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PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME 民意研究計劃

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Press Release on September 11, 2004

**HKU POP SITE and Civic Exchange releases the last
 Legislative Council election rolling survey result**

Preamble

This year, the Public Opinion Programme (POP) at the University of Hong Kong and the Civic Exchange are jointly conducting a series of rolling surveys on the 2004 Legislative Council direct elections starting from August 4. While the background, the methodology and previous findings have been discussed before, please refer to the websites of POP and Civic Exchange at <http://hkupop.hku.hk> and <http://www.civic-exchange.org> respectively for the details. This press release mainly highlights the key findings in the rolling surveys conducted in the final stage, i.e. from September 5 to 9, as well as examining the latest trend of the candidate strength from the last 5-day, 4-day and 3-day rolling data. The whole rolling survey lasted for 37 days, while the daily sample size had increased gradually from 374 cases on the first day, to 944 cases on the last day, i.e. an increase of 2.5 times. A total of 16,785 successful cases have been accumulated, which could be regarded as a very large-scale survey project.

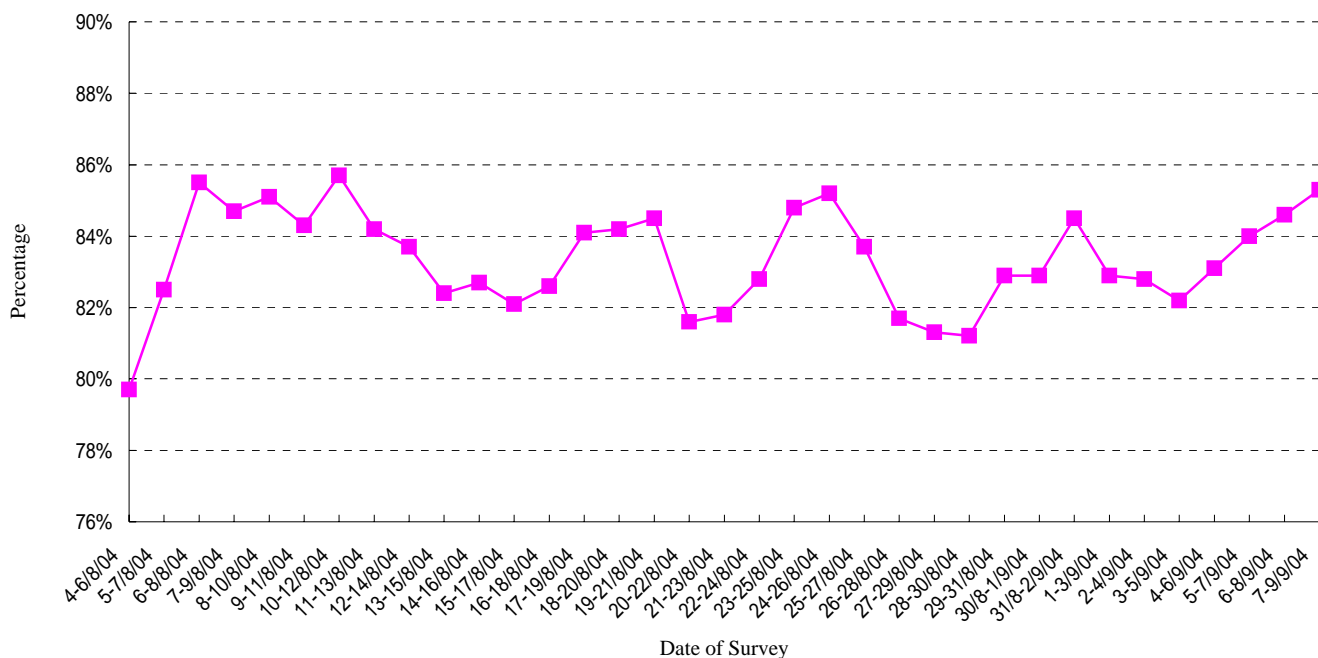
Propensity to vote

The territory-wide rolling surveys from September 7 to 9 revealed that, the registered voters' propensity to vote was 85%. Nevertheless, this percentage should never be taken as a projection of the actual turnout rate because many people who claimed they would vote at this stage would eventually not vote. For the scenarios in individual constituencies, please refer to the websites for details.

Territory-wide rolling surveys							
Date of survey	<u>2-4/9</u>	<u>3-5/9</u>	<u>4-6/9</u>	<u>5-7/9</u>	<u>6-8/9</u>	<u>7-9/9</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	1,669	1,784	1,902	1,978	2,121	2,395	--
Overall response rate	74.5%	75.1%	75.8%	75.7%	74.6%	74.1%	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	+/- 2%	--
Proportion of respondents definitely will vote	59%	59%	60%	60%	59%	59%	--
Propensity to vote (summation of "definitely will" and "most likely will" vote)	83%	82%	83%	84%	85%	85%	--

* "95% confidence level" means that if we were to repeat a certain survey 100 times, using the same questions each time but with different random samples, we would expect 95 times getting a figure within the error margins specified.

Propensity to vote (Territory-wide rolling survey result)



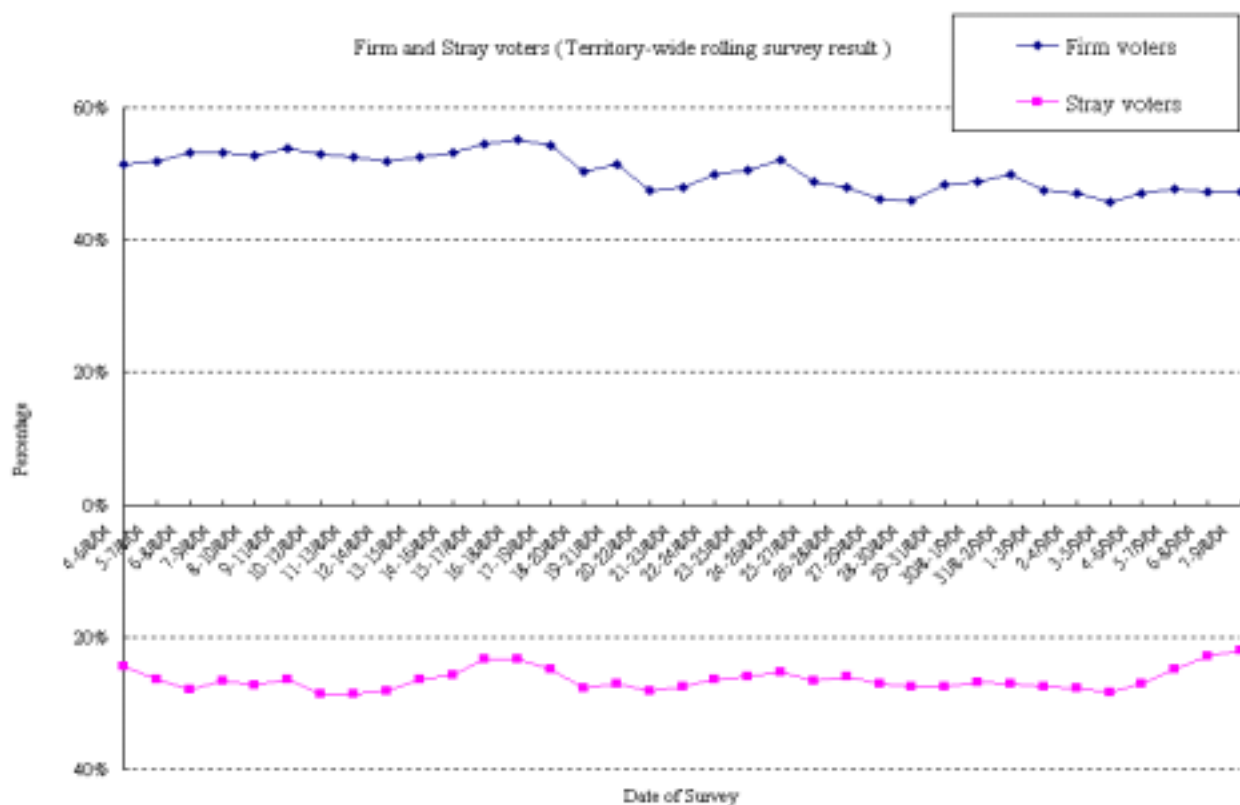
Stray voters

Since many voters still had not decided how to cast their vote, while stray voters would always have significant influence on the election result, the POP Team therefore further look into the distribution of these votes in 5 constituencies. Firm voters are defined as those who said they would definitely and most likely vote, and have also decided to vote for which list, while stray voters are defined as those who said they would definitely and most likely vote, but have not decided to vote for which list. The rolling surveys in individual constituencies from September 5 to 9 showed that, there were around 20-29% of stray votes in each of the 5 constituencies, while the largest proportion of stray votes was found in New Territories West (29%) and the smallest in Kowloon West (20%). The figures are summarized as follows:

Rolling survey: Hong Kong Island								
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> 5-day data	Latest change	Error margin*	<u>6-9/9</u> 4-day data	Error margin*	<u>7-9/9</u> 3-day data	Error margin*
Sample base	631	690	--	--	571	--	447	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 4%	+/- 4%	--	--	+/- 4%	--	+/- 5%	--
Proportion of firm voters	50%	51%	+1%	+/-4%	52%	+/-4%	52%	+/-5%
Proportion of stray voters	23%	21%	-2%	+/-3%	20%	+/-3%	17%	+/-4%
Proportion of "no-votes"	27%	28%	+1%	+/-3%	29%	+/-4%	31%	+/-4%
Rolling survey: Kowloon East								
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> 5-day data	Latest change	Error margin*	<u>6-9/9</u> 4-day data	Error margin*	<u>7-9/9</u> 3-day data	Error margin*
Sample base	543	589	--	--	481	--	369	--

Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 4%	+/- 4%	--	--	+/- 5%	--	+/- 5%	--
Proportion of firm voters	46%	47%	+1%	+/-4%	47%	+/-5%	48%	+/-5%
Proportion of stray voters	27%	25%	-2%	+/-4%	24%	+/-4%	23%	+/-4%
Proportion of "no-votes"	27%	29%	+2%	+/-4%	29%	+/-4%	29%	+/-5%
Rolling survey: Kowloon West								
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> 5-day data	<u>Latest change</u>	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>6-9/9</u> 4-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>7-9/9</u> 3-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>
Sample base	399	457	--	--	393	--	299	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	--	--	+/- 5%	--	+/- 6%	--
Proportion of firm voters	53%	51%	-2%	+/-5%	50%	+/-5%	49%	+/-6%
Proportion of stray voters	20%	20%	--	+/-4%	20%	+/-4%	20%	+/-5%
Proportion of "no-votes"	27%	29%	+2%	+/-4%	30%	+/-5%	31%	+/-5%
Rolling survey: New Territories East								
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> 5-day data	<u>Latest change</u>	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>6-9/9</u> 4-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>7-9/9</u> 3-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>
Sample base	901	976	--	--	798	--	638	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	--	--	+/- 4%	--	+/- 4%	--
Proportion of firm voters	50%	50%	--	+/-3%	50%	+/-4%	49%	+/-4%
Proportion of stray voters	22%	21%	-1%	+/-3%	20%	+/-3%	21%	+/-3%
Proportion of "no-votes"	28%	29%	+1%	+/-3%	30%	+/-3%	30%	+/-4%
Rolling survey: New Territories West								
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> 5-day data	<u>Latest change</u>	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>6-9/9</u> 4-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>	<u>7-9/9</u> 3-day data	<u>Error margin*</u>
Sample base	878	983	--	--	823	--	643	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	--	--	+/- 3%	--	+/- 4%	--
Proportion of firm voters	39%	41%	+2%	+/-3%	41%	+/-3%	41%	+/-4%
Proportion of stray voters	31%	29%	-2%	+/-3%	27%	+/-3%	27%	+/-4%
Proportion of "no-votes"	31%	31%	--	+/-3%	32%	+/-3%	32%	+/-4%

*Calculated at "95% confidence level" which means if we were to repeat a certain survey 100 times, using the same questions each time but with different random samples, we would expect 95 times getting a figure within the error margins specified.



Candidate strength

Concerning the rolling surveys in individual constituencies from September 5 to 9, the support ratings and the proportions of firm votes of various lists are summarized as follows:

Question: In the forthcoming Legislative Council direct election, in fact there are several lists as follows. Which list you tend to support? (Interviewers to READ OUT all candidates' lists)	Support rating	<u>Latest change</u>	<i>Error margin*</i>	Candidates surpassing threshold	Proportion of firm votes ^{^^}	Support rating	<i>Error margin*</i>	Support rating	<i>Error margin*</i>	
Hong Kong Island Constituency (seats = 6, threshold = 17%)										
Date of survey	4-8/9	5-9/9	--	--	--	6-9/9	--	7-9/9	--	
		<i>5-day data</i>				<i>4-day data</i>		<i>3-day data</i>		
Sample base	631	690	--	--	--	571	--	447	--	
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 4%	+/- 4%	--	--	--	+/- 4%	--	+/- 5%	--	
Audrey Eu's list	20%	20%	--	+/-3%	Audrey Eu	71%	20%	+/-3%	22%	+/-4%
Yeung Sum's list	16%	18%	+2%	+/-3%	Yeung Sum	77%	19%	+/-3%	19%	+/-4%
Rita Fan's list	16%	15%	-1%	+/-3%	--	63%	15%	+/-3%	14%	+/-3%
Ma Lik's list	11%	10%	-1%	+/-2%	--	58%	10%	+/-3%	10%	+/-3%
K. S. Tsang's list	1%	1%	--	+/-1%	--	**	1%	+/-1%	1%	+/-1%
K. F. Wong's list	1%	1%	--	+/-1%	--	**	1%	+/-1%	1%	+/-1%
Not yet decide	32%	32%	--	+/-4%	--	--	31%	+/-4%	29%	+/-4%

Question: In the forthcoming Legislative Council direct election, in fact there are several lists as follows. Which list you tend to support? (Interviewers to READ OUT all candidates' lists)	Support rating		<u>Latest change</u>	Error margin*	Candidates surpassing threshold	Proportion of firm votes ^{AA}	Support rating	Error margin*	Support rating	Error margin*
Others [^]	4%	4%	--	+/-1%	--	--	4%	+/-2%	5%	+/-2%
Kowloon East Constituency (seats = 5, threshold = 20%)										
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> <u>5-day data</u>	--	--	--	--	<u>6-9/9</u> <u>4-day data</u>	--	<u>7-9/9</u> <u>3-day data</u>	--
Sample base	543	589	--	--	--	--	481	--	369	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 4%	+/- 4%	--	--	--	--	+/- 5%	--	+/- 5%	--
Y. H. Chan's list	18%	15%	-3%	+/-3%	--	49%	15%	+/-3%	15%	+/-4%
Alan Leong's list	12%	14%	+2%	+/-3%	--	73%	13%	+/-3%	15%	+/-4%
Albert Cheng's list	11%	13%	+2%	+/-3%	--	79%	14%	+/-3%	16%	+/-4%
W. M. Li 's list	11%	10%	-1%	+/-2%	--	71%	11%	+/-3%	10%	+/-3%
K. L. Chan's list	7%	8%	+1%	+/-2%	--	55%	9%	+/-3%	10%	+/-3%
Not yet decide	36%	35%	-1%	+/-4%	--	--	35%	+/-4%	33%	+/-5%
Others [^]	5%	5%	--	+/-2%	--	--	4%	+/-2%	3%	+/-2%
Kowloon West Constituency (seats = 4, threshold = 25%)										
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> <u>5-day data</u>	--	--	--	--	<u>6-9/9</u> <u>4-day data</u>	--	<u>7-9/9</u> <u>3-day data</u>	--
Sample base	399	457	--	--	--	--	393	--	299	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	--	--	--	--	+/- 5%	--	+/- 6%	--
James To's list	17%	18%	+1%	+/-4%	--	77%	18%	+/-4%	20%	+/-5%
C. S. Lau's list	15%	15%	--	+/-3%	--	68%	16%	+/-4%	15%	+/-4%
Frederick Fung's list	16%	15%	-1%	+/-3%	--	66%	14%	+/-4%	13%	+/-4%
Jasper Tsang's list	13%	13%	--	+/-3%	--	69%	12%	+/-3%	12%	+/-4%
S. L. Liu's list	3%	3%	--	+/-2%	--	**	3%	+/-2%	4%	+/-2%
Y. S. Lau's list	1%	<1%	--	+/-<1%	--	**	<1%	+/-<1%	0%	--
Not yet decide	32%	33%	+1%	+/-4%	--	--	34%	+/-5%	34%	+/-5%
Others [^]	3%	3%	--	+/-2%	--	--	3%	+/-2%	3%	+/-2%
New Territories East Constituency (seats = 7, threshold = 14%)										
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> <u>5-day data</u>	--	--	--	--	<u>6-9/9</u> <u>4-day data</u>	--	<u>7-9/9</u> <u>3-day data</u>	--
Sample base	901	976	--	--	--	--	798	--	638	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	--	--	--	--	+/- 4%	--	+/- 4%	--

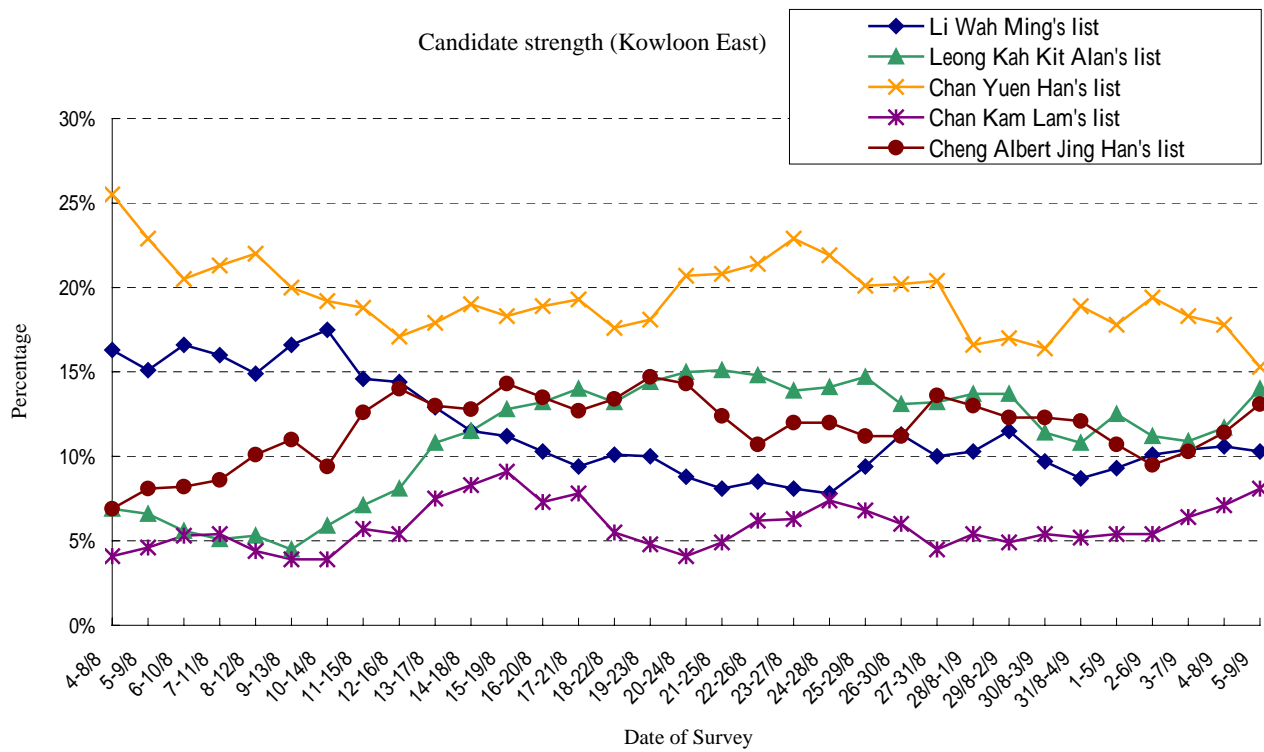
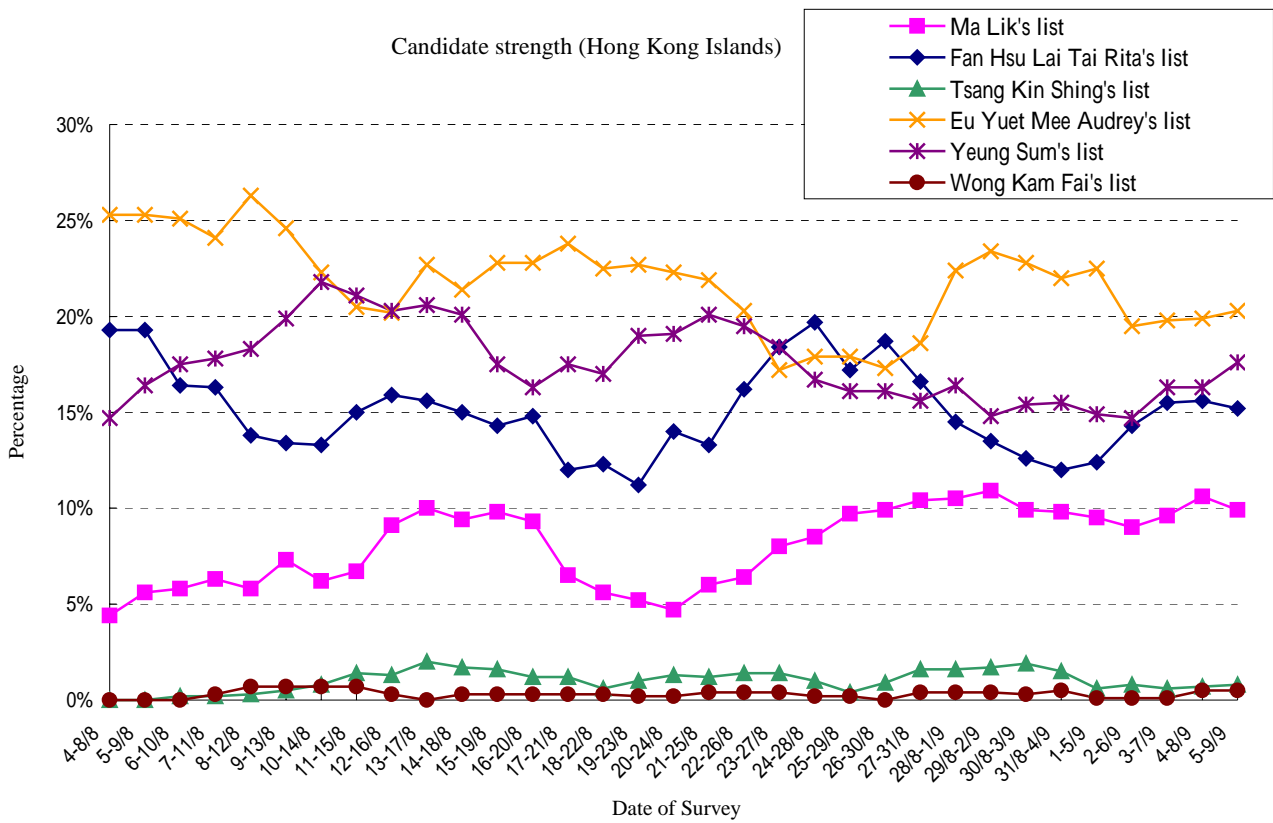
Question: In the forthcoming Legislative Council direct election, in fact there are several lists as follows. Which list you tend to support? (Interviewers to READ OUT all candidates' lists)	Support rating		<u>Latest change</u>	Error margin*	Candidates surpassing threshold	Proportion of firm votes^^	Support rating	Error margin*	Support rating	Error margin*
Andrew Cheng's list	26%	28%	+2%	+/-3%	Andrew Cheng Emily Lau	72%	27%	+/-3%	27%	+/-4%
James Tien's list	13%	13%	--	+/-2%	--	55%	13%	+/-2%	13%	+/-3%
K. W. Lau's list	10%	11%	+1%	+/-2%	--	57%	12%	+/-2%	11%	+/-2%
K. H. Leung's list	5%	5%	--	+/-1%	--	77%	6%	+/-2%	6%	+/-2%
Andrew Wong's list	5%	5%	--	+/-1%	--	65%	5%	+/-2%	4%	+/-2%
W. W. Tsoi's list	2%	2%	--	+/-1%	--	**	2%	+/-1%	3%	+/-1%
Not yet decide	33%	32%	-1%	+/-3%	--	--	30%	+/-3%	31%	+/-4%
Others^	4%	5%	+1%	+/-1%	--	--	5%	+/-2%	6%	+/-2%
New Territories West Constituency (seats = 8, threshold = 13%)										
Date of survey	<u>4-8/9</u>	<u>5-9/9</u> <u>5-day data</u>	--	--	--	--	<u>6-9/9</u> <u>4-day data</u>	--	<u>7-9/9</u> <u>3-day data</u>	--
Sample base	878	983	--	--	--	--	823	--	643	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	--	--	--	--	+/- 3%	--	+/- 4%	--
Y. C. Tam's list	9%	10%	+1%	+/-2%	--	63%	10%	+/-2%	10%	+/-2%
W. T. Lee's list	8%	8%	--	+/-2%	--	75%	9%	+/-2%	9%	+/-2%
Selina Chow's list	9%	8%	-1%	+/-2%	--	57%	8%	+/-2%	7%	+/-2%
C. Y. Lee's list	6%	7%	+1%	+/-2%	--	52%	7%	+/-2%	7%	+/-2%
Y. C. Leung's list	6%	7%	+1%	+/-2%	--	76%	7%	+/-2%	6%	+/-2%
C. Y. Ho's list	5%	6%	+1%	+/-2%	--	67%	7%	+/-2%	7%	+/-2%
Albert Chan's list	3%	3%	--	+/-1%	--	**	3%	+/-1%	3%	+/-1%
T. S. Yim's list	2%	2%	--	+/-1%	--	**	2%	+/-1%	2%	+/-1%
Stephen Char's list	1%	2%	+1%	+/-1%	--	**	1%	+/-1%	1%	+/-1%
H. T. Lui's list	<1%	1%	--	+/-1%	--	**	1%	+/-1%	1%	+/-1%
T. L. Ng's list	<1%	<1%	--	+/-<1%	--	**	1%	+/-1%	1%	+/-1%
P. T. Chow's list	0%	<1%	--	+/-<1%	--	**	<1%	+/-<1%	<1%	+/-<1%
Not yet decide	46%	44%	-2%	+/-3%	--	--	42%	+/-3%	42%	+/-4%
Others^	4%	4%	--	+/-1%	--	--	4%	+/-1%	4%	+/-2%

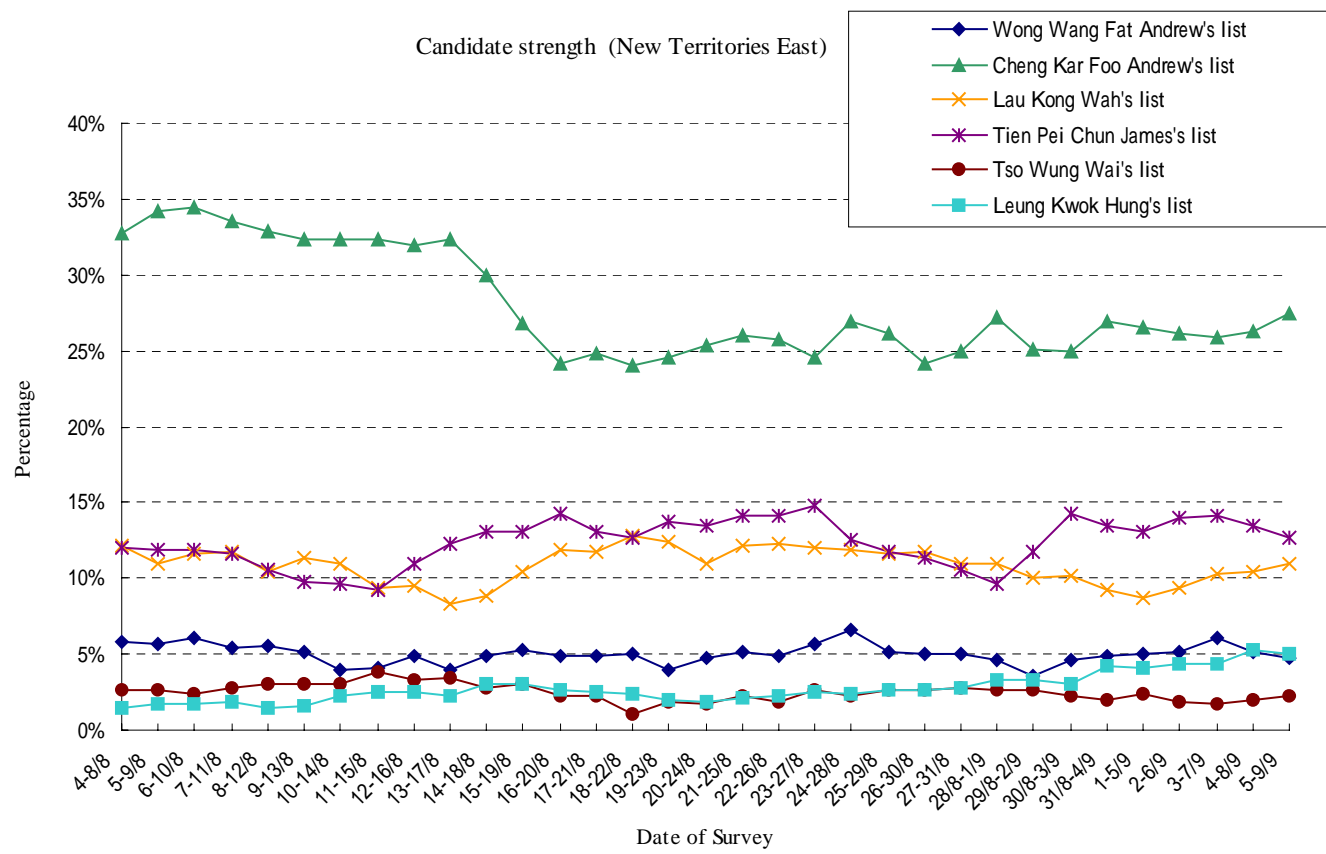
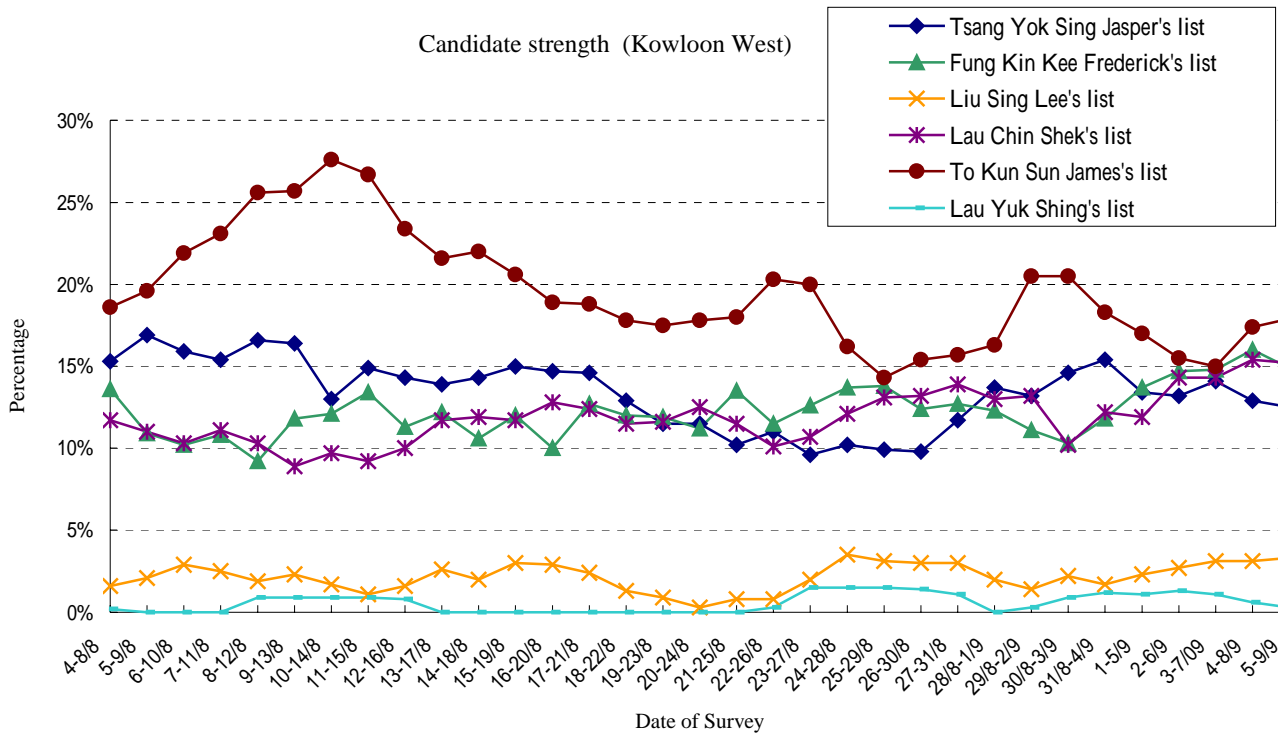
*Calculated at "95% confidence level" which means if we were to repeat a certain survey 100 times, using the same questions each time but with different random samples, we would expect 95 times getting a figure within the error margins specified.

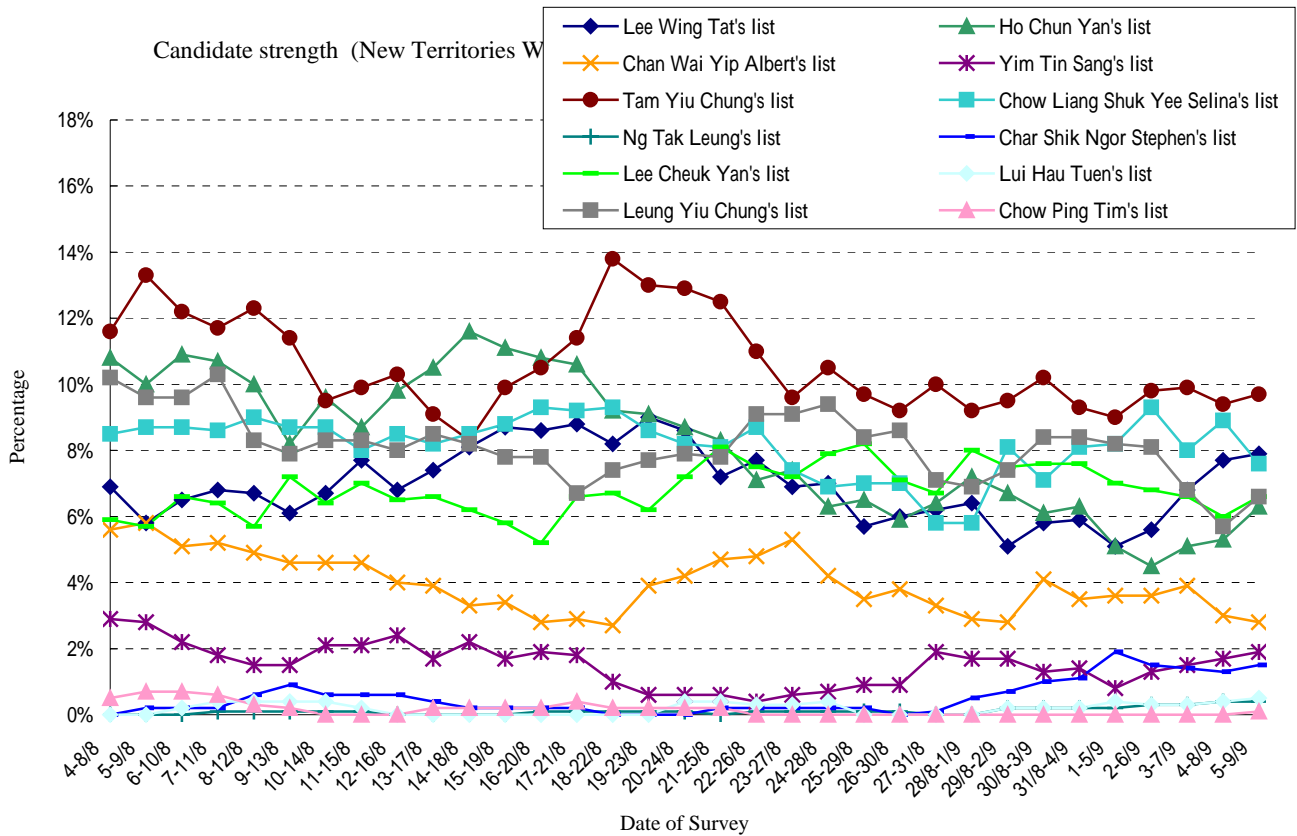
** Since the support rating was less than 5%, the proportion of firm votes was not listed here due to the small base.

^Included responses of "Won't vote" and "Won't support any political parties or candidates".

^^ The proportion of respondents who said they "would definitely vote" among all supporters of that particular list.







The support ratings shown above have not excluded those who had not decided and claimed not to vote. Readers may exclude this group of uncertain voters (assuming that they would not vote at all), reallocate the vote share according to the new base. The number of seats obtained by each list can then be deduced based on the Largest Remainder Formula. Yet, one must take note of the sampling errors. For the other rolling surveys' result, survey method, contact information, respondents' demographics and full questionnaires, please refer to the websites for detailed information.

Commentary

Regarding the latest trend of the rolling survey data, Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, has the following analyses:

An upward trend has been observed regarding the voters' overall propensity to vote in the final stage, with an increase of 3 percentage points over the last 4 days and the latest figure registered was 85%, which was very close to our record high, 86%, throughout the survey period. This showed that the voters had become more active when the election approached. According to the deduction method publicized on September 8, the latest estimate is that the actual turnout rate this year should lie between 52% - 57%, which means a significant increase from the 44% actual turnout rate in 2000, and could become close or even surpass the 53% registered in 1998.

Regarding the stray voters at this final stage, an apparent drop has been observed across most constituencies, showing that more voters had made up their mind when the election approached. This trend was particularly evident in Hong Kong Island. Based on the last 3-day rolling data from September 7 to 9, 17% of stray voters were found in Hong Kong Island, while that of Kowloon East, Kowloon West, New Territories East and New Territories were 23%, 20%, 21% and 27% in respective orders. The propensity to vote among voters in each of the 5 constituencies was 85%, 88%, 87%, 84% and 84% correspondingly. The above figures revealed that, the proportion of stray voters was the smallest in Hong Kong Island and the highest in New Territories West. The final preference of the stray voters would be of critical importance to many candidates. The effect would be more noticeable for candidates' lists that comprised of less firm voters, or more stray voters.

Concurrent with the changes in the proportion of stray voters and voters' propensity to vote, the support ratings for certain candidates' lists also fluctuated in the final stage. Since the sample size has reached 944 cases on the last day of our rolling survey, which was an increase of 2.5 times when compared to the early stage of the rolling survey, therefore, we can split the sample obtained in the final stage into 5-day, 4-day and 3-day rolling data for analysis, in order to examine the latest trend of each list. Taken the margin of errors into consideration, we discover that severe competition existed between the following lists: W. M. Li's list and K. L. Chan's list, Frederick Fung's list and Jasper Tsang's list, K. H. Leung's list and Andrew Wong's list, as well as various lists in New Territories West.

Response to misunderstanding

In view of the misunderstandings towards the rolling survey in society, even among some scholars, experts, and those in charge of policy research institutes, an article entitled "The Basics of Rolling Polls" by Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, was released today, as part of the civic education. The article aimed at addressing some common misunderstandings surrounding rolling polls, by explaining some basic statistical knowledge of social surveys, as well as the fundamental concepts behind rolling surveys. The Chinese version of the article was published concurrently by the *Hong Kong Economic Journal* and the POP website.

Other points to note

Shall anyone have any question regarding the research design of the surveys published in the POP Site, members of the POP Team will be happy to answer them, but we will not further comment on the findings. Shall any person or journalist have any other questions, please email them to us at [<pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk>](mailto:pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk). Please note that everything carried in the POP Site does not represent the stand of the University of Hong Kong. Dr Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, is responsible for everything posted herewith, except for column articles which represent the stand of their authors.

**This is a translation of the Chinese press release; should there be any discrepancy or ambiguity, please refer to the Chinese version.