Development of Opinion Polls in Hong Kong

Dr Robert CHUNG
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Overview of Lecture

* Greetings with a brief introduction of Hong Kong
* Introduction of Public Opinion Programme (POP), HKU
* Directions of POP Development
  * Conventional Surveys
  * Deliberative Polling
  * Mass Engagement Projects
  * Electronic Platforms for Niche Engagement
  * International Projects
* 2016 Legislative Council Election Surveys
* 2017 Chief Executive Election Surveys
About Hong Knog
* From the Wikipeidea [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong):

  * Archaeological studies support human presence in the Chek Lap Kok area (now Hong Kong International Airport) from 35,000 to 39,000 years ago.

  * From the mid-Tang dynasty to the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Hong Kong was a part of Dongguan County (東莞縣/東官縣). During the Ming dynasty, the area was transferred to Xin'an County (新安縣). The indigenous inhabitants at that time consisted of several ethnicities such as Punti, Hakka, Tanka and Hoklo.

  * During the Qing dynasty, the Kangxi Emperor ordered the evacuation of coastal areas of Guangdong from 1661 to 1669. Over 16,000 inhabitants of Xin'an County including those in Hong Kong were forced to migrate inland; only 1,648 of those who had evacuated subsequently returned.
About Hong Kong

* During the First Opium War (1839–42), Hong Kong became a British colony with the perpetual cession of Hong Kong Island, followed by the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860 and a 99-year lease of the New Territories from 1898.

* Hong Kong was occupied by Japan during the Second World War until British control resumed in 1945.

* After the war, a wave of skilled migrants from the Republic of China moved in to seek refuge from the Chinese Civil War. When the Communist Party took over mainland China in 1949, even more skilled migrants fled across the open border for fear of persecution.

* Many newcomers, especially those who had been based in the major port cities of Shanghai and Guangzhou, established corporations and small- to medium-sized businesses and shifted their base operations to British Hong Kong.
About Hong Kong

* In the early 1980s, negotiations between the United Kingdom and China resulted in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Hong Kong in 1997 became a special administrative region (SAR) under China with a high degree of autonomy.

* On 1 July 1997, Tung Chee-Hwa became Hong Kong’s first Chief Executive. In May 2003, he attempted to legislate Article 23 (National Security) of the Basic Law aroused strong suspicion among Hong Kong citizens, causing a mass demonstration on 1 July 2003. Tung stepped down on 10 March 2005.

* Donald Tsang succeeded as the Chief Executive until 2012, but he was plagued by news of bribery near the end of his term.

* Leung Chun-ying became Chief Executive in 2012, and has become the least popular CE ever since, especially after the Umbrella Movement in 2014.
Introduction of
HKU POP
About HKU POP

* Established in June 1991. The first of its kind established within an academic institution in Hong Kong.

* Now directly under the Faculty of Social Sciences of The University of Hong Kong.

* To collect and study public opinion on a wide range of topics which are of interest to academics, journalists, policy-makers, and the general public.

* Project collaborators include public organizations, NGOs, government departments, media organizations, green groups, political parties, commercial firms, other universities as well as international associations.

* By 2016, POP has conducted over 1,500 independent surveys, mostly supported by outside bodies and funding.
POP’s Service Policy

* POP adheres strictly to a set of self-imposed service policies designed to safeguard its independence, autonomy and shared copyrights of the research outputs it produces. All POP Polls are targeted for public consumption, but flexibility is allowed on the timing of release.

* POP bears full responsibilities of our research work, including the sampling design, questionnaire design, fieldwork operation, data analysis, and report writing.

* These service terms are the pillars of our credibility, and differentiate us from other research institutes.
HKU POP Site
(http://hkupop.hku.hk)
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 - 每月計算

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

### Listing according to topic and item

#### Module code: 01

**Popularity of Chief Executive**
- Description: FAQs
- First survey: 29-31/8/1996
- Online since: 17/11/2000
- Last survey: 19-22/9/2016
- Last release: 27/9/2016

- **Support Rating of CE Leung Chun-Ying**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 19-22/9/2016
  - Last release: 27/9/2016

- **Support Rate of Leung Chun-Ying**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 19-22/9/2016
  - Last release: 27/9/2016

#### Module code: 07

**Popularity of the Government**
- Description: FAQs
- First survey: 8-10/12/1992
- Online since: 28/6/2000
- Last survey: 19-22/9/2016

- **Satisfaction with HKSARG’s performance**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 19-22/9/2016
  - Last release: 27/9/2016

- **People’s Trust in HKSARG**
  - Content
  - Qn wording

### Module code: 02,03

**Popularity of Principal Officials**
- Description: FAQs
- Online since: 15/2/2001
- Last survey: 12-14/9/2016
- Last release: 20/9/2016

- **Popularity of Secretaries of Departments**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 5-8/9/2016
  - Last release: 13/9/2016

- **Popularity of Directors of Bureaux**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 5-8/9/2016
  - Last release: 13/9/2016

- **The suitability of Principal Officials designates**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 28-29/6/2012
  - Last release: 5/7/2012

- **Popularity of Executive Councillors**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 12-14/9/2016
  - Last release: 20/9/2016

- **Popularity of Under Secretaries and Political Assistants**
  - Content
  - Qn wording
  - Last survey: 4-9/1/2010
  - Last release: 19/1/2010
Comparison between Ratings of Chris Patten, Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang Ym-kuen and Leung Chun-ying (monthly average)
Directions of POP Development

* Standard **conventional surveys**: Constant enhancement of content and methodology, with a high degree of IQ

* **Deliberative polling**: Introduction of quality deliberation in opinion formation and expression, via DF and DP

* **Mass engagement** projects: Development of civil referendums and electronic voting (*PopVote*)

* Niche engagement projects: Especially with young people on **electronic platforms** (*PopCon*)

* International projects: Like **WAPOR 2012** Conference, **WAPOR-Asia**, **ANPOR**, **HAPOR**, World Public Opinion, Greater China Region projects

* Basic groundwork development: *WebCATI, WebOMR, WebCAPI* using mobile devices, and so on.
Conventional Surveys
As of now, POP has conducted over 1,500 independent surveys, approx. 60 per year, 5 per month.

Common survey methods adopted:

1) Random telephone surveys
2) Face-to-face interviews
3) Online surveys
4) Mail surveys
5) Focus groups

Two major categories of POP projects: 1) Self-initiated & self-funded tracking polls, and 2) Commissioned projects by outside parties.
Areas of Interest

* Electoral study
* Government policies
* Media performance
* General political issues
* Societal and livelihood issues
* Health issues
Topics of POP Tracking Polls (selected)

- Popularity of the Chief Executive
- Popularity of the Government
- Popularity of Principal Officials
- Popularity of Councilors
- Popularity of Disciplinary Forces
- Appraisal of Current Conditions
- Social Indicators

- Freedom Indicators
- Rule of Law Indicators
- Media Performance
- Annual Series (4 June, Year-Ender)
- National Issues
- Policy Address Survey
- Budget Survey
- Election Surveys
Commissioned Surveys

Recent commissioned surveys include:

* 2016 Legislative Council Election Surveys
* Survey on Donation Culture and Policy Donation
* Survey on the Review of the Medical Council of Hong Kong
* Survey on 2017 Chief Executive Election
* Survey on Retirement Protection
* Survey on Alcohol Control Policy
* Survey on Hong Kong Women’s Understanding of Breast Cancer Screening
* Press Freedom Index Survey (Annual survey since 2013)
* Survey on the Public’s Opinion towards Employee Choice Arrangement of MPF
* Survey on Public Perception of Independence Police Complaints Council (Annual survey since 2013)
* Opinion Survey on the Public Ranking of Universities in Hong Kong (Annual survey since 2001)
* TV Programme Appreciation Index Survey (Quarterly survey since 1998)
* Opinion Survey on Poverty Issues in the Policy Address (Annual survey since 2010)
Deliberative Polling
Deliberative Polling

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Balanced Information

Small Group Discussions

Plenary Sessions

Poll 1

Recruitment

Poll 2

Media Coverage
POP’s involvement in DP development in HK

* 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)
* Deliberative Forum, Dec 2012, HK (on citizens’ expectation of Policy Address)
* OCLP Deliberation Series – DDay 1 [comprised of Deliberative Poll (DP1) and Deliberative Meeting (DM1)], Jun 2013, HK
* Deliberative Forum, Aug 2013, HK (on landfill extension)
* OCLP Deliberation Series – DP 2, Sep 2013, HK
* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2014, HK (on civil nomination)
* Deliberative Forum, Sep 2014, HK (on the decisions of SCNPC on HK CE Election)
* Deliberative Forum, Jan 2015, HK (on political reform)
* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2015, HK (on Voluntary Health Insurance Scheme)
* Deliberative Forum, June 2015, HK (on political reform proposal)
* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2016, HK (on retirement protection scheme)
Press

- Plans to introduce Deliberative Polling® to Hong Kong Hong Kong Economic Journal 6/2011
- Public consultation helps solve tough problems Apple Daily 6/2011
POP’s involvement in DP development in HK

- DP Workshop, Feb 2009, HK
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- Deliberative Forum, Mar 2016, HK (on retirement protection scheme)
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.
Date: September 29, 2013 (Sunday)  
Time: 14:00 to 18:40  
Venue: Lee Shau Kee Lecture Centre, Centennial Campus, the University of Hong Kong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Rundown</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00 – 13:45</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 14:00 – 14:20 | **Plenary Session 1**  
[Event moderator to introduce the event objectives, rundown and topics of small group discussions] |
| 14:30 – 15:30 | **Small Group Discussion 1**  
[Participants to discuss in groups of 10 led by trained facilitators] |
| 15:40 – 16:50 | **Plenary Session 2**  
[Representative of each small group to report the most important question(s) raised in group discussion for panel experts to respond] |
| 17:00 – 18:00 | **Small Group Discussion 2**  
[Participants to discuss in groups of 10 led by trained facilitators, and to fill in a post-deliberation questionnaire] |
| 18:10 – 18:40 | **Plenary Session 3**  
[Experience sharing by event organizers and participants] |
| 18:40       | **Event Ends**                                    |
OCLPDS - Second Deliberation Day (DP2)
29 September 2013
“POP Deliberation Day participants agree with civil nomination”

Hong Kong Economic Journal 30-9-2013
POP’s involvement in DP development in HK

* 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)
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* Deliberative Forum, June 2015, HK (on political reform proposal)
* Deliberative Forum, Mar 2016, HK (on retirement protection scheme)
Deliberative Forum (January 2015)
Deliberative Forum (June 2015)
Challenges in Running “D-Projects”

Fulfilling 5 key principles

* **Balance** - The organizer should provide the participants with balanced information for and against all arguments before the deliberation.
  * Ensuring balanced materials and panel experts

* **Engagement** - Deliberative meetings target to promote active citizenship by engaging the public into the discussion and/or decision making process.
  * Ensuring active participation by a randomly selected representative sample

* **Civility** - Discussion and deliberation must be based on mutual respect.
  * Ensuring a safe environment for participants to express their views, e.g. protecting anonymity, privacy, etc.

* **Equality** - Deliberation should be conducted fairly, each participant should be considered equal.
  * Ensuring fair and equal conversation led by moderator

* **Rationality and openness** - Individuals are not called to give up their own interests, but they should also consider other views before building or adjusting their opinions.
  * Ensuring rational conversations between people with different background (education, social, cultural, etc.)
Mass Engagement Projects
PopVote

Voting platform for mass engagement

* To construct a civil society by promoting civil participation
* To demonstrate an electronic voting system
# Voting Channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Mobile App</th>
<th>Polling Stations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HKID number</td>
<td>HKID number</td>
<td>HKID card verification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS verification</td>
<td>SMS verification</td>
<td>Tablets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Website**: PopVote

**Mobile App**: Available on the App Store, GET IT ON Google Play

**Polling Stations**:
- Tablets
- Polling station with tablets and ballots
### Three Large-Scale Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.23 Civil Referendum</strong>&lt;br&gt;March 23-24, 2012</td>
<td><strong>New Year Civil Referendum</strong>&lt;br&gt;January 1, 2014</td>
<td><strong>6.22 Civil Referendum</strong>&lt;br&gt;June 20-29, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mock CE Election</em></td>
<td><em>Express views on the principles of CE Election</em></td>
<td><em>Constitutional reform proposals</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web</td>
<td>66k</td>
<td>Web</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App</td>
<td>71k</td>
<td>App</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station</td>
<td>85k</td>
<td>Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>222k</strong>&lt;br&gt;(valid votes)</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<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>
Public opinion

If you were to vote for the chief executive tomorrow from these candidates, who would you vote for? (%)

Number of respondents in this month’s poll: 1,022

- **Leung Chun-ying**: 47% (Nov 28 - Dec 1 survey), 43% (Jan 16-19 survey)
- **Henry Tang Ying-yen**: 24% (Nov 28 - Dec 1 survey), 30% (Jan 16-19 survey)
- **Albert Ho Chun-yan**: 4% (Nov 28 - Dec 1 survey), 9% (Jan 16-19 survey)
- **None of the above/don’t know**: 25% (Nov 28 - Dec 1 survey), 18% (Jan 16-19 survey)

Source: HKU

Note: figures rounded to nearest percentage
Snapshots of 3.23 Civil Referendum

Images from Apple Daily
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
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Public opinion and the media’s exposure of scandals have shared the voting preferences 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 an illegal basement under a home owned by Henry Tang Ying-yen’s father to the political backgrounds of 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 questions off whether Election Committee members can change their voting preferences due to public opinion still hang 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 beating trends 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 26 nominations — resigned days before the election if its members and allies would be given high-profile roles or given voting choices or options for Tang. But the party’s leaders said they would cast blank ballots to reflect the feelings of the public, party chairman and former Miranda Lau Ky-chew said.

Ocean Park boss Allan Zeman also weighed in.

“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

THOUSANDS QUEUE TO VOTE IN MOCK ELECTION

Ada Lee
ada.lee@scmp.com

Thousands stood in long queues to cast blank 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 two hours 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 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 Tong. He cast a blank vote, saying none of the candidates had initiatives to narrow the wealth gap.

Of the 33 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.

“With that, it’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
Snapshots of 6.22 Civil Referendum

Images from HKUPOP and Apple Daily
Battling 300Gbps+ attack right now. Knew it was coming so well prepared. Helluva story someday.
Electronic Platforms for Niche Engagement
Smartphone App
International Projects
WAPOR’s Annual Conference 2012 in Hong Kong

* Theme: The New World of Public Opinion Research

* 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.

Other International Projects

* World Association for Public Opinion Research – Asia Chapter (WAPOR – Asia)
* Asian Network for Public Opinion Research (ANPOR)
* Hong Kong Association for Public Opinion Research (HAPOR) [Establishment under progress]
* World Public Opinion
* Greater China Region projects
Since its establishment in 1991, POP conduct many surveys to track opinion changes whenever there are large-scale elections.

### 2016 LC Election Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey series</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| LC pre-nomination survey      | 20/6 - 8/7    | • Sponsored by Power for Democracy (PfD)  
  • 5,084 successful cases      |
| Rolling survey                | 30/7 - 2/9    | • Jointly sponsored by 4 parties (HK01, Cable, Now & PfD)  
  • 35 days of rolling surveys, with:  
    - N=200+ each day for first 22 days  
    - N=350+ each day for next 8 days  
    - N=500+ each day in final week  
  (Total 10,207 cases done)       |
| Exit poll (voluntary student project) | 4/9 (election day) | • No sponsorship, no analysis and projection performed on election day  
  • 3,329 successful cases in 47 stations |
## 2017 Chief Executive Election Surveys

### 2017 CE Election Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey series</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **CEE tracking polls (pre-nomination)** | 26/9/16 to early 2017 | • 10+ rounds of surveys sponsored by media, including:  
- Ming Pao (8 rounds)  
- HK01 (at least 3 rounds) |
| **Rolling survey (after nomination)**  | Mar 2017         | • To start right after nomination period closes till the election  
• Sponsor(s) to be confirmed |

### 2012 CE Election Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey series</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **CEE tracking polls I (pre-nomination)** | Aug 2009 to Dec 2011 | • 19 rounds of surveys sponsored by media and think tank, including:  
- Ming Pao (11 rounds)  
- Apple Daily (4 rounds)  
- SCMP (3 rounds)  
- HKPORC (1 round) |
| **CEE tracking polls II (pre-nomination)** | Jan to Feb 2012 | • 7 rounds of surveys jointly sponsored by media:  
- nowTV, AppleDaily, Ming Pao, SCMP |
| **Rolling survey (after nomination)**  | Mar 2012         | • 24 days of rolling survey, with:  
- N=167+ each day for the first 12 days  
- N=250+ each day for the last 12 days  
• Jointly sponsored by media: CableTV, SCMP, STD |
End of Lecture …
questions welcome