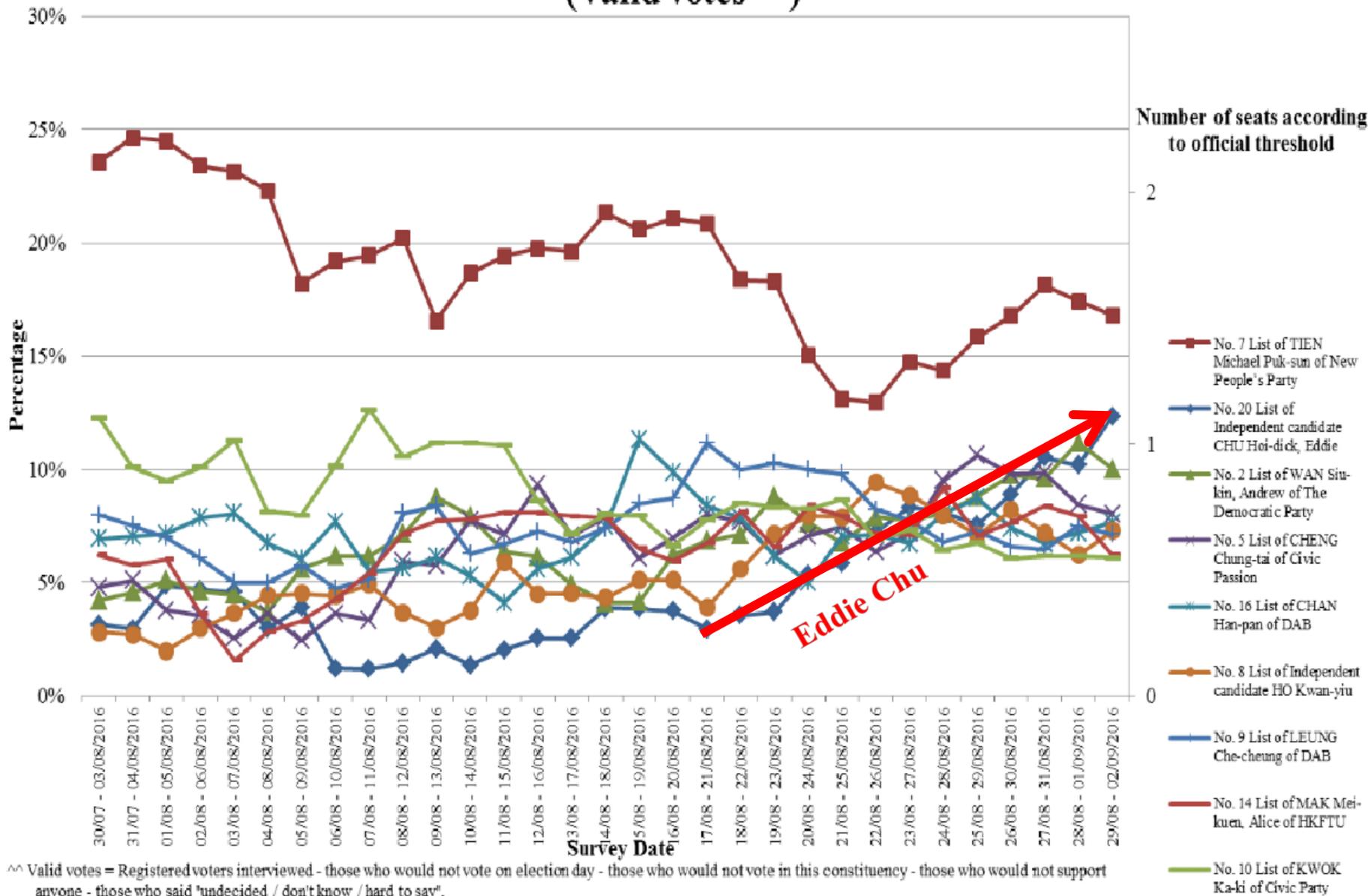
Only those in the latest projection list are shown. The list of Leung Mei Fun and Leung Man Kwong may win 2 seats.

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



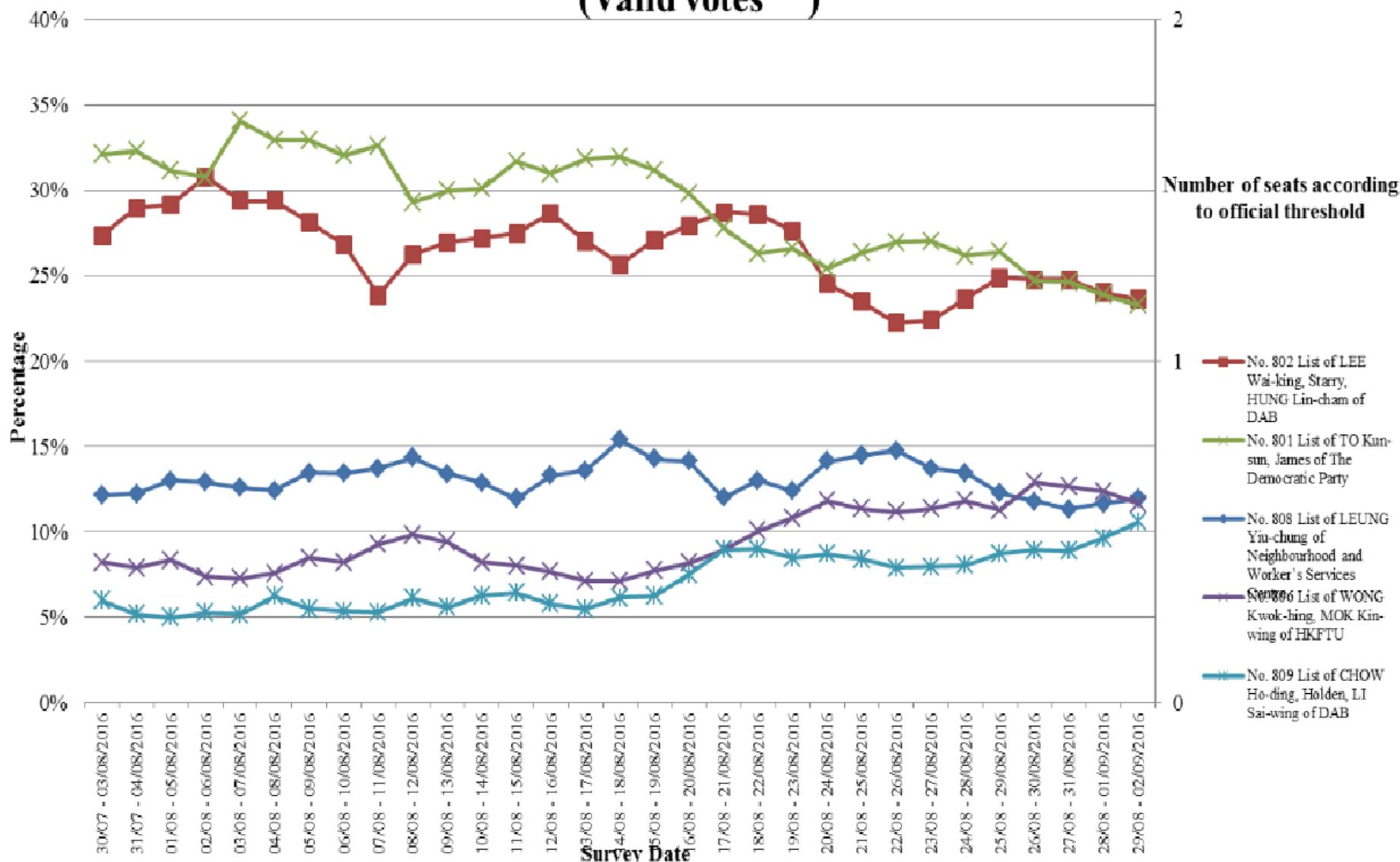
^^ Valid votes = Registered voters interviewed - those who would not vote on election day - those who would not vote in this constituency - those who would not support anyone - those who said "undecided / don't know / hard to say".

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 Hong Kong ...

... Cable TV News of 3 June 2016

民建聯上屆立法會選舉疑違反指引 2016/06/03 21:08

民建聯議員鍾樹根透露上屆立法會選舉，民建聯透過票站調查配票。但翻查資料，民建聯並沒有申請進行票站調查。而進行調查的機構若在投票結束前向候選人透露結果，是違反指引。

二零一二年立法會選舉，民建聯在香港島派出兩張名單。曾鈺成與鍾樹根分別取得逾三萬票，雙雙進入議會。工聯會王國興就以逾二萬七千票，奪得最尾一席。

鍾樹根憶述當天入夜已經無拉票，更叫工作人員轉而支持王國興。同時透露民建聯透過票站調查配票。不過翻查二零一二年票站調查的機構名單，並不包括民建聯。

《選舉活動指引》亦規定，為免公眾誤會有不公平，選舉事務處通常不會批准有成員參選的組織進行票站調查。而上屆申請做票站調查的包括港大民意研究計劃、香港研究協會等全部都要簽承諾書，在投票結束前不可以直接或間接向任何候選人發放調查結果。

究竟民建聯為何能使用票站調查配票？葉國謙的回應只有這句：「有嗎？我都不知道。」

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

Tel 電話: (852) 3917 7700 Fax 傳真: (852) 2546 0561 Website 網址: <http://hkupop.hku.hk>
Address: Room 706, 7/F, The Jockey Club Tower, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong
地址: 香港灣仔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