

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME (POP)

CIVIC EXCHANGE

JOINTLY CONDUCT

2004 Legislative Council Direct Election: Survey on Individual Constituency 【 Kowloon East 】

SURVEY REPORT

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CONTACT INFORMATION

Date of survey	:	9 - 11 July 2004
Survey method	:	Telephone survey with interviewers.
Target population	:	Cantonese-speaking population of Hong Kong aged 18 or above, and currently residing in Kowloon East
Sampling method	:	Standard POP telephone sampling method was used. Telephone numbers were selected randomly from residential telephone directories and mixed with additional numbers generated by the computer. If more than one subject had been available, the one who had his/her birthday next was selected.
Weighting method	:	The data reported have been adjusted according to the gender, age and living district distributions of the Hong Kong population as reported in the 2001 Population Census.
Sample size	:	513 successful cases
Response Rate	:	71.2%
Std sampling error	:	Less than 2.2%

Everything in this publication is the work of individual researchers, and does not represent the stand of the University of Hong Kong. CHUNG Ting-yiu Robert is responsible for the work of the Public Opinion Programme (POP) of the University of Hong Kong.

1. Preamble

1.1 The Public Opinion Programme (POP) was established in June 1991 to collect and study public opinion on topics that could be of interest to academics, journalists, policy-makers, and the general public. POP was at first under the Social Sciences Research Centre, a unit under the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Hong Kong, and was transferred to the Journalism and Media Studies Centre in the University of Hong Kong in May 2000. In January 2002, it was transferred back to the Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Hong Kong. Since its establishment, POP has been conducting opinion researches on various social and political issues and providing quality survey services to a wide range of public and subvented bodies provided that they agreed to publicizing the findings to the general public, as well as allowing the research team to design and conduct the research independently, including the sampling method, questionnaire design, fieldwork supervision, data analysis, and report writing.

1.2 In May 2004, Civic Exchange commissioned the POP Team to conduct a series of public opinion surveys on the 2004 Legislative Council direct election. Results of the first geographical constituency survey, i.e. Hong Kong Island, have already been released earlier. Kowloon West and New Territories East Constituencies were studied in the second survey which was completed in June. As the third round of survey, Kowloon East and New Territories West Constituencies were studied in early July, but only the results of the former will be discussed in this report. Same as other geographical constituencies, the main areas of investigation of this survey are as follows:

- i. Kowloon East residents' voting inclination;
- ii. Kowloon East voters' voting behaviour and propensity to vote;
- iii. Kowloon East residents' participation in political activities.

1.3 The questionnaire was designed independently by the POP Team after consultation with the client, whilst fieldwork operations and data analysis were also conducted independently by the POP Team. In order to maintain neutrality, the POP Team did not provide advisory or consultative services of any kind apart from data interpretations and analyses.

2. Research Method

- 2.1 Random telephone survey with interviewers under strict supervision was adopted. To minimize sampling bias, telephone numbers were first drawn randomly from the residential telephone directories as "seed numbers", from which another set of numbers was generated using the "plus/minus one/two" method, in order to capture the unlisted numbers. Duplicated numbers were then filtered, and the remaining numbers were mixed in random order to produce the final telephone sample.
- 2.2 The target population of this survey was Cantonese-speaking population of Hong Kong aged 18 or above, who was currently residing in Kowloon East. When telephone contact was successfully established with a target household, one person aged 18 or above was selected. If more than one subject had been available, selection was made using the "next birthday rule" which selected the person who had his/her birthday next from all those present.
- 2.3 To achieve higher operation efficiency, during the course of this survey fieldwork, the research team had combined the questionnaires for two different geographical constituencies, i.e. Kowloon East and New Territories West, and apportioned respondents qualified for either part upon confirmation of their living district. Needless to say, only the relevant set of questions would be asked for each respondent. Theoretically, such arrangement could help reduce the wastage rate as compared to using two separate instruments, with each targeting at residents of one constituency only. Hence, the contact information described below was based on the combined sample for both constituencies.
- 2.4 Telephone interviews were conducted from 9 - 11 July 2004. A total of 1,020 qualified respondents were successfully interviewed, while the valid sample size for Kowloon East was 513. The overall response rate of this survey was 71.2% (Table 1 in Appendix II), and the standard sampling error based on this sample was less than 2.2 percentage points. In other words, the sampling error for all percentages was less than plus/minus 4 percentage points at 95% confidence level.
- 2.5 As shown in Table 2, among the 5,041 telephone numbers sampled for the survey,

1,110 were confirmed ineligible, among them 73 were fax or data lines, 564 were invalid telephone numbers, 17 were call-forwarding numbers, while another 64 were non-residential numbers. Besides, 90 of them were invalidated due to special technological reasons, while 302 cases were voided because target respondents were unavailable at the numbers provided, i.e. residents of the other three geographical constituencies and/or non-adults.

2.6 Meanwhile, a total of 1,862 telephone numbers were invalidated since the research team could not confirm their eligibility. Among them 119 were busy lines and 1,038 were no-answer calls after making a maximum of 5 times' recalls. Twenty cases were diverted to answering devices while another 129 were blocked. Moreover, 75 cases were treated as unsuccessful because of language problems, while 479 interviews were terminated before the screening question. Two cases were voided for other problems of the line.

2.7 On the other hand, 1,049 cases were qualified, yet failed to complete the interview. Among them 3 were rejected at the household level, another one rejected the interview immediately after their eligibility was confirmed, 1,006 were unfinished cases with appointment dates beyond the end of fieldwork period. Besides, 35 cases were incomplete due to unexpected termination of interviews, 4 were classified as miscellaneous due to other non-contact problems. And the remaining 1,020 were successful cases (Table 2 in Appendix II).

3. Key Findings

(Please refer to Appendix II for cross-reference of the tables cited.)

3.1 Kowloon East Residents' Voting Inclination

3.1.1 This survey revealed that, if the Legislative Council election were to be held tomorrow, and the respondents in Kowloon East had the right to vote, of the 12 candidates or lists predetermined by the POP Team, 23% of the respondents said they would cast their votes to Chan Yuen Han of Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, which made her the most popular candidate on the list. The 2nd place fell to Fred Li of Democratic Party, obtaining 14% of vote share. Alan Leong of Article 45 Concern Group followed closely behind, attaining 12% of vote share. Meanwhile, 6% of the respondents would vote for Chan Kam Lam of Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong. However, as high as 22% of the respondents claimed they had not decided on their choice of candidate yet. Due to the high sampling error, those obtained less than 5% of vote shares were not discussed here (Table 3a; for the vote shares obtained by each candidate or list after excluding those respondents who failed to give a concrete choice, please refer to Table 3b).

3.1.2 Table 4 shows the reallocations of hypothetical vote shares after teaming up any two of the candidates among the 12 candidates or lists. For instance, if Alan Leong teamed up with Fred Li, their joint vote share would become 38% of those who had expressed their initial inclination towards a certain candidate or camp. Extra caution, however, should be taken when interpreting these figures as the calculation of the joint vote share was based on a mere summation of individual vote shares obtained by each candidate or list within a team. In real-life situations, some of the team-ups would be quite unlikely. Also, while people's voting behaviours are relatively not predictable, the summation of individual vote shares obtained by each candidate or list within a team might not accurately reflect the joint vote shares after teaming up.

3.1.3 Respondents were further asked for their best alternatives if their first choices dropped out from the competition. As shown in Table 5, the shaded area indicates the absence of that specific candidate, while the horizontal-axis and vertical-axis indicate the respondents' first choice and second choice respectively. When interpreting vertically, the column figures represent the re-distribution of vote

shares under each hypothetical drop-out scenario. For instance, the first column of Table 5 shows the vote shares obtained by other candidates if Alan Leong dropped out, i.e. Fred Li would obtain 32% of vote share (a 12-percentage-point increase from the first voting exercise, Table 3b) whereas Wu Chi Wai would obtain 4% of vote share (no change, Table 3b).

- 3.1.4 If respondents' first two choices did not run for the election, what would be the further changes in the vote shares? Table 6 to Table 15 reveal the distribution of votes if two candidates or lists dropped out from the competition, with the shaded area indicating the absence of that specific candidate. Again, figures should be interpreted vertically. To illustrate, the second column of Table 6 gives the vote shares obtained by other candidates if neither Alan Leong nor Fred Li ran for the Kowloon East Constituency. In such case, Wu Chi Wai would obtain 12% of vote share (a 7-percentage-point increase from the first voting exercise, Table 3b), and Ho Wai To would obtain 2% (a 1-percentage-point increase from the first voting exercise, Table 3b), so on and so forth.
- 3.1.5 Put it in another way, if candidates from Article 45 Concern Group, Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong, Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Frontier, Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, New Century Forum, and some other independent candidates all took part in the election, 31% of the respondents in Kowloon East stated that they would never support Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, whilst 18% would never support Democratic Party. The corresponding percentages obtained by the remaining parties were relatively low, at 7% or below. It is worth noticing that one-third (33%) of the respondents had not yet decided which party or independent candidate they would never support at the interview time (Table 18).
- 3.1.6 Among the 226 respondents who claimed they would support the Democratic Party or the pro-democracy camp earlier, 64% (or 28% of total sample) of them indicated that if candidates from these two groups ran in the same list, they would still vote for such a list, while 15% (or 6% of total sample) would re-consider and 22% had not decided yet (or 10% of total sample, Table 19).
- 3.1.7 This survey also found that, in order to support the camp which appealed to them, 54% of these Kowloon East respondents would go for the list of this camp, no matter they liked or disliked the candidates on the list. Meanwhile, 40% would not (Table 20).

3.1.8 As regards the respondents' reaction to the vote-allocation instructions given out by the camp they supported (such as casting their votes to another list belonging to the same camp according to their ID card number or birthday), 70% of the respondents said that they would not follow such instructions, while 21% would (Table 21).

3.2 Kowloon East Voters' Voting Behaviour and Propensity to Vote

3.2.1 Of the 403 registered voters captured in this survey (Table 22), 6% (or 5% of total sample) submitted their registration less than a year ago, while 29% (or 21% of total sample) registered at least four years ago. Besides, as high as 50% (or 39% of total sample) had forgotten when they registered (Table 23).

3.2.2 The survey also found that, 63% (or 50% of total sample) of these voters self-reported that they had voted in the District Council election last November, whilst 36% (or 28% of total sample, Table 24) had not. Besides, 83% (or 65% of total sample) of this sub-group claimed that they had voted in the past Council election in different tiers, 16% (or 13% of total sample) had not (Table 25).

3.2.3 As a snapshot taken two months ahead of the Legislative Council election, the registered voters' propensity to vote was found to be 77% within the Kowloon East Constituency (or 61% of total sample, Table 26). 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.

3.3 Kowloon East Residents' Participation in Political Activities

3.3.1 When being asked whether they had participated in last year's July 1 rally, this year's January 1 rally and July 1 rally, 19%, 4% and 10% of the respondents in Kowloon East said "yes" respectively (Tables 27 to 29).