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

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

(1-6/1993 – 7-12/2014)

"% of Not Confident" is presented as "negative % of Confident".

"有信心" 百分比以 "贊同百分比" 表示。
HONG KONG
VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

2003

2014
Umbrella Movement 2014

THE UMBRELLA REVOLUTION
HONG KONG'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IS A CHALLENGE TO CHINA
BY HANNAH REECH
[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.
[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.

[N=1,024]

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

[N=1,023]

Citizens’ Comprehension of Political Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Don't know / Hard to say: 6%

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

Opinion on Random Sample to Represent HK in Policy Making Deliberation

- **Good idea**: 46%
- **Bad idea**: 38%
- **Don't know / Hard to say**: 16%

[N=1,017]
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

1. The Deliberative Polling® process begins with administering a questionnaire on a random, representative sample of the public.

2. A random, representative sample is selected to participate in the Deliberative Poll.

3. Prior to the event, participants receive balanced briefing materials on the topics being discussed.

4. At the event, participants are randomly assigned to small groups with trained moderators.

5. The event concludes with a final questionnaire capturing participants’ considered opinions.

6. Results are analyzed and released to the media soon after the event.

Small Group Discussions

Participants pose questions – questions are chosen by groups – to experts and policymakers.

Plenary Sessions

Poll 1

Recruitment

Balanced Information

Poll 2

Media Coverage
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Jun 2013</td>
<td><strong>DDay1 (DP1 and DM1)</strong>, to raise questions about the movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Sep 2013</td>
<td><strong>DP2</strong>, to discuss the basic principles of 2017 CE Election Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct/Nov 2013</td>
<td>DM2s to discuss 1) Why democracy is important? 2) Basic principles of 2017 CE Election design, and 3) how to make OCLP successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014</td>
<td>E-voting 1 (e-voting warm-up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2014</td>
<td><strong>DDay3 (DM3)</strong>, and members only e-voting (to discuss and select the proposals for CE election)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2014</td>
<td>E-voting 2 (citizens’ authorization)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OCLPDS - Second Deliberation Day (DP2)
29 September 2013
Deliberation Day successfully changes political culture.
POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination

Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013
Deliberative Forum (September 2014)
Mass Engagement Projects
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
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

### PopVote 3.23 Civil Referendum (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polling Station</td>
<td>85,154</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smartphone App</td>
<td>71,831</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website (popvote.hk)</td>
<td>66,005</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>222,990</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum
Snapshots – 3.23 Civil Referendum

Images from Apple Daily
Incidents

3.23 Civil Referendum

Images from SCMP

Public’s view ‘will count in CE poll’

Opinion surveys and the exposure of scandals by media will be major factors in results, experts say

Colleen Lee

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 corruption from the illegal basement under a home owned by Henry Tang Ying-yan’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 Kin-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) will be whether Election Committee members 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 refuse to disclose their choice. For their chief executive,” the government confirmed in letters that an email had suspected links with Leung, but no one had received a response to the email from the government. She said it was “inaccurate” that the media’s involvement had caused political gains.

The general public cannot take part in the (Election Committee) elections, but many people have expressed strong views through opinion polls. The findings cannot be used for reference in the central government and various sectors.”

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Number of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Website (popvote.hk)</td>
<td>486,142</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobile Apps</td>
<td>235,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local On-site Polling Stations</td>
<td>70,378</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overseas On-site Polling Station</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>792,808</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Snapshots of 6.22 Civil Referendum

Images from HKUPOP and Apple Daily
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!