香港教育大學 主辦香港主權移交二十年 研討會

主權移交後的民意趨勢: 民意的起與落對比民研的喜與悲

鍾庭耀 香港大學民意研究計劃總監 2017年6月29日

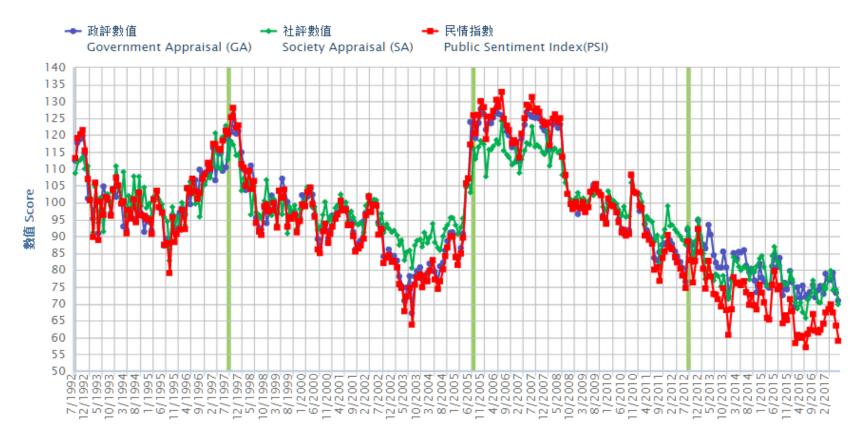
發言大綱

- * 民情民意的起落
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 - * 慎思民調/論壇
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- * 民意研究喜與悲

民情指數 (按月計算)

Public Sentiment Index (monthly average)

(7/1992 - 6/2017)



調查日期 Date of survey

^{*}最右點為2016年6月中期數字。

^{*}The rightmost point refers to the interim figure for June 2016.

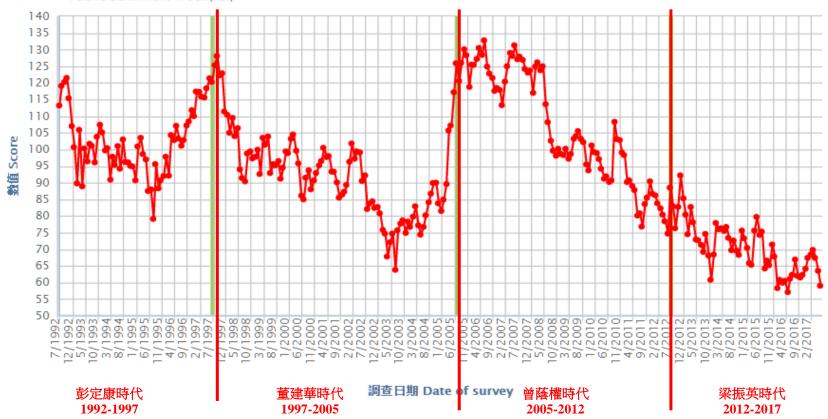
民情指數 (按月計算)

Public Sentiment Index (monthly average)

(7/1992 - 6/2017)

→ 民情指數

Public Sentiment Index(PSI)



^{*}最右點為2016年6月中期數字。

^{*}The rightmost point refers to the interim figure for June 2016.

民意調查事件簿

回歸以來的「民調事件」

- * 2000年 港大民調事件
- * 2011年 郝鐵川點名批評身分認同 民調
- * 2012年 浸大民調風波
- * 2014年 李家傑向全國人大委員長張德江點名批評港大民研

2000年港大民調風波



行政長官兼任香港大學校監的董建華透過「中間人」施壓,要求港大民研停止有關行政長官及政府的民意調查。

2011年郝鐵川點名批評身分認同民調



中聯辦宣傳文體部部長 郝鐵川

鍾(庭耀)先生給出的8個 選項,實質目的是把香港人 與中國人並列,讓港人選一 個。這個議題設置,本來就 是不科學的……我建議鍾先 生應設這樣的問題:『現在 你是中國人,還是英國 人?』

(資料圖片)



港大民意研究計劃總監 鍾庭耀

民研計劃歡迎所有關於民 意研究設計的認眞討論 集思廣益。不過,學術討 論最好保留在學術討論的 層面,而不涉及政治考 慮。嚴謹的學術討論,應 可全面展示有關調查的優 劣和利弊。

(資料圖片)

「市民身分認同 |民調部分提問

- 問 你會稱自己為(訪問員讀出首4個 答案)
 - ■□香港人
- □其他(請列明)
- □中國人
- □不知/難說
- □香港的中國人
- □拒絕回答
- □中國的香港人
- 問 請你用0至10分表示你對<mark>香港人身分</mark>的認同感。10分代表絕對認同,0分代表絕不認同,5分代表 一半半。你給自己幾多分?
- 答
- (受訪者評分)
- □不知道
 - □不肯講
- 問 請你用 0 至 10 分表示你對中國人身分的認同感。10 分代表絕對認同,0 分代表絕不認同,5 分代表一半半。你給自己幾多分?
- 容

- (受訪者評分)
- □不知道
- □不肯講

註:該港大民調由1997年8月開始,已做了47次

中聯辦宣傳文體部部長郝鐵川點名批評香港大學民意研究計劃的身分認同民調不科學。

2012年 浸大民調風波



香港浸會大學傳理學院被質疑因受院長趙心樹施壓而公開一份尚未完成的特首選舉民意調查的結果,有心為特首候選人唐英年造勢。

2014年3月 李家傑點名批評港大民研

李家傑批鍾庭耀 倡另設民調機構



策動「佔領中環」行動,企圖迫使中央讓步, 造成社會嚴重分化。他又批評港大民意研究 計劃總監鍾庭耀,經常在關鍵時發布對港府 或中央不利的民意調查,由於港大民調又在 本港較主流,令好多人相信。他建議成立新 的民意調查機構,提供更客觀的民調數據。

票站調查事件簿

- * 1991年 民研計劃開始進行票站調查
- * 2004年 立法會選舉工程票站調查曝光
- * 2008年 建議選舉管理委員會修訂票站調查指引
- * 2009年 就票站調查向立法會提出意見
- * 2011年 就票站調查再向立法會提出意見
- * 2012年 就票站調查又再向立法會提出意見
- * 2012年 制定立法會選舉票站調查約章
- * 2016年 鍾樹根公開表示曾經利用票站調查配票
- * 2016年 民研計劃只進行學生習作模式票站調查

票站調查



黨堅決否認有與范徐麗泰或自由黨配票。 票意向·令何秀蘭落敗·蔡素玉當選。但該 的假象,進一步影響泛民主派支持者的投 策略,營造「蔡(素玉)李(柱銘)對決 民建聯承認有刻意借助民主黨的「告急

否認與范太自由黨配票

蔡李對決」的氣氛,令更多泛民主派支持者 馬力及蔡素玉的言論。營造港島第六席是「 該黨早於投票日前已料到可能會出現這個情 **薇**名單的選票流了去民主黨名單。他透露, 略並非錯誤,只是執行不到,過多原屬余若 民建聯於是「借用他們的告急牌 棄何へ秀蘭 · 但民主黨及傳媒繼續指李柱銘「告急」 ,民主派在港島區的「1+1=4」配票策 民建聯副主席兼總選舉統籌葉國謙昨天)保李〈柱銘)」,最終證明

足夠而自行「放軟手腳」,則是見仁見智。 及新界東連取兩席,葉國謙强烈否認有與范 投票日「放軟手腳」,讓民建聯可在香港島 太或自由黨配票,至於兩人是否因爲選票已 對於有傳范太及自由黨王席田北俊,在

> 諧建未來 民主、

和

時刻投他 ·在困難 」的立場 「穩定為

是否得悉民建聯「棄林(文輝)保陳(鑑林 婉爛與陳鑑林名單的得票。問及陳婉嫻事前 九東奪取兩席,最保險的方法是平均分配陳 及發生何偉途事件後,民建聯已認定只能在)」,他沒有回應。 他說,自無黨派鄭經翰「空降」九龍東

叮囑何秀蘭專心區會工作

時期

影」・度

過最困難

否已洗脫 民建聯是 票。問及

我們不敢忘記困難的時候。

的總得票較上屆增加六萬票,打破「高投票率

民建聯前主席曾鈺成表示,民建聯在直選

有利民主派」的神話:對於港島及新界西的得

他歸咎於票源相近的范太及自

致,民主黨亦受到嚴重影響

由黨爭票,對於九東的總得票及得票率都下跌

·他認爲是無黨派梁家傑及鄭經翰「空降」所

栗率不升反跌,

會及立法會選舉會否捲土重來,他表示值得 三番」,並叮囑何秀蘭專心做好區議會工作 泛淚光,沒有正面回應。他平靜下來後表示 及蔡素玉是否爲他報了一戰之仇,他一度眼 間接導致他不能代表民建聯參選立法會,問 。問及他在今次選戰中表現出色,下屆區議 - 自己在區選中「出沖」 - 今次則「難糊變 何秀蘭在去年區議會選舉擊敗葉國謙,

> 黨十二名 中・只有 候任議員

得議席較 席。馬力 會成員的 身兼工聯 預期中的 陳婉嫻及 十席多, 取

認同該黨 顯示市民

2004年立法會選擧地區直選民建聯得票 九龍東 新界西 新界東 香港島 九龍西

總計 陳鑑林 陳婉嫻 55,188 454,827 04年得票 74,659 61,770 52,520 115,256 95,434 得票率 25.70% 21.05% 27.13% 18.79% 17.88% 24.87% 22.14% 04年 得 票 19,828 -87913.627 28,491 63,109 2,042 較00年升 (-0.81%) (13.41%) (42.56%) (16.11% (2.81%)(47.27%) 00年得票 41,942 108,587 101,629 66,943 391,718 72,617 得票率 29.68% 27.85% 23.54% 47.36% 29.58% 21.75%

信報財經新聞 2004-09-14



信報財經新聞 2004-10-06

數表: 票站調查機構的人力資源分析

	公共事務研 究學會 0 0
選取票站數目 20 7 5 0 33 0	0
香港島 固定前員人數 20 14 12 0 375 0	0
浮動訪員人數 全港6人 全港9人 0 港島73人 0	0
選取票站數目 16 5 6 0 7 13	0
九龍東 固定訪員人數 16 11 13 0 21 60	0
浮動訪員人數 全港6人 全港9人 0 0 九龍7人	0
選取票站數目 13 4 2 0 0 14	0
九龍西 固定訪員人數 13 8 4 0 0 100	0
浮動訪員人數 全港6人 全港9人 0 0 九龍7人	0
選取票站數目 24 10 13 0 0 0	118
新界東 固定訪員人數 24 18 30 0 0 0	545
浮動訪員人數 全港6人 全港9人 0 0 0	0
選取票站數目 28 5 4 9 0 0	121
新界西 固定訪員人數 28 11 9 29 0 0	741
浮動訪員人數 全港6人 全港9人 0 0 0	0
(A)	239
合計 工作人員數目 107 71 68 29 469 167	1,286

- * 如何防止參選人士秘密將票站調查資料用作選舉工程?
- * 筆者從不反對政黨或其他機構進行票站調查。相反,能夠把政策平台和選舉工程建立在科學數據之上,是社會的進步
- * 筆者反對的,是調查機構以不誠實的手法套取選民的意見,秘 秘密密地用作選舉工程.....選舉委員會與傳媒機構多年來的共 識,是投票結束前不會預測結果.....如果個別參選人仕能夠透 過某些渠道,取得這些寶貴的資訊.....選管會定下來禁止發放 票站預測的指引,是不是變得毫無意義?」
- * (鍾庭耀:「票站調查:專業操守不可無」, 寫於2004年)

- * 票站調查以至一般民意調查的規管,應該 根據三項原則制訂:
 - (一)政府愈少監管愈好;
 - (二) 資訊流通愈暢順愈好;
 - (三)專業守則愈早制訂愈好。

* 為提升票站調查的公信力,香港大學民意研究計劃 的團隊在2012年的立法會選舉票站調查採取了以下 操施:

- (一) 強調與選舉工程無關;
- (二) 加強獨立操作;
- (三) 對贊助機構提高要求;
- (四) 容許市民更多選擇;
- (五) 保守處理統計資料。

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG 香港大學

PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME 民意研究計劃

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2012 年9月9日立法會選舉 票站調査約章

- 本「票站調查約章」(簡稱「約章」)旨在宣示參與選舉票站調查機構(包括新聞傳媒和研究機構)的社會責任,並非纯粹約束有關機構的法律條文。
- 簽署約章的機構承諾,在選舉當日投票結束前,不論在任何情況下,都不會把票站調查 資料直接或問接交予任何參選人士或團體,或用來協助他們的選舉工作。
- 3. 簽署約章的新聞機構承諾,在投票結束前,只有極少機構人土基於處理新聞報導的需要 而可以接觸或閱讀票站調查的敏感資料。該等人土承諾不會向其他人土透露或泄露有關 資料,而「其他人土」就包括機構僱主、前線員工、工作夥伴和私人朋友等。該等有接 觸票站調查飯或資料的少數人土之數目和姓名,邁到計會人土查詢時,晚予公開。
- 「票站調查敏感資料」是指任何關於候選人得票率的統計結果和相關分析。票站調查中 的意見題目,及與候選人得票率無關的統計分析,不屬敏感資料。
- 5. 由於站票調查的所有統計數字,包括敏感及非敏感資料,版權歸於研究機構。因此,研究機構的與新聞機構分享及使用有關資料,包括傳輸數據的時間包方式,全屬該等機構之間操作層面的問題。經雙方商議,研究機構會在票站調查開始後,不會於當天晚上九時前向有關新聞機構提供任何票站調查敏感資料,而新聞機構亦承諾在投票結束前,會把有關敏威資料保密處理。
- 6. 簽署約章的新聞機構,在本約章範圍以外如何使用或報導票站調查的統計數字,屬於新聞機構的自主範圍,責任自負,新閱機構理應考慮新聞業界的專業操守,國際慣例和法律書任。
- 簽署約章的研究機構,在執行票站調查和處理有關資料時,理應考慮研究業界的專業操 守和國際標準,例如是世界民意研究學會訂立的票站調查指引。
- 8. 資訊自由與公平選舉之間可能存在一定矛盾、須要依靠專業精神和業界守則予以平衡。

機構名稱:	簽署人姓名:	
簽署人職位:	聯絡方法:	
署名:	日期:	

2012年9月9日 立法會選舉 票站調查約章

2012年立法會選舉



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(園)・繼日前暗示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%,「有有倒到咁多票,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,因為我哋啲街坊有做。」

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,「鍾樹根説法證明當日我哋懷疑,民建聯用票站調查資料配票係真」。

民建聯菜國謙昨回應時,最初稱「有咩?我都唔知道」,之後否認鍾説法,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 | 2016-06-04

票站調查事件簿

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- * 2004年 立法會選舉工程票站調查曝光
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- * 2016年 鍾樹根公開表示曾經利用票站調查配票
- * 2016年 民研計劃只進行學生習作模式票站調查

滾動調查事件簿

- * 1995年 民研計劃開始在選舉年進行滾動調查
- * 2015年 民研計劃與中大民調中心及理大社研中心合作進行「2017年行政長官選舉辦法三間大學聯合滾動民意調查」
- * 2016年 四個機構 (now 新聞台、有線新聞、《香港 01》及「民主動力」)聯合 贊助民研計劃進行立法會選舉滾動調查,及後電視台新聞停止使用
- * 2017年 《香港 01》贊助民研計劃進行特首 選舉滾動調查

2017年行政長官選舉辦法 三間大學聯合滾動民意調查

聯合進行

香港中文大學 傳播與民意調查中心

香港大學 民意研究計劃 香港理工大學 社會政策研究中心

目的: 為社會提供科學數據,以及推動專業民調標準

調查日期: 2015年4月23日至6月16日

(即由政府宣佈政改方案當天至立法會投票前一日)

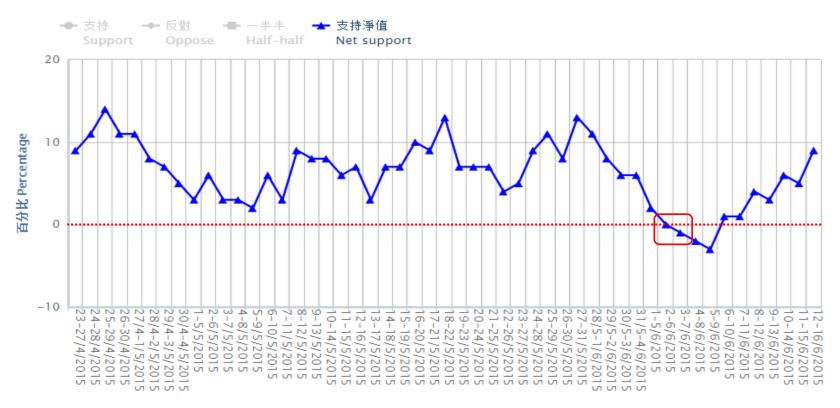
訪問對象: 18歲或以上操粵語的香港市民

樣本數目: 每天最少200個成功訪問,每5天最少1,000個滾動樣本

2017年行政長官選舉辦法三間大學聯合滾動民意調查

市民對政府提出的2017年行政長官選舉方案的支持/反對程度

Level of Support/Opposition toward the Government's Proposal on CE Election of 2017



調查日期 Date of survey

2016年立法會選舉滾動調查



香港大學民意網站 HKU POP SITE

香港大學民意研究計劃 Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong Q |資料搜尋

香港大學 | 社會科學學院 | 聯絡我們 | 網站指南



最新内容 新聞公報 民意調査

研究報告 民意日誌

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

2016年立法會選舉滾動調查

返回





- 研究背景
- 調査方法
- 樣本資料
- 調査結果
- 圖表
- 調査問卷
- 人口變項
- 原始數據
- 贊助機構網站 香港01
- 滾動調查最後5天原始數據庫(由民主動力發放)
- 滾動調查全期共35天原始數據庫
- 相關報導

港間一

2016年8月26日 星期五

民主動力共同贊助民調 有線now今起不再公布

■ 上一篇

民主動力共同贊助民調 有線now今起 不再公布





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【明報專訊】港大民意研究計劃立法會選舉滾動民調由3間傳媒機構,包括now新聞台、有線 新聞、《香港01》及政治組織「民主動力」聯合贊助。不過,有線新聞及now新聞台昨日分 別發聲明,表示即日起不會再公布該民調數據。

有線指不官共同替助 now稱事前不知

有線新聞聲明說,得知本月21日至下月1日的民調數據,會整合成「民主動力」在9月2日公布 的「五千人民調」。由於民主動力在網頁官傳,指民調結果「方便各政黨及參選人調節競選策 略,借(藉)以增加各位贏取議席的機會」,有線指作為傳媒機構,不適官與政治組織共同贊 助民調作撰舉工程之用。

now新聞台發言人說,過往與港大民研合作,有關選舉調查只會與傳媒機構聯合贊助,從未有 政治團體加入。而now新聞台與港大民研商討今次滾動民調時,並不知悉會有政治團體加入。

《香港01》:會繼續公布

《香港01》表示,至今沒有諮據質疑港大民研負責的2016年立法會選舉滾動民調不具備獨立 性,會繼續公布有關民調結果。

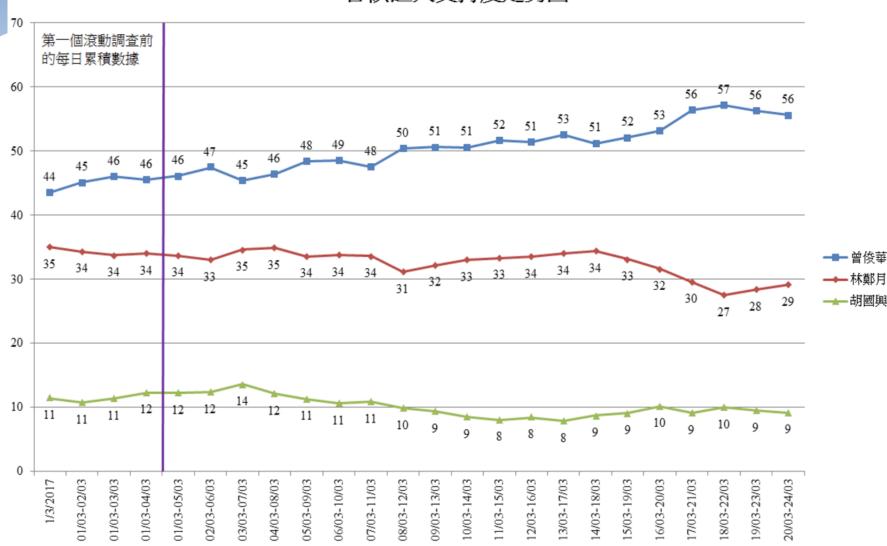
民主動力強調數據公開 無政治審查

民主動力發聲明回應,強調民調詳細數據是公開,各參選成員及組織,不分政見立場均能使 用,不設政治審查。

2017 特首選舉滾動調查由《香港 01》贊助



2017特首選舉滾動調查 各候選人支持度走勢圖



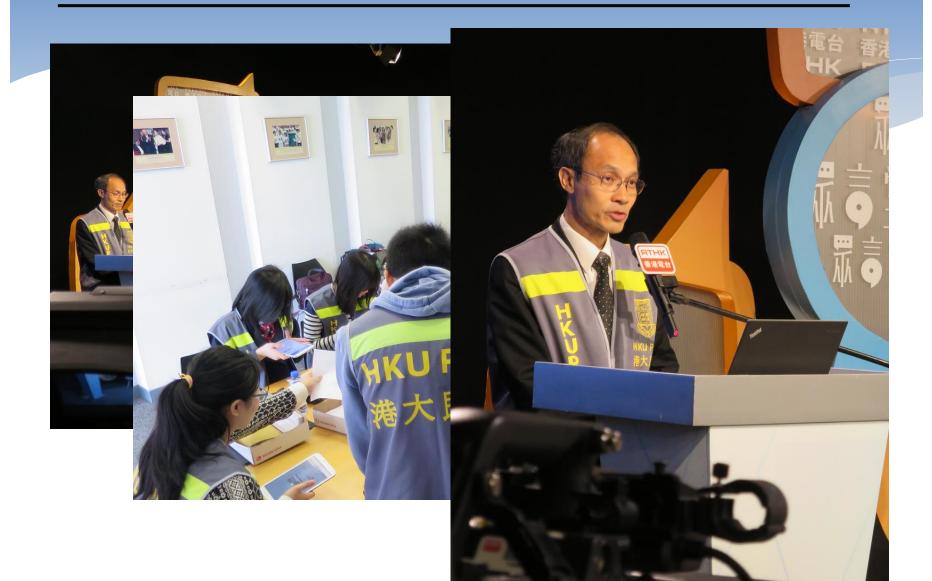
民研計劃在香港慎思民調發展的參與

2009年2月	 慎思民調研習班
2010年2月	政改慎思-市民應否支持政府的政改方案
* 2010年3月	慎思民主與公眾諮詢培訓班
* 2010年11月	申亞慎思-市民應否支持香港申辦2023年亞運會?
* 2011年1月	在北京舉辦慎思民調工作坊
* 2011年7月	「慎思民主,民意調查與傳播媒介」工作坊
* 2011年9月	香港慎思-市民應否支持改變填補立法議席空缺安排?
* 2011年12月	澳門商議式民調
* 2012年6月	慎思民調工作坊 (與世界民意研究學會共同舉辦)
* 2012年12月	眾言堂諮詢2013年施政報告
* 2013年6月	「和平佔中」商討系列-第一個商討日[包括「特首選舉設計」
	慎思民調和商討會議]香港
* 2013年8月	眾言堂-堆填區擴建香港
* 2013年9月	「和平佔中」商討系列-第二個商討日
* 2014年3月	眾言堂-市民應否支持公民提名
* 2014年9月	眾言堂-市民應否支持人大常委會特首普選決定
* 2014年9月	眾言堂-市民應否支持立法會通過政改方案
* 2015年3月	眾言堂-市民是否支持自願醫保
* 2015年6月	眾言堂-市民應否支持立法會诵過政改方案
* 2016年3月	眾言堂-退休保障諮詢

〈眾言堂〉(2010年11月)



〈眾言堂〉(2016年3月)



民間全民投票

- * 1993年 香港大學為了紀念成立八十週年,舉辦「民間全民投票」
- * 2005年 7.1 模擬公投
- * 2006年 田恆安全民投票活動
- * 2007年 全民投票實踐計劃投票活動
- * 2012年 3.23 民間全民投票模擬特首選舉
- * 2014年 元旦民間全民投票(三條普選特首原則議題)
- * 2014年 6.22 民間全民投票(行政長官選舉方案)
- * 2015年 就特首普選方案向特區政府提出意見
- * 2017年 「2017 特首選舉民間全民投票」



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香港大學民意研究計劃 Public Opinion Programme. The University of Hong Kong Q 資料搜尋



最新內容 新聞公報 民意調查 民意日誌 研究報告

專題項目

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神尋相關資料

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

全民投票研究專頁

派 回

|背景資料| 「全民投票研究組」| 相關活動| 研究報告| 參考資料| ▲ 研究組員專欄文章 | 其他專欄文章撮要 | 檔案文件 | 意見園地 |

背景資料

 民意研究計劃自成立以來,便積極參與和推廣本地各項全民投票活動,當中包括由本研究計劃主辦的 「民間全民投票」(1993),及跟其他團體合辦的「7.1模擬公投」(2005)、「沙田恆安全民投票活動」 (2006)及「全民投票實踐計劃投票活動」(2007)。在2004至05年間,民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀聯同幾位 立法會議員及學者成立「全民投票研究組」,致力研究世界各地全民投票活動的運作及發展,並發表署 名文章,以推動本港全民投票的發展。

鍾庭耀希望,本網頁所載的「研究報告」、「參考資料」、「研究組員專欄文章」、「其他專欄文章撮 要丨、「檔案文件丨和「意見園地」,可以有助各界人士瞭解全民投票的理念,加強有關公民意識。

「全民投票研究組 |

2015年 鍾庭耀就特首普選方案 向特區政府提出意見

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

clo Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 7/F. Jockey Club Tower, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong, Hailight Hailight

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)

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 cruption 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

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

có Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 7年, Jockey Club Tower, The University of Hong Kong, Pokinian Road, Hong Kong, 常港海状林道 音港大學要稱。香港學得 香港大學尼哥伊代計劃代政 日本 電話: (852) 3917 7700 Fax, 傳章: (852) 2546 5051 E-mail 電影: (四步chung@hkuppa-pku.hk

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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2015年 鍾庭耀就特首普選方案 向特區政府提出意見

- 「本人因此建議,在政府正式推出一個至多個政改方案後…由民間社會組織間全民投票 ,對相關方案作出表決。民間全民投票對政府以及不認同民間投票的議員當然沒有約束力,但對部分願意參考民間全民投票的議員,結果可能會左右大局。」
- 「願意參考投票結果的議員,應該預先向公 眾說明如何參考結果,甚至接受約束...」
- http://popcon.hkupop.hku.hk/popcon_v1/viewTopic.php?ci=9%253A%253F%253C5 http://popcon.hkupop.hku.hk/popcon_v1/viewTopic.php?ci=9%253A%253F%253C5 %253F%253A8%253C7%253F%2523%2521%2527%252B%2524&lange=en

近年三次大規模民間全民投票

② 2012年3月23至24日 3.23 民間全民投票 模擬特首選舉

○ 2014年1月1日 元旦民間全民投票 就三條普選特首原則議題投票

② 2014年6月20至29日 6.22 民間全民投票 就行政長官選舉方案投票

現在 更多全民投票?

近年三次大規模全民投票

第一次

3.23 民間全民投票 2012年3月23至24日 模擬特首選舉

網上6萬6千手機程式7萬1千實體票站8萬5千總數22萬2千(有效票)

第二次

元旦民間全民投票 2014年1月1日 就三條普選特首原則議題投票

網上1萬9千手機程式4萬實體票站3萬總數6萬2千(有效票)

第三次

6.22 民間全民投票

2014年6月20至29日 就行政長官選舉方案投票

(有效票)	
總數	79萬2千
實體票站	7萬
手機程式	48萬6千
網上	23萬5千

3.23 民間全民投票



電台水子等の当日中の長行人は旧日、本年代月二 市が製造文庫等人団円建設有機制、海外の発質出襲撃 同中世紀在今外、伊賀主地構構協計で同盟下上。 旧刻市市御製・並作工等開記核代表表で成三階的有機 記修・中自宣治教育室、終 無不轉記者 主義表

低一州以富世永一塔口编白维白演的 (图客总表)

绝之战争加到底。

故意行地電腦系統數「某勢力」攻擊,以致全級權 株,放發進人(查百數要有)的心態,從高發票 水、兹南庭内中央银示准人调望一人一型高普通

■投算民意遠短號間・禁佑人員被迫用

投票網站出現高數據流量,部分。 士輸入個人資料後無法取得認證

投票網站何阻器鐵套 · 無法推行電子投票

四投票乘站覆痕。投票站無法按例 出時間於上午9時間放給市民投票

尺研計劃總監輝庭機開記格交代事 件,證實遭緊害入侵,市民可自製 損害阻棄站進行投票

3.23 民間全民投票



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

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, saving 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 Tang Ying-yen before going to class to give a lecture.

Surnamed Tai, she said she had been unable to log on to the online voting system in the morning. "It was more difficult to get onto the online system than to buy tickets for Lady Gaga's concert," she said.

I don't want Leung Chun-ying to win with a high level of public support, so I'm here.'

Wheelchair-user Siu Tung-choi, 60, travelled half an hour from Kwun Committee members had voted.

numbers written on them.

Federation of the Blind.

they voted for.

Shing Li-lim from the Hong Kong

for requiring voters to write their

identity card numbers on the enve-

programme's head, said vote coun-

He said organisers might release

the results before all the ballots were

counted, before the 1,193 Election

which guarantee secret ballots.

He also criticised the organisers

Tong. He cast a blank vote, 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 dates to gain political capital."

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 blank vote or opting for Tang. "That's just wrong," said Tony

But the party's leaders said they would cast blank ballots to reflect the feelings of the public, party chairwoman Miriam Lau Kin-yee said.

lopes, saying that was against the principle of democratic elections. Dr Robert Chung Ting-viu, the ters would discard the envelopes once they were opened, and would not make any connection between people's ID card numbers and who

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 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 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 candi-

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

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 Eastweek 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 (温家寶) 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.

So said the media was delivering negative news about both leading candidates at the same time.

"The media play a positive role in revealing the scandals as the public can thus know more about [the two front runners] ... Possible future candidates can then be more cautious,' So said.

The only candidate to remain scandal-free is pan-democrat Albert Ho Chun-van - who is given no chance of winning.

LEUNG ALMOST HOME AS PLEDGES ROLL IN



People queue 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 Tanna Chong

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 en-

Dr Robert Chung Ting-yiu, 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 Uni versity of Hong Kong's server, and the main polling station at Polytechnic University switched from electronic to paper ballots at around 10.30am.

By about noon, 11 of the 15 polling stations had resumed electronic bal loting. The others, including the main station at Polytechnic University, still relied on paper ballots.

Jazz Ma, the university's information technology manager, said the source of the hacking appeared to be local. "Since the design prevents overseas access, it must have been conducted in Hong Kong," he said.

Chung confirmed last night that the online polling system had been attack by hackers, but declined to comment on the identity of the suspects. He said he would report the ase to the police.

Hongkongers, nonetheless, were eager to take part in the exercise, with queues forming outside polling staions in the afternoon that grew to hundreds of people by the evening.

At one long queue at Polytechnic University last night, teacher Tedman Chan said he was disappointed that the website was being backed as it had undermined freedom of exession. "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 Chiu, said he queued to cast his vote after finishing orking 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-democrats' 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 electioneering, criticising rival candidate Leung Chun-ying for being 'selfish" for not pledging to maintal or lower the nomination threshold for prospective candidates in the 2017 chief executive election.

Chung said last night that he expected the online system to have recovered by late last night. Voting in the simulated poll will continue today at 17 polling stations across the city from 9am to 4pm. A total of 100,000 paper ballots have been inted in case the online system does not recover or comes under rewed attacks.

The full result of the simulated election is expected to be announced by 10pm today. Chung said that about 33,000 people had cast ballots online while 11,000 more had cast paper ballots by 9.30pm.

Former Executive Council convenor sees number of supporters swell, while Tang faces an uphill battle in gaining backers for him to become HK's next leader

very good impression with all party

members he met. We agree with his

some voters, including the Chinese

medicine subsector, the 25-member

engineering group and tycoon vot-

ers, have yet to decide who to

support. Leung said he would seek

further support "until the last mo

After learning about the DAB's

Issuing a letter to Election Com-

mittee members for the third day in a

row to convince them of his sincerity

Leung stressed he would work with

all sectors to build a democratic elec

tion culture and strive to "reconcile

Forty of 60 electors from the reli-

gion subsector - with strong pro-Bei

jing backgrounds - decided to shift

their support from Henry Tang Ying-

lim, 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 re-ceiving what they called "a different

message from officials in the central

government" over the past few days.

"The message we received sug-

sted we vote according to the pop

rity of the candidate," said Hau

Wing-cheong, 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

Most of the members from Mus-

the cracks caused by the election".

But uncertainties remain because

policy platform.

Tanna Chong and Emily Tsang

Leung Chun-ying will probably secure at least the minimum 601 votes he needs to win the chief executive elec-

The ranks of his backers continued to increase yesterday, as several voting blocs declared all or some of their members on the Election Comnittee 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 eligious and the cultural subsectors.

By day's end, Leung had secured tween 563 and 643 votes, accord ing to a count by the Post.

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

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

Starry Lee Wai-king (left), Lau Kong-

wah, DAB chairman Tam Ylu-chung,

Kwok-kwan pledge their support to

Leung Chun-ving at the party's North

Ann Chiang Lai-wan and Cheng

I have full

confidence that

all 147 members

will treasure the

party's advice

TAM YOU-CHUNG, DAB CHAIRMAN

when they vote

higher up."

Members of the four religious groups will have a final meeting to rrow morning to decide on a unit The cultural subsector will give all its 14 votes to Leung, according to

member Lee Kok-keung. "We have reached a consensus to

vote for Leung, including the six members who earlier nomi

Tang called on voters to "cast their ballot according to their conscience" as he faced an uphill battle. Publish ing adverts in some Chinese newspa s and an article on his campaign blog, he vowed to "unwaveringly strive for fair, just and open universal

suffrage in 2017" A core Tang supporter estimated the former chief secretary would re-tain around 200 "iron-clad" votes out

of his 390 nominations. Fifteen electors from the medical subsector will vote for Leung, the Hong Kong Medical Association announced yesterday.

The Chinese medicine subsector dominated by pro-Beijing members, is still undecided who to support and will "leave it till the last minute", said elector Kwan Chi-yee.

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3.23 民間全民投票

「3·23 民間全民投票」結果

梁振英 何俊仁 唐英年

得票數字

39,614

25,452

36,226

121,580

得票率

17.8% 11.4% 16.3% 54.6%

票站投票人數	85,154
網上投票人數	66,005
流動應用程式(Apps)投票人數	71,831

總投票人數

222,990

未列於數表廢票

已包於數表內

到站投票廢票:

125

已知重複到站投票但無法剔除:3.622 到站投票而無法測試有否重複投票:5,377

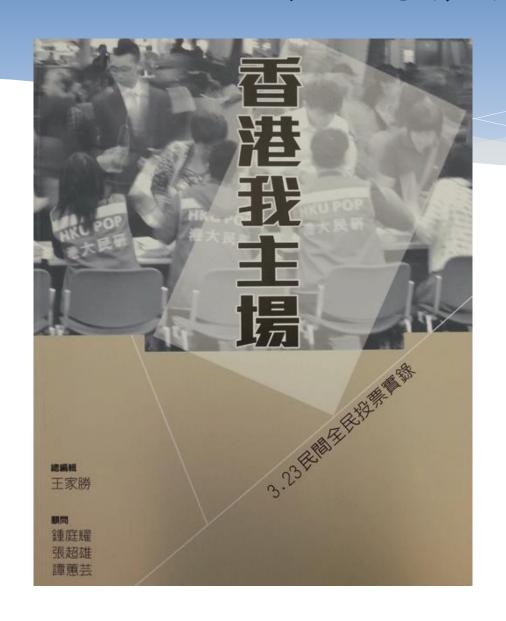
手機及網上重複登入被拒次數:15,111

票站重複登入被拒次數:104

離站投票廢票: 118

曾參與「學界3.·1影子民間全民投票」的18歲以下用戶:28

3.23 民間全民投票 紀念書籍



6.22 民間全民投票



6.22 民間全民投票遭網絡攻擊





Matthew Prince @eastdakota





Battling 300Gbps+ attack right now. Knew it was coming so well prepared. Helluva story someday.

6.22 民間全民投票結果



2017 特首選舉民間全民投票

公民聯合行動

2017特首選舉 民間全民投票 CE Civil Referendum 2017



- 民間提名 2017.2.7-2.22
- 民間投票 2017.3.10-3.19



2017 特首選舉民間全民投票



2017 特首選舉民間全民投票

衷心感謝65,192位市民參與並支持「特首民投」



民研的喜與悲

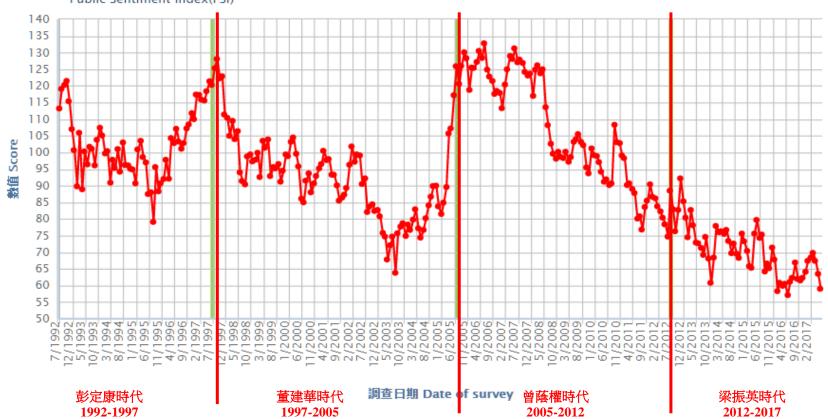
民情指數 (按月計算)

Public Sentiment Index (monthly average)

(7/1992 - 6/2017)

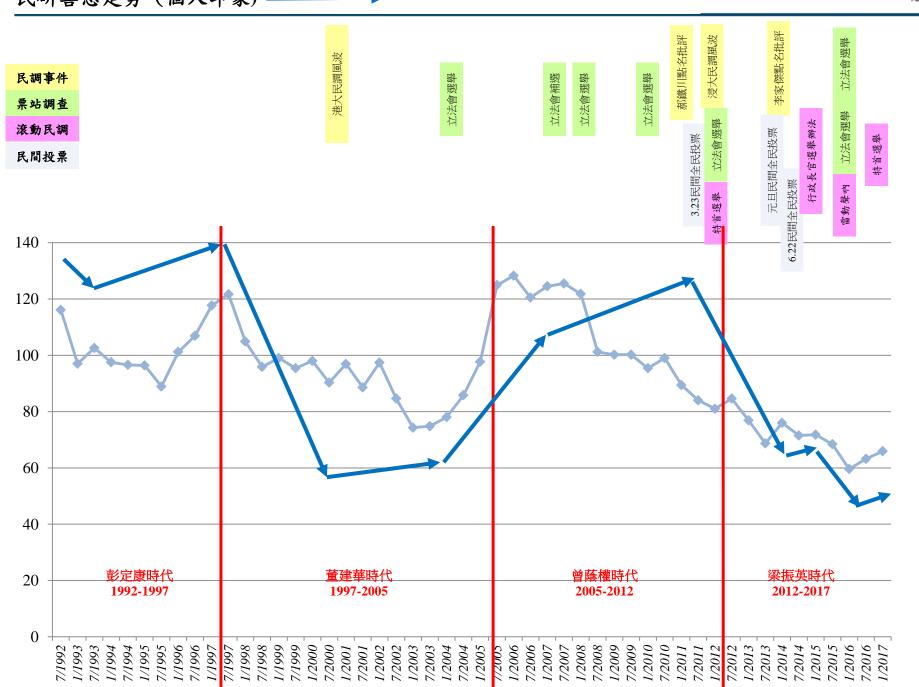
→ 民情指數

Public Sentiment Index(PSI)



^{*}最右點為2016年6月中期數字。

^{*}The rightmost point refers to the interim figure for June 2016.



總結:觀察與期望...

- 政治氣候不利民研
- 學術自由逐漸縮窄
- 新聞傳媒陸續歸邊
- 中間力量不斷萎縮
- 學校推廣民意研究
- 社會發展公民力量
- 業界建立專業標準
- 國家面向科學民主





• 邊緣化



• 科學化

• 專業化

• 國際化